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Nicaragua y *¿vos*, *tú*, o *usted*? Pronoun use and identity construction in an area of recent linguistic and cultural contact

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Nicaragua y ¿*vos*, *tú*, o *usted*? Pronoun use and identity construction in an area of recent linguistic and cultural contact

by

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Dedication

To my family

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Nicaragua y *¿vos*, *tú*, o *usted*? Pronoun use and identity construction in an area of recent linguistic and cultural contact

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This dissertation answers a call for a variety of methods in analyzing personal pronouns (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer 2015; van Compernolle & Williams 2012), focusing on second-person singular pronoun use (*vos*, *tú*, and *usted*) by local participants ('locals') in a rural Nicaraguan community experiencing linguistic and cultural contact driven by tourism. Pronoun selection is shown to vary according to the amount of contact locals have with outsiders in their community. Evidence demonstrates that locals use *tú*, a variant previously reported as virtually absent from Nicaraguan Spanish (e.g. Lipski 1994, 2008; Páez Urdaneta 1981), with both outsiders *and other locals*. This practice is shown to coincide with a sense of prestige attributed to the *tú* form, and stigma, to *vos*, the form reported as ubiquitous in Nicaraguan Spanish (Lipski 1994, 2008; Páez Urdaneta 1981; Rey 1997; Thiemer 1989). Through an interactional sociolinguistic analysis, the study also answers a call by Jaffe (2009) to analyze stance using empirical approaches that consider social and historical contexts. Identified functions of pronoun switching include flirting, enhancing or reducing deference, emphasizing youthfulness, and negotiating identity status and stance in new relationships. Most notably, this study shows that locals systematically switch pronouns when they shift from direct address (e.g. *¿Cómo te llamas?* 'What is your[tú] name?') to an impersonal stance (e.g. *Tenés que*

trabajar para comer. 'You[*vos*] have [one has] to work to eat.'). Evidence supports the view that impersonal use of second-person pronouns implies some type of generalization (e.g. with reference to a group, category, type, state, etc.), which can serve to create solidarity between conversational partners and to generate empathy over the category being generalized (Deringer et al. 2015; Gast et al. 2015). However, this study refutes the claim that impersonal pronouns "establish a direct referential link to the addressee, just like personal uses" (Gast et al 2015: 148), providing as evidence the frequent pronominal switches by locals at the address/impersonal speech boundary. Finally, this dissertation contributes a description of Nicaraguan Spanish, the least-studied Central American variety (Lipski 1994), and focuses on a particular variety spoken by historically understudied speakers from a rural region of high poverty and a low level of formal education.

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1. Introduction

Nicaragua has historically been the site of linguistic policies that have had national impact on language use. The present study focuses on the use of second-person singular pronouns (*vos*, *tú*, and *usted*). Lipski (2008) reports a ubiquity of *vos* usage across informal and traditionally formal contexts due, in part, to outreach efforts by the Sandinista government (1979-1990) to promote familiar language across registers as a display of national solidarity; this observation included the use of *vos* in government correspondence and on pro-Sandinista billboards (see also Rey 1997). In addition, the Sandinista government sent teachers to communities across the country as part of a massive literacy campaign from March to August 1980 (Arnove 1981), which may have led to further dialectal leveling and more widespread use of *vos*. Such promotion of *vos* runs counter to language policies in most other countries, in which institutions have, if anything, played an opposite role by stigmatizing *vos* (e.g. Benavides 2003; Hernández 2002). As a result, Nicaraguan Spanish is well documented for its use of *vos* as the informal, second-person singular pronoun, along with the *voseo* paradigm (Lipski 1994, 2008; Páez Urdaneta 1981; Rey 1997; Thiemer 1989), to the exclusion of *tú* and its *tuteo* paradigm, which is used in much of the Americas and Spain. Use of *tú* has been primarily relegated to educational contexts (Christiansen 2014) and written commercial advertisements (Christiansen & Chavarría Úbeda 2010). Mixing of *voseo* and *tuteo* forms (i.e. polymorphism), which has been reported in other Central American countries (e.g. Carricaburo 1997; Moser 2010), has not been documented in Nicaragua (López Alonzo 2016). However, based on observations in a rural southwestern Nicaraguan community during the summers of 2011, 2013, and 2015, I contend that local Nicaraguans are using *tú* and the *tuteo* paradigm in conjunction with *vos* and *usted*, as part of a tri-level second person singular address system. The significance of this practice lies in its apparently recent emergence in the community and the pragmatic factors bearing on

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pronoun selection and variation. I submit that the primary motivator of *tú* use by locals is linguistic and cultural contact due to growth in tourism over the past decade; *tú* is the form used by most outsiders (i.e. tourists and expatriate residents from a variety of countries).

In this dissertation, I take advantage of innovative statistical modeling tools (mixed-model logistic regression, random forests, and conditional inference trees; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) to identify patterns of pronoun use by locals according to both social and linguistic factors. These patterns, in turn, help to pinpoint some of the underlying pragmatic functions of pronoun selection and switching. I analyze instances of pronoun switching using an interactional sociolinguistic approach and make claims by corroborating my own analyses with local metalinguistic commentary. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, I respond to a call for a variety of methodologies in analyzing pronouns of address (Félix-Brasdefer 2015; Sorenson 2013; van Compernolle & Williams 2012) in natural(istic) conversational contexts (e.g. Michnowicz, Despain, & Gorham 2016; Michnowicz & Place 2010) to better triangulate factors guiding usage. The study builds on recent work attempting to combine quantitative variationist and qualitative interactional methods (see Félix-Brasdefer & Koike 2012 for an overview) and benefits from the summary observations by Félix-Brasdefer and Koike (2012) regarding methodological successes, pitfalls, and suggestions related to combining pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches.

More broadly, this dissertation contributes a description of the least-studied variety of Central American Spanish (Lipski 1994), permitting comparison to studies in other regions of Nicaragua conducted at different time points (Alemán Ocampo 1992; Chappell 2014; Christiansen 2014; Lacayo 1954; Lipski 1994, 2008; Matus Lazo 1992, 1997; Ycaza Tigerino 1980, 1992). This new contribution will allow for the testing of broad cross-regional generalizations, challenging the notion of a singular 'Nicaraguan' Spanish from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

In the sections to follow, I provide a summary of relevant research on personal pronouns. I begin with a general overview of the functions of personal pronouns, the variation that exists in second-person variants across languages, and the theoretical approaches utilized in their study. I then focus on second-person pronouns in Spanish. After presenting a variety of second-person pronominal 'systems' according to region in the Spanish-speaking world, I provide a more detailed description of the second-person pronominal system of Nicaraguan Spanish and suggest that this system is not representative of the research site. I conclude my focus on Spanish pronouns with a discussion of the different pragmatic functions identified in the literature for pronoun selection and switching. I then return to a more general discussion of the difference between pronouns of address and impersonal pronouns and suggest the methodological value in considering variation of both pronoun types simultaneously. I review the use of impersonal pronouns in personal narratives, including the reported speech found within those narratives, and provide a framework for analyzing impersonal pronouns in such contexts using the concepts of stance and identity-construction. Finally, I motivate a "third-wave" sociolinguistic approach to studying pronouns in this community based on the social and historical context, and I conclude the chapter by providing a detailed introduction to the research site and by posing four principle research questions.

1.1   PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns serve as deictic elements by assigning referential status to individuals *within a contextualized* interaction. The specific context is necessary to decipher what referents are designated by *I* or *you*, *we* or *they*, for example. In addition, for languages like Spanish in which multiple pronominal variants exist for the same referential target, personal pronouns play a direct role in indexing interpersonal relationships. While English affords only one form for second-person singular ('you'), several languages provide two or more options (e.g. German *du* and *Sie*, French *tu* and

vous, Mayan K'iche' *at* and *la*). The choice by a speaker of a given form over another can index a range of socioindexical and pragmatic meanings, which can vary across languages and situations, and reflect perceptions of power, intimacy, prestige, social status, and alignment/dis-alignment across interlocutors.

Research on second-person pronoun use is largely based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) proposition that pronoun selection is driven by interpersonal notions of power and solidarity. In a relationship between two individuals who experience an asymmetrical power dynamic (e.g. boss-employee; parent-child; upper class-lower class), a non-reciprocal pronoun usage pattern is presumed to prevail. For example, a boss might use an informal pronoun in addressing an employee, while the employee opts for the formal variant. This power-induced, non-reciprocal dynamic is typically associated with hierarchical social structures and societies. In more egalitarian settings and societies, wherein there exists no pre-established power dynamic between two individuals, solidarity is presupposed to drive pronoun selection. Solidarity is often tied to social group affiliation or like-mindedness between individuals due to similarities in age, sex, birthplace, common interests, etc. When two individuals experience solidarity, they are presumed to use the same pronoun (i.e. address one another in a reciprocal, symmetrical fashion). Brown and Gilman (1960) suggest that, broadly speaking, solidarity-based systems are replacing power-based systems in today's societies due to global trends in social organization from hierarchical to more egalitarian dynamics. As observed by Millan (2011), this trend has been corroborated by researchers for certain varieties of Spanish (e.g. Fontanella de Weinberg 1970; Weinerman 1976), although it has been refuted for others (Keller 1974; Lambert & Tucker 1976). Since Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal study, a variety of researchers have modified the power-solidarity framework in one way or another to account for the wide variety of pragmatic functions of pronoun use across languages and communities. The most relevant modifications for the present study are summarized by Friedrich (1971), who distinguishes between

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elements that affect pronoun selection at universal, cultural, and individual levels. The universal components include conversation topic and setting; culturally-specific components include factors tied to biology (e.g. age, generation, sex, family membership) and social group membership (e.g. class, locality, dialect). The individual component reflects Brown and Gilman's solidarity semantic in terms of individual emotional expression (i.e. considers how a speaker's emotional state or mood might affect pronoun use). Consideration of the individual level, therefore, requires the contextualized analysis of naturalistic data. The present study considers components at each of these three levels while analyzing second-person singular pronoun use in a rural community in southwestern Nicaragua.

1.2   SPANISH SECOND-PERSON PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

Spanish has three potential pronominal forms of address for second-person singular—*tú*, *vos*, and *usted*. Although three second-person singular pronominal variants exist, they are not uniform in their distribution or significance across the Spanish-speaking world.

1.2.1   Regional variation

In Spain and certain regions of Latin America, such as Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela (Montes Giraldo 1967; Páez Urdaneta 1981), for example, *tú* and *usted* are used to the exclusion of *vos*, as shown in Table 1.1.[1]

2nd-person	Singular	Plural
Solidarity	***tú***	*ustedes*
Deferential	***usted***	

Table 1.1:   Second-person pronouns of Mexican Spanish

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The division between the *tú* and *usted* variants is often traditionally described in terms of formality or deference, wherein *tú* represents the informal/non-deferential variant, and *usted*, the formal/deferential variant. As mentioned, this division simplifies the alternation between variants, which can serve multiple pragmatic and socioindexical functions.

With the addition of the pronoun *vos*, pronominal selection is even more complex and nuanced, as in the case of Uruguayan Spanish, shown in Table 1.2.

2nd-person	Singular	Plural
Intimacy	***vos***	
Solidarity	***tú***	*ustedes*
Deferential	***usted***	

Table 1.2:   Second-person pronouns of Uruguayan Spanish

While Uruguayan Spanish includes all three pronominal forms in its inventory, the domains of usage are fairly well-delimited (Elizaincín 1981; Fontanella de Weinberg 1999), with *vos* reserved for close acquaintances. This is not necessarily the case in other varieties where all three forms are found, such as those in Central America, where two forms may occur in similar domains (Pinkerton 1986). The three pronominal variants appear in Table 1.3 along with their verbal/clitic paradigms.

Pronoun	-*ar* verbs	-*er* verbs	-*ir* verbs	Clitic pronouns
vos	*hablás*	*querés*	*salís*	*te*
tú	*hablas*	*quieres*	*sales*	*te*
usted	*habla*	*quiere*	*sale*	*le/lo/la/se*

Table 1.3:   Spanish second-person singular pronouns with verbal/clitic paradigms

The use of the pronouns and their respective verbal/clitic paradigms are referred to as *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo*. *Tuteo* and *voseo* share the same clitic form (*te*) and several verbal forms (e.g. *vos/tú **estás*** 'you are'; *vos/tú **vas*** 'you go'), which can lead to ambiguity regarding which pronominal variant is being used when the pronoun itself is absent (e.g. *¿Te gusta?* 'Do you [*vos/tú*] like it?' versus *¿Le gusta?* 'Do you [*usted*] like it?').[2] As a convention, subscripts are commonly used in transcriptions to indicate which variant appears, as follows (V = *voseo*; T = *tuteo*; A = ambiguous [i.e. *tuteo* or *voseo*]; U = *ustedeo*):

(1)   ***Vos sos*** *buena onda.*
       'You$_V$ are$_V$ cool.'

(2)   *¿**Quieres** unos tacos?*
       'Do you want$_T$ some tacos?'

(3)   *Un placer conocer**te**. ¿Estás alojado aquí?*
       'Nice to meet you$_A$. Are$_A$ you staying here?'

(4)   *¿A **usted le** gusta surfear, o **prefiere** bucear?*
       'Do you$_U$ like to surf or do you prefer$_U$ to dive?'

Voseo is commonly used in nearly all Central American countries: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Its usage varies widely throughout the

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[2] The existence of ambiguous forms is an inherent limitation to research seeking to compare *voseo* and *tuteo* usage. Ambiguous tokens are typically ignored or removed from data sets. In this study, however, the number of ambiguous tokens is reported to more accurately portray the number of *tuteo* and *voseo* tokens relative to *ustedeo* tokens.

region, however, in terms of both frequency and the social and pragmatic meanings of the variant. While in-depth, *in-situ* study in Central American countries is limited, some tentative generalizations have been made. For example, Pinkerton (1986) observes in Guatemala Ladino Spanish a tri-level second person singular address system. Notably, the researcher signals that *tú* exists alongside *vos* as a 'familiar' pronoun, but she emphasizes that differences do exist between the two, which are displayed in Table 1.4.

2nd-person	Singular	Plural
Solidarity	***vos ~ tú***	*ustedes*
Deferential	***usted***	

Table 1.4:   Second-person pronouns of Guatemalan Spanish

Due to these differences, a speaker can use *tú* and *vos* to index different degrees of intimacy or closeness with the referent, while using *usted* to indicate greater distance. Pinkerton also generalizes that *tú* represents an intermediary step between less polite *vos* and more polite *usted*. Thus, the pronouns can be used as pragmalinguistic resources to convey additional meaning beyond simply indexing interpersonal familiarity. Pinkerton problematizes the analysis of these variants, however, by stressing the potential role of several extralinguistic factors that may influence pronoun selection; namely speaker-interlocutor genders, social class, and the social context. Also of note, Pinkerton comments on a recent increase in *vos* usage reported by her respondents, speaking to the dynamic nature of the pronominal address system, as observed in other studies in the Central American region.

For example, Michnowicz and Place (2010) echo Pinkerton in their description of a tripartite system in El Salvador. They add that younger, well-educated speakers are increasing their use of *voseo*, thus highlighting the additional social variables of age and

education. The authors also comment on the extreme complexity of the system, indicating that multiple and often competing social and pragmatic factors influence pronoun selection. Particularly relevant to the present study are the speaker's attitude toward the interlocutor (e.g. sense of intimacy or solidarity) and the emotional state or mood of the speaker, which represent components at Friedrich's (1971) 'individual' level. Noting the limitations of their quantitative variationist sociolinguistic approach and focus on questionnaire data, Michnowicz and Place (2010) signal a need for supplemental methods that analyze conversational data and consider contextual factors. They suggest this approach for studies of pronouns of address in general, a call that motivates the present study.

In both the Guatemalan and Salvadoran examples, the use of *voseo* seems to be on the rise, with a corresponding adjustment or decline in *tuteo* usage. This distribution and apparent trend of pronominal variants, however, is not consistent throughout Central America. Thomas (2008) comments on the predominant use of *usted* in Costa Rica across multiple social domains, identifying it as the unmarked choice in both familiar *and* unfamiliar contexts. He points to *vos* as the marked variety, with use restricted to the most intimate registers. Nonetheless, Thomas notes that many participants in his study considered either pronoun acceptable in most domains, although co-dependent on other social variables. While Thomas observes a general scarcity of *tú*, he does suggest a rise in its usage in tourist-oriented domains, something that resonates in the present study, which investigates the effects of tourism on the second-person singular pronominal system in southwestern Nicaragua.

Previous research suggests that Nicaraguans exclusively use *vos* as the informal, second-person singular pronoun, along with the *voseo* paradigm (Lipski 1994, 2008; Páez Urdaneta 1981; Rey 1997; Thiemer 1989), to the exclusion of *tú* and its *tuteo* paradigm, which is used in much of the Americas and Spain (Table 1.5).

2nd-person	Singular	Plural
Solidarity	*vos*	
Formality	**usted**	*ustedes*

Table 1.5:   Second-person pronouns of Nicaraguan Spanish

Based on observations in southwestern Nicaragua during the summers of 2011, 2013, and 2015, and contrary to previous claims, I contend that locals in the community under study do use *tú* and the *tuteo* paradigm in conjunction with *vos* and *usted*, as part of a tri-level second person singular address system, following Pinkerton's (1986) observations in Guatemala. The significance of this practice lies in its apparently recent emergence in the community and the pragmatic factors bearing on pronoun selection and variation. The local pronominal system is represented in Table 1.6.

2nd-person	Singular	Plural
Solidarity	*vos*	
?	***tú***	*ustedes*
Deferential	**usted**	

Table 1.6:   Second-person pronouns in Nicaraguan community under study

1.3   PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF PRONOUNS

As mentioned, aside from serving as deictic elements, personal pronouns can serve a variety of pragmatic functions. They play a direct role in indexing interpersonal relationships when multiple variants exist for the same referential purpose, as is the case in Spanish. The selection of one pronominal variant over another can index a range of social and pragmatic meanings, as can the alternation between variants. While the bulk of extant research has focused on describing pronominal variation according to region, speaker and hearer age, and other sociolinguistic variables, recent efforts seek to enhance

our understanding of the contextualized mobilization of pronominal resources, which are reviewed in the following sections.

1.3.1　Pronoun use: stance and identity

A variety of scholars have illustrated how pronominal selection and alternation can accomplish social action, for example, by indexing epistemic and interpersonal stances in conversation (e.g. Raymond 2016). López Alonzo (2016) shows how pronoun selection and alternation can be tied to identity utilizing 'orders of indexicality' (Silverstein 2003; Johnstone et al. 2006). The author identifies three levels of indexicality for *voseo* use among three generations of Nicaraguans living in Miami. First-order use of *voseo* is tied to sociodemographics (i.e. is said to index a certain group of speakers); second-order, to a community or regional variant; and third-order, to stereotypes of Nicaraguans. The present study also embraces Silverstein's indexical order, wherein, as applied to the current context, the first-order indexical value of a pronominal variant is tied to sociodemographics, and the second-order, to a style of speaking or type of speaker. Other scholars have focused on discourse-pragmatic functions; for example, how pronoun switching organizes transactional and relational talk during service encounters (Félix-Brasdefer 2015). Many of these researchers share an interest in the relationship between pronoun selection and identity construction on some level, although they approach the subject through different theoretical and methodological frameworks. Raymond's (2016) proposed terms "identity status" and "identity stance" capture the dynamic nature of identities as co-constructed in dialogue, differentiating between more enduring and more fleeting aspects of identity. The terms facilitate discussion of multiple levels of identity as they unfold moment-by-moment during interactions, in part, through pronominal selection and switching. For example, a speaker might use *ustedeo* with an older addressee to highlight her age-related *identity status* (an enduring trait); while at a certain moment in the conversation, the speaker shifts to more colloquial *voseo* to align

her *identity stance* with the interlocutor. It is not necessarily that the speaker has changed her age-related identity status; she has used the same linguistic element to achieve a different social action: to align interpersonal stance. The terms capture both the epistemic and interpersonal stances that speakers can take using pronouns and the socially-indexical orientations they can claim, two pragmatic functions that predominate in the present study. Stance here is understood as "a person's expression of their relationship to their talk (their epistemic stance—e.g., how certain they are about their assertions), and a person's expression of their relationship to their interlocutors (their interpersonal stance—e.g., friendly or dominating)" (Kiesling 2009: 172).

Inclusion of the term *identity* provides an appropriate umbrella for the multiple potential functions of pronominal selection according to the view of identity espoused by Bucholtz (2005: 585), who presents the following assumptions:

1. Identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon.

2. Identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions.

3. Identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems.

4. Identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy.

5. Identity may be in part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures.

The combination of the blanket label *identity* with the terms *status* and *stance* provides a clearer way for discussing the macro-level, ideologically-entrenched, and enduring aspects of identity (which may or may not be brought to the fore during

interactions), as well as those facets of identity tied to the interactional stances and roles of conversational participants. Kiesling (2009) remarks on the difficulty of coding for stance, noting that "there is no single list of stances, and even one stance can be slightly different for different people", but adds that "we can notice that interactants are engaging in similar activities (such as arguing or flirting) in how they participate verbally (and nonverbally) in interactions, and we should be able to show some relationship between this participation and variation" (p.173). Jaffe (2009) reaffirms the value and, indeed, the necessity of inferring stance through "the empirical study of interactions in social and historical context" (p. 4). The present study applies these observations by identifying interactional stances indexed, in part, by second-person singular pronoun use in naturalistic conversations. Using an empirical approach, it considers the role of the pronominal variants in light of the research site's historical context and evolving social dynamics, thereby seeking to connect contextualized variant usage to broader language use patterns.

1.3.2   Pronoun use according to speech act

One linguistic variable that has clearly been tied to pronominal variation is speech act type. Researchers typically analyze this variation in terms of interpersonal relations and politeness theory, invoking notions of face-threat and imposition on the addressee (Brown & Levinson 1987). Murillo Fernández (2003), for example, explores pronominal variation across speech act types in Colombian Spanish, finding that *voseo* appears in her data more in commands, and *usted*, in statements. The researcher notes, however, that pronoun use may vary according to the relationship of conversational participants, with familiar acquaintances using *voseo* or *tuteo* and strangers, *ustedeo*. Newall (2016) further explores Colombian Spanish, albeit a different regional variety, and identifies the important nuance that *voseo* is used more in commands issued to *known interlocutors* and *ustedeo*, to *strangers*, highlighting the intersection between interpersonal relations and

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perceived politeness norms (i.e. "appropriate behavior"; Locher & Watts 2005). Mestre Moreno (2010) explains the use of *ustedeo* (over *tuteo* or *voseo*) commands among strangers as a strategy for protecting the addressee's negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987), alternatively referred to as 'independence face' (Scollon & Scollon 2001). Newall (2016) also finds in his data that statements, a general category considered to be non-face-threatening, tended to include *voseo* and *tuteo*. Questions generated more *voseo*, the most informal variant, which is perhaps surprising given that questions have been categorized by some as "requests for verbal action" given that they impose upon addressees by committing them to a following conversational turn (Terkourafi & Villavicencio 2003). This view, adopted in the present study, brings questions under the umbrella of the highly-studied speech act of requests, which, like commands, are typically viewed as carrying relatively high face threat or imposition on the addressee. Use of *ustedeo* has been considered a mitigator of these acts, and use of *voseo*, an intensifier (Castro 2000). Gutiérrez-Rivas (2010) examines the selection among *tuteo* and *ustedeo* in the requests of bilingual English-Spanish speakers in Miami. The author ties pronoun selection to the pragmatic function of either expressing solidarity toward (*tuteo*), or establishing distance from (*ustedeo*), the interlocutor. Finally, Woods and Lapidus Shin (2016) point to the value of considering pronoun use in 'fixed expressions' or 'set phrases' as an index of regional dialects and social groups. The items are represented in the present study under two separate speech act categories: 'discourse markers', most of which are 'attention callers' (e.g. *fijáte* 'consider$_V$'; *mire* 'look$_U$'; *sabes que* 'you know$_T$') and 'tag questions' or, simply, 'tags' (*me entendés?* 'you know$_V$?'; *sabes?* 'you know$_T$?').

Given the documented variation in Spanish pronoun use according to speech act type, the association between speech act type and level of face-threat (e.g. more threatening commands and questions versus less-threatening statements), and the potential socio-indexical value of pronoun use in certain speech acts (e.g. 'fixed

expressions'), the consideration of the variable 'speech act' permits insights into the pragmatic value of each of the variants in the speech community under study.

1.3.3 Pronoun use and form: overt pronoun versus morphology

Multiple researchers have found differences in rates of overt pronoun expression (*vos, tú, usted*) across the variants (Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Carvalho 2010; Flores-Ferrán 2004; Newall 2016). Flores-Ferrán (2004), for example, suggests that overt expression of the *usted* pronoun can serve to avoid potential referent ambiguity caused by the shared verbal morphology of *usted* and third person forms (e.g. *usted **bebe*** 'you drink'; *ella **bebe*** 'she drinks').

Language contact has also been shown to impact the rate of overt subject pronoun expression in Spanish. Contact with English, in which overt pronoun expression is obligatory, has been linked to an increase in Spanish overt subject pronoun expression (Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007). The rate of expression in these contact situations has also been tied to social factors, including generation (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2010), as well as social class and gender (Shin & Otheguy 2013). The high level of Spanish-English contact in the community under study motivates consideration of its influence on Spanish pronoun expression by locals.

Therefore, the present study investigates the frequency of pronominal forms of the variants in comparison to the frequency of verbal/clitic morphology occurring without corresponding pronouns (e.g. *vos comés* 'you$_V$ eat$_V$' vs. *comés* '(you) eat$_V$'). It considers these frequencies in the context of the other linguistic and social variables, and also takes a qualitative look at the variants to determine pragmatic functions of the use (or avoidance) of pronominal forms.

1.4 PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS VERSUS IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS

A key to understanding the full functional range of second-person pronouns in Spanish lies in identifying the appropriate 'envelope of variation'. Torres Cacoullos

(2011) identifies the envelope of variation as "the broadest environment in which speakers have a choice between different forms" (p. 150). While a large number of studies make descriptive generalizations about pronominal variation in Spanish according to one social variable or another, many fail to explore, or at least to specify, the different discourse contexts in which the variants occur. For example, a second-person singular pronoun may appear as a form of address (i.e. to refer to a specific individual), or in an impersonal or generic use, as in Example 5.

(5) a. *(Vos) tenés que practicar mucho para el concierto.*
       'You$_V$ have$_V$ to practice a lot for the concert.'

     b. *(Tú) tienes que practicar mucho para ser un buen músico.*
       'You$_T$ have$_T$ to practice a lot to be a good musician.'

The utterance in 5a is directed specifically to the addressee, suggesting that she needs to practice for an upcoming concert. The statement in 5b, on the other hand, represents a belief the speaker holds to be generally true for anybody: much practice is necessary to become a good musician. Scholars have sub-categorized such impersonal uses of second-person forms according to various criteria and linked them to different pragmatic effects (e.g. Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger 1982; Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990; Laberge & Sankoff 1979; Yule 1982). Gast et al. (2015) identify two common features across these sub-categorizations: "generalization" and "simulation". The authors claim that impersonal uses of second person always imply some type of generalization (e.g. with reference to a group, category, type, state, etc.) and can invite speech participants to simulate or imagine themselves in a situation, which may be factual or hypothetical. The researchers identify three main pragmatic effects of impersonal second person, at the propositional, interactional (social), and expressive levels, respectively: (1) generalization or abstraction (secondarily linked to objectivity and authority); (2) solidarity between the speaker and addressee; and (3) empathy with the category being generalized. Further, the researchers remark that impersonal uses "establish a direct referential link to the

addressee, just like personal uses" (p. 148). The same group of researchers (in Deringer et al. 2015) supports their classification by applying it to Russian, German, and English, three languages chosen for their differences in pronominal argument realization (pro-drop Russian vs. non-pro-drop German and English) and richness of verbal morphology (richer Russian and German). The analysis identifies "generalized empathy" as the main function of impersonal second person use. The present study applies this classification to Spanish, while considering how pronominal selection among the three second-person variants in Nicaraguan Spanish contributes to generalization and the creation of empathy and solidarity.

Much extant research focuses on *either* pronouns of address *or* impersonal pronouns, limiting the envelope of variation according to these discourse parameters. Myers and Lampropoulou (2012) and Rubenstein (2010) discuss both types of pronouns in their data, but limit their primary analyses to impersonal usage. Recognizing the danger in comparing apples to oranges, the present study submits that failing to collect both types of data can paint an incomplete, and even misleading picture, particularly in a system with multiple variants, such as Spanish. While pronouns of address and impersonal pronouns fulfill distinct discourse roles, in Spanish they present the same options for variant selection as second-person singular forms: *vos*, *tú*, and *usted* (in contrast to the single form 'you' in English). Therefore, differences or similarities in variation across the two discourse contexts can help to reveal different socioindexical and pragmatic values the variants hold (i.e. the functions of pronominal selection and alternation) for members of the speech community.

While some researchers of Spanish pronominal variation explicitly reference the difference between pronouns of address and impersonal pronouns, many, if not most, fail to do so. The present study shows that neglecting to distinguish between the two can result in a missed opportunity to identify certain nuances of variation, which, in turn, can lead to errant or incomplete generalizations. In this sense, the study serves to promote a

particular methodological framework: one that analyzes variant selection and alternation in both pronouns of address and impersonal pronouns.

1.4.1   Pronoun use in personal narratives

Impersonal use of the second person pronoun in this data set is closely tied to personal narratives, which, in line with Ochs and Capps (1996), can portray both actual and hypothetical events. Personal narratives provide a means of expressing our perceptions of our own lives and experiences and of the world around us. They allow us to take a stance on social, political, cultural, and other themes both overtly and through subtle semiotic resources, such as deictic markers, prosody, and speech styles. The present study analyzes the selection and alternation of *voseo*, *tuteo*, and *ustedeo* in the personal narratives of locals in the community under study. It captures the pronominal shifts by participants when transitioning from conversational to narrative, or story-world, discourse, and analyzes the pronominal use by characters in their story-world speech (i.e. reported speech).

Through recounting both real and imagined scenarios, speakers are able to project their view of the world to the hearer. Further, by quoting or reporting the speech of characters within those narratives, the speaker can bring the story-world to life. Direct reported speech, in particular, has been argued to *demonstrate* or *depict* a referent's actions rather than simply describe them (Clark & Gerrig 1990). Tannen (1986) has argued that the label *reported* speech can be misleading. Citing conversational data and the general limitations of human memory, she suggests that much reported speech is not reported after all, but rather an approximation or embellishment. As Günthner (1999) adds, reported speech is often imbued with the evaluation of the narrator, embodying Bakhtin's (1981) notion of polyphony, or layering, of voices.

1.4.1.1 Direct and indirect reported speech

Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) remark that speakers typically mark reported speech (i.e. speech or thoughts of others or of their own from another time), often using lexico-syntactic resources such as deictics or a reportative phrase (e.g. "he/she said…"). This tendency rings true in the present data set, yielding sufficient contextualization cues to the discourse type; in others, however, distinction between *conversational* and *reported* speech seems arbitrary. Research into prosody has identified patterns that aid in disambiguating these cases. Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) observe that reported speech in conversation is usually accompanied by a change in pitch register or range. The researchers interpret these prosodic shifts as "accomplishing something, namely marking… delimiting one's own territory or speech from someone else's" (p. 469). They note that changes in volume, speech rate, voice quality, and rhythm may also occur, but that pitch change nearly always accompanies these. Pitch change has been observed in both *direct* (6a & 6b) and *indirect* (6c) reported speech (e.g., Günthner 1997).

(6)   a.   "No, I can't go with you."
         b.   She said, "No, I can't go with you."
         c.   She said that she couldn't go with me.

Examples in the present study's data set similar to (6a) are particularly problematic, since labeling them as either *reported* or *conversational* speech is often relegated to researcher intuition based on the location of the utterances within the conversational turn-taking structure. Prosodic cues aid in making the distinction. Nonetheless, this approach is limited by the fact that not all reported speech is prosodically marked, as such marking may be a stylistic choice of the speaker (Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen 1999). Prosodic marking serves as an analytic tool for identifying ambiguous cases of reported speech and distinguishing between adjacent 'voices.' While the aforementioned generalizations are drawn from English data, similar prosodic patterns have been discovered in other languages, such as Russian (Bolden 2004) and

German (Günthner 1999, 2007). Not all languages appear to follow suit, however; Maier (2014), for example, reports more ambiguous prosodic marking according to directness of reported speech in Japanese. Coordinated efforts to compare reported speech cross-linguistically are found in early work such as Coulmas (1986). Much of this work, however, relied on elicited speech, while more recent research analyzes naturally-occurring conversations. The present study contributes to this growing body by exploring the prosodic patterns associated with reported speech in naturalistic rural Nicaraguan vernacular Spanish.

1.4.1.2   *Reported speech and stance*

Goffman's (1981) framework for analyzing reported speech provides a useful starting point for the present study. Building on Bakhtin's (1981) concept of polyphony, Goffman recognized distinct roles related to productions of reported speech—that of (1) the animator, the person physically producing the speech; (2) the author, the person who produced the form and content of the speech (who may or may not be the animator); (3) the principal, the person represented by or responsible for the speech, and; (4) the figure, a person or character whose speech is represented by the animator. An understanding of these potential roles informs the analysis of how local Nicaraguans co-construct their own and other's identities through their reported speech. This analysis benefits from consideration of whether the speaker, who is always the animator, also claims responsibility for the content of, or values espoused by, a given utterance (i.e. serves as the author or principal). It also recognizes the animator's potential use of multiple figures in reported speech. Crucially, Goffman demonstrated the potential to observe shifts in a narrator's footing via reported speech. Goodwin (2007) took Goffman's framework a step further in considering the role of the hearer in reported speech sequences. More broadly speaking, in the context of personal narratives, the speaker can show alignment or disalignment with both the narrative content and the audience. Indeed, the role of the

audience cannot be underestimated (Duranti 1986). Personal narratives delivered to a live audience are inherently dynamic and can involve both verbal and nonverbal feedback, which can lead to changes in the narrator's footing (Goffman 1979) and shape the course of story content. Moreover, the composition of the audience (in terms of the narrator's perceived in-/out-group status) can affect both subject matter and narrator alignment.

The speaker also must tell the story from a certain point of view (Goffman 1974; Ochs & Capps 1996). As observed in the present study, this vantage point can shift back and forth, even within utterances, thanks to a diverse repertoire of pragmalinguistic and other semiotic resources. Deictic pronouns, for example, allow shifts in vantage point (e.g. *they* gave vs. *I* received) and permit group delineation (e.g. *us* and *them*; *I* vs. *we*).

The latter observation shows how personal narratives can serve as an important interface between self and society. They allow us to interpret and situate our own experiences in relation to others and within the greater context of humanity (Ochs & Capps 1996). This informs the analysis of narratives that include members of different groups (e.g. cultural, linguistic, gender, age). Such analyses of narratives can reveal a perception of broad group delineations, while simultaneously capturing sentiments of in- and out-group membership at more fine-grained levels. Again, personal pronouns can provide subtle but telling cues to the speakers' interpersonal alignment and their perceived alignment of others. They can be used by the speakers in the active construction of their identity.

Due to the interactive nature of personal narratives, Bucholtz's (2005) analysis of identity construction at the interactional level is well-suited for the present study. The framework permits inspection of the conscious and unconscious use of personal pronouns in identity construction through descriptions of personal and hypothetical experiences. It acknowledges the role of local and global forces influencing this co-construction, as well as the fluid and temporal nature of *emergent* identities.

1.5   THIRD-WAVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

The recency of the cultural and linguistic contact in this region motivates a third wave approach to analyzing local sociolinguistic variation. Eckert (2012) broadly classifies studies of sociolinguistic variation into three main movements or "waves" according to their theoretical assumptions, methodologies, and particular objects of study. The first wave followed the pioneering work of William Labov (1963) on Martha's Vineyard, in which he linked phonological variants to certain social groups. Although this study hinged on ethnographic observations,[3] subsequent variationist studies followed a more distant quantitative approach more in line with demographic surveys (e.g. Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974).[4] Indeed, these studies analyzed linguistic variation in demographic terms, largely attributing speech to individuals' socioeconomic status, and later extending the connection to other demographic variables such as gender and race. The first wave viewed variation as "different ways of saying the same thing", correlating variants to different vernaculars. *Style* was tied to carefulness/formality of speech, wherein the vernacular represented a speaker's least self-conscious style (Labov 1972a). In Labov's (1971) terms, dialectal variables are known as *indicators*, *markers*, and *stereotypes*. *Indicators* are dialectal variables that do not vary according to style (i.e. formality/carefulness of speech); *markers* and *stereotypes* do, on the other hand, but differ in the level of speaker awareness, with only *stereotypes* eliciting metapragmatic commentary.

The second wave of sociolinguistic variation studies was driven by a problematization of the analysis of linguistic variation strictly in terms of broad social classifications. Eckert (2010: 6) provides a useful analogy:

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[3] Similar to the present study, Labov (1963) analyzed variation in terms of speaker agency related to indexing local vs. outsider identity.

[4] By *distant*, I refer to the move away from more traditional ethnographic methods, in which researchers attempted to integrate themselves into the community under observation in order to gain deeper insights into social, cultural, and linguistic practices.

There is no question that the broad demographic patterns of variation are important. But just as a map of New York City does not tell you what the streets are like, or what it's like to walk on them, the macro-sociological patterns of variation do not reveal what speakers at different places in the socioeconomic hierarchy are doing socially with those variables.

The second wave marked a return to ethnographic methods, in line with those initially employed by Labov (1963), to uncover locally-oriented social categories. Rather than presupposing the existence of such categories, researchers sought to identify locally-relevant categories through a deeper understanding of the community. While they were able to reveal links between broad and local categories, they did not succeed in explaining the indexical nature of variables (Eckert 2012). They did, however, begin to recognize that speakers employed certain variables agentively, of their own conscious volition, due to the variables' association with certain *types*, rather than categories, of speakers.

The third wave took the local focus a step further by foregrounding the role of speaker agency in linguistic variation as well as the fluid and dynamic nature of speech styles, no longer associating them strictly with static social categories, but with a variety of social personae. A third wave approach emphasizes the social meaning associated with linguistic variables, such as *vos, tú,* and *usted*, and treats them as semiotic resources available to speakers (Eckert 2008, 2012). In other words, it considers the role of speaker agency in variable selection and how speakers may utilize such variables in *co-constructing* their identities. This is a departure from the previous two waves, which viewed variables as merely *reflecting* a speaker's association with a fixed social category. It espouses an indexical field within which speakers engage in a continual reassessment and deployment of linguistic variables as they relate to speaking styles (Bucholtz 2005; Bucholtz & Hall 2008), and highlights the role of these styles in identity construction. In addition, this analytic view recognizes the mutability of variables and styles and the sociopragmatic forces that inform style-shifting (Eckert 2012). It moves beyond Labov's

(1972a) static view of styles and builds upon the more dynamic view put forth by Silverstein's (2003) *indexical order*.

A third-wave approach to sociolinguistic study acknowledges the relevance of ongoing changes within the community under study and the corresponding shifts in locals' roles, lifestyles, and interactions with other locals and outsiders. It foregrounds locals' emerging identities and associated tensions, as socioeconomic opportunities extend disproportionally throughout the community: locals who are younger, more educated, and have a more diverse linguistic repertoire (Bucholtz & Hall 2008; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008) are able to gain access to more prestigious and better-paying jobs, and incidentally, to greater contact with outsiders. Eckert's (2012) observations regarding linguistic variation and style demonstrate how linguistic practices may illuminate social relationships, concerns and identity-construction in this community:

> (a) variation constitutes a robust social semiotic system, potentially expressing the full range of social concerns in a given community; (b) the meanings of variables are underspecified, gaining more specific meanings in the context of styles, and (c) variation does not simply reflect, but also constructs, social meaning and hence is a force in social change. (Eckert 2012: 87)

These claims inform the present study's analysis of pronoun usage as they relate to stylistic practices. Auer (2007) remarks on the use of stereotypical speech features by speakers in the construction of social identities. As mentioned, *stereotypes* are identified as those features eliciting metapragmatic commentary. In this community, the second-person singular pronouns *vos* and *tú* elicit widespread commentary in terms of stigma and prestige, respectively, making them ideal features of study.

1.6   RESEARCH SITE

This study was carried out in a small rural community in the municipality of Tola, department of Rivas, on Nicaragua's southwestern coast.[5] Although the department of

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[5] According to the most recent (2005) Nicaraguan census data, the population of the entire municipality of Tola was 22,012. Of this total, 19,158 (87% of) residents lived outside of the town of Tola in more rural communities. This study focuses on a cluster of three communities, with 2,197 combined residents

Rivas has been characterized as a highly fertile agricultural zone (Baracco 2011), the sub-region of Tola under study has been classified as an area of high poverty, with 31.6% of the residents living in extreme poverty, and another 41.2 %, in moderate poverty.[6] This socioeconomic classification was corroborated through casual conversations and sociolinguistic interviews with locals who reported surviving for generations via subsistence agriculture and seasonal migratory work in Costa Rica. Many of these locals reported attaining only a primary-level education before leaving school to work with their families in the agricultural fields. This commentary mirrors findings by the Inter-American Development Bank that Nicaragua has the highest percentage among Latin American countries of children who are not enrolled in school, with only 50% completing primary school (Näslund-Hadley et al. 2012).

Beginning in the late 1990s, small-scale tourism arrived to the Tola coast. Much of this pioneering tourism was oriented toward the international surf community, while subsequent growth has yielded multiple luxury property developments aimed at attracting national and international elites and expatriates.[7] While this growth has brought welcome employment opportunities for locals across several rural coastal communities, the elite and multilingual nature of the establishments and clientele has created a demand for educated bi-/multilingual employees. An influx of outsiders, both national and international, has helped to satisfy this demand, but has also engendered a social environment in which higher status/salary jobs are disproportionately distributed among locals and outsiders. These social dynamics have foregrounded the value of education

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(Nicaragua, INIDE 2006). Official estimates list 23,376 residents of Tola in 2015, showing some overall growth (Nicaragua, INIDE 2014).

[6]Poverty status was assigned according to an index labeled *Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas* 'Unsatisfied Basic Necessities', calculated using five criteria: dwelling-size-to-occupant ratio, quality of dwelling construction materials, presence of drinking and wastewater utilities, education status of household minors, and a combination of head-of-household education level and occupant employment status (Nicaragua, INIDE 2008).

[7] The Tola mayor's office highlighted outside investment interest in the Tola coastline in its 2006-2025 strategic development plan, which identified growth in surf and beach tourism as a key element (Nicaragua, Alcaldía de Tola, Departamento de Rivas 2006).

and access to a variety of Spanish perceived by locals as 'standard', as well as to other languages, principally English.

Similar to Labov's (1963) well-known sociolinguistic research on Martha's Vineyard, the present study focuses on a relatively self-contained (isolated and rural) community that has seen a shift from traditional agriculture- and fishing-based lifestyles to a tourism-oriented economy. Likewise, the outsiders visiting and residing in the community collectively represent a more affluent social class in comparison to locals. In contrast to the Martha's Vineyard situation, however, the influx of outsiders to the community is not seasonal but, rather, relatively constant year-round, with minor fluctuations, resulting in a high level of ongoing contact between locals and outsiders. The setting and its social dynamics provide an excellent case study for assessing underlying pragmatic motivations for emerging sociolinguistic patterns of language use in a situation of dialect and language contact and their potential role in language change.

1.6.1   Linguistic capital

The community under study has seen a recent rise in everyday interactions between locals and outsiders across an extreme power differential: relatively uneducated, poor, and geographically-sheltered farmers and their families interacting with affluent outsiders from across the globe. Aside from material wealth and mobility, tourists and expatriates have brought with them their own linguistic resources or capital (Bourdieu 1991; Crystal 2003, in the context of global English). A trait of consequence in this study is the universal use of *tuteo* and the virtual absence of *voseo* from the outsider inventory. Metalinguistic commentary by locals suggest a notion of prestige attached to *tú*, and stigma, to *vos*, in part due to the speech practices of the affluent visitors and new residents of their community. The forms have gained the status of a stereotype, in Labovian terms, as their use is associated with certain groups or types of individuals: *vos* reflecting local status and a low level of education and sophistication, and *tú*, non-local

status and a higher level of education and sophistication. The association between these pronominal forms and education level is further enhanced by traditional educational practices in Nicaragua that espouse the use of *tú* and *usted*, while omitting formal instruction of *vos* forms (Christiansen 2014). Locally, this practice extends to the second-language classroom, where the English word 'you' is translated solely as *tú*. The prestige associated with *tú* may be further enhanced by its prevalence in television programs, as observed by Murillo Medrano (2002) in Costa Rica, and in written commercial advertisements, as reported by Christiansen and Chavarría Úbeda (2010) for the Nicaraguan capital city of Managua.

These multiple sources of influence lend value to *tuteo* in terms of linguistic capital: inherent social value for local speakers who can use *tuteo* forms and the dialects with which they are associated. The value extends from symbolic to economic currency, as access to employment is largely governed by a speaker's ability to shift between dialects or registers of Spanish, as well as the ability to speak English.

1.7   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The highly salient nature of personal pronouns and their status as a stereotype in this community, as well as their direct role in indexing personal relationships and in-/out-group identity, make them an ideal feature of study. The prestige and stigma associated with the *tú* and *vos* forms, respectively, motivate consideration of how they might be used as pragmalinguistic resources (e.g. in stance-taking and identity construction) and how pronoun use might pattern socially. A multifaceted assessment of pronoun use in this contact situation can shed light on the evolving social dynamics as reflected and instantiated by local language practices, yielding a better understanding of the pragmatic forces underlying broad-scale language patterns and language change. In this spirit, this study seeks to answer the following research questions.

1. What is the proportion of local use of *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* with other locals and with outsiders visiting or residing in the community? Centrally, do locals use *tuteo* with other locals?

2. Does pronoun use vary according to the age and sex of the speaker and interlocutor or the amount of social contact the local speaker has with outsiders?

3. Does pronoun use vary according to factors such as discourse type (address, impersonal, reported speech), linguistic form (overt versus null pronoun) or speech act (question, statement, command, discourse marker, tag)?

4. What pragmatic and socioindexical functions do *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* selection and alternation serve?

In the next chapter, I discuss the methodologies used to collect and analyze data in order to answer these questions. In Chapter 3, I present a quantitative analysis of the data stemming from two sources: (1) sociolinguistic interviews (SIs) that I conducted with 26 locals in 2013 and (2) 16 semi-structured conversations (SSCs) between eight locals in 2016. Each batch of data is presented, analyzed, and briefly discussed within its own section. I follow this in Chapter 4 with a qualitative analysis of the same data, paired with a discussion of data gathered through ethnographic field notes and observations from 2011, 2013 and 2015. I conclude the dissertation in Chapter 5 with an overarching discussion that ties together findings from all data sources and considers the insights gained from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses. I address the research questions by triangulating my interpretations of these data with metalinguistic commentary gathered during the 2013 sociolinguistic interviews and in follow-up interviews ('retrospective reports') with select SSC participants in 2016. Finally, I summarize the study's main findings and implications, identify potential sources of error and limitations, and suggest avenues for future research.

2. Methodology

To answer the research questions, I use a multi-method approach. Many previous studies that have endeavored to show sociolinguistic patterning of personal pronouns have, tangentially, uncovered variation at a pragmatic level as well. As observed by Terkourafi (2012), there is an inherent difficulty in studying pragmatic variables, in part due to a tension between utilizing sociolinguistic and pragmatic research methods. Several researchers have pointed to a need to embrace a multi-method approach in this pursuit (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer 2015; Michnowicz et al. 2016; Sorenson 2013; van Compernolle & Williams 2012). The present study answers this call by using a macro-level variationist approach to identify social and linguistic factors affecting pronoun use, which, in turn, informs a micro-level interactional analysis of naturalistic conversational data. The combined use of these methods and the associated analyses are supported by ethnographic observations in the community at three different time points over a five-year period. To gather data, I conducted sociolinguistic interviews with 26 locals and engaged 12 other locals in semi-structured conversations with one another.

2.1   ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

During the summers of 2011, 2013, and 2015, I resided for three-week periods in the community. I selected a different lodging arrangement for each visit to gain perspective from different social settings within the community: (1) a house in a new residential development; (2) a room in a budget tourist lodge; and (3) a room in a local family's home.[8] During each stay, I examined language practices during social interactions across multiple social contexts in the community. Principally informed by Gumperz and Hymes's (1972) *Ethnography of Communication*, I engaged in participant observation, taking detailed field notes in public spaces, including parks, beaches,

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[8] The family comprised more than 30 individuals spanning four generations, all living on the same plot of land among seven buildings.

roadside vendor stands, restaurants, bars, and tourist lodges. I acknowledge that my status as an outsider, and as a Caucasian male from the United States, doubtlessly influenced my access to locals, my interactions with them, my understanding of local social norms, and how I attended to and interpreted the interactions I witnessed. At the same time, my status allowed me direct insight to the types of interactions local speakers are having with the rising number of outsiders, mostly North Americans, in their community.[9] My status, therefore, allowed me to inspect possible processes of linguistic accommodation (see Giles, Coupland, & Coupland 1991; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, & Johnson 1987; Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire 1982), and identity co-construction (Bucholtz & Hall 2008) in my own daily interactions with residents. While my periodic visits to the community and my established local contacts helped me to gain a deeper understanding of social dynamics, I acknowledge that I still was an outside observer; my own presence may have influenced others' interactions (recalling Labov's [1972b] well-known *observer's paradox*) and my status may have influenced the amount and type of metalinguistic information shared with me.

2.2   SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEWS

2.2.1   Participants[10]

During the summer of 2013, I conducted 26 sociolinguistic interviews with local residents ranging in age from 18 to 51 and balanced by sex, with 13 females and 13 males. Twenty-two of the participants were formally employed at the time of the interview, two were full-time students, one was retired, and one was a recent mother who did not work outside of the home. Participants' jobs included: gardener, maintenance/grounds personnel, server, bartender, restaurant assistant manager, baker,

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[9] Seven participants in sociolinguistic interviews cited North Americans as the predominant visitors, while eleven listed them as a top visitor.

[10] The study was IRB approved and was granted a Waiver of Documentation of Consent according to 45 CFR 46.117 and/or 21 CFR 56.109(c)(1). Participants were required to supply only verbal consent, but were offered an official consent form for their records.

cook, housekeeper, and security guard. I recruited the participants through a personal local contact and by randomly approaching individuals in restaurants, tourist lodgings, and bars. Participants were not financially compensated.

2.2.2   Procedures

The interviews, conducted one-on-one by the researcher, varied in duration from 20 to 45 minutes. The interviews followed the format of a free-flowing conversation that touched on a variety of topics and solicited demographic information (see Appendix A) and a story-telling task.[11]

2.3   SEMI-STRUCTURED CONVERSATIONS

2.3.1   Participants

Twelve community residents volunteered to participate in semi-structured conversations (SSCs) (Alim 2004) during the fall of 2016. The volunteers were recruited through local contacts established during my previous visits. All participants were adults residing in the local community, ranging in age from 18 to 80. The twelve participants were divided into three groups of four, each balanced for age and sex (see Table 2.1). Two of the groups included four Nicaraguans each, all born and raised in the local community. They were native Spanish speakers with varying levels of exposure to and ability to speak English. The third group comprised four U.S. expatriates residing in the community for periods of one, six, six, and ten years, respectively. To control for personal relationships among participants, which has been shown to be a highly significant social factor influencing pronoun selection in several varieties of Spanish (e.g. López Alonzo 2016; Michnowicz et al. 2016; Newall 2016; Uber 2011), effort was made to select participants who were not previously acquainted. This study focuses primarily on the conversations between the two groups of local Nicaraguans, listed using

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[11] The story-telling task was designed to elicit certain phonological features and will not be discussed further.

pseudonyms in Table 2.1. The conversations between Group 1 members and the expatriates in Group 3 will be referenced, but not included in the detailed analysis.

Group 1			Group 2		
Pseudonym	**Description**	**Age**	**Pseudonym**	**Description**	**Age**
Loreto	Younger Female	18	Marta	Younger Female	18
Rafa	Younger Male	18	Moisés	Younger Male	18
Ingrid	Older Female	36	Feña	Older Female	36
Walter	Older Male	36	Ronal	Older Male	36

Table 2.1:   Participants in semi-structured conversations

2.3.2   Procedures

Each member of Group 1 engaged in a thirty-minute semi-structured conversation with each member of Groups 2 and 3. The design yielded a total of 32 conversations, eight for each member of Group 1. This system not only permitted analysis of individual speaker performance across a range of interlocutor types balanced by age group, sex, and in-/out-group status, but also elicited naturalistic conversational data, answering a call by researchers to supplement extant personal pronoun research based on questionnaire data with analyses of contextualized conversational data (e.g. Michnowicz et al. 2016; Michnowicz & Place 2010; Sorenson 2013). The audio-recorded conversations were prompted by a list of locally relevant conversation topics (see Appendix B) provided to each participant on a sheet of paper.[12] The topics focused on changes in the community, pertaining to both generational and local versus outsider identities via discussion of personal backgrounds and past/present lifestyles, as well as the emergence and role of tourism in the area. This approach was taken to increase the likelihood of personal narrative data within contexts that focalized insider/outsider identities. The prompts were

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[12] The conversation topics included in the list were selected from a list of twenty topics tested in a pilot SSC round. All topics were chosen in consultation with personal local contacts to identify locally-relevant themes that would elicit a high volume of free-flowing conversation while maintaining a focus on changes in the community.

devoid of second-person singular pronouns to avoid priming participants. Participants engaged in one-on-one conversations in a classroom at the local community center with no other individuals present. By establishing the same conversation topics and setting for all participants, the study controls for elements that influence pronoun selection at the 'universal' level (i.e. topic and setting), allowing for identification of those elements that influence pronoun use at the 'culturally-specific' and 'individual' levels (Friedrich 1971). The semi-structured conversations were audio recorded and uploaded to a computer for future analysis by the researcher. In addition, the same demographic information that was gathered during the 2013 sociolinguistic interviews was acquired from SSC participants (see Appendix A). Two weeks after the conversations took place, members of Group 1 were interviewed individually regarding pronoun use in their SSCs.[13] After preliminary questions were posed to each participant, select excerpts from the conversations were played aloud. The participant was then asked to discuss the excerpts in terms of pronoun use. The list of questions asked to all four participants appears in Appendix C.

2.4   DATA ANALYSIS

The study utilized both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis. For the quantitative analysis, I used a mixed-model logistic regression approach supplemented by random forests and conditional inference trees (Tagliamonte 2012; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) to explore both the sociolinguistic interview and the SSC data. This combination of analytic tools yields a better description of the variation encountered in the data (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). I chose an interactional sociolinguistic approach to qualitatively analyze transcripts from the SSCs. This approach allowed me to attend to a variety of contextualization cues and consider local and global forces influencing speech. In addition, I reviewed extensive field notes gathered during ethnographic observations to identify patterns of pronoun use by locals in

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[13] These follow-up interviews reflecting on the SSCs are referred to as retrospective reports.

natural settings. These field notes, combined with metalinguistic commentary by SI participants and retrospective reports by SSC members, were used to corroborate and explain patterns found in the SI and SSC data.

2.4.1 Variationist sociolinguistics

First, I draw on variationist traditions (e.g. Labov 1972b) in identifying any patterns of dependent variable usage in both the sociolinguistic interview and semi-structured conversation data. This approach illuminates patterns of pronoun use according to social or linguistic variables that might be otherwise undetectable. The dependent variable investigated in both data sets is *Pronoun* with three levels (*vos*, *tú*, *usted*). The independent variables (linguistic and extralinguistic factors), which varied slightly across the interview and conversation data sets, are summarized in Tables 2.2 and 2.3.

Social Factor	Levels
Age	Younger, Older
Sex	Female, Male
Social Network (contact with outsiders)	Front, Back[14]
Linguistic Factor	**Levels**
Form	Pronoun, Morphology
Discourse Type	Address, Impersonal, Reported Speech

Table 2.2:   Independent variables: sociolinguistic interviews

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[14] *Front* refers to locals who have frequent contact with outsiders, and *Back*, to locals who have limited or no contact with outsiders. These two levels are motivated and explained in depth below in Section 2.4.1.2.

Social Factor	Levels
Speaker Age	Younger, Older
Speaker Sex	Female, Male
Interlocutor Age	Younger, Older
Interlocutor Sex	Female, Male
Linguistic Factor	**Levels**
Form	Pronoun, Morphology[15]
Discourse Type	Address, Impersonal, Reported Speech
Speech Act	Question, Statement, Command, Discourse Marker, Tag

Table 2.3:   Independent variables: semi-structured conversations

2.4.1.1   Dependent variable

The dependent variable consisted of three variants: *vos*, *tú*, *usted*. A token was defined as the individual occurrence of one of the following: (1) a variant pronoun; (2) variant verbal/clitic morphology; or (3) a combination of a variant subject pronoun and inflected verbal/clitic morphology. An example of each appears below.

Pronoun: *La comida es para **vos**.*
                        'The food is for you$_V$'

Morphology: *¿Qué **querés**?*
                        'What do you want$_V$?'

                        ***Le** presto mi bici.*
                        'I'll lend you$_U$ my bike.'

Combination: *¿De dónde **eres tú**?*
                        'Where are$_T$ you$_T$ from?'

These tokens were coded according to whether or not the pronominal form itself was present in order to compare the quantity and contexts of overt versus null pronouns across the variants.

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[15] *Pronoun* refers to the overt expression of the pronominal form, while *Morphology* refers to the use of verbal/clitic morphology alone (i.e. null pronoun).

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2.4.1.2   *Independent variables*

Social factors

The social factors of *Age* and *Sex* were deemed relevant based on ethnographic observations, knowledge of the sociocultural history of the community, and findings from extant studies on pronominal variation citing them as significant social factors (e.g. Pinkerton 1986; Schreffler 1994; Simpson 2005). Age groups were drawn along 'pre- and post-tourism' lines: 'Older' referring to individuals who reached adulthood prior to the arrival of tourism in the late 1990s; and 'Younger' referring to individuals who reported no first-hand recollection of life in the community before tourism came to Tola. This division serves to identify differences in pronoun usage corresponding to an individual's coming of age amid pre- versus post-tourism social landscapes. For the sociolinguistic interviews, the researcher, who was an outsider, carried out all interviews; therefore, the factor of the participants' interlocutor was controlled for and is not considered separately. In the context of the SSCs, on the other hand, the social factors are considered relevant for both *speaker* and *interlocutor*.

The factor of *Social Network* is motivated by Milroy's (1987) observations of the influence of social networks on the linguistic behavior of individual speakers and their potential role in language change. For this particular community, the social network approach is useful for describing locals in terms of their contact with outsiders. Roughly half of the participants in sociolinguistic interviews reported working in jobs that entailed a high level of daily contact (i.e. direct conversations) with tourists and outsiders living in the community, while the other participants reported rare, if any, such direct contact. This study borrows from Irvine's (2004) notion of *frontline workers*, a designation given to individuals working in a Jamaican tourist office who had frequent interactions with (non-local) clients. I modify the term and its application here by way of a restaurant analogy: restaurant staff are often described in terms of *front* and *back* (i.e. where they work in the restaurant), wherein '*front* staff' (e.g. servers and bartenders) frequently interact with

guests and '*back* staff' (e.g. cooks and dishwashers) do not. As noted in the sociolinguistic interview participant section, most occupations in the community are tied to tourism, with a conspicuous split between jobs that involve consistent interactions with outsiders (e.g. server) and those that do not (e.g. gardener). Therefore, this 'front/back' analogy fits the local situation well, oftentimes literally and certainly metaphorically, to describe the relevant social networks for sociolinguistic investigation. Social network theory further purports that language change is initiated through weak social ties, such as those that might be formed between transient outsiders and locals, rather than the strong ties among locals. This view suggests that any changes in local pronominal usage would likely originate among locals belonging to the *Front* social network. In other words, the weak social ties formed between *Front* locals and outsiders during their regular, but fleeting, interactions would be a probable source of increased *tuteo* use in the community. Again, this hypothesis is based on the observed and reported traditional use of *voseo* (and virtual absence of *tuteo*) in the community and the overwhelming use of *tuteo* by outsiders. The factor of *Social Network* is applied only to the sociolinguistic interview data set, as all participants in the SSCs were deemed to have substantial contact with outsiders, an observation that reflects the growing presence of outsiders in the community from 2013 to 2016.

Linguistic factors

The factor *Form* serves to differentiate between the utterance of second-person singular subject pronominal forms, vos*, tú,* and *usted*, (the *Pronoun level*), versus the utterance of associated morphology alone (the *Morphology level*), which includes verbal conjugations and object/possessive pronominal forms (see Table 1.3). Cases of co-occurring subject pronoun form and morphology are included in the *pronoun* level. Inclusion of this factor and the determination of its levels are based on observations that the subject pronoun form itself can influence selection among the variants (*vos, tú, usted*) (Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Carvalho 2010; Flores-Ferrán 2004; Newall 2016).

The factor *Discourse Type*, with three levels, captures tokens of the dependent variable uttered in the three linguistic contexts shown in Example 7 below: (a) direct address to the interlocutor (*Address*); (b) impersonal uses representing a generalized point of view (*Impersonal*); and (c) reported speech during personal narratives (*Reported Speech*).

(7)   a.   *(Vos) tenés que practicar mucho para el concierto.*   (Address)
          'You$_V$ have$_V$ to practice a lot for the concert.'

      b.   *(Tú) tienes que practicar mucho para ser un buen músico.*   (Impersonal)
          'You$_T$ have$_T$ to practice a lot to be a good musician.'

      c.   *Me dijo, "Mirá, tenés que practicar más para mejorarte."*   (Reported)
          'S/he said to me, "Look$_V$, you have$_V$ to practice more to improve."'

This classification is based on an initial culling of the sociolinguistic interview data, which revealed a large quantity of pronoun use (and the majority of *vos* use) in impersonal and reported speech.[16] Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016) observed similar confinement of stigmatized forms (*vos* pronoun and verb) in the reported speech of Chileans. Subsequent research by Woods and Lapidus Shin (2016) with Salvadorans living in the U.S. supports the relevance of this factor in the analysis of Spanish pronominal variation in situations of dialect contact and accommodation, in particular, as it relates to in-/out-group identity construction.

Finally, the factor *Speech Act*, with five levels, is included in the analysis of the SSC data.[17] 'Speech act' has been identified as a significant predictor of Spanish pronoun use (Mestre Moreno 2010; Murillo Fernández 2003); in particular, in the sub-categories of *Questions, Commands* (direct and indirect), and *Statements* (Newall 2016). Woods and Shin (2016) point to the value of also considering the effect of fixed expressions or set

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[16] Koike (personal communication) recognized a shift by speakers from the interactional world to the story-world that correlated to pronominal variant selection. Subsequent analysis showed patterns of pronominal variation according to use as conversational address forms with the interviewer versus impersonal and reported speech usages during 'personal narratives' (Ochs & Capps 1996).

[17] There was not a sufficient breadth of data to include this factor in the sociolinguistic interview analysis.

phrases, such as discourse markers (e.g. *fijáte,* 'look$_V$', *mira* 'look$_T$') and tags (*me entendés?*, 'you know$_V$?' *sabes?* 'you know$_T$?'). While Newall (2016) chooses not to consider discourse markers as a separate category, the decision is based, at least in part, on the small volume of discourse markers in his data. The high volume of such fixed expressions in the SSC data set, however, motivates the inclusion of both *Discourse Markers* and *Tags* as levels in the analysis. Finally, Newall (2016) signals the value in further investigating the independent variable *Speech Act* to determine how speakers use second-person singular pronouns to "express a variety of communicative needs" (p. 166). This need for research is addressed both in the quantitative analysis detailed here and in the qualitative analysis of data, described below.

2.4.1.3 *Statistical analysis*

Data are analyzed in R 3.3.3 (R Core Team 2013) using a mixed-model logistic regression approach supplemented by random forests and conditional inference trees (Tagliamonte 2012; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). This method allows the researcher to construct a model that best explains the patterns found in the data by (a) simultaneously considering the role of multiple potential factors (fixed effects) in dependent variable outcome, and (b) accounting for any variation in data supplied by individual speakers (random effects). In the case of interview and conversational data, such speaker-based variation is likely; indeed, in the present data set, personal pronoun tokens supplied per speaker during interviews ranged greatly. The mixed model approach accounts for this discrepancy by including 'speaker' as a random factor. Random forests and conditional inference trees permit insight into the hierarchical ordering of independent factors and potential interactions among them. A series of mixed models are developed based on the random forest to identify the model that best describes the data. The first model considers the impact of only the first factor identified in the random forest. Subsequent models add one factor at a time in the order identified by the random forest, from highest to lowest

weight. Once the models are constructed, they are compared using a chi-square test. This combination of statistical methods yields a better description of the variation encountered in the data (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012).

2.4.2   Interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis

Informed by observations of the theoretical role of pragmatics in sociolinguistic variation (e.g. Cameron & Schwenter 2013; Terkourafi 2012), I also inspect the data utilizing a fine-grained interactive approach, recognizing the centrality of co-constructed and emergent meaning in the pragmatic deployment of the variables under study. I focus on the distribution of the dependent variables according to a detailed analysis of their immediate contexts, attending to the potential role of factors such as conversational topic, speech act (Newall 2016; Woods & Shin 2016), discourse type (Woods & Shin 2016) and the turn-taking structure. I borrow from the conversation analytic tradition (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), while tailoring the methodology to align with Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistic approach (e.g. Gumperz 1978, 1982) in order to: (1) explore participant selection and alternation of personal pronouns during interactions; and (2) consider the moment-to-moment indexical and pragmatic functions this selection and alternation serves in the data. This combination of discourse analytic approaches allows me to consider both bottom-up and top-down (i.e. local and global) forces influencing the interactions.

With regard to transcription conventions, I am guided by the insight of transcription pioneer Gail Jefferson (1985: 25): "[W]hen we talk about transcription *we are talking about one way to pay attention to* recordings of actually occurring events… It seems to me, then, that the issue is not transcription per se, but what it is we might want to transcribe, that is, attend to" (emphasis my own)." With this guiding principle in mind, I attend to contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982) that provide insights into interlocutor alignment and stance-taking, such as prosody and laughter, and I include these cues in my

transcriptions when deemed relevant. Noting the role that prosody has been shown to play in contextualizing reported speech, and recognizing its potential role in indexing speaker alignment, I use the same transcription system as Selting et al. (1998), utilized by Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) in the context of reported speech (Appendix D).

2.4.2.1   *Identity construction and stance*

Bucholtz's (2005) remarks regarding identity construction inform my analysis of pronoun selection/alternation both during conversational interactions and within personal narratives. Bucholtz's observations permit examination of the conscious and unconscious uses of the variants in identity-construction within both discourse genres. The guidelines fit well with the discourse analytic method outlined above, in that they acknowledge the role of both local and global forces (e.g. Erickson 2004) that may bear on identity co-construction, as well as the fluid and temporal nature of *emergent* identities.

In addition, I follow de Fina's (2003) approach to analyzing identity in narrative discourse by recognizing that identity construction may proceed at the following levels:

1. Through styles of telling that derive from common uses of narrative resources;

2. Through the projection, representation, and re-elaboration of social roles and relationships;

3. Through the negotiation of membership into communities that are seen as holding common beliefs and values and behaving in specific ways. (de Fina 2003: 22)

I also follow de Fina (2003) in considering the strategic use of linguistic elements at the lexical, textual/pragmatic, and interactional levels as they relate to identity construction. This framework provides a structure for examining pronouns as indices of social relationships and notions of self and other. It also establishes a systematic way to identify devices and strategies for shifting between the story world and interactional (conversational) world, and for uncovering the performative use of reported speech, intonation, sociophonetic features, etc., in conveying stances or attitudes toward characters or events. Additionally, de Fina's third level of identity construction captures

the use of impersonal pronouns as an index to insider/outsider identities, following Gast et al.'s (2015) claim that impersonal uses of second person always imply some type of generalization (e.g. with reference to a group, category, type, state) and can invite speech participants to simulate or imagine themselves in a situation, which may be factual or hypothetical. This identity-oriented framework allows testing of Gast et al.'s claim that impersonal pronoun use creates solidarity between the speaker and addressee and empathy with the category being generalized, as well as the observation that impersonal uses "establish a direct referential link to the addressee, just like personal uses" (p. 148). The present study subjects these claims, which were supported using English, German, and Russian data (Deringer et al. 2015), to a typologically distinct language, Spanish, and a unique sociocultural setting that includes three pronominal variants (versus two variants in each of the previously-researched languages), allowing a more nuanced assessment. In particular, this study questions whether impersonal pronouns do indeed establish a direct referential link to the addressee.

In the next chapter, I will present the results of the quantitative analysis of the data. The first section analyzes the sociolinguistic interviews I conducted with 26 locals, and the second section, 16 semi-structured conversations between eight local participants.

3. Quantitative Analysis

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I present a quantitative analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews I conducted with 26 locals in 2013. The second section adds a quantitative analysis of 16 semi-structured conversations between eight locals in 2016.

3.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEWS

First, I provide a descriptive statistical account of variant use according to the linguistic and social factors. Then I explore the patterns using inferential statistical methods.

3.1.1 Descriptive statistics

During the sociolinguistic interviews, tokens of *tuteo* predominated in the interviewees' speech with the researcher, collectively yielding 212 (57%) of 369 total tokens, as shown in Figure 3.1.
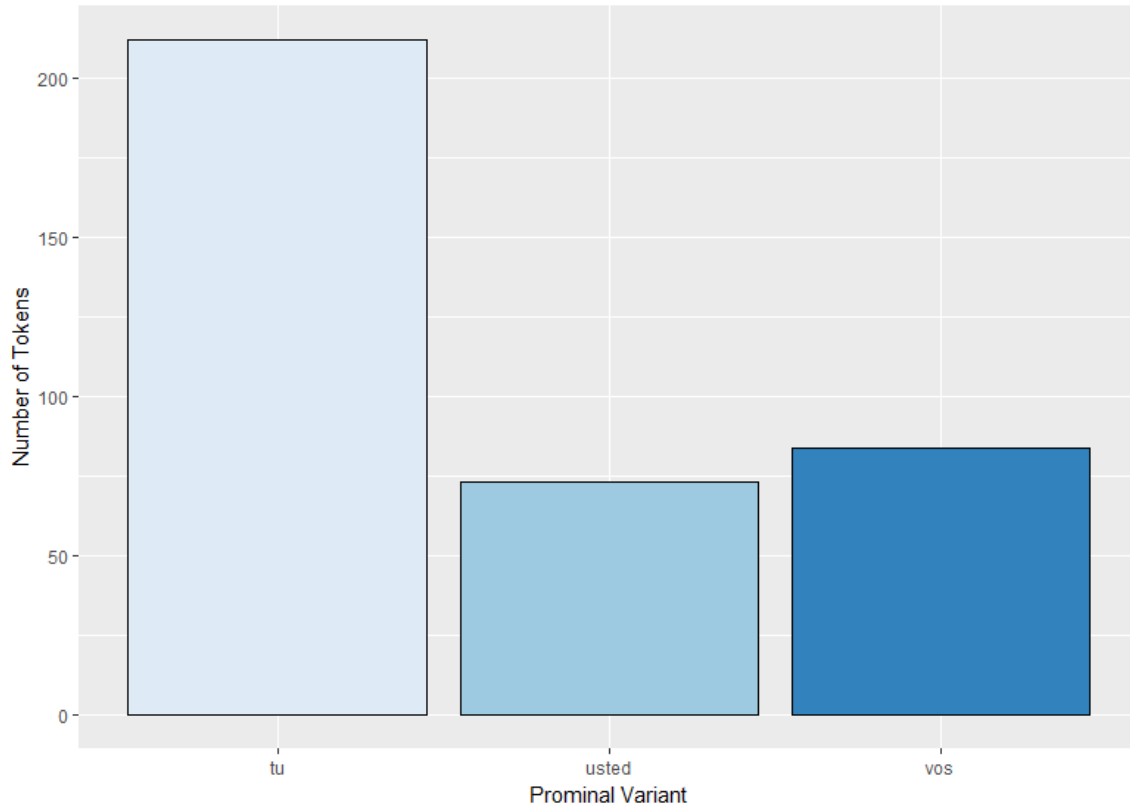
Figure 3.1:   Variant use by interviewees: total token counts

Tokens of *tuteo* greatly outnumbered tokens of both *ustedeo* and *voseo*, which were relatively close in number. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Figure 3.1 underrepresents the actual number of *tuteo* and *voseo* tokens because it does not include 125 ambiguous tokens (e.g. *estás*, *vas*) that could fall into either category. Given that the morphology of the ambiguous tokens is shared by *tuteo* and *voseo*, it is impossible to assign the tokens to either variant. The number of actual *voseo* and/or *tuteo* tokens is, therefore, greater than can be verified. Despite this unavoidable limitation, the count of ambiguous tokens adds to the analysis by illustrating that *ustedeo* appears much less than the other two variants. While the ambiguous tokens are important to bear in mind in the overarching analysis, they are excluded from further quantitative analysis here.

3.1.1.1   *Linguistic factors*

Discourse type

When the data are grouped according to discourse type, the proportions of the three variants change. The proportion of *tuteo* remains fairly constant whether participants were addressing the interviewer, speaking in an impersonal context, or producing reported speech. The same pattern does not hold for the other variants, however; *voseo* was used considerably more in impersonal and reported speech contexts, while *ustedeo* displayed the opposite trend, as shown in Figure 3.2.
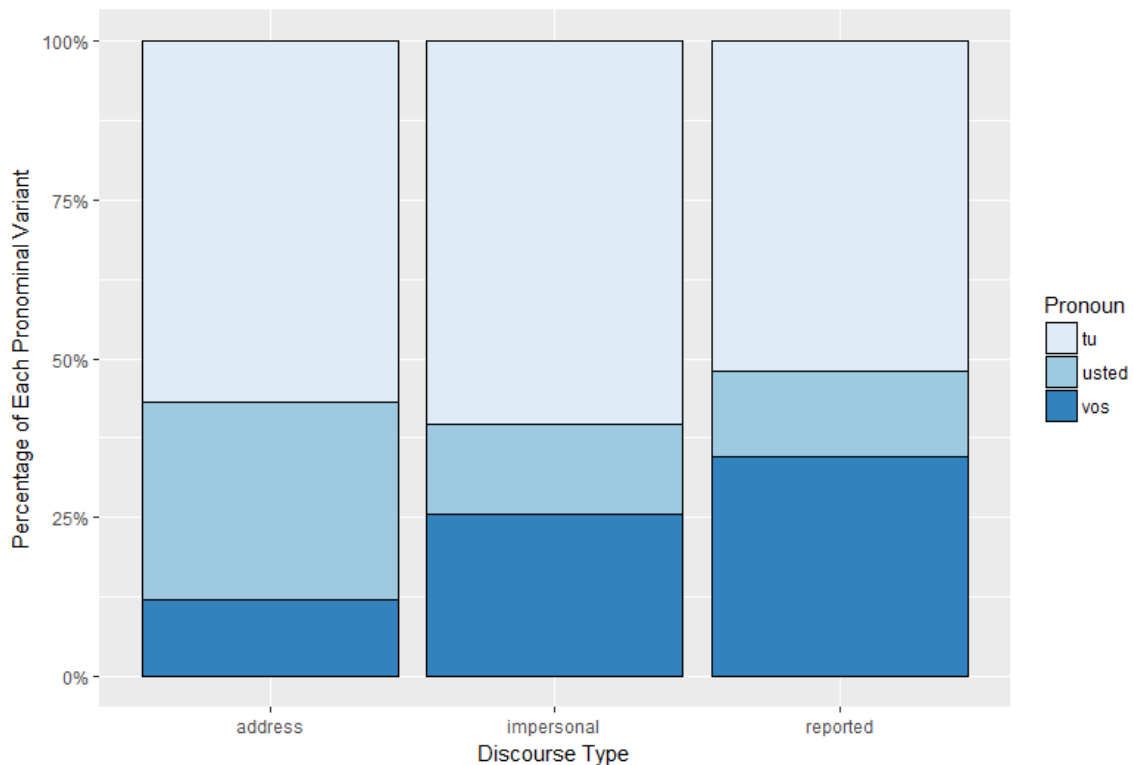
Figure 3.2:   Proportion of variants by discourse type

The different patterning of pronouns across discourse types has several potential implications. For example, it suggests that *ustedeo* might be viewed primarily as a form of address, whereas *voseo* has additional value in impersonal and reported speech (e.g. in terms of local identity, given its more frequent use to represent general statements from a

local point of view and to give a voice to locals in reported speech). Conversely, or additionally, *voseo* might be avoided as a form of address with outsiders. If the variation by pronoun did not exist across the discourse types, one might simply identify the more prevalent form as a default pronoun. The inverse patterning of *voseo* and *ustedeo*, however, suggests that something else might be motivating pronoun selection or that different factors influence selection depending on the context. These broad patterns will be explored at an interactional level in Chapter 4 to identify functions of pronominal selection and alternation.

Form

The second linguistic factor, Form, was included in the study design to determine whether there was a difference in the occurrence of overt versus null pronouns of each variant (e.g. *¿vos querés?* 'do you$_v$ want$_v$? versus *¿querés?* 'do (you) want$_v$?'). Figure 3.3 shows a breakdown of the frequency of each variant according to these criteria.
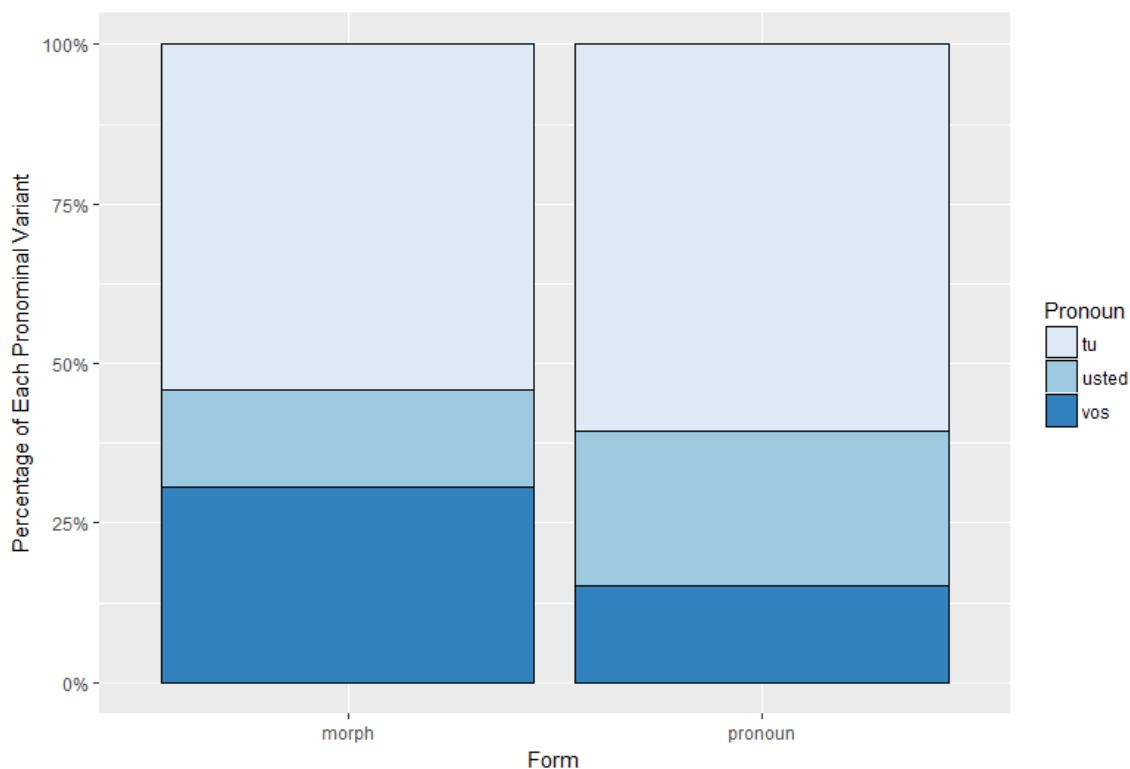
Figure 3.3: Proportion of variants by form: pronominal versus verbal/clitic morphology

As illustrated by Figure 3.3, *tuteo* appears 6% more, proportionally, in its pronominal form across all speakers. The other two variants show greater discrepancy in proportion across forms, with 9% more *ustedeo* in the pronominal form, and 16% less *voseo*.[18] Previous research has identified greater overt pronoun use with *ustedeo* in comparison to the other two pronominal paradigms. Flores-Ferrán (2004) suggests that overt use of *usted* can serve as a strategy for preventing the ambiguity that might exist due to shared verbal/clitic morphology with third person singular forms (e.g. *usted/él/ella come* 'you/he/she eats'). This trend appears to manifest in the Nicaraguan data. In contrast, the *vos* pronoun appears substantially less than does its corresponding morphology alone. Local metalinguistic commentary suggests this pattern may stem from a general belief that *vos* is unique to Nicaraguan speech and/or that it is an 'incorrect'

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[18] These proportions mirror raw counts (m = morphology, p = pronoun): *tuteo* = 97m/115p; *ustedeo* = 27m/47p; *voseo* = 55m/29p.

stigmatized form, as explicated in Christiansen's (2014) work *"El vos es el dialecto que inventamos nosotros, la forma correcta es el tú."* 'Vos is the dialect we invent, the correct form is tú'. These considerations are further explored in the interactional analysis and discussion.

3.1.1.2   Social factors

Social group: 'Front/Back' workers

While no broad patterns of pronoun use were uncovered according to the social factors of Sex and Age, an interesting pattern did emerge for Social Group, which indexes the amount of contact participants have with outsiders (Front = frequent contact; Back = little, if any, contact). As displayed in Figure 3.4, *tuteo* use was fairly balanced across the Front and Back groups; however, members of the Front group collectively used much more *voseo* (on par with their *tuteo* use) and less *ustedeo* than members of the Back group. While, at first glance, this result might seem counterintuitive, I propose that it reflects the familiarity and comfort Front group members have in interacting with outsiders, as well as their greater sense of personal social mobility. I elaborate upon and support this claim utilizing local metalinguistic commentary in the discussion section.
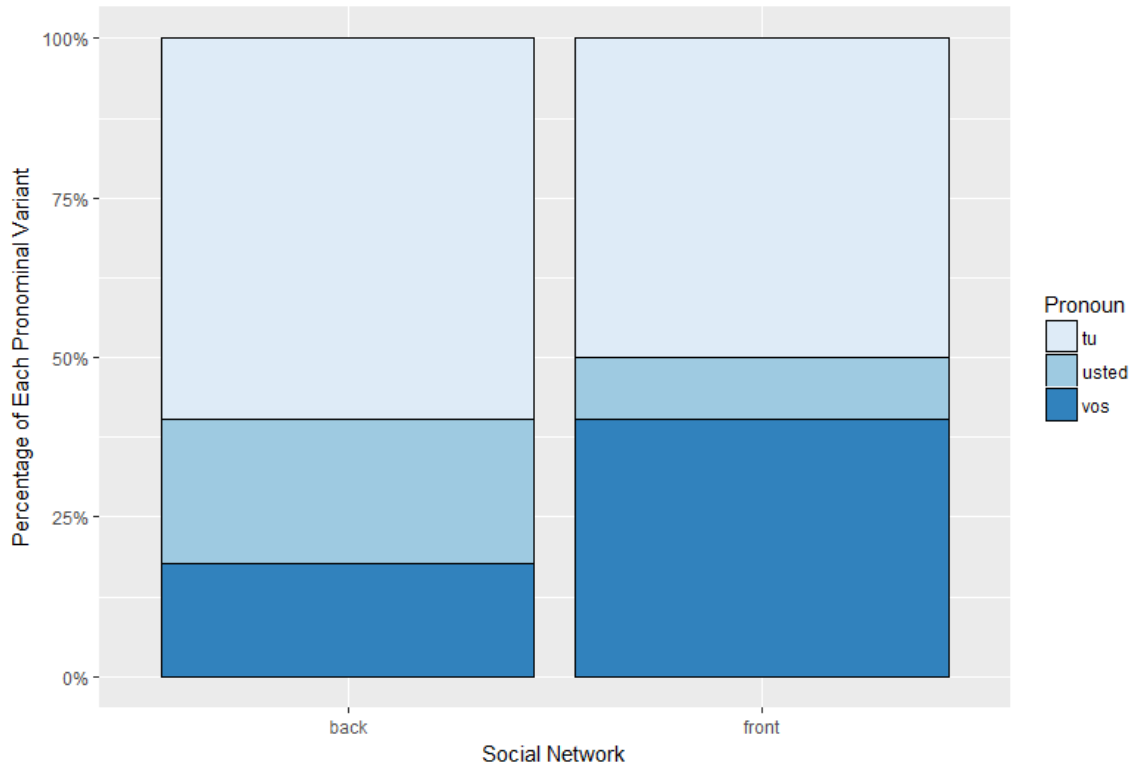
Figure 3.4:   Proportion of variants by social network

3.1.2   Inferential statistics

These generalized patterns according to the linguistic and social factors, of course, did not always hold at the individual speaker level, and the total supply of tokens per speaker was heavily imbalanced. To identify statistically significant patterns in the data while accounting for this speaker-based variation, data were analyzed in R 3.3.3 (R Core Team 2013) using a mixed-model logistic regression that included Speaker as a random factor (Tagliamonte 2012; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). This approach allowed the construction of models that best explained all data in terms of the target linguistic and social factors (the fixed effects), while controlling for any disproportionate influence at the individual speaker level (the random effect).

Models were constructed to test for the potential effects on interviewee pronoun use of the linguistic and social factors discussed in Chapter 2, summarized again in Table 3.1.

Linguistic Factor	Levels
Discourse type	Address, Impersonal, Reported Speech
Form	Pronoun, Morphology
Social Factor	**Levels**
Age	Younger, Older
Sex	Female, Male
Social Network	Front, Back

Table 3.1:   Independent variables: sociolinguistic interviews

Because mixed-model logistic regression analysis requires a binomial dependent variable, the pronominal data here were analyzed in turn, as follows: (1) *tuteo* versus other pronouns; (2) *voseo* versus other pronouns; and (3) *ustedeo* versus other pronouns; aligning with the approach used by Newall (2012) and Michnowicz et al. (2016). For each grouping, a random forest was generated to inform the design of a series of mixed models, which were then compared to one another to identify the model that best described the data. Where significant patterns in the data were discovered, conditional inference trees were used to provide insight into interactions among significant factors. This combination of statistical tools provides a more complete description of the data (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). The models, forests, and trees are discussed below.

3.1.2.1   *Voseo versus other pronominal forms*

First, a random forest was generated to assess the individual and relative effects of each of the linguistic and social factors on *voseo* (versus *tuteo/ustedeo*) use (Figure 3.5).
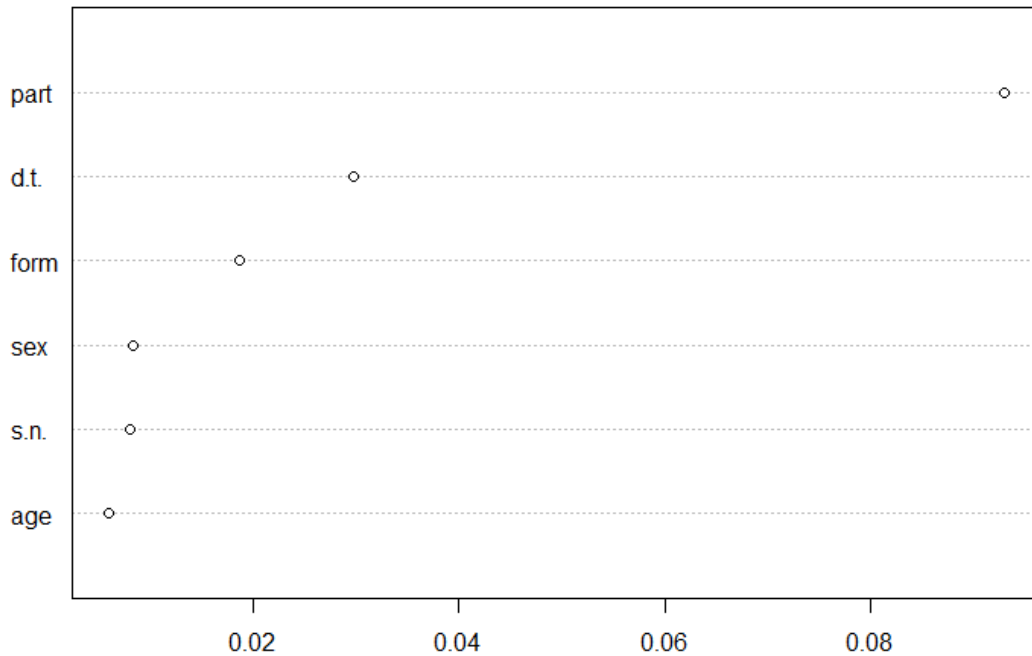
Figure 3.5:   Random forest: *voseo* versus *tuteo/ustedeo*

It is clear from the random forest in Figure 3.5 that the Participant variable had by far the largest effect on *voseo* use. In other words, there was a high degree of variability across participants, reflecting a common finding in studies of sociolinguistic variation (Tagliamonte and Baayen 2012). The high weight of Participant as a factor in the random forest analysis underscores the importance of including it as a random-effects factor. The next two factors identified by the random forest are the linguistic factors of Discourse Type and Form, which are followed by the social factors of Sex, Social Network, and Age. While the random forest provides an overview of the impact of each factor on the outcome variable, it does not offer insight into the effects at different levels within these factors, nor does it bring to light potential interactions between them. Two additional

tools assist in this endeavor: the aforementioned mixed-model logistic regression and conditional inference trees.

The results from the best-fit model ($\chi^2 = 4.72$, p < .001) appear in Table 3.2. Each factor included in the model, Discourse Type, Form, and Social Network, appears in the left-hand column. One level of each of these factors is selected by the model as a reference level, to serve as a basis of comparison to the other factor level(s). The reference levels are conspicuously absent from the table (Address, Morphology, Back).[19] The remaining levels appear in the left-hand column under their respective factors. For example, under the factor heading Discourse Type, two levels appear: Impersonal and Reported. Each of these levels is compared individually to the (absent) reference level, Address. Significant differences are indicated by the *p-value*, whereas direction and strength of difference are given by the *estimate*; a positive estimate value indicates a higher likelihood of variant occurrence in the given level in comparison to its reference level.

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[19] As a reminder, Address indicates that a pronoun was used to directly address an interlocutor (versus as an Impersonal Pronoun or in Reported Speech). Morphology indicates a null pronoun, i.e., that the pronoun itself was absent and only corresponding verbal/clitic morphology was used. Back represents locals in the social network that involves little, if any, contact with outsiders (versus those with frequent contact, in the Front social network).

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
Discourse Type:				
⇒ *Impersonal*	1.3517	0.4165	3.245	.001
⇒ *Reported*	1.8722	0.4754	3.938	<.001
Form:				
⇒ *Pronoun*	-0.9247	0.3223	-2.869	.004
Social Network:				
⇒ *Front*	1.9482	0.6971	2.795	.005

Table 3.2:   Results of the best-fit model describing *voseo* use

As displayed in Table 3.2, there were significant fixed effects for Discourse Type, Form, and Social Network in predicting the use of *voseo* versus *tuteo/ustedeo* by interviewees. The odds ratio (OR), provided below for each significant effect, indicates the relative likelihood of the given level's occurrence in comparison to the reference level. This model shows that *voseo* was more likely in interviewees' impersonal and reported speech than it was in addressing the interviewer (OR = 3.9, p < .01 and OR = 6.5, p < .001, respectively). *Vos* morphology was more likely to be used alone than with the *vos* pronoun (OR = 2.5, p < .01), and *voseo* was more likely to be used by members of the Front Social Network (OR = 7, p < .01). In other words, *voseo* was 7 times more likely to occur in the speech of members of the front social group than members of the back. Across all participants, *voseo* was 2.5 times more likely to occur without the overt *vos* pronoun. In comparison to being used to address the interviewer, *voseo* was 3.9 times more likely in impersonal speech and 6.5 times more likely in reported speech. The effects are clearly displayed in the following conditional inference tree.
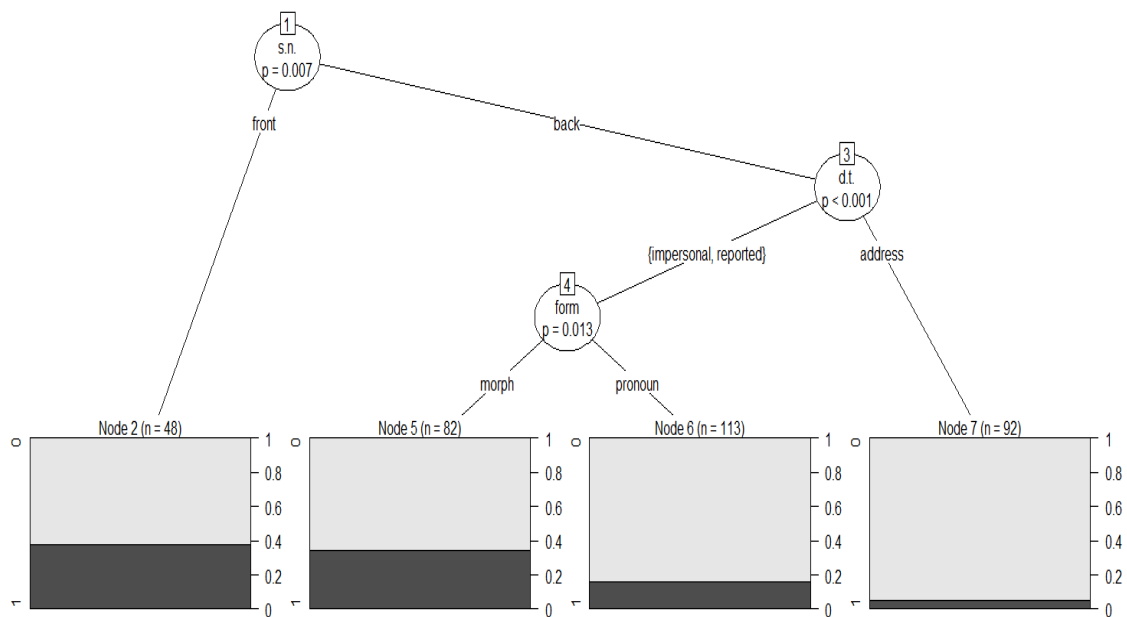
Figure 3.6:   Conditional inference tree: *voseo* versus *tuteo/ustedeo* use during
sociolinguistic interviews

The conditional inference tree in Figure 3.6 shows the effects and interactions among social and linguistic factors in explaining the patterns found in the data. The first division in the tree (top, labeled *s.n.* for *social network*) represents a split in usage patterns according to the interviewees' social network. The branch to the left shows that members of the front group used *voseo* approximately 40% of the time regardless of the other factors considered in this analysis, which are Discourse Type and Form.[20] The branch to the right, however, which represents data from members of the back group, leads to another split, labeled *d.t.* for *discourse type*. This second split shows that, among members of the back group, there was a significant difference in the amount of *voseo* used according to discourse type: *address* versus *impersonal/reported speech* contexts. As illustrated at the terminal end of the right branch, *voseo* was used less than 10% of the time when addressing the interviewer, significantly less than in impersonal and reported

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[20] Percentage of *voseo* is represented by the dark color in the bar graphs at the bottom of the figure; the lighter color represents the percentage of combined *tuteo/ustedeo* in the same context.

speech. Returning to the *impersonal/reported speech* branch, there is a final split in the tree, labeled *form*. A comparison of these final branches shows that in the impersonal and reported speech of Back social group members, the *vos* pronoun appears significantly less than does *vos* morphology alone (~15% versus ~35% of the time, respectively). To summarize the data modeled by the tree:

- members of the Front social group used voseo with the interviewer significantly more than members of the Back social group;
- the rate of use was affected neither by discourse type nor vos form;
- members of the Back group, on the other hand, showed particularly limited use of voseo when addressing the interviewer;
- among their impersonal and reported speech, the Back-group participants were less inclined than those of the front group to use the pronominal vos form.

Again, viewed in light of metalinguistic commentary and ethnographic observations, I propose that the greater use of *voseo* by locals in the Front group reflects their greater familiarity with outsiders, as well as their self-image in terms of position and mobility within the evolving local social hierarchy. Avoidance of *voseo* by members of the Back group in addressing the out-group interviewer, on the other hand, reflects the commonly-reported view that *vos* is a stigmatized form unique to Nicaraguans. Nonetheless, *voseo* appears frequently in impersonal and reported speech that represents local voices and views, albeit with limited occurrence in its more salient and stigmatized pronominal form.

3.1.2.2   *Ustedeo versus other pronominal forms*

The random forest in Table 3.7 displays the individual and relative effects of each of the social and linguistic factors on *ustedeo* (versus *tuteo/voseo*) use.
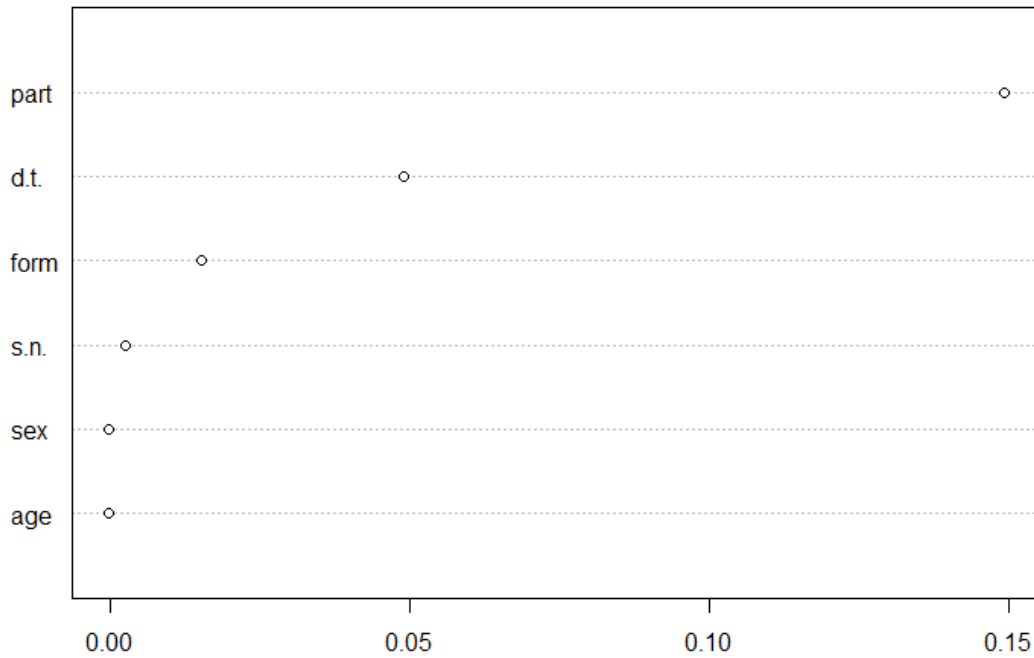
Figure 3.7:   Random forest: *ustedeo* versus *tuteo/voseo*

The factor order in the random forest generated for *ustedeo* is identical to that for *voseo* except for the change among the social factors, with Social Network overtaking Sex and Age. A series of mixed models was constructed based on these findings; the results of the best-fit model ($\chi^2 = 1.51$, p < .001) in describing *ustedeo* (versus *tuteo/voseo*) use appear in Table 3.3.

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
Discourse Type				
Impersonal	-1.3771	0.4163	-3.309	<.001
Reported	-1.0793	0.4890	-2.207	<.05
Form				
Pronoun	0.7608	0.3672	2.072	<.05
Social Network				
Front	-1.3344	1.0707	-1.246	n.s.

Table 3.3:   Results of the best-fit model describing *ustedeo* use

The mixed-model results in Table 3.3 show significant effects for both linguistic factors, Discourse Type and Form. As indicated by the negative estimate values for impersonal and reported speech, *ustedeo* is four times more likely to occur when participants are addressing the interviewer than in their impersonal speech and roughly three times more likely than in their reported speech (OR = 0.25, p < .001 and OR = 0.34, p < .05, respectively). The positive estimate value for Pronoun, on the other hand, shows that *ustedeo* is significantly (two times) more likely to occur in its pronominal form than as verbal/clitic morphology alone (OR = 2.14, p < .05). Finally, the model shows no significant effect for Social Network. The following conditional inference tree clearly illustrates these effects.
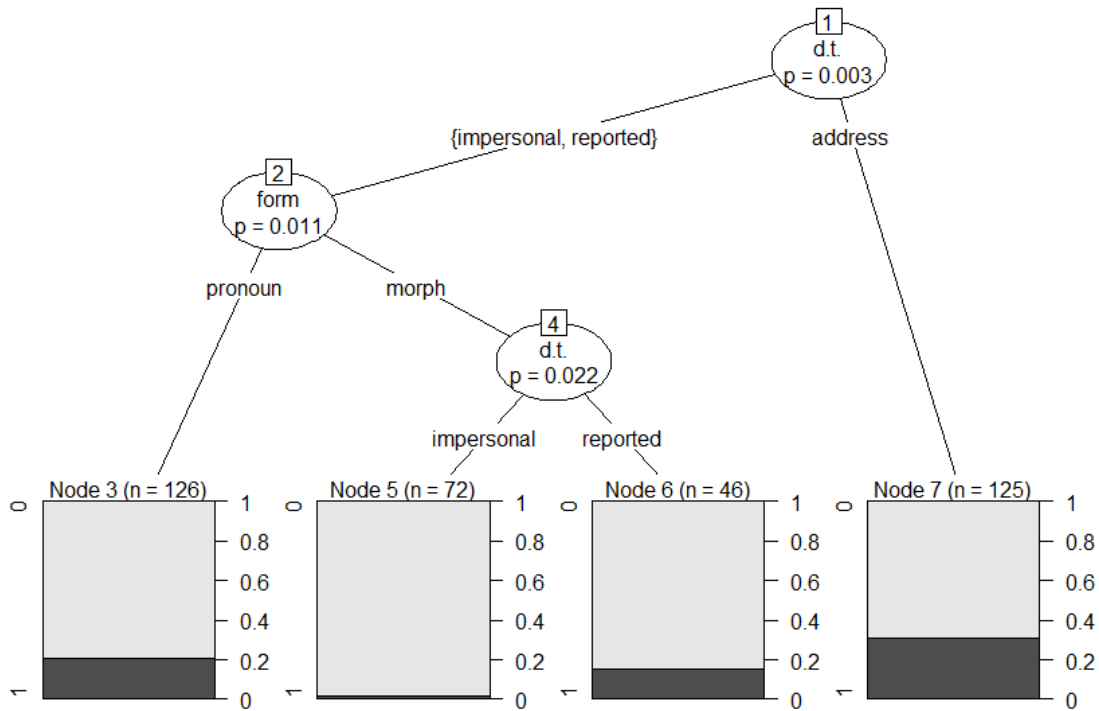
Figure 3.8:   Conditional inference tree: *ustedeo* versus *tuteo/voseo*

The tree in Figure 3.8 shows a principal split according to discourse type, whereby the amount of *ustedeo* used in address is significantly greater than that used in impersonal and reported speech contexts. Within impersonal and reported speech contexts, there is an additional split reflecting a greater use of *ustedeo* in its pronominal form. The *ustedeo* appearing in verbal or clitic form in these contexts is more likely in reported than impersonal speech, as indexed by the third and final split of the tree. The virtual absence of *ustedeo* from impersonal speech suggests that the form holds little value for locals in expressing generalizations and, as Gast et al. (2015) further claim, in creating solidarity between the speaker and interlocutor and empathy over the category being generalized.

3.1.2.3   *Tuteo versus other pronominal forms*

The random forest in Figure 3.9 displays the individual and relative effects of each of the social and linguistic factors on *tuteo* (versus *voseo/ustedeo*) use.
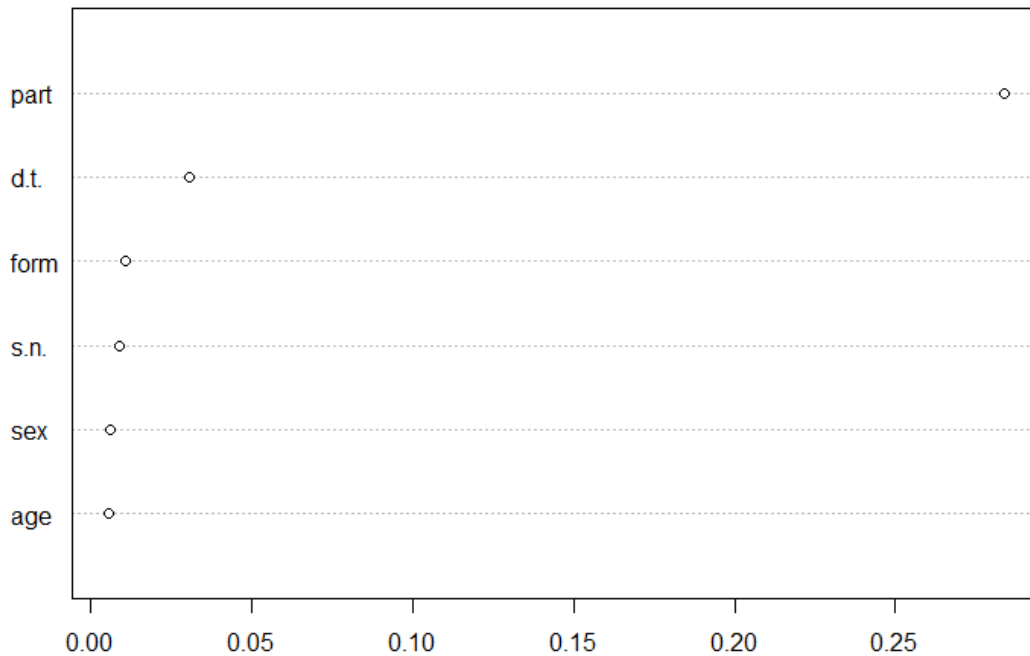
Figure 3.9:   Random forest: *tuteo* versus *voseo/ustedeo*

While this random forest mirrors the one generated for *ustedeo* in terms of factor order, the Participant factor for *tuteo* has considerably more weight (> 0.25), reflecting greater inter-speaker variability. This discrepancy in *tuteo* use across speakers could reflect reports by locals and in the literature that *tuteo* is rarely used in Nicaragua and that its use in this community is tied to interactions with outsiders (i.e. introduced via weak social ties between locals and outsiders). The relatively recent presence of these outsiders and the highly variable amount of contact they have with different local community members could explain the lack of consistency in *tuteo* use across local speakers. The

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factor ranking provided by this forest informed the design and selection of the best-fit mixed model describing *tuteo* use by participants. The results of this model, which included only Discourse Type, appear in Table 3.4.

	Estimate	*Std. Error*	*z value*	*p-value*
Discourse Type				
⇒ *Impersonal*	0.01111	0.38065	0.029	n.s.
⇒ *Reported*	-0.88617	0.43954	-2.016	<.05

Table 3.4:   Results of best-fit model describing *tuteo* use

As detailed in Table 3.4, the only significant effect identified by the model was Discourse Type at the level of Reported Speech. As indicated by the negative estimate value, *tuteo* was more than twice as likely to occur in addressing the interviewer than in reported speech. (OR = 0.41, p < .05). Given that the majority of reported speech represented local voices, the lower frequency of *tuteo* in reported speech could reflect the reported association of this pronoun with outsiders by the participants. Further, on those occasions that *tuteo* was used in reported speech, the form typically appeared in the reported speech of an outsider or in speech directed to an outsider.

3.2   SEMI-STRUCTURED CONVERSATIONS

To gain a better understanding of pronoun use among locals, I applied an approach developed by Alim (2004) to collect naturalistic data in a controlled fashion using semi-structured conversations (SSCs). The format allows the comparison of speech across different speakers as well as a look at how the speech of a single speaker varies across different conversational partners. In this section, I analyze pronoun use among eight locals during a total of sixteen 30-minute conversations. A description of the

participants, who were introduced in Chapter 3, appears again in Table 3.5. Each member of Group 1 engaged in a 30-minute conversation with each member of Group 2.[21]

Group 1			Group 2		
Pseudonym	**Description**	**Age**	**Pseudonym**	**Description**	**Age**
Loreto	Younger Female	18	Marta	Younger Female	18
Rafa	Younger Male	18	Moisés	Younger Male	18
Ingrid	Older Female	36	Feña	Older Female	36
Walter	Older Male	36	Ronal	Older Male	36

Table 3.5: Participants in semi-structured conversations

I begin by providing a descriptive overview of pronoun use across all participants, including the patterns of use according to the social and linguistic factors (Table 3.6). Next, I apply the same statistical approach employed in the sociolinguistic interview analysis—mixed-model logistic regression, random forests, and conditional inference trees—to uncover significant effects and interactions among the factors.

Social Factor	**Levels**
Speaker Age	Younger, Older
Speaker Sex	Female, Male
Interlocutor Age	Younger, Older
Interlocutor Sex	Female, Male
Linguistic Factor	**Levels**
Form	Pronoun, Morphology
Discourse Type	Address, Impersonal, Reported Speech
Speech Act	Question, Statement, Command, Discourse Marker, Tag

Table 3.6: Independent variables: semi-structured conversations

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[21] As part of a larger study, this design was chosen to allow the comparison of speech produced by the locals in Group 1 when speaking with other locals (Group 2) and outsiders residing in the community (a group of four U.S. expatriates, not included in detail in this analysis).

3.2.1 Descriptive statistics

3.2.1.1 *Overall pronoun use in SSCs*

In contrast to the sociolinguistic interviews, in which locals used *tuteo* 57% of the time while speaking with an outsider, locals speaking with one another during semi-structured conversations most frequently opted for *voseo* (49.3%, 608/1234 tokens), followed by *ustedeo* (28.3%, 349/1234) and *tuteo* (22.4%, 277/1234).
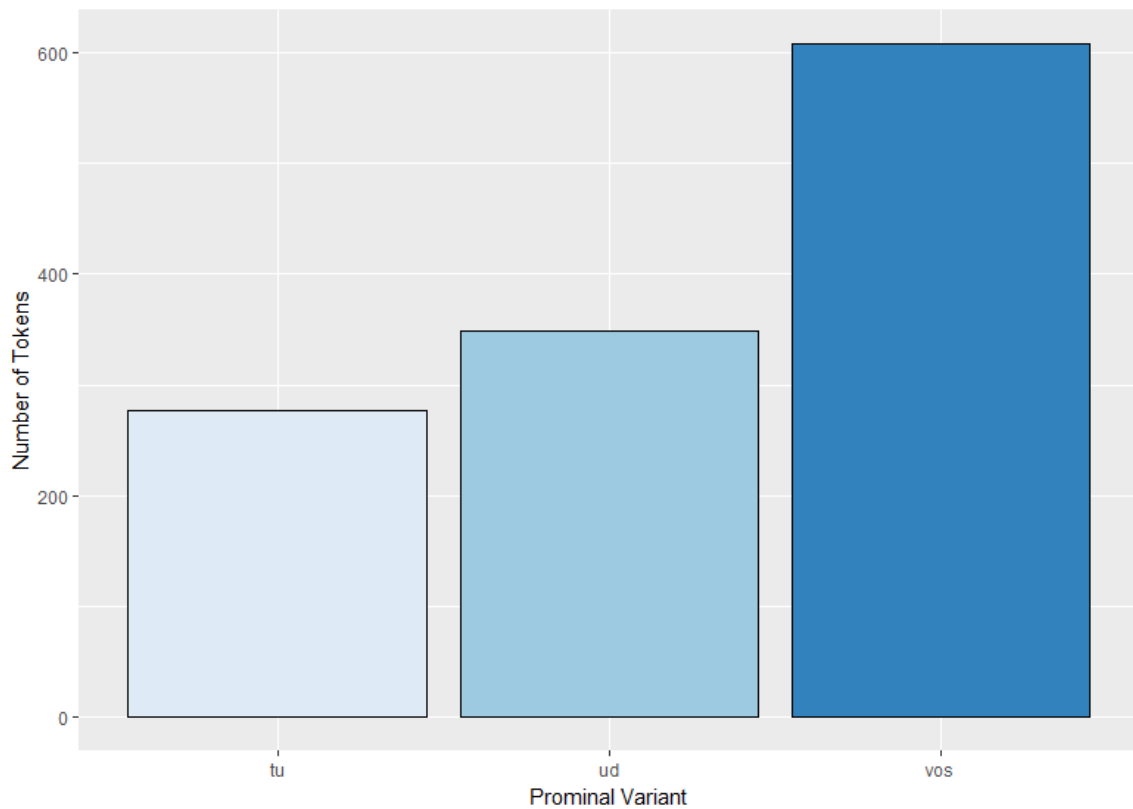
Figure 3.10: Variant use during SSCs: total token counts

When analyzed collectively, the age and sex of the speaker appear to affect pronoun selection, as illustrated in Figure 3.11. The four panels in the figure represent the

four speaker types: young female (top right), old female (top left), young male (bottom right), and old male (bottom left), with two local participants per category.[22]
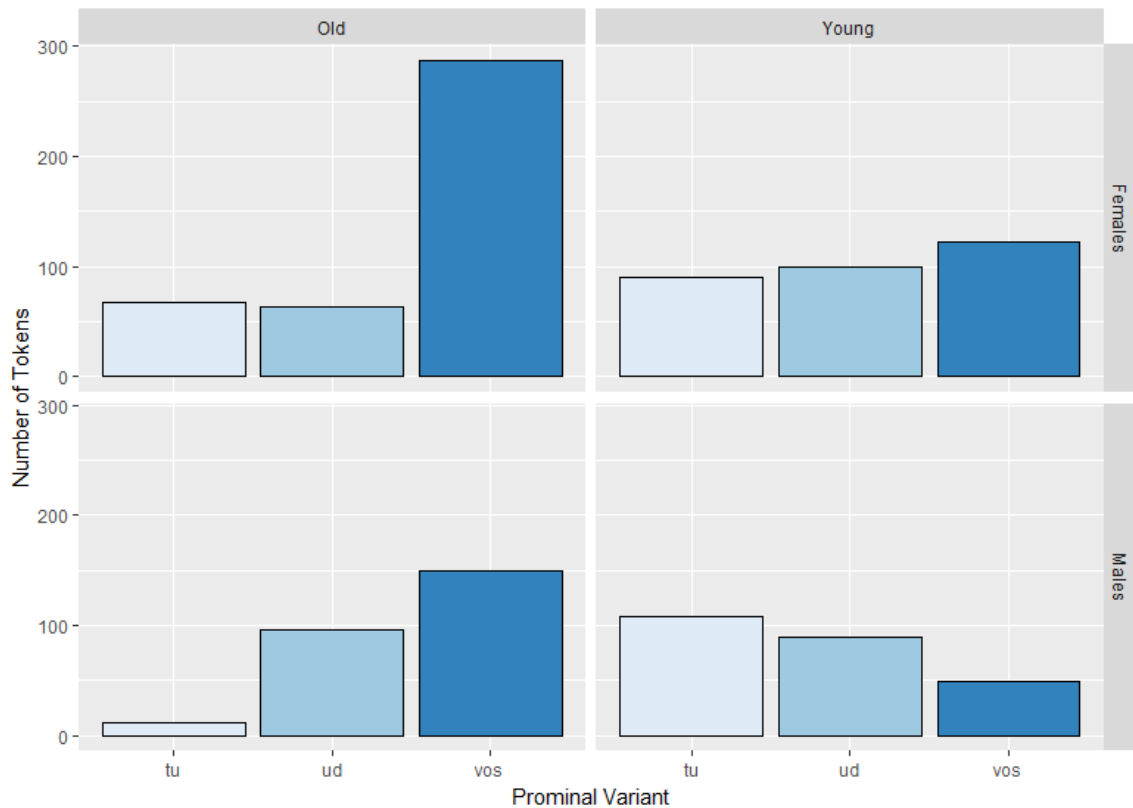
Figure 3.11: Variant use during SSCs: tokens according to speaker age and sex

While *ustedeo* use was fairly balanced across speaker types, *voseo* and *tuteo* use fluctuated. *Voseo* was used most frequently by the females in the older age group (top-left panel), and least by the younger males (bottom-right). *Tuteo* was used most frequently by the younger locals and older females, while it was virtually absent from the speech of the older males.

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[22] It is worth re-emphasizing that the terms 'young' and 'old' are used in a relative fashion to distinguish between two generations of locals, comprised of 18-year-old and 36-year-old participants, respectively. These age groups were chosen to compare the speech of locals who grew up in a tourism-based economy to those who reached adulthood before the arrival of tourism to the community.

When analyzed by discourse type, it becomes clear that *tuteo* was used predominantly in addressing the conversational partner. The panels in Figure 3.12 match those in Figure 3.11. The columns represent the token counts of each variant in three different types of discourse, from left to right: (1) addressing the conversational partner (e.g. *¿Tenés hijos?* 'Do you have$_V$ children?'), (2) impersonal speech (e.g. *No puedes vivir sin comer.* 'You can't$_T$ live without eating.'), and (3) reported speech (e.g. *Mi amigo gritó, "¡andáte a surfear!"* 'My friend shouted, "go$_V$ surf!"')
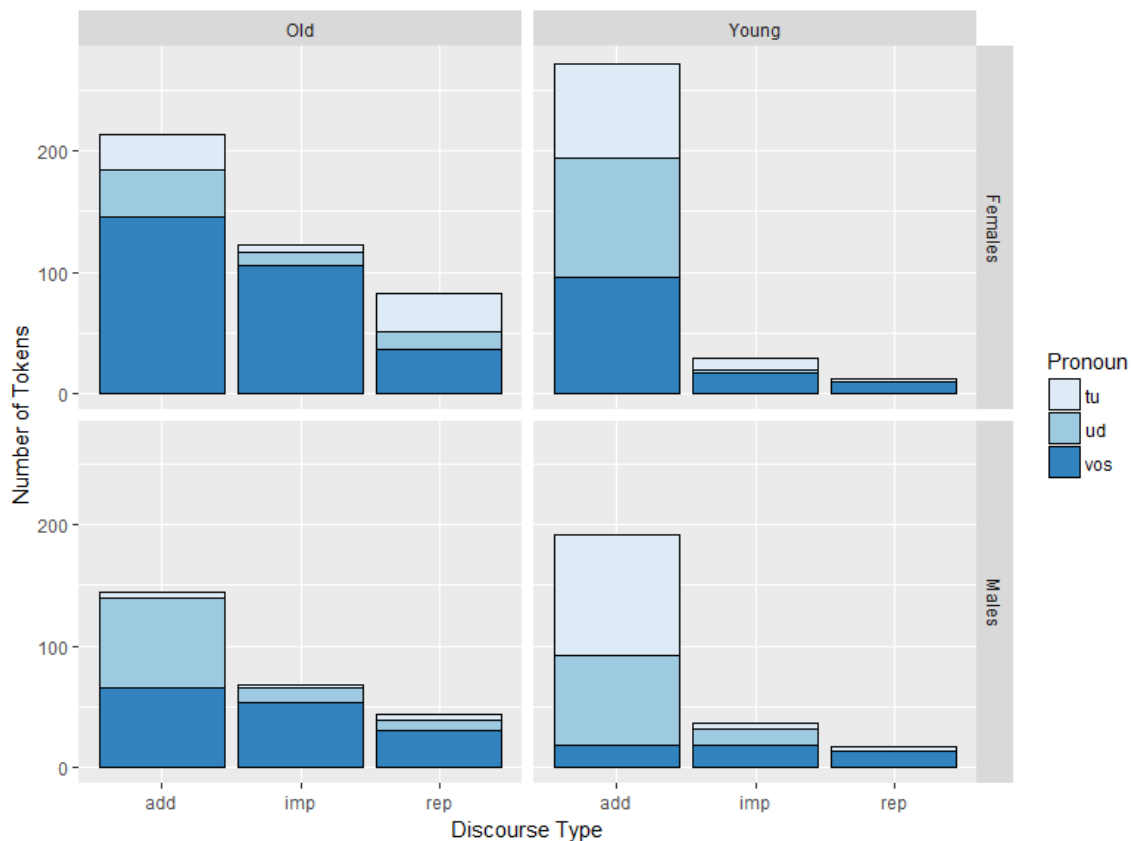
Figure 3.12: Variant use during SSCs: tokens per discourse type according to speaker age and sex

Most *tuteo* use occurred when the younger speakers and older females were addressing other locals, as indicated by the first column in each of the panels in Figure

3.12. *Tuteo* appeared much less in reported and impersonal speech, which is addressed below. Of course, it is crucial to take the interlocutor into account, as the literature strongly supports the role of pronouns in indexing age and sex differences (e.g. Pinkerton 1986; Schreffler 1994; Simpson 2005). While no obvious patterns emerge in this overview of the data with regard to interlocutor sex, the age-indexical role is apparent in Figure 3.13, which displays pronoun use according to the age group of both speaker and addressee. The top two panels represent the pronoun use by the older speakers, and the bottom panels, by the younger speakers. The left side represents speech directed to members of the older age group, and the right side, the younger age group. For example, the bottom-left panel shows the collective pronoun use by the four younger locals when speaking to the four older locals.
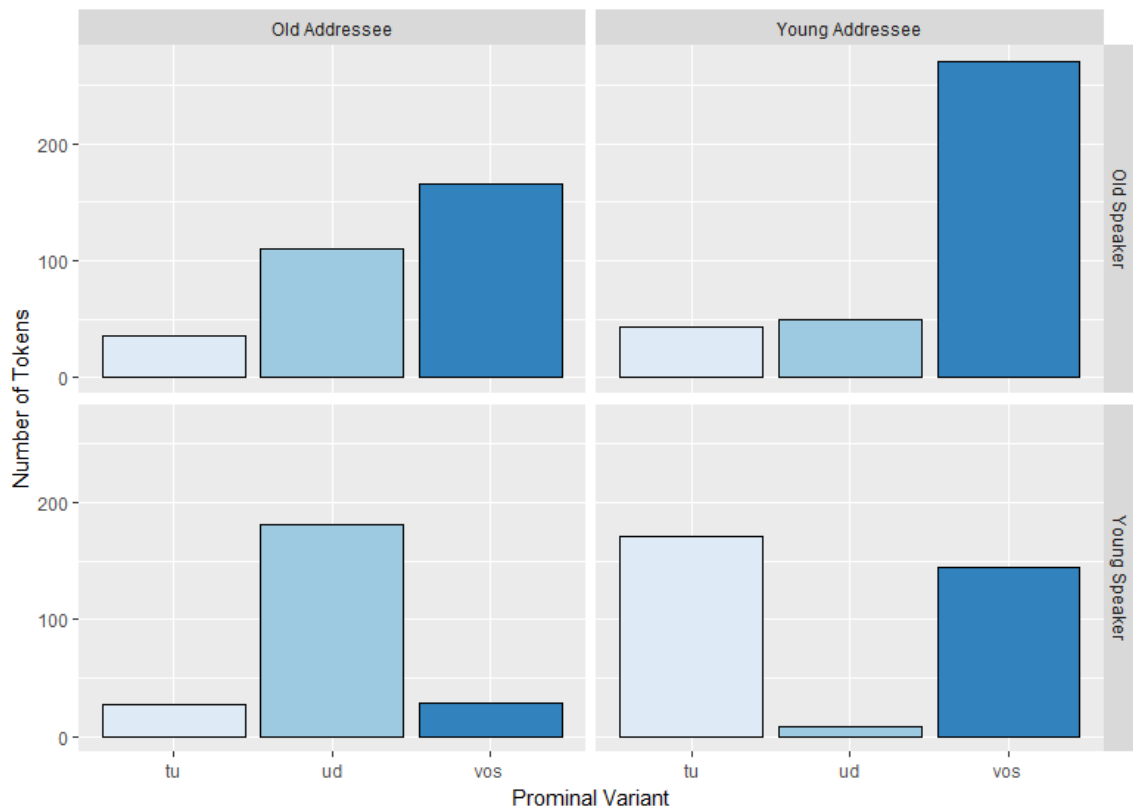
Figure 3.13: Variant use during SSCs: tokens according to speaker and interlocutor age.

As shown in the bottom half of Figure 3.13, speakers from the younger age group primarily used *ustedeo* with older locals (bottom-left) and *tuteo* and *voseo* with speakers the same age (bottom-right). This result supports literature that identifies *ustedeo* as a form that indexes respect for older addressees (e.g. Pinkerton 1986; Schreffler 1994; Simpson 2005). The older speakers, on the other hand, tended to use *voseo* and *ustedeo* with locals in the same age group (top-left) and *voseo* with younger locals (top-right), while their use of *tuteo* was limited and seemingly unaffected by interlocutor age. This particular result falls in line with past descriptions of Nicaraguan Spanish that cite a predominance of *voseo*, followed by *ustedeo* (e.g. Christiansen 2014; Lipski 1994; Rey 1994, 1997). Once again, a closer look at pronoun selection according to discourse type suggests that *tuteo* was primarily used in *addressing* other locals, although it did also appear in the reported speech of older speakers and the impersonal speech of younger speakers (Figure 3.14).
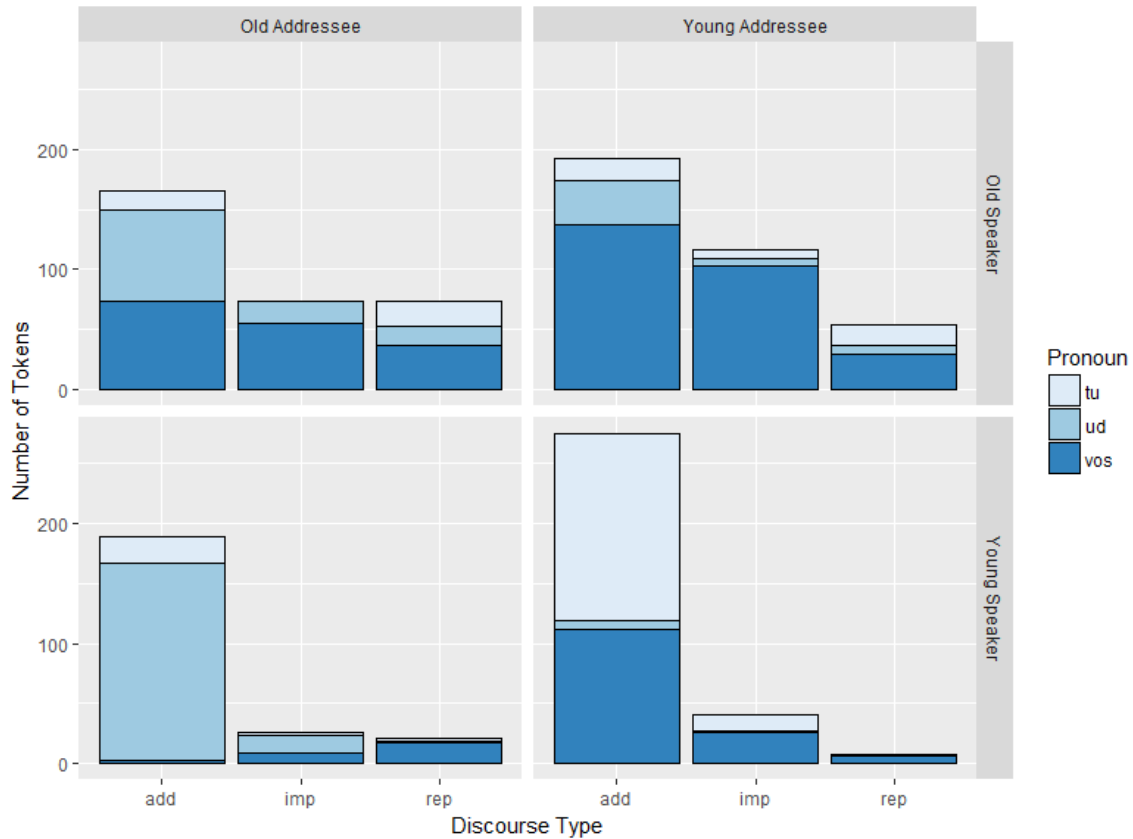
Figure 3.14: Variant use during SSCs: tokens per discourse type according to speaker and interlocutor age

The bottom-right panel of Figure 3.14 makes it clear that most *tuteo* use (in terms of raw token count) was by young locals addressing their peers. While *tuteo* did appear in the impersonal speech of both young and old speakers, albeit minimally, it was virtually confined to speech directed at young interlocutors. This result could represent accommodation to the younger speakers' greater use of *tuteo*. The trend is informative in that impersonal speech was often used in these data to represent 'general truths'[23] from a

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[23] The term 'general truths' is borrowed from Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990), as an adaptation of Laberge and Sankoff 's (1979) description of the 'indefinite' use of *tu/vous* 'you' in French: "It conveys the theme of generality - particularly a generally admitted truth or a personal opinion that the speaker hopes is shared (p. 275)." This study also considers the view of Gast et al. (2015) that "impersonal uses of the second person establish a direct referential link to the addressee" (p. 148) and that, in terms of the pragmatic effects of impersonal uses of the second person: "at an interactional (social) level, they imply solidarity between the speech participants [and], at an expressive level, they imply empathy with the category over which a generalization is made" (p. 152).

local perspective, suggesting that *tuteo* use could be expanding and/or that it has particular socio-indexical value associated with younger locals. The use of *tuteo* in reported speech, on the other hand, requires a more fine-grained examination to determine whose voices were represented and how they were contextualized. A qualitative analysis on this issue is found in the next chapter.

The distribution of speech acts across young and old speakers shows an interesting pattern at the discourse level beyond distribution of the pronominal variants. As illustrated in Figure 3.15, older speakers uttered more statements (first column in each panel) while younger speakers produced more questions (fourth column).
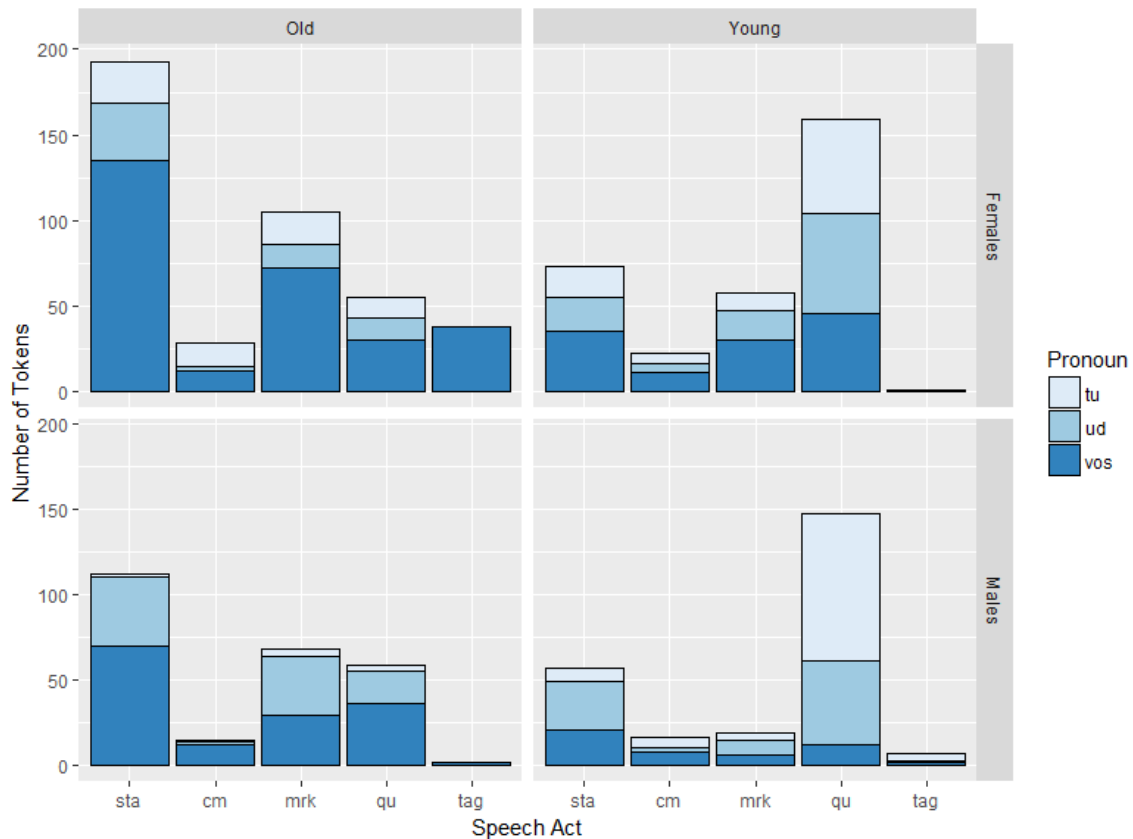
Figure 3.15: Variant use during SSCs: tokens per speech act according to speaker sex and age

This pattern seems to reflect a general dynamic in which the older members were more prone to share their opinions and perspectives. The trend is also reflected in overall pronoun token counts, which were higher for older speakers during cross-generational conversations. However, younger speakers also tended to ask one another more questions. This imbalance in speech acts across speakers and generations is an important consideration in drawing quantitative generalizations, and it underscores the value of categorization and analysis at the discourse level for a more complete understanding of the envelope of variation (Torres Cacoullos 2011). Returning to the pronominal variants, the most intriguing finding was that *tuteo* was most common in questions and commands and virtually absent from tags. Both *tuteo* and *ustedeo* were much more common in discourse markers serving as attention getters (e.g. *fíjate, mira* 'look$_T$') than in tags (e.g. *entendés?* 'you know$_V$?'), justifying the separate assessment of these two categories, which have been considered jointly in some studies (e.g. as 'set phrases' by Woods & Lapidus Shin 2016). The greater presence of traditionally more deferential or polite *tuteo* and *ustedeo* in attention getters may reflect a greater sensitivity by speakers to the referential function of attention getters in contrast to tags. It may also reflect the speakers' consideration of the potential for face threat, given that attention getters appear in command form. Conversely, that *voseo*, the reported pronominal norm among acquaintances, appears frequently in tags directed to strangers suggests that these discourse items may be less consciously or carefully employed, or that the perceived addressee referential function is less than in other speech acts.

3.2.2 Inferential statistics

3.2.2.1 Overview

The patterns of pronoun use found in this descriptive analysis were supported and further elucidated using mixed models, random forests, and conditional inference trees. The linguistic factors of Discourse Type and Speech Act were considered separately due

to the nature of data distribution across the categories.[24] As in the previous chapter, the data were analyzed according to binomial groupings: *tuteo* versus other, *voseo* versus other, and *ustedeo* versus other. The mixed models included all four social factors of Speaker Age, Speaker Sex, Interlocutor Age, and Interlocutor Sex, as well as an interaction between Speaker Age and Interlocutor Age, and one of the linguistic factors—either Discourse Type or Speech Act. The third linguistic factor, Form, was not found to be significant for any of the pronominal variants; therefore, it was excluded from the final models. For the analysis of *tuteo*, an additional interaction between speaker age and speaker sex was discovered and was included in the best-fit model. Table 3.7 summarizes the trends revealed for each of the three pronominal variants, along with odds ratios (OR) and significance levels.[25] Tables detailing the results of each mixed model appear in Appendix E. Selected random forests and conditional inference trees are included here to illustrate the effects and interactions of independent variables. Those that do not appear are provided in Appendix F for reference. In summarizing the trends in the data, Table 3.7 shows which participants, in terms of the social variables, were more likely to use and receive each of the pronominal variants. The table also captures the distributional patterns according to the linguistic factors of Discourse Type and Speech Act. The odds ratio (OR) values indicate how many times more or less likely a given variant was to appear in the stated context versus the reference level, while the *p*-values reflect the confidence that the distribution was not due to chance.[26]

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[24] Several levels of Speech Act (e.g. commands, questions, tags) appeared minimally or were absent from the Discourse Type level of Impersonal Speech due to the nature of the acts. This imbalance in distribution caused limitations in models that were designed to consider the effects of both linguistic factors simultaneously. Therefore, separate models were constructed for Speech Act and Discourse Type to gain a better understanding of their respective influences.

[25] Odds Ratios and significance levels for the social factors are reported from the models that included Discourse Type.

[26] Odd ratios and probabilities for the linguistic variables reflect comparison to the reference level of each factor: *address* for Discourse Type and *statement* for Speech Act, unless otherwise stated. In this line, for example, the odds ratio value (OR = 3.5) indicates that *tuteo* was 3.5 times more likely to occur in reported speech than address (the default reference level for Discourse Type); whereas the following line shows that *tuteo* was 2.6 times more likely to occur in address than in impersonal speech (the specified reference

Tuteo			
more likely with:	young speakers/interlocutors	NA[27]	
	older female speakers	NA	
more likely in:	reported speech	(OR = 3.5, p < .001)	
	address	(OR = 2.6, p < .001; *vs. impersonal*)	
	questions	(OR = 2.7, p < .001)	
	commands	(OR = 3.1, p < .001)	
Voseo			
more likely with:	old speakers	NA	
	young interlocutors	NA	
more likely in:	impersonal speech	(OR = 4.1, p < .001)	
	reported speech	(OR = 2.1, p < .001)	
	tags	(OR = 3.4, p < .05)	
least likely in:	questions	(OR = 0.30, p < .001)	
Ustedeo			
more likely with:	old interlocutors, esp. males	NA	
	old male speakers	NA	
more likely in:	address	(OR = 5.7, p < .001; *vs. impersonal*)	
		(OR = 14.3, p < .001; *vs. reported*)	
	questions	(OR = 2.4, p < .001	
least likely in:	commands	(OR = 0.26, p < .01	

Table 3.7:   Summary of variant usage trends in semi-structured conversations

3.2.2.2   *Tuteo*

As summarized in Table 3.7, the young participants and older females were significantly more likely to use *tuteo* than the older males. This interaction is represented by Figure 3.16, which displays the predicted probabilities of *tuteo* use by the eight participants.

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level). Similarly, *tuteo* was 2.7 times more likely in questions, and 3.1 times more likely in commands, than in statements (the default reference level for Speech Act).

[27] For each of the social trends summarized, there is no clear category of comparison for deriving odds-ratios. Relevant odds ratios are discussed below. Detailed model results appear in Appendix E.
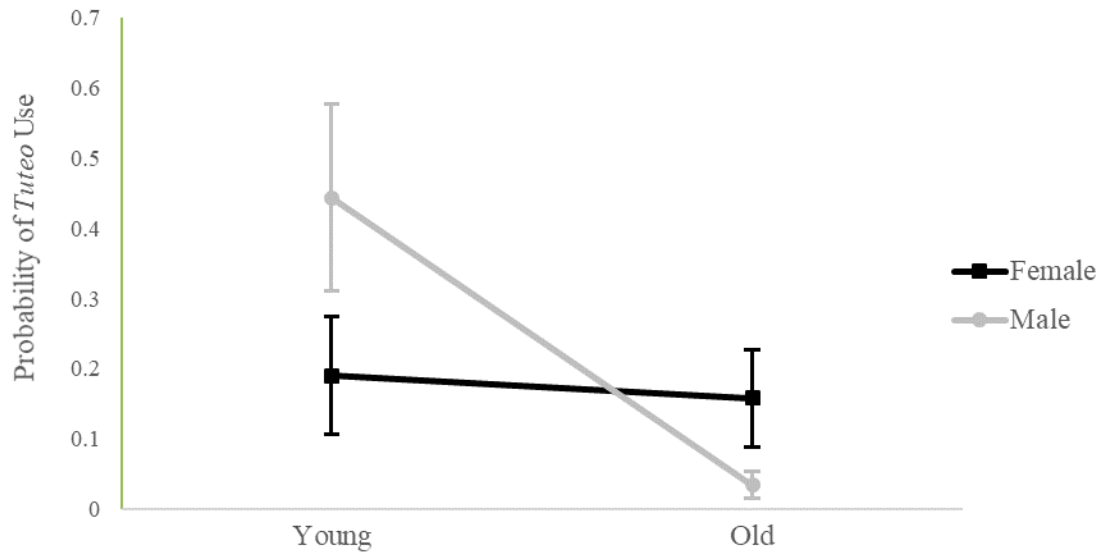
Figure 3.16: Predicted probabilities of *tuteo* use during SSCs by speaker age and sex

The classic interaction plot in Figure 3.16 suggests a significant effect for speaker age centered on the males. The two older males were 22.5 times less likely than the two young males to use *tuteo* (p < .001) and 5.3 times less likely than the two older females (p < .05). Despite considerable difference in predicted probabilities between the two young females and the two young males, the difference did not reach significance due to inter-speaker variation (represented by the standard error bars). There was no significant difference between the two young females and two older females. The social pattern represented by this interaction, in which younger speakers and older females use a 'new' linguistic form more than older males, is typical of a change in progress. While the small group size limits generalizability to the speech community, the pattern is strong among these eight speakers and worthy of further exploration. An analysis of speaker age reveals that the young speakers used *tuteo* in similar fashion to *voseo*, quantitatively speaking, as displayed in Figure 3.17.
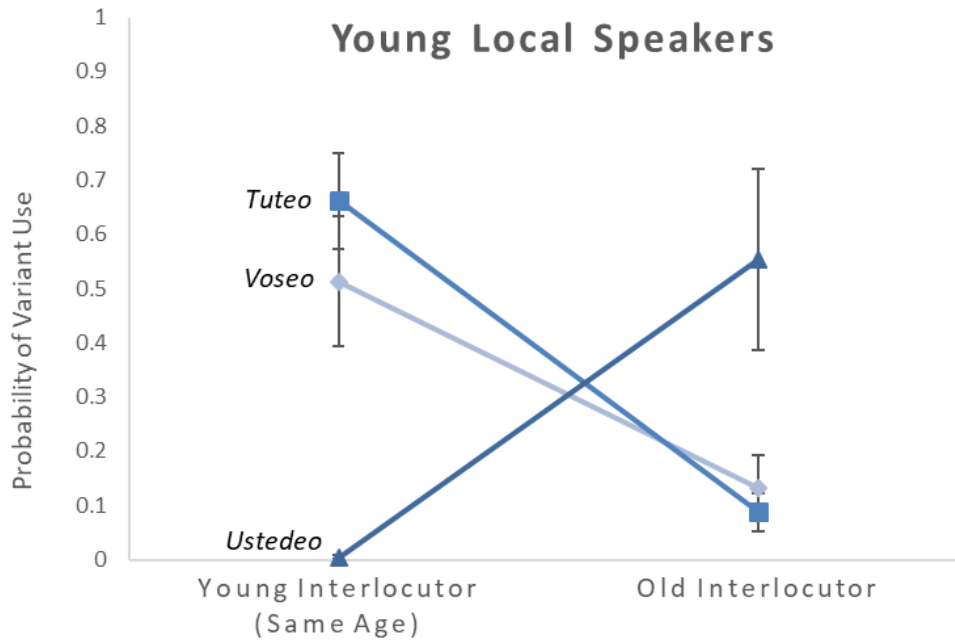
Figure 3.17: Predicted probabilities of variant use by young speakers during SSCs

As depicted in Figure 3.17, there was no significant difference in amount of *tuteo* and *voseo* use by the four young speakers, regardless of interlocutor age. This is quite different from the four older participants, whose minimal *tuteo* use is shown in Figure 3.18.
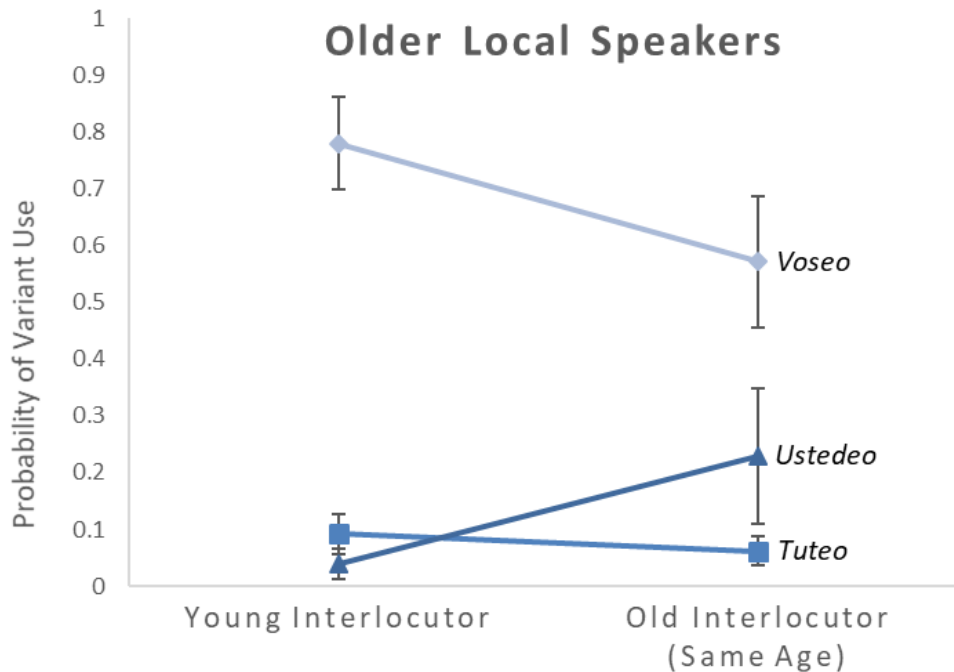
Figure 3.18: Predicted probabilities of variant use by older speakers during SSCs

Despite its limited use, *tuteo* appeared more than *ustedeo* when older participants were speaking to younger ones. The opposite trend held for same-age interlocutors, perhaps reflecting an age-related indexical value for *tuteo* use in the context of interactions with strangers.

In addition to the effects of speaker on *tuteo* use, the interlocutor also had central bearing, indeed exerting one of the strongest effects: young participants were nearly 6 times more likely to receive *tuteo* forms, and females, 1.6 times. The random forest in Figure 3.19 shows the relative importance of the different variables on *tuteo* use.
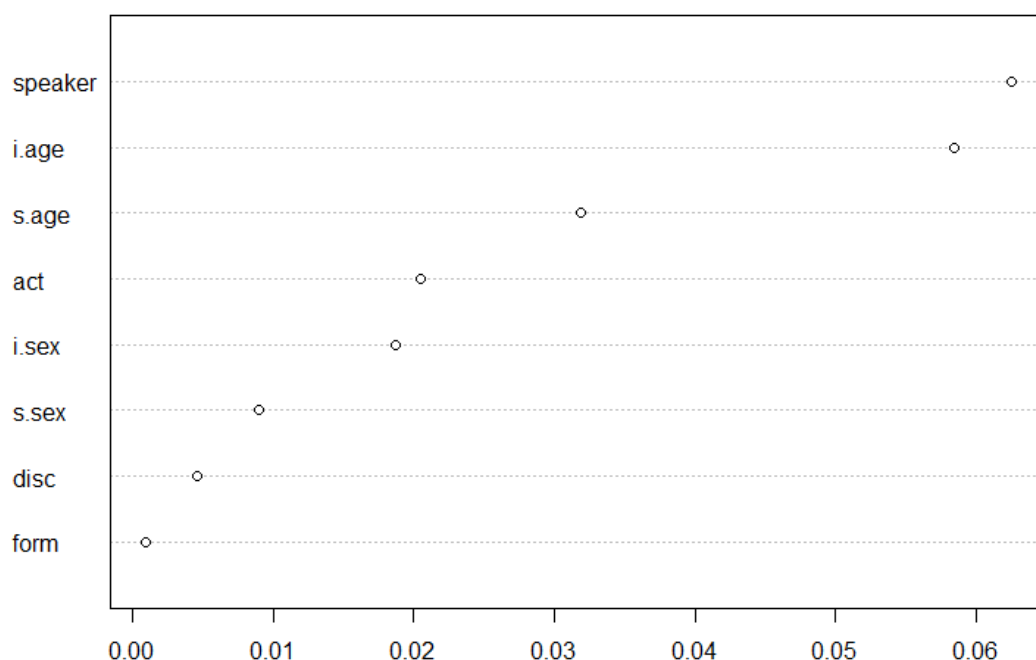
Figure 3.19: Random forest: *tuteo* use during SSCs

As illustrated by the random forest, the social factors of Interlocutor and Speaker Age had the strongest effects on *tuteo* use, with Interlocutor Age approaching the (random) Speaker effect. With respect to linguistic factors, *tuteo* was more likely in reported speech and address, and relatively unlikely in impersonal speech. The lack of *tuteo* in impersonal speech could be taken as evidence that use of the form is not widespread or habitualized, or that it has less of an association with local identity and thus less value in representing generalized local viewpoints offered in impersonal statements. *Tuteo* was 2.7 times more likely in questions, and 3.1 times in commands, than in statements (p < .001). Because questions (analyzed here as "requests for verbal action"; Terkourafi & Villavicencio 2003), and commands are associated with a higher threat to recipients' face than statements due to their imposition on the addressee (e.g.

Brown & Levinson 1987), *tuteo* may serve as a relatively polite form in these address contexts. Of course, in the case of commands, it is important to consider whether the acts were directed to the conversational partners or produced in reported speech. As it turns out, the latter was more common, calling for a closer look at the interactional functions of the reported speech. Another consideration is the association in Nicaragua of *tuteo* with writing and education (Christiansen 2014; Christiansen & Chavarría Úbeda 2010). While the list of conversation prompts given to each participant contained only short phrases devoid of personal pronouns, it was nonetheless provided in written form. The act of referring to the list in search of questions to ask a conversational partner may have elicited more *tuteo* use. Nevertheless, the written list of themes served only as a general conversational guideline, and participant questions typically emerged in the natural course of conversation.

3.2.2.3 *Voseo*

Regarding *voseo*, this reportedly standard form in Nicaraguan Spanish (Lipski 1994; Rey 1997; Thiemer 1989) was more likely in the speech of the older participants and, generally, in speech directed to young participants. In addition, it was significantly more common in impersonal speech, perhaps reflecting the oft-reported association of *voseo* with local identity as the Nicaraguan norm (e.g. [*Vos*] e*s algo nuestro.* '[*Vos*] is something that is ours.'). Impersonal speech, according to the views adopted in this study, represents a generalized perspective. Given the topics of the semi-structured conversations, which focused on the local community, the impersonal speech typically reflected a local perspective. *Voseo* was 4.1 times as likely in this context than in addressing other locals. The strong tendency for *voseo* to appear more in impersonal speech may also reflect the concurrent, and at times competing, association of *voseo* with rudeness or lack of respect, which may have deterred speakers from using it to address

their new acquaintances.[28] This negative association with *voseo* also explains why it was least likely in questions, which directly impose upon the hearer. Nonetheless, the frequent appearance of *voseo* in tags (OR = 3.4, p < .05) supports the view that it continues as the local standard in some capacity.

The imbalance in *voseo* use when addressing others versus in impersonal speech is clear for both young and old speakers in the conditional inference tree for *voseo* use. For ease of analysis, the tree is broken into two halves below according to the most important factor, speaker age. Figure 3.20 shows that for young speakers, interlocutor age was the most important factor affecting *voseo* use. When speaking with other young locals (right branch), females opted for *voseo* roughly 60% of the time. Males, on the other hand, varied use according to discourse type, employing *voseo* 80% of the time in impersonal and reported speech and 30% when addressing young females. They avoided the form entirely when addressing other young males, reflecting a broader tendency among male speakers to avoid *voseo* use with one another. Paired with metalinguistic commentary, I interpret this practice as a means of avoiding the face-threat potentially indexed by using *vos* with a stranger. It seems, based on these data, to be of central importance among males speaking with one another. This observation motivates future research with a broader participant pool and more extensive retrospective reports from conversation participants to fully develop and support claims.

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[28] Locals frequently described *vos* using negative terms, such as *incorrecto* 'rude', *feo* 'ugly', and *raro* 'strange'. This attitude appears to be shared by Nicaraguans in other regions as well, as captured by the title of Christiansen's (2014) study: *El vos es el dialecto que inventamos nosotros, la forma correcta es el tú.* '*Vos* is the dialect that we invent, the correct form is *tú*.'. Similar attitudes have been observed by Estrada Andino (2016) among Hondurans, with an emphasis on the foreignness of *tú*: *"El tú no es de nosotros, es de otros países"* '*Tú* is not ours, it is from other countries.'
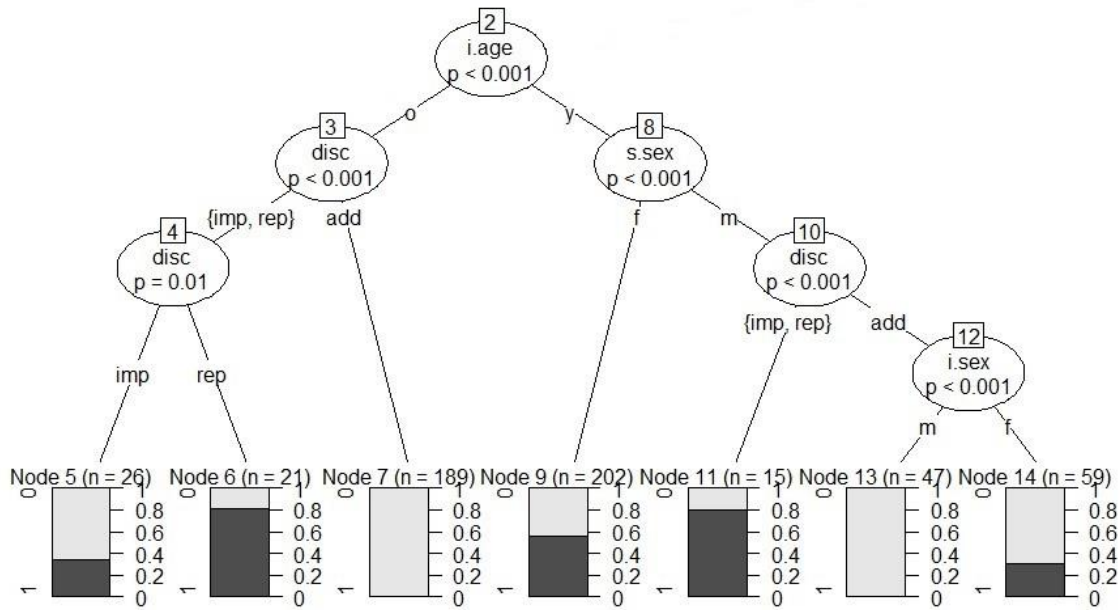
Figure 3.20: Conditional inference tree: *voseo* use by younger speakers during SSCs

When speaking with older locals (left branch), the younger participants avoided *voseo* as an address form, supporting the view that *voseo* can index a lack of respect; but they continued to use it in their impersonal and reported speech, roughly 35% and 80% of the time, respectively. Figure 3.21, in contrast, shows that among older speakers, discourse type was the most important factor influencing *voseo* use.
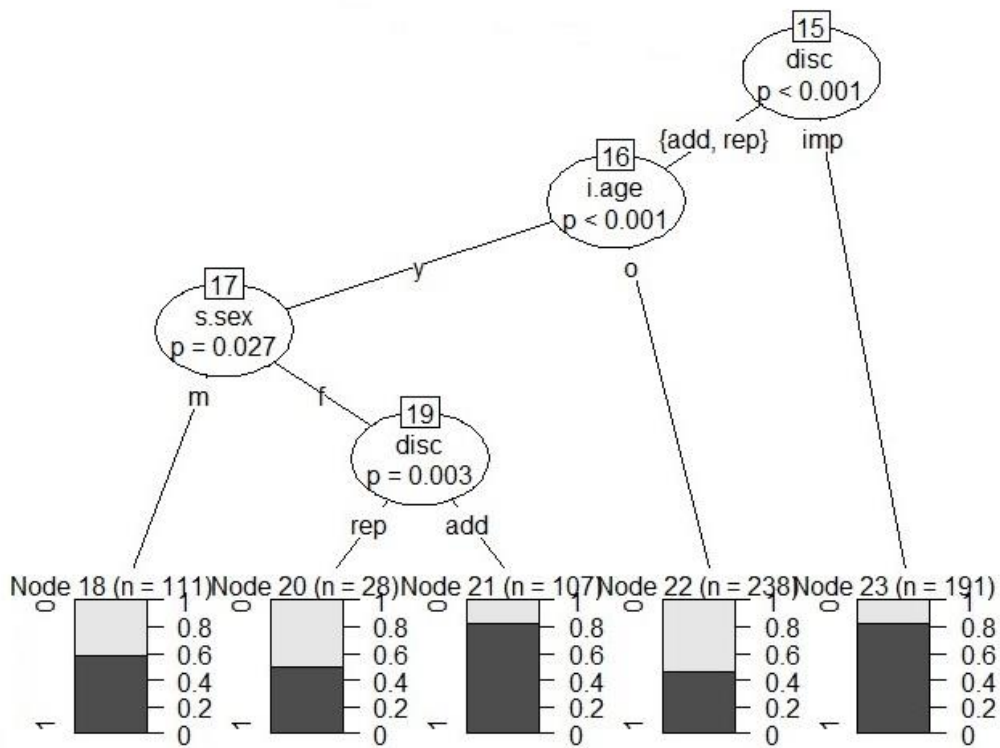
Figure 3.21: Conditional inference tree: *voseo* use by older speakers during SSCs

While *voseo* appeared in 80% of older speakers' impersonal speech (right branch), it varied when they were addressing the interlocutor and in their reported speech according to interlocutor age and speaker sex. *Voseo* was used about half of the time with locals of the same age (second branch from right) and more often with younger locals. As seen in the left half of the tree, the older females used *voseo* more as an address form with younger locals than did the older males. A closer look at the older females' reported speech reveals that the relatively lower percentage of *voseo* was due to the frequent use of *tuteo* by characters in their personal narratives.

3.2.2.4   *Ustedeo*

Finally, for *ustedeo*, interlocutor age had the strongest effect on pronoun use across all speakers. This effect, which was stronger with *ustedeo* than either *tuteo* or *voseo* use, is clearly displayed alongside the other factors in the random forest in Figure 3.22.
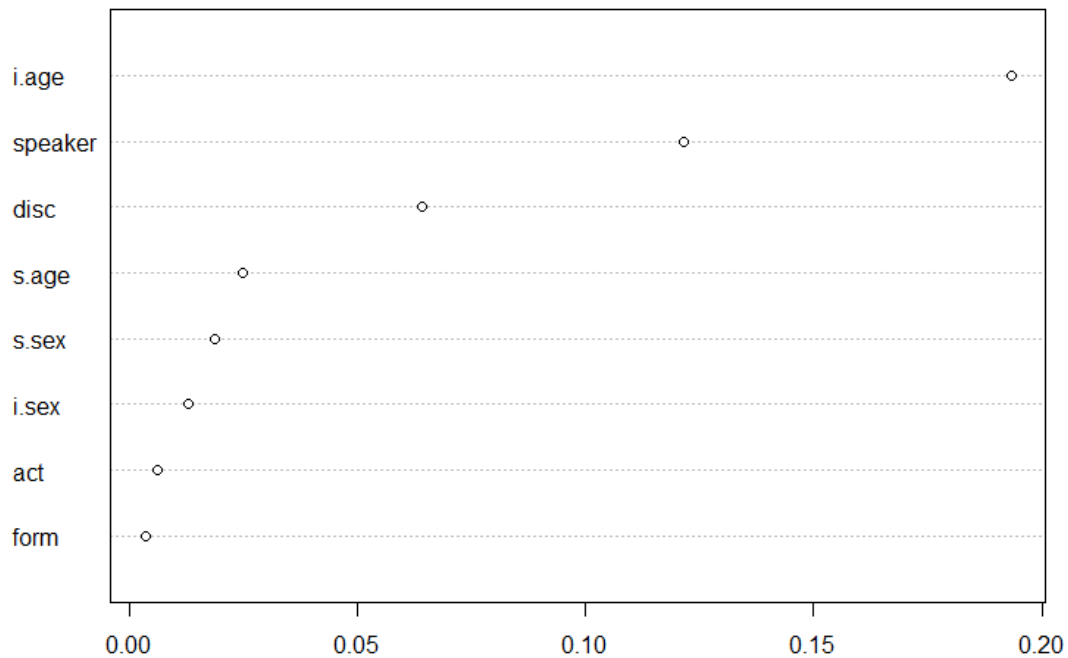
Figure 3.22: Random forest: *ustedeo* use during SSCs

As revealed by the random forest, interlocutor age was by far the most important factor correlated to *ustedeo* use, which is unsurprising based on the strong support in the literature for its age-indexical value (e.g. Pinkerton 1986; Schreffler 1994; Simpson 2005). Strikingly, interlocutor age even surpassed the speaker effect, suggesting a broadly shared age-indexical norm across members of the speech community. More *ustedeo* was used by all speakers when the interlocutor was a member of the older age group. It also appeared much more in address than in impersonal and reported speech, suggesting that

80

ustedeo had greater value for participants in indexing immediate speaker-interlocutor relationships than in indexing either a generalized local point of view or the relationships and stances of characters in their personal narratives (which, in turn, might be illustrative of the themes they considered most relevant in those narratives; e.g., insider-outsider identities).

The conditional inference tree of *ustedeo* makes it easier to assess the complex patterns and interactions tied to *ustedeo* use. Once again, the tree is broken into two halves according to the most important factor, interlocutor age (top left of Figure 3.23), for ease of analysis. The first division in the tree, at discourse type (*disc*), illustrates the greater use of *ustedeo* in address (right branch) in comparison to impersonal and reported speech (left). As represented by the right half of Figure 3.23, when a member of the older age group was addressed, speaker age, predictably, was the most important factor affecting *ustedeo* use, with the younger speakers collectively opting to use more *ustedeo* (left branch from *speaker age*).
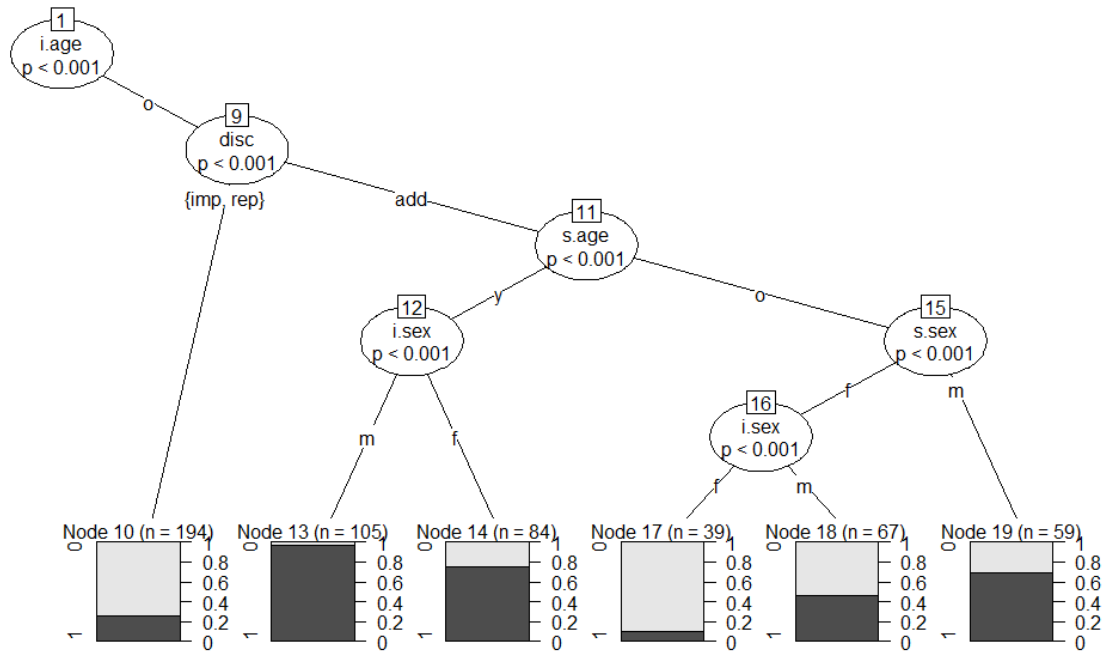
Figure 3.23: Conditional inference tree: *ustedeo* with old interlocutors during SSCs

Of interest, the younger speakers used more *ustedeo* with the older males: roughly 98% of all pronoun tokens, versus 76% with the older females. Males of the older age group addressed both females and males of their age group with *ustedeo* roughly 70% of the time, while females varied use according to interlocutor sex (12% among females and 47% with the males).

With young interlocutors, on the other hand, the sex of the speaker was the most important factor affecting *ustedeo* use, as shown by the split at the top-left of the tree in Figure 3.24.
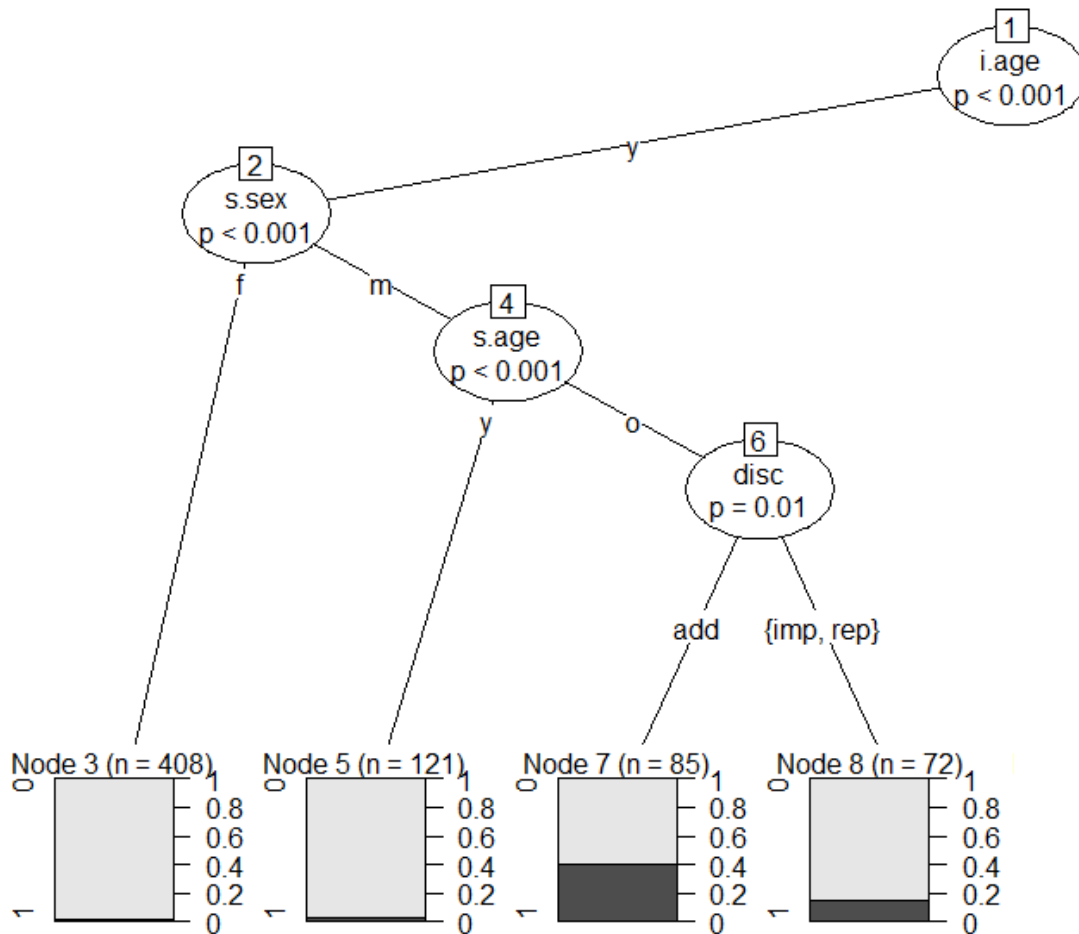
Figure 3.24: Conditional inference tree: *ustedeo* with young interlocutors during SSCs

All females, regardless of age group designation, used *ustedeo* very little (<5%) when speaking to young participants (left branch). Among males, on the other hand, the speaker's age played a central role: young males addressed other members of their age group, both male and female, with minimal *ustedeo* (<5%), while the older males used *ustedeo* with younger participants roughly 40% of the time in address and 18% of the time in impersonal and reported speech. This use of *ustedeo* with younger locals reflects an adherence by the older males to the reported traditional norm of *ustedeo* use with strangers and may explain the opposite pattern obtained for their *tuteo* use. The frequent *ustedeo* use by older males with participants of both age groups may also have

contributed to the higher rate of *ustedeo* they received in comparison to the older females. The cumulative percentages, while informative, obscure the underlying interactional functions that address forms serve, including accommodation by conversational partners to what they perceive to be the interlocutor's preferred form. The broad patterns require more fine-grained exploration to understand how the forms were being used and might contribute to emerging trends.

With regard to speech act contexts, *ustedeo* was most likely to appear in questions and least likely in commands. As proposed for *tuteo* above, the relatively high use of *ustedeo* in questions could be due to a higher perceived level of face threat by speakers during a speech act that directly seeks a response from the addressee (i.e. a "request for verbal action"; Terkourafi & Villavicencio 2003). The commands, as with the other variants, most often appeared in reported speech and, as such, served a different function than commands directed to an interlocutor.

3.2.3   Summary of pronoun use patterns in SSCs

Although the group of participants in this study is limited to eight locals in a particular Nicaraguan community, the quantitative analysis uncovers robust trends that, while accounting for individual speaker effects, offer insights into general patterns of pronoun use according to both social and linguistic factors. The highly significant effects for age and sex, for example, show that the four young speakers and the two older women produced more *tuteo* across four different local interlocutors than did the two older men. Complementary insights are provided by trends that obtained across all speakers for the linguistic factors: the prevalence of *ustedeo* in address versus reported speech, for example, and the virtual absence of *voseo* from questions. The semi-structured conversation methodology permits the identification of patterns that are consistent or shift across multiple speakers and interlocutors, all strangers to one another, thus giving insights into the interpersonal functions of the pronouns. While these patterns may or

may not hold at the community level, they are strong among these eight locals, begging the question of *why* they exist. What are these locals doing with the pronouns interactionally? How do they use the pronouns and what meanings do the pronouns convey? The next chapter explores these questions through a series of contextualized analyses of conversational data grounded in ethnographic observations of naturally-occurring interactions. I begin by analyzing conversations I had with locals throughout the community, with a focus on the initial pronoun selection by locals as well as their switching between pronouns as the conversations progressed. I follow with a summary of patterns of pronoun selection and switching I observed between locals interacting with one another. Based on these ethnographically-identified patterns, I analyze selected excerpts from the sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations to identify some of the pragmatic functions of pronoun selection and switching during the natural course of conversation.

4. Qualitative Analysis

In this chapter, I first provide an overview of the personal pronoun use I observed across a range of social settings in the community. After identifying patterns of pronoun use that emerged in naturally-occurring contexts, I explore similar patterns in the sociolinguistic interview and semi-structured conversation data using an interactional linguistics approach.

4.1   ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

The data in this section are arranged according to patterns observed across speakers in the community, with reference to type of discourse and social setting. I first present data stemming from interactions between locals and non-locals, including myself, and follow with data from interactions among locals.[29] This section provides an overview of naturally-occurring pronoun use by locals across a variety of interlocutors and settings. The focus is on initial pronoun selection by locals as well as their switching between pronouns during an interaction. The patterns represented by the following examples informed both the design and interpretation of the sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations.

4.1.1   Pronoun selection (e.g. greetings)

Across all social settings—the host family compound, streets, beaches, vendor stands, stores, restaurants, tourist lodges, and bars—locals consistently addressed me using *tuteo*. I observed the same practice by locals with other outsiders, including both tourists and expatriate residents representing a wide variety of countries and languages. The following examples illustrate this practice as observed across a range of social settings and speakers.

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[29] While collecting these data, I exclusively used *voseo* and *ustedeo* during my interactions with locals. I did so to avoid verbally priming local interlocutors for *tuteo* use, thus controlling for accommodation to my immediate speech as a factor influencing *tuteo* use by these locals.

Host-family compound:

    18-yo female: *Hola*
                        Hello.

    Researcher: *Hola, buenos días. ¿Cómo **está**?*
                        Hello, good morning. How are **you**$_U$?

    18-yo female: *Bien ¿y **tú**?*
                        Well, and **you**$_T$?

Service encounter:

    Researcher: Hola, ¿cómo **está**?
                        Hello, how are **you**$_U$?

    20-yo male: *Bien, ¿y **tú**?*
                        Well, and **you**$_T$?

Passerby:

While biking down a dirt road from town toward the beach, a local 11-year-old boy ('Eduardo') stopped me to ask for a ride. Despite my own use of *voseo*, Eduardo used only *tuteo*.

  (8) Eduardo: *¿Me **das** un ray?*
                   Will you **give**$_A$ me a ride?

    Jeff: *¿Cómo?*
                How?

    Eduardo: ((sits on horizontal bar of bike frame))

    Jeff: *Y **vos**, ¿cómo te **llamás**?*
                And **you**$_V$, what do you **call**$_V$ yourself (what is your name)?

    Eduardo: *¿Eduardo… y **tú**?*
                Eduardo… and **you**$_T$?

    Jeff: Jeff

    Eduardo: Jess

Jeff: *¿Cuántos años **tenés**?*
How many years do you **have**$_V$ (how old are you)?

Eduardo: *Once.*
Eleven.

Jeff: *¿Cuál es **tu** deporte favorito?*
What is **your**$_A$ favorite sport?

Eduardo: *Béisbol. ¿Y **tú**?*
Baseball. And **you**$_T$?

Jeff: *También el béisbol.*
Also baseball.

The common practice of addressing outsiders with *tuteo* extended to native Spanish-speaking addressees as well, as suggested by the following interaction I had with a young member of my host family, 'Miguel'.

(9) Miguel: *¿De dónde **eres tú**?*
Where **are**$_T$ **you**$_T$ from?

Jeff: *Adivina.*
Guess.

Miguel: *Mmm. ¿México?*
Mmm. Mexico?

Local use of *tuteo* with native Spanish-speakers was observed during interactions with tourists, primarily during service encounters. The practice was described as typical by a Mexican expatriate female (38-year-old 'Emi') living in the community for a year. In addition to Emi's own reported experiences, a pilot semi-structured conversation between Emi and a local man revealed that, despite Emi's multiple uses of *voseo*, the local man exclusively used *tuteo*. Curiously, the same man opted for *tuteo* in a pilot SSC with a local woman he did not know, suggesting that perhaps *tuteo* use by locals is motivated by previous acquaintance and/or gender.

4.1.2 Pronoun switching

I observed that locals over approximately thirty years of age consistently addressed outsiders with *tuteo* and avoided switching pronouns. Younger locals, however, frequently alternated between *tuteo* and *voseo* during a given interaction. The following example is taken from a conversation I had with a 22-year-old female server ('Ana') in the restaurant of a budget tourist lodge. Ana's initial greeting sequence was in English despite my non-reciprocal use of Spanish. Several minutes later, upon hearing the server ask a co-worker the time, I interjected.

1	(10)	Jeff:	*Son las dos y pico… quince… sí, dos y quince.*
2			It's a little past two… fifteen, yes, two fifteen.
3		Ana:	*Ah, gracias.*
4			Oh, thank you.
5			*¿Por qué **hablas** tan bien el español? ¿De dónde **eres**?*
6			Why do you **speak**$_T$ Spanish so well? Where **are**$_T$ you from?
7		Jeff:	*De los Estados Unidos… pero cerca de México, en Texas…*
8			From the United States… but close to Mexico, in Texas…
9			*Y también viví tres años en Sudamérica.*
10			And I also lived three years in South America.
11			*Y **vos hablás** inglés.*
12			And **you**$_V$ **speak**$_V$ English.
13		Ana:	*Sí pero no lo hablo tan bien como **tú hablas** español.*
14			Yes, but I don't speak it as well as **you**$_T$ **speak**$_T$ Spanish.
15		Jeff:	*¿Cómo?*
16			What?
17		Ana:	*No como **vos hablás** el español.*
18			Not like **you**$_V$ **speak**$_V$ Spanish.
19			((1-2 minutes later, while Ana is cleaning my table))
20		Jeff:	((gesturing to Ana)) *¿De acá?*

21		(Are you) from here?

22	Ana:	*Sí. ¿**Tú** has viajado a El Astillero?*
23		Yes. **Have**$_T$ **you**$_T$ traveled to El Astillero?

24	Jeff:	*Sí.*
25		Yes.

26	Ana:	*¿**Tú conoces** el puente? ...* (unintelligible)
27		Do **you**$_T$ **know**$_T$ the bridge?

28	Jeff:	((look of confusión))

29	Ana:	*Voy a <u>hablar nica</u>: ¿**Vos tenés** cuanto tiempo acá?*
30		I'm going to <u>speak Nicaraguan</u>: **You**$_V$ **have**$_V$ how much time here?

Ana initiates the conversation using *tuteo* (line 5), which she maintains in her following utterance (line 13) despite the researcher's intervening use of *voseo* (line 11). At two points, however, Ana switches to *voseo*, each following an expression of confusion by the researcher. In line 17 Ana repeats her previous statement (line 11) due to lack of uptake by the researcher, although she replaces *tuteo* with *voseo* forms. Upon resuming the conversation, Ana again opens with *tuteo* forms in lines 22 and 26. Following lack of uptake by the researcher in line 28, Ana again switches to *vos* forms in line 29, which are tellingly introduced by the phrase *Voy a hablar Nica* 'I'm going to speak Nicaraguan'. Given that both of Ana's switches from *tuteo* to *voseo* came when she was repeating herself, perhaps they served to emphasize the missed utterance. Conversely, the switches may have reflected Ana's frustration or her preference for using *voseo* more generally. Her last comment, however, is profound in that Ana introduces her *voseante* speech as Nicaraguan and invites the researcher to converse in, or at least receive, the local vernacular.

I observed similar switching during service encounters in the clubhouse/hotel of a high-end property development. In this setting, employees frequently greeted me in English. On such occasions, I responded in Spanish and was subsequently addressed with

tuteo and, to a lesser extent, *ustedeo*. This *tuteo-ustedeo* pattern held when initial greetings were delivered by staff in Spanish. Two of the younger male servers in the restaurant, however, occasionally switched pronouns to reciprocate my own use of *voseo* during our interactions (e.g. *¿De dónde sos vos?* 'Where are$_V$ you$_V$ from?'; *¿Sabés…?* 'Do you know$_{V…}$?'; *¿Entendés?* 'Do you understand$_V$?'). One usage represented a unique example of a combination of the *vos* pronoun with a *tú* verb: *¿Dónde vives vos?* 'Where do you$_V$ live$_T$?'. Given the pronominal switches these servers regularly made across multiple (often simultaneous) interlocutors, it is, perhaps, not surprising to find such pronominal/verbal mixing, referred to as *polymorphism* in the literature, which has been identified in several varieties of Spanish (e.g. Gutiérrez Rivas 2010; Mestre Moreno 2010; Murillo Fernández 2003; Newall 2012).[30] A more commonly attested type of polymorphism in the ethnographic data is referred to as *verbal voseo* (Carricaburo 1997; Fontanella de Weinberg 1999; Torrejón 1986, 1991).

4.1.3   Verbal *voseo*

Verbal voseo, the mixing of the *tú* pronoun with *vos* verbs, was observed on a handful of occasions in speech produced by older speakers who reported having little if any formal education, as in the following example. Such speakers often produced co-occurring speech features associated with low rates of literacy, such as /f/ aspiration (Mazarro 2015; Ohala 1989) (e.g. *fue* /hwe/), as in Example 11, in which a 55-year-old male security guard ('Oscar') asked me about a US expatriate living in the community.

(11)   *Oscar:*   *¿**Tú** no **tenés** conocimiento de un gringo Tom en Limón?*
   '**You**$_T$ don't **have**$_V$ knowledge of a gringo, Tom, in Limón?'

   Se me fue (/hwe/) de la mente.
   'It escaped my mind.'

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[30] Murillo Fernández (2003) defines *polymorphism* as "*…usar varias formas de tratamiento con un mismo interlocutor en un mismo acto comunicativo con una intención comunicativa determinada*" 'using various forms of address with the same interlocutor during the same communicative act with a determined communicative intention' (my translation).

4.1.4   Pronoun use among locals and with other Nicaraguans

In addition to observing the speech practices of locals with outsiders, I attended to interactions between locals only. To do so unobtrusively, I conducted observations and audio-recordings in public spaces that permitted sufficient proximity to locals without directly infringing upon their interactions. The most accessible venues were restaurants, shops, and bars, with the richest data set stemming from service encounters at local shops. One shop proved to be a central gathering point in the community and yielded data from more than 100 interactions across a wide range of speaker types (see Koike and Michno *forthcoming* for a description of how local culture is reflected in the speech practices of the shopkeeper and his customers; see Michno *forthcoming* for an analysis of pronoun selection and alternation in the shop). Aside from yielding a large quantity and variety of data, the service encounter context provides a more controlled means for comparing data across speakers and settings (see Félix-Brasdefer 2015). During interactions with other locals, the 26-year-old male shopkeeper consistently addressed similar-aged men and younger boys and girls using *voseo*, reserving *ustedeo* primarily for women and some older men. At times, both a customer and the shopkeeper switched between *voseo* and *ustedeo* within a given transaction, often while transitioning between relational and business talk. Some of these switches were reciprocal—i.e., both individuals switched—while others were not. Use of *tuteo* was not witnessed between locals in the service encounter context or elsewhere. It was, however, observed between locals and Nicaraguans from other regions. In addition, anecdotal evidence of *tuteo* use by locals was shared by two Nicaraguans from other regions, Managua and Granada. In each instance, the non-local Nicaraguans shared their surprise that locals had used *tuteo* with them both during initial greetings and throughout the interactions. The Managuan, a 24-year-old woman named 'Sabrina', reported that a local woman had maintained *tuteo* with her as their relationship progressed over several months. The relationship was, however, hierarchical in nature; the local woman was a housekeeper for Sabrina and her

US- expatriate husband, who lived together in a coastal residential development. According to Sabrina, the local woman was reluctant to discuss her motivation for using *tuteo* instead of *voseo* with a fellow Nicaraguan. This anecdote illustrates the potential role of hierarchical social divisions in guiding pronoun use. Although Nicaragua is noted for its solidary-oriented pronominal system (e.g. Lipski 1994, 2008; Rey 1997), which favors reciprocal usage (Brown & Gilman 1960), the recent introduction of extreme class differences in the community could be fostering hierarchy-oriented pronoun usage.

In a separate anecdote, Sabrina reported being addressed by two young local men using *tuteo* at the community's hot springs. When questioned by Sabrina, the men reportedly explained their *tuteo* use based on their assumption that Sabrina was not Nicaraguan, given that she was accompanied by a Caucasian man who was not a native speaker of Spanish (her husband). Nonetheless, after discovering that Sabrina was indeed Nicaraguan, the men continued to address her using *tuteo*. Upon further questioning, the men reportedly grew uncomfortable and disengaged from the conversation. Anecdotes such as these add non-local Nicaraguan perspectives of pronoun use in the community that corroborate my own firsthand observations. Because of the small size of the community, it is likely that my own observations of locals conversing were limited to interactions between locals who were already acquainted. These anecdotes confirmed that locals did indeed use *tuteo* with other Nicaraguans—and in the absence of non-Nicaraguans—suggesting that *tuteo* use is not necessarily based on audience design (i.e. influenced by overhearers or bystanders perceived to be *tuteo* users; Bell 1984). The combined firsthand and secondhand evidence of pronoun use in the community motivated exploration into the role of personal familiarity in driving pronoun selection, given that all of the interactions yielding *tuteo* involved strangers.

4.1.5 Pronoun switching between locals and non-locals

During my first visit to the community, in 2011, a local friend refused my request to use *voseo* with me, replying, *No te preocupes. Sabemos usar el tú.* 'Don't worry. We know how to use *tú*'. This interaction was the inspiration for this study. The aforementioned service-encounter context in a local store is useful for comparing pronoun use by a local (the shopkeeper, 'Arturo') with both locals and non-locals, helping to pinpoint any differences tied to local identity. While Arturo used *ustedeo* and *voseo* with local customers, he opted for *tuteo* and *ustedeo* when addressing non-locals, as illustrated in the following interaction with a non-local native-Spanish speaker ('Eduardo').

| 1 | (12) | Arturo: | *¿Qué **busca**, amigo?* |
| 2 | | | What are you **looking for**_{T-U}, friend? |

| 3 | | Eduardo: | *Seis toñas, por favor.* |
| 4 | | | Six toñas (beers), please. |

| 5 | | Arturo: | *Sei toñas. De lata, ¿verdad?* |
| 6 | | | Six toñas. In cans, right? |

| 7 | | Eduardo: | *Sí. ¿Y ( ) no **vendes**?* |
| 8 | | | Yeah. And, do you not **sell**_T ( )? |

| 9 | | Arturo: | *¿Pa' la infección, amoxicilina?* |
| 10 | | | For infection, amoxicillin? |

| 11 | | Eduardo: | *No, no, ( )… agua mineral.* |
| 12 | | | No, no, ( )… mineral water. |

| 13 | | Arturo: | *Ah no, no, sí, sí. Yo escuché… diferente.* |
| 14 | | | Oh, no, no, yes, yes. I heard… differently. |

| 15 | | | *Y… tengo agua amigo, pero… así* (shows customer bottle). |
| 16 | | | And… I have water, friend, but… this kind. |

| 17 | | Eduardo: | *¿Con gas no **tienes**?* |
| 18 | | | With gas, you don't **have**_T? |

19	Arturo:	*No, no tengo. ¿Está bien esta o más chiquita?*
20		No, I don't have. Is this one okay or smaller?
21	Eduardo:	*Esa está bien.*
22		That one is okay.
23	Arturo:	*Tenemos* (typing on calculator) *... Ciento sesenta y ocho.*
24		We have… one hundred sixty-eight.
25		***¿Quiere** una bolsa más grande o está bien así?*
26		Do you **want**$_{T-U}$ a bigger bag or is this okay?
27	Eduardo:	*No, está bien.*
28		No, that's fine.
29	Arturo:	*Treinta y dos, <u>amigo</u>. Gracias.*
30		Thirty-two, <u>friend</u>. Thanks.

Immediately prior to this segment, Arturo had been conversing in reciprocal *voseo* with a local man sitting at the store window. Upon addressing the new customer, Arturo shifted seamlessly between pronominal paradigms, from *voseo* to what I interpret to be either *tuteo* or *ustedeo* verb forms.[31] Following this interaction, Arturo resumed the conversation with his local acquaintance in reciprocal *voseo*. The noteworthy practice here is Arturo's shift from using *voseo* with a local customer immediately prior to and after this interaction with a non-local.

During this interaction, the vocative *amigo* 'friend' appeared twice, used by the shopkeeper in both his opening and closing remarks (lines 1 and 29). Arturo commonly used *amigo* as a form of address for non-locals. In the following short sequence, he

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[31] Due to the high rate of coda /s/ deletion in Nicaraguan Spanish (Chappell 2014; Lacayo 1954; Lipski 1984, 1985, 1994, 2008), and in the shopkeeper's speech, in particular, it was often impossible to distinguish between *tuteo* verb forms that contained a highly reduced or deleted coda /s/ and the corresponding *ustedeo* forms (e.g. *quieres* 'you want$_T$' vs. *quiere* 'you want$_U$'), even when utilizing acoustic software. S-reduction is a well-documented phenomenon across Spanish dialects. File-Muriel & Brown (2011) refer to it as "perhaps the most studied phenomenon in Spanish" (p. 223). As observed by many researchers (e.g. Cedergren 1973; Lipski 1984, 1985, 1986; Terrell 1977; Widdison 1995, 1997), the traditional view holds that /s/ in Spanish may be alternatively realized as [s], aspirated [h], or deleted Ø. As Widdison (1997) points out, this variation is often attributed to the more general phenomenon of phonological weakening, wherein coda-position phones are reduced.

addressed me twice with *amigo* alongside *tuteo* forms, again contrasting with the *voseo* forms he used with other locals present at the shop window.

(13) Arturo: ¿***Encontraste*** *el dinero amigo?*
Did you **find**$_A$ your money, friend?

Jeff: *Sí.*
Yes.

Arturo: *Que bueno que lo* ***encontraste***.
How good that you **found**$_A$ it

Jeff: *Tengo harta sed. Eh, ¿qué tipo de bebidas tienen?*
I'm very thirsty.' Uh, what types of drinks do you (plural) have?

Arturo: *Eh, te puedes tomar uno de esos...*
Uh, **you can**$_T$ drink one of those…

¿*Y por cuanto tiempo* ***tú vienes*** *aquí amigo?*
And for how long do **you**$_T$ **come**$_T$ here, friend?

The consistent use of *amigo* alongside *tuteo* and *ustedeo* shows how this local shopkeeper used multiple speech features in tandem to index outsider status. The practice of addressing outsiders using *tuteo* appeared to apply to long-term non-local residents as well. On two occasions, I witnessed a 6-year resident in this community from the US place an order at the same shop window, once with the shopkeeper and once with his mother. In each instance, she was addressed with *tú* verb forms. This suggests that long-term residence alone does not necessarily lead to *voseo* address by locals, despite an expatriate's own practices; I observed this woman and several other expatriates consistently using *vos*eo with locals in different settings.

4.1.6   Self-repair

Following the sequence above, the shopkeeper continued to address me using *tuteo*, but he quickly switched to *vos* verbs with a man buying a snack and cigarettes. The

shopkeeper shifted fluidly between the two verbal paradigms as he alternated between addressing me and the new customer, at times while we were all engaged in the same conversation. At one point, upon redirecting the conversation to me, the shopkeeper opened with a *vos* command form but quickly switched to *tuteo* in the same utterance:

(14) Shopkeeper: **Probálo**. *Si no* **te** *gusta, no-***tú** *no* **vuelves** *a comprarlo.*
'**Try**_V it. If **you**_A don't like it, don't-**you**_T don't **buy it again**_T.

Commands given in the *vos* form, such as *probálo*, were frequently observed among locals in this setting. In this case, however, the shopkeeper shifted from the *vos* command form to a *tú* form in the same utterance. Given his restart, the utterance is analyzed as a self-initiated self-repair. Such self-repairs were observed on several occasions and by multiple speakers. They are informative, collectively, when the direction of the pronominal switch (*vos* to *tú* versus *tú* to *vos*) is considered within the sociocultural context. Older speakers, including my closest personal local acquaintance, a 44-year-old male, initiated self-repair during casual conversations with me, always switching from *vos* to *tú*. Younger speakers, however, initiated self-repairs in the opposite direction, from *tú* to *vos*, in apparent accommodation of my own consistent use of *vos*. This switch from *tú* to *vos* occurred with both new and old acquaintances, suggesting that the switches did not serve to index previous acquaintance, familiarity, or depth of social relationship.

Another commonly-observed practice revealed in the previous examples was the use of the pronoun *tú* with an outsider when it was optional due to verbal inflection. This practice, along with the observed instances of verbal *voseo* by community members, suggests that the pronoun itself has a certain, perhaps identity-related, salience. This view is supported by metalinguistic commentary and reported speech by locals that often assign *vos* to Nicaraguans and *tú* to foreigners. These observations motivated the analysis of null versus explicit pronoun use in the interview and conversational data (the linguistic

factor Form). While the factor was insignificant in the conversations between locals (SSC data), the *vos* pronoun was used significantly less during the sociolinguistic interviews with an outsider, adding support to the interpretation that the pronominal forms hold particular socio-indexical value for locals: stigma, in the case of *vos*.

4.1.7 Use of English and other languages

The observed and self-reported increase in *tuteo* use by local speakers seems to coincide with an increase in the use of other languages in the community, primarily English. The following anecdotal aside supports my overarching interpretation that notions of prestige have influenced local language practices with respect to both dialect and language use. During the same service encounter transcribed above in Example 13, one customer among several at the shop window requested chicken. As the shopkeeper was processing multiple transactions, he spoke to himself in a mix of Spanish and English:

(15) Shopkeeper: *¿Qué querí?*
'What do you want$_A$?'

Customer: *Una libra de pollo.*
'One pound of chicken.'

Shopkeeper: *Una libre de pollo… pound de chicken, dice. One pound de chicken.*
'One pound of chicken… pound of chicken, (he) says. One pound of chicken.'

At a later point in the same recording, the shopkeeper uttered *Oh my God* while interacting with a local boy. Whether my presence as a potential overhearer triggered these usages is uncertain. Regardless, the presence of English in the shopkeeper's speech reflects a widespread increase in English use by locals in comparison to what I had witnessed in the community in 2011 and 2013. Indeed, in 2015, I was greeted in English on several occasions while walking or biking through town, something I had not

experienced just two years prior. This increase in English use by locals reflects the social and economic currency that being able to speak certain other languages and dialects of Spanish affords locals, as suggested by the following local commentary taken from the SSCs.

(16) *El pueblo Nica, ahora tiene que estudiar inglés para tener esa oportunidad. Él que habla inglés, gana un salario que tiene que ver con su nivel académico. Él que no estudia… un salario bajo. Así tiene la persona oportunidad, más, para tener más empleo.*

'The Nicaraguan people, now have to study English to have that opportunity. He who speaks English, earns a salary in line with his academic level. He who doesn't study… a low salary. That's how a person has opportunity, more, to have more employment.'

- Ronal addressing Walter (36-year-old males)

(17) *El primero que te preguntan, "¿Sabes inglés?"*
'The first thing they ask you, "Do you speak English?"'

- Loreto addressing Marta (18-year-old females)

(18) *Sí, incluso en los trabajos, a vos te preguntan, "¿Sabes inglés?"*
'Yes, even in jobs, they ask you$_V$, "Do you$_T$ speak English?"'

- Marta (18, female) addressing Rafa (18, male)

(19) *Ahora en Nicaragua se ve más americanos que nicaragüenses. Hay más americanos que vienen de otros países.*

'Now in Nicaragua you see more Americans than Nicaraguans. There are more Americans who come from other countries.'

- Rafa (18, male) addressing Ronal (36, male)

This linguistic capital is apparently not limited to English, although the presence of English in Nicaraguan Spanish is well documented (Matus Lazo 1992, 1997; Ycaza

Tigerino 1992); on one occasion, I observed the shopkeeper and a local customer attempt to mix Portuguese into their transaction.[32] During this encounter, there were no native speakers of Portuguese in the vicinity, suggesting that multilingual ability holds local social currency (i.e. use of other languages is not motivated [entirely] by notions of audience design for outsiders).

4.1.8   Summary of ethnographic observations

These ethnographic observations provide a summary of local language practices in naturally-occurring interactions. The examples provided here represent patterns of pronoun selection that contribute to an understanding of how social factors can influence pronoun use: in these data, locals tend to use *voseo* and *ustedeo* with other locals, and *tuteo* and *ustedeo* with non-locals, including Nicaraguans and other native Spanish-speakers. *Ustedeo* seems to be reserved for older locals, while *voseo* is used more frequently with individuals who are the same age or younger than the speaker, with exceptions noted. Pronominal switching with the same interlocutor is also introduced; the pragmatic functions of this practice are addressed in depth in the following sections. Finally, the observations of pronominal/verbal mixing (e.g. verbal *voseo*), self-repair, and increased use by locals of other languages (e.g. English and Portuguese) offer insights into the socioindexical and pragmatic values that different linguistic forms might hold. Informed by these observations, experimental data-collection methods that yield a dense supply of target forms (e.g. sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations) can lead to a deeper understanding of the effects of social and linguistic factors on pronoun selection and on the pragmatic functions that pronoun switching serves.

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[32] Local use of Portuguese, which was observed on several occasions, reflects the high number of Brazilian visitors attracted to the area's surf-oriented tourism.

4.2 PRONOUN USE DURING SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEWS AND SEMI-STRUCTURED CONVERSATIONS

In this section, I explore the moment-to-moment deployment of pronouns during the sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations using interactional sociolinguistic methods. The preceding ethnographic observations informed the design of data collection via these two methodologies, which, combined, allowed a controlled comparison of the speech by a range of locals with the same outsider, and the speech among a group of eight locals with one another. As revealed by the quantitative analysis, locals predominately used *tuteo* during interviews with the researcher, and *voseo* when speaking with one another. However, *ustedeo* and *tuteo* were also used regularly in conversations among locals. *Tuteo*, previously reported as virtually absent from Nicaraguan Spanish, made up roughly 22% of the second-person singular pronouns used by locals with one another during the SSCs. This observation contributes to Research Question #1, illustrating that local Nicaraguans do use *tuteo* with other locals. The remainder of this chapter addresses Research Question #4: What pragmatic and socioindexical functions do *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* selection and alternation serve? For reference, the list of participants in the semi-structured conversations is provided again in Table 4.1.

Group 1			Group 2		
Pseudonym	**Description**	**Age**	**Pseudonym**	**Description**	**Age**
Loreto	Younger Female	18	Marta	Younger Female	18
Rafa	Younger Male	18	Moisés	Younger Male	18
Ingrid	Older Female	36	Feña	Older Female	36
Walter	Older Male	36	Ronal	Older Male	36

Table 4.1:   Participants in semi-structured conversations

The following sections primarily explore the contexts in which *tuteo* appeared in the SSC data. Based on the patterns represented by these examples, I draw some generalizations regarding the pragmatic functions of pronoun selection and switching in

this community. The first section examines pronoun use during the greeting phase of interactions.

4.2.1   Greetings: negotiating stances in a new relationship

The following transcript details the greeting phase of an interaction between two young locals, Loreto and Moisés. This segment illustrates a frequently-observed practice in the SSC data: multiple adjacent pronominal switches as the conversational partners negotiate stances in their newly-formed relationship. The segment demonstrates the role of participant age in pronoun selection.

(20)   *"¿Qué edad tiene?"; 18-yo female ('Loreto') and 18-yo male ('Moisés'):*

1	Loreto:	*¿Cómo **estás**?*
2		How are you$_A$?
3	Moisés:	*Bien, ¿y **tú**?*
4		Well, and you$_T$?
5	Loreto:	*Bien. ¿Cómo te **llamás**?*
6		Well, what is your$_V$ name?
7	Moisés:	*Moisés. Un placer conocer**te**. **Usted**, ¿cómo **se llama**?*
8		Moisés. A pleasure to meet you$_A$. You$_U$, what is your$_U$ name?
9	Loreto:	*Me llamo Loreto e igual un placer conocer**te**.*
10		My name is Loreto and likewise a pleasure to meet you$_A$.
11	Moisés:	*¿Qué edad **tiene**?*
12		How old are you$_U$?
13	Loreto:	*Dieciocho, ¿y **tú**?*
14		Eighteen, and you$_T$?
15	Moisés:	*Dieciocho (hhhh) años. ¿De dónde **eres**, de que comunidad?*
16		Eighteen years. Where are you$_T$ from, what community?

While Loreto's opening pronoun selection is ambiguous between *tuteo* and *voseo* (line 1), Moisés opts for *tú* in his response (line 3). Loreto, however, does not reciprocate, employing a *voseo* form in her next turn (line 5): *llamás*. This act creates an unambiguous non-reciprocal dynamic between the conversation participants. At this point (line 7), Moisés switches mid-utterance from an ambiguous *tuteo* or *voseo* clitic (*-te*) to the *usted* pronoun and accompanying verb. The participants maintain this non-reciprocal *vos-usted* pattern for the next two turns, through line 11, when Moisés brings the participants' ages into focus by asking Loreto how old she is. In her response, Loreto switches to the *tú* pronoun. Moisés, upon discovering that Loreto is also 18 years old, laughs as he shares his own age. He immediately switches back to the *tuteo* paradigm, his initial variant of choice in the interaction. In a follow-up interview, Loreto commented that she was taken aback by Moisés' use of *ustedeo* with her, given that she is so young (*Soy una chavala; nadie me trata así.* 'I'm just a girl; nobody addresses me that way.'), illustrating her association between *ustedeo* and older referents. Loreto further interpreted Moisés' use of *ustedeo* as indexing respect and a lack of familiarity (*para mostrar respeto, me tiene respeto… respeto y falta de confianza* 'to show respect, he respects me… respect and lack of familiarity'), showing the multiple potential meanings embodied by a single form. From the analyst's perspective, however, Moisés' initial selection of *tuteo*, paired with his laughter and return to *tuteo* in line 15, yields a different interpretation: Moisés initially presumed that he was younger than Loreto, perhaps based on her choice of *voseo* in line 5 subsequent to his initial *tuteo*. Upon discovering that they were the same age, Moisés quickly returned to and consistently used *tuteo* during the remainder of the conversation. While the central pragmatic function of pronoun selection and alternation in this interaction related to the relative age of participants, it was not the only function identified. Loreto also pointed out in a follow-up interview Moisés' high rate of *tuteo* usage, suggesting that it stemmed from his close work with tourists and expatriates:

(21) *Él tiene más relaciones con gringos que con personas como yo. Él tiene mucha relación con gringos... por eso trata diferente a uno. Ya se le quedó el hablado, tú, tú.*

'He has more relationships with gringos than with people like me. He interacts more with gringos… that's why he addresses one in that way. He's already picked up their speech.'

This comment illustrates two important associations: what I consider to be a first-order association locals have between *tuteo* and outsiders, and a second-order association between locals who use *tuteo* and their outsider-oriented identities. Raymond's (2016) application of the terms 'identity status' and 'identity stance' is useful here. While *tuteo* may inherently index outsider speech, it can also index (that part of) a local's identity associated with outsiders, wherein their identity status would reflect their amount of contact with outsiders and their identity stance would reflect their moment-by-moment enactment of an outsider-orientation (e.g. through use of stereotypical linguistic features, dress, etc.). In the commentary above, Loreto highlights Moisés' identity status: he has extensive contact with outsiders; therefore, he uses *tú* frequently. When, how, and with whom Moisés chooses to use *tuteo*, however, can reflect his identity stance. Of course, given the multi-functional nature of pronouns, a contextualized analysis is aided by retrospective reports from participants, as it is here. Nonetheless, as identity is co-constructed, a speaker's intent to use a pronominal variant in a particular indexical fashion may or may not be perceived by the addressee. For this reason, it is important to consider the full range of potential meanings that pronouns embody within the speech community and the potential for miscommunication. This analysis suggests that pronominal selection can index age differences, different degrees of politeness, and outsider affiliation. In commentary about other locals, Loreto further touched on identity stance. In reference to another fellow SSC participant, 36-year-old Feña, Loreto proclaimed, *"Feña cambió su hablado con gringos... ahora habla super diferente. Completamente cambia."* 'Fena changed her speech with gringos… now she speaks

super different. She completely changes.' Other locals echoed the assertion that certain locals actively change the way they speak with other locals to mimic outsiders (e.g. by using English/Portuguese words and phrases or by speaking Spanish with English phonology), which would reflect their identity stance.

The following interaction highlights the common ground Loreto and Moisés found based on their shared experience of growing up in the tourist-based local economy with no recollection of the community before the arrival of tourism.

(22) *"La comunidad" (18:50):*

Loreto: ¿Y te **acordás** como era antes tu comunidad?
And do you remember$_V$ how your community was before?

Moisés: *Bueno... exactamente yo no me acuerdo muy bien, pues.*
Well… exactly, I don't remember very well.

Loreto: *Estamos en lo mismo entonces, porque yo- solo lo que me dicen.*
We're in the same situation then, because I- just what they tell me.

Moisés: *Y hoy en día…*
And nowadays…

*¿Cómo **eres**, qué **hacés**, a qué te **dedicás**?*
How are you$_T$, what do you do$_V$, to what do you dedicate yourself$_V$?

Shortly after Loreto's alignment with Moisés in line 5 (*Estamos en lo mismo* 'We're in the same [situation])', Moisés switches from *tuteo* to *voseo* in line 7, reciprocating Loreto's own consistent use of *voseo*. Given the context of the switch, the move could index Moisés' alignment with Loreto and an emerging rapport, as they move into a reciprocal usage pattern of the traditionally local form.

Not all greetings are created equal, as the next example shows. An imbalance in identity status in terms of age is clearly relevant throughout this interaction, as is the cumulative effect of non-reciprocal age-indexical forms of address on pronominal selection. In this instance, 36-year-old Feña employs multiple diminutive and other age

indexical terms (underlined) as she negotiates the greeting phase of her interaction with 18-year-old Rafa.

(23) *"Sí, soy muy niño."*; *36-yo female ('Feña') and 18-yo male ('Rafa'):*

1	Feña:	*Vamos a ver... que me cuenta __el niño__. ¿Cómo **te llamas**?*
2		Let's see… what the boy tells me. What do you call_T yourself?
3	Rafa:	*Yo me llamo Rafa, ¿y **tú**?*
4		My name is Rafa, and you_T?
5	Feña:	*Rafa__cito__, yo me llamo Feña.*
6		Little Rafa, I am Feña.
7	Rafa:	*( ) gusto, Feña.*
8		( ) pleasure, Feña.
9	Feña:	*Entonces, a ver… ¿Qué me **cuentas**? hhhh*
10		So, let's see… What do you tell_T me? hhhh
11	Rafa:	*¿Qué me **puede** decir de **usted**? ¿Qué edad **tiene**?*
12		What can you tell_U me about yourself_U? What age do you have_U?
13	Feña:	*Bueno, yo tengo treinta y ...tres años.*
14		Well, I am thirty… three years old.
15	Rafa:	*¿Sí? Yo tengo dieciocho años.*
16		Yeah? I am eighteen years old.
17	Feña:	*Ahhh, estás __jovencito__. Estás en la plena…*
18		Ahhh, you're_A so young. You're_A in the mere…
19	Rafa:	*Sí, soy muy niño <shared laughter> sí, claro.*
20		Yes, I'm very young. Yes, of course.
21	Feña:	*Estás bien, entonces… pero bueno…*
22		You're_A fine, then… so…

Although Feña opens the conversation with *tuteo*, which might be interpreted as a polite or respectful form in comparison to *voseo*, given local metalinguistic commentary, she employs a co-occurring form of address that indexes Rafa's young age (*niño* 'boy').

Feña uses similar forms throughout the conversation (the diminutives *Rafacito* 'little Rafa' and *jovencito* 'young little one'). After the second such form, Rafa switches from his initial use of *tuteo* to *ustedeo* (line 11), which he maintains for most of the half-hour conversation.[33] From my perspective, Rafa's pronominal switch indexed a shift in his identity stance as it related to the participants' ages. This interpretation is based on the turn-by-turn sequence of speech, primarily focused on forms of address, but also considering extralinguistic features, such as Rafa's laughter in line 19, which I perceived as dismissive. This interpretation is supported by Rafa's retrospective commentary, in which he shared his perception that Feña was speaking to him in a condescending manner. According to Rafa, it was this perception that led him to revert to his use of *tuteo* near the end of the conversation, a move he explained as a means of reducing the amount of respect or deference he showed Feña.

For Rafa, then, switching between *ustedeo* and *tuteo* can serve the pragmatic function of enhancing or attenuating the amount of respect afforded to an addressee.[34] The address forms are not used solely to offer a static or permanent designation (e.g. age-related identity status), but they are actively used to index the speaker's stance as the conversation unfolds. Given this context-dependent function of pronominal switching, what might a shift from *voseo* to *tuteo* signify? The following two interactions explore such shifts and the meanings they convey.

4.2.2   Flirting

The next two interactions are taken from the conversation between *tuteante* Rafa and *voseante* Marta, both 18 years old.[35] Aside from the greeting phases of her conversations, which often involved *tú-vos* alternation, Marta typically opted for *vos*

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[33] Rafa consistently used *tuteo* with all conversational partners except Ronal, the older male.

[34] I qualify this assertion with 'can' to emphasize that this is one of potentially multiple pragmatic functions that such a switch might serve for this speaker; the available data support *this* function.

[35] The term *tuteante* is used to describe a speaker or community that predominantly uses *tuteo*, and *voseante* for *voseo*.

forms, both when addressing others and in her impersonal speech. An example of the latter appears in lines 1 and 5 in the context of describing a general practice in her neighborhood.

(24) *"Deberíamos salir."* (18-yo female, Marta, and 18-yo male, Rafa):

1   Marta: *No sé, si **vos vas** a- al parque, a la cancha…*
2   I don't know, if you$_V$ go$_V$ to the park, to the court...

3   Rafa: *Sí, claro.*
4   Yes, of course.

5   Marta: ***Mirás** uuuu montones de personas, y bueno-*
6   You see$_V$ uuuu a lot of people, and well-

7   Rafa: *No sé, deberíamos hacer.. no sé, algo, deberíamos salir, o no sé.*
8   I don't know, we should do.. I don't know, something, we should go out,
9   or I don't know.

10   Marta: *Sííí… cuando **tú quieras**.*
11   Yeeees… whenever you$_T$ want$_T$.

12   Rafa: *Sí, claro.*
13   Yes, sure.

14   Marta: *Y… ¿Qué **piensas** de los.. de los vagos?*
15   And… What do you think$_T$ about the.. the slackers?

16   Rafa: *De los vagos, pues…*
17   About the slackers, well…

While using impersonal second person to describe how youth gather nightly at her neighborhood's basketball/soccer court (lines 1 and 5), Marta employs her typical variant of choice: *voseo*. However, in response to Rafa's invitation to go out on a date in line 7, Marta switches to *tuteo* pronominal and verbal forms, which she continues in her next turn.

Based on these data alone, an assertion that the pronominal switch indexes a flirtatious stance has limited weight. However, two similar switches occurred later in the

same conversation, one of which appears below. Additionally, the addressee, Rafa, indicated in follow-up commentary that he perceived the switch as indexing a flirtatious stance. Other Nicaraguan interviewees suggested the same function, although they typically linked the practice to male speakers. In the next segment, Marta again opts for *tuteo*, despite her otherwise consistent use of *voseo*, while questioning Rafa about his amorous status.

(25) *"¿Tienes novia?" (18-yo female, Marta, and 18-yo male, Rafa):*

1	Marta:	*Y ¿qué… **tienes** novia?*
2		And, what… do you$_T$ have a girlfriend?
3	Rafa:	*Ah, ¿Qué si tengo novia?*
4		Hmm, do I have a girlfriend?
5		*Esas preguntas no se hacen, pero te voy a decir sinceramente que no.*
6		Those questions aren't to be asked, but I'm going to tell you sincerely that
7		no.
8	Marta:	hhhh Hah?
9	Rafa:	hhhh
10	Marta:	*Ah, bueno. Que bueno, pues.*
11		Oh, well. How nice, then.
12	Rafa:	*Sí.*
13		Yes.
14	Marta:	*Mm, hay que… seguir adelante uno.*
15		Mm, one has to… move forward.
16	Rafa:	*Claro que sí.*
17		Of course.
18	Marta:	hhh

Prior to this segment, Marta had been using the *voseo* variant. Here, however, she switched (for the third time) to *tuteo* while broaching questions of the heart: *¿Tenés novia?* 'Do you have$_V$ a girlfriend?'.

This pattern of switching to *tuteo* in dialogue was perceived by both the analyst and the interlocutor to index a flirtatious stance, recalling Kiesling's (2009) suggestion that "we can notice that interactants are engaging in similar activities (such as arguing or flirting) in how they participate verbally (and nonverbally) in interactions, and we should be able to show some relationship between this participation and variation" (p. 173). In the instances perceived as flirting here, non-verbal contextualization cues, such as laughter (e.g. lines 8, 9, 18), supported the interpretation.

The next segment captures the lone use of *tuteo* by 36-year-old Walter during 30 minutes of conversation with 36-year-old Feña.

4.2.3   Indexing youthfulness

This transcription captures the tail end of Feña's recounting to Walter of her experiences in an abusive relationship. The dialogue follows Feña's description of some of the negative experiences she endured.

(26)   *"Tú estás joven." (36-yo female, Feña, and 36-yo male, Walter):*
  Feña: *Para mí, hoy, lo más primodial es la comunicación.*
              For me, today, the most important thing is communication.

  Walter: *Pero, **tú estás** joven, ¿sí?*
              But, you$_T$ are$_T$ young, yeah?

  Feña: *Sí, pero no quiero otro. Me-hhh, me divorcié con él.*
              Yeah, but I don't want another. I-hhh, I divorced him.

Upon concluding her personal narrative alluding to some of the abuse she suffered during her marriage (omitted from the transcript), Feña shared her personal takeaway: the value of communication. Walter followed this comment with his only use of *tuteo* during

the entire 30-minute conversation: in the form of a suggestion that Feña was still young, with the opportunity to remarry. Based on the context, and the direct reference to age (*"tú estás joven"*), the use of *tuteo* appears to serve the function of indexing Feña's youthfulness. Given its status between traditionally familiar *voseo* and more formal/deferential *ustedeo*, *tuteo* seems to provide an option that affords the addressee a certain level of respect, without potentially indexing older age. Or, conversely, perhaps *tuteo* carries some notion of youth among locals (or, at least, for this speaker). While Walter was unable to explain his switch in a subsequent retrospective interview, other locals commented on both the age-indexical value of *tuteo* and its association with respect. For example, while discussing her conversation with 36-year-old Feña, Loreto explained why she opened with *tuteo*:

(27) *para hacerle sentir mejor, porque no le iba a decir usted; se miraría feo porque no es tanta, señora. Y 'vos' es una persona de confianza. Y necesito su respeto.*

'to make her feel better, because I wasn't going to say to her '*usted*'; it would look bad because she's not such an older woman. And '*vos*' is a person of intimacy. And I need her respect.'

4.2.4   Polymorphism

In several instances, speakers seemed to mix pronominal and verbal forms haphazardly and to switch from one variant to another with the same interlocutor in rapid succession. At times, this change occurred within the same sentence, for example when 36-year-old Ingrid was talking with 18-year-old Marta about accidents:

(28) *Pensás que te va a pasar algo y no vas a volver a ver a las personas que tu quieres.*

'You think$_V$ that something is going to happen to you$_A$ and you're not going$_A$ to see the people you$_T$ love$_T$ again'.

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In this statement, Ingrid generalizes using both *voseo* and *tuteo* in an impersonal fashion. In other cases, the pronominal switch is directed to the same individual, but in adjacent sentences, as in Ingrid's reported speech representing her own statements to her husband:

(29) *"Si tú te casas conmigo vamos a quedar aqui en Limón. Entonces, si te querés casar conmigo…"*

'If you$_T$ marry$_T$ me, we are going to stay here in Limón. So, if you want$_V$ to marry me…'

The function of pronominal switching in such cases is unclear; it could serve to create a difference in emphasis or focus. More data are needed to make such claims. The examples of adjacent pronoun-verb mixing, however, suggest that the local pronominal system may be more fluid than described in most accounts. In fact, on one occasion, Feña uttered an apparently novel verbal form that was a blend between the two traditional variants, *voseo* and *ustedeo*: *"vos, digame"* 'you$_V$ tell$_{U-V}$ me', with the stress on the second syllable of the verb; the *vos* imperative form is *decíme*, and the *usted* form, *dígame*. This example could represent (a) the general flux of the local pronominal system; (b) a speech error; or (c) interference of established suprasegmental patterns tied to *voseo* verbal conjugation. More data are needed to test these or alternative hypotheses. The examples of pronominal-verbal mixing might invite the assessment that the mixed variants are in free variation, at least for certain speakers; such mixing was much more common with the two older females and one of the younger females, highlighting differences in use across speakers. In most instances, however, apparently random polymorphism shows structure, as explicated in the following section.

4.2.5   Pronoun use in personal narratives and reported speech

The most common pragmatic function of pronoun alternation in both the interview and conversational data involved switching between discourse types. As elucidated by the quantitative analysis, speakers often switched pronouns when shifting

from addressing the conversational partner to providing generalized commentary via impersonal use of second-person pronominal forms. Much of this impersonal pronoun use came in the form of narrative discourse that presented both real and hypothetical scenarios and contained the reported speech of real or imagined characters. Aside from distinguishing conversational from narrative discourse, pronominal switching also served to index different story-world characters through their reported speech. In cases where speakers produced metalinguistic commentary, they frequently utilized personal narratives and reported speech to take both implicit stances (i.e. 'internal evaluation' through stylized performances of reported speech) and explicit stances on the different pronominal variants. In this section, I analyze pronoun selection and alternation in these contexts.

The following interaction occurred near the end of a 1.5-hour conversation I had with a local woman ('Mariana') who volunteered at the community library. Although Mariana used *ustedeo* and *tuteo* to address me, *voseo* suddenly appeared in her story-world speech. The following sequence of dialogue was prompted by my remarks about how difficult it was to get around the region by foot.

(30) *"Ahora es una moto!"*

1	Jeff:	*Tendría que conseguir una moto o algo para la próxima visita.*
2		I would have to get a motorcycle or something for the next visit.
3	Mariana:	*Sí, **tienes** que andar en moto aquí.*
4		Yes, you **have**$_T$ to get around by motorcycle here.
5		*Ha cambiado tanto… que antes nosotros caminábamos a pie.*
6		It has changed so much… before, we walked.
7		*Después allá aparecieron las bicicletas…*
8		Later came the bicycles…
9		*¡Ahora es una moto! Por todos lados, dos, tres motos en cada casa.*
10		Now it's a motorcycle! Everywhere, two, three motorcycles per house.
11		*Sí, porque no **te podés** mover si no **tenés** moto.*

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12	Yes, because you **can't**$_V$ get around if (you) don't **have**$_V$ a motorcycle.
13	*Muy largo el trabajo. **Salís** a medianoche, **tenés** que moverte en tu moto*
14	*para regresar a tu casa.*
15	Very far away, work. (You) **leave**$_V$ at midnight, (you) **have**$_V$ to travel on
16	your$_A$ motorcycle to return to your$_A$ house.

Mariana addressed the researcher using *tuteo* (*tienes*) in line 3 while echoing his sentiment that he would need transportation during an anticipated return trip. After this initial address, however, Mariana shifted into the story-world, sharing a personal narrative about the changes in the community. As she recounted past and present lifestyles, Mariana used impersonal *voseo* to put forth what she presumably took to be generalized truths about daily life for locals. The repeated observation of this type of discourse-related pronominal switching motivates the claim that it can serve an in-/out-group identity-related function.

Later during the same conversation, while discussing different opportunities for local versus U.S. youth, Mariana again shifted to *voseo* while offering the Nicaraguan perspective:

(31) *"Los jóvenes"*

1	Mariana:	*Un joven en los Estados Unidos, un joven puede estar estudiando su, su*
2		*eschool, y puede trabajar...*
3		A young person in the United States, a young person can be studying
4		his/her, school, and can work…
5		*Mientres acá, los jóvenes, este, ya andan con su título, no **tenés**- como no*
6		***tenés** experiencia…*
7		While here, the youth, uh, they already have their degree, you don't
8		**have**$_V$- as you don't **have**$_V$ experience…

In line 5 Mariana opted for an impersonal use of *voseo* (*tenés*) when shifting to an explicitly local Nicaraguan perspective, in contrast to a US orientation. Her switch from a third-person subject (*los jóvenes*) to a second-person impersonal subject ([vos] *tenés*)

further generalizes her assertion. Mariana's use of *voseo* in this context once again contrasted with the *tuteo* and *ustedeo* forms she had maintained while addressing the researcher during 1.5 hours of conversation, illustrating Mariana's dexterity in using pronominal paradigms to shift between the conversational and story worlds and as a resource in constructing a local identity. However, Mariana's impersonal use of *voseo* with the out-group researcher does bring into question Gast et al.'s (2015) claim that impersonal pronouns "establish a direct referential link to the addressee, just like personal uses" (p. 148), given that *voseo* was never used as a form of address for the researcher during 1.5 hours of conversation. In this regard, the three-variant local pronominal system, paired with its in-/out-group indexical function, provides a unique tool for testing and refuting (or at least, limiting) this claim.

Similar pronominal alternation was frequent during conversations between locals. For example, in the following passage, each pronominal switch represents a shift between discourse types: address, reported speech and impersonal speech. The segment also illustrates the effect of speech act on variant selection. Ingrid, who had been consistently using *voseo* to address Feña prior to this segment, switches to *ustedeo* in line 1 (*mire* 'look$_U$') to call Feña's attention to her subsequent talk, a narrative about a foreign friend who came to live with her. The arrows in the transcription mark the switches between variants, which correspond to switches in discourse type.

(32) *"Ropa Extendida": SSC between Ingrid and Feña (36-year-old females)*

1	Ingrid:	*Sí porque **mire**, yo tengo una amiga extranjeras [sic]*
2		because, **look**$_U$, I have a foreign friend
3		*Ella vino a vivir aquí, en mi casa, estuvo viviendo dos meses, dos meses.*
4		She came to live here, in my house, she was living two months, two months.
5		*Y este, ella decía, "No, es que-"*
6		And uh, she said, "No, it's that-"
7	➡	*"-No, no **te preocupes**"*
8		"-No, don't **worry**$_T$"

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9		*"Ahí- si **tú dejas** a tu ropa ahí*
10		"There- if **you**_T **leave**_T your clothes there

9
"Ahí- si **tú dejas** a tu ropa ahí

10
"There- if **you**$_T$ **leave**$_T$ your clothes there

11
"ahí la vas a hallar"

12
"there you will find it"

13 ➔
*¿Me **entendés**?*

14
You **understand**$_V$ me?

15
"No es que-"

16
"No, it's that-"

17 ➔
*"-No, si **tú tienes** tu ropa ahí extendida"*

18
"-No, if **you**$_T$ **have**$_T$ your$_A$ clothes hanging there

19
"ahí la vas a hallar"/'

20
"there you$_A$ will find it

21
((16 sec describing how foreign friend came to live in Limón))

22 ➔
*No **tenés** que dejar ah como, mal puestas las cosas*

23
You **can't**$_V$ leave uh like, things out of order

24
***Tenés** que estar-*

25
You **have**$_V$ to be-

26 Feña:
-no, lo-

27
-no, it-

28 Ingrid:
-todavía hemos- no hemos [llegado a eso]

29
-we still have- we haven't [come to that]

30 Feña:
[*todavía no*] *hemos llegado*

31
a eso, hahaha

32
[we still have]n't come to

33
that, hahaha

After calling Feña's attention using an *ustedeo* command form in line 1, Ingrid sets the scene of her narrative. This contextualized use of *ustedeo* could be analyzed either as a discourse marker (i.e "fixed expression" following Woods & Lapidus Shin

2016) or a command. Regardless, its isolated use could suggest a perceived face-threat (of the imperative form itself) or the variant's value in calling the hearer's attention.

Ingrid introduces the reported speech of her foreign friend in line 5 (underlined) before interrupting with her own reported speech directed to her story-world friend, in line 7. In all of her reported speech, Ingrid addresses the foreign friend using *tuteo*, the variant commonly associated with outsiders in the community. Reported speech was the most common site for commands in the SSCs, a detail mentioned in the quantitative analysis. Ingrid's reported speech here includes a command form (*no te preocupes* 'don't worry$_T$'). This observation is a crucial consideration for future research, as much extant research has not accounted for the discourse context in making quantitative generalizations. Clearly, a command appearing in reported speech differs in function from a command directed to an interlocutor. As such, consideration of the form and delivery of each should be integrated into any overarching analysis.

In line 13, Ingrid's sequence of reported speech to her foreign friend is briefly interrupted by conversational speech directed to Feña that comes in the form of a *voseo* tag (*¿Me entendés?* 'You understand$_V$ me?'). Tags were most frequently delivered in *voseo* in this corpus. The contrast in variants from the opening attention caller in line 1 (*ustedeo*) and this tag (*voseo*) reflects a broader pattern in the data that at times resulted in intra-sentential polymorphism. This pattern justifies the decision to expand the category labeled "fixed expressions" by Woods and Lapidus Shin (2016) to capture both sub-categories, here labeled 'discourse markers' and 'tags'.

After completing her segment of reported speech using *tuteo* (and then providing some background information about how her friend came to live with her), Ingrid's next use of second-person singular comes in *voseo* form in impersonal speech (line 22), in which she offers generalizations about how things are/should be in the local community. The locally-oriented generalization is enhanced by use of first-person plural in line 28 (*no **hemos** llegado a eso* '**we** haven't come to that'), which is echoed by Feña along with

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some laughter in lines 30-31. Once again, this passage reflects the widespread use of *voseo* by locals in impersonal speech offering a local perspective.

The use of pronominal switching in an identity-related fashion was at times accompanied by explicit commentary, in particular during sociolinguistic interviews and in retrospective commentary provided by SSC participants. The following transcripts are taken from sociolinguistic interviews I conducted with three different locals. To analyze these interactions, I utilize transcription conventions that account for additional speech features, such as pitch, loudness, speech rate, and speech quality (see Appendix D). These features serve as contextualization cues that inform my interpretation of the speaker's stance throughout each interaction. The transcription conventions also capture shifts between story-world voices, Goffman's 'figures'. The symbol *f* is used along with subscripts (e.g. f_1, f_2, f_3...) to distinguish between different figures represented by speakers through their reported speech.

The first transcript comes from an interview with a 19-year-old local man who had recently completed his first year of university in the state capital. He benefited from expatriate programs aimed at financially assisting local youth in pursuing post-secondary education. The speaker commented on routinely interacting with youth from other countries, including the United States, while participating in local cultural and service-learning non-profit programs. Typical of the 18- to 19-year-old participants in this study, he reported no recollection of the community before tourism. This contrasts with his parents, who, he reported, left secondary school to work in agricultural fields. This section of the interview centers on the discussion of *vos*, *tú* and *usted* usage within the community.

(33) *"Tú eres buena onda." (Interview with 19-year-old male, 'José'):*

1	Jeff:	*¿con quién usas tú?*
2		with whom do you use *tú*?
3		*(1.2)*

| 4 | José: | *-hh e:: cuando no conozco a una persona-* |
| 5 | | -hh u:h when I don't know a person |

| 6 | | *la tra- la trato de tú.* |
| 7 | | I address him/her with tú |

| 8 | Jeff: | *nicaragüenses y::-* |
| 9 | | Nicaraguans a::nd |

| 10 | José: | *extranjeros, sí* |
| 11 | | foreigners, yes |

| 12 | Jeff: | *los dos=* |
| 13 | | both= |

| 14 | José: | *=los dos, sí, tú.* |
| 15 | | =both, yes, *tú.* |

| 16 | Jeff: | *cuándo usas a:: usted?* |
| 17 | | when do you use *usted*? |

| 18 | José: | *uste:d?* |
| 19 | | uste:d? |

| 20 | | *también cuando:-* |
| 21 | | also when |

22		*(1.5)*
23		*como (.) quiero hacer amistad con alguien comienzo*
24		like (.) I want to make friends with someone I begin

25		*(1.3)*
26	f_1:	*↑ hola usted*
27		↑ hi you$_U$

| 28 | f_1: | *yo la ví la otra vez e:n-* |
| 29 | | I saw you$_U$ the other time a:t |

| 30 | f_1: | *una:: conferencia.* |
| 31 | | a:: conference |

| 32 | f_1: | *usted se llama::-* |
| 33 | | your$_U$ name is |

34		*(1.9)*
35	*f₁:*	*a: samantha?*
36		u:h Samantha?
37		*↓ o cualquie::r-*
38		↓ or whatever
39		*cosa así para:-*
40		(thing) to
41		*comenzar una plática-*
42		start a conversation
43		*de forma educada porque si yo comienzo*
44		in a polite way because if I start
45	*f₂:*	*hh ↑<<f, breathy, rhythmic>entOnce(s) vO(s) como te llamÁ(s)?>*
46		hh ↑<<f, breathy, rhythmic>well what's your$_V$ name?>
47		*es como más vulgar como::-*
48		it's like more unrefined like
49		*má::s incorrecto, pues no, no sé* [*( )*]
50		more inappropriate, like, I don't know ( )]
51	Jeff:	[*y:: pero con tú también?*]
52		[a::nd but with *tú* also?]
53	José:	*sí, claro, claro que (.)-*
54		yes, of course, of course
55	*f₃:*	*<<len>tú (.) tú puedes (.)-*
56		you (.) can you$_T$
57	*f₃:*	*decirme tu nombre?>*
58		tell me your$_T$ name
59	*f₄:*	*↑ oye (..) tú no eres e:::l chico que estaba la otra vez?*
60		↑ hey aren't you$_T$ the guy that was here the other time?
61	*f₅:*	*↑ <<all, falsetto>oh sí yo soy.>*
62		↑ <<all, falsetto>oh yes I am.>

63	*f₄:*	↓ *oye tú eres buena onda.*
64		↓ hey you're_T nice/cool/etc.
65		↓ *como cosas así.*
66		↓ like things like that.

This transcript is rich in both explicit metalinguistic commentary and performative use of the pronouns *vos*, *tú* and *usted* in hypothetical contexts. The reported speech turns highlight the use of prosody to differentiate between discourse types, in this case, the reporter's real-world conversational speech and multiple story-world characters or figures (denoted by f_1, f_2, …) (e.g. Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen 1999). Each shift between voices is accompanied by a shift in pitch, as denoted by the ↑↓ transcription conventions. In the first two instances of reported speech (f_1 and f_2), the pitch shift distinguishes the reported speech from the reporter's own. Further down, in lines 55-65, however, pitch shifts also serve to distinguish between adjacent reported figures (f_3, f_4, and f_5).

Returning to f_1, in line 26, note how the prosodic shift functions in tandem with the reportative verb *comienzo* 'I begin' in line 25, to distinguish the ensuing reported speech from the preceding conversational speech. It introduces a new voice, that of the speaker in an imagined (story-world) context in which he would use the pronoun *usted*. The context, as it happens, is a formal setting—a conference—and the utterance itself is similar in voice quality to its adjacent conversational speech. Contrast that with the voice quality of the next instance of reported speech (f_2): after shifting back to his real-world voice in line 37 (with a corresponding return to the conversational baseline pitch) the speaker raises his pitch once again in line 45. Note that this time he also changes his voice quality, producing a louder, breathy and rhythmic voice. The speech represents an imagined speaker using the pronoun *vos* upon making someone's acquaintance. The contrast in voice quality, a shift to a louder, breathy and rhythmic voice, imparts a

harshness to the utterance, highlighting the potential for the speaker to inject his evaluation of the speech via a stylized performance. The speaker shares his evaluation of the speech through his enactment of it (Volosinov 1978)—speaking to Bakhtin's (1981) polyphony or layering of voices—and in so doing, he implies his position or stance (Goffman 1981; Günthner 2007). As such, the reported speech is available for evaluation by both speaker and recipient; each can choose to affiliate or disaffiliate with it, and in turn, with one other. While this *internal evaluation* is considered a more effective narrative tool by some (e.g. Labov 1972a) in that it allows the recipients to make their own evaluation of the characters or events of a narrative, it is also often accompanied by explicit commentary (Güenthner 2007), as shown here in lines 47-49: [*Vos*] *es como más vulgar como, más incorrecto* '*Vos* is like more unrefined, like more inappropriate'. In addition to the 'harsh' quality of the reported speech containing *vos*, the speech incorporates a stereotypical feature of Nicaraguan Spanish: *s*-reduction. This feature, widely-stigmatized across multiple varieties of Spanish, elicited negative metalinguistic commentary from several of the present study's participants.

Auer (2007) remarks on the use of stereotypical speech features by speakers in the construction of social identities. Taking a constructivist over an essentialist position on identity, Auer (2007) cites the work of Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) in foregrounding the role of co-occurring linguistic features in social style formation. The instance of reported speech in line 45 incorporates a loud, breathy, and rhythmic voice quality with two stigmatized features of Nicaraguan Spanish: *vos* and *s*-reduction. In concert with the other instances of reported speech within the same conversation, it suggests a Nicaraguan speech style as envisioned and (negatively) evaluated by the speaker. Thus, we are allowed a glimpse at speech ideologies as they bear on the speaker's reported speech productions in the interaction.

Continuing to the next instance of reported speech (line 55), there is a sequence of adjacent reported voices (*f₃-f₅*). The sequence further displays how prosody can function

as a turn-taking device, distinguishing between different voices enacted by the same real-world speaker. The first transition, from speaker to f_3 shows that pitch is not the only prosodic device operating in indexing voice-alternation: slow tempo suggests a shift from conversation to inner voice or thought. This pattern is followed by a return to normal tempo and the more common (in these data) rise in pitch to introduce a new character (f_4). In turn, the response to the question posed by f_4 in line 59 is provided by f_5 in line 61. The shift between voices is accompanied by increased tempo and another rise in pitch, imparting a falsetto voice quality. The subsequent lowering in pitch and tempo returns the speech to f_4, and finally, another lowering in pitch returns the speech to the real-world speaker. While all of these transitions between voices occur without the use of reportatives, occasional deictics (*you*, *I*) provide lexico-syntactic index to speaker, and the prosodic shifts impart salient contextualization cues to distinguish adjacent voices (Selting 1992).

Returning to the issue of style, the voice quality of these story-world figures (f_3-f_5), in a few lines of conversation centered on *tú* usage, is markedly different from that of f_2, who used *vos*. The quality of f_3-f_5 mirrors that of f_1 in use of *usted* in its similarity to conversational speech and the full realization of /s/ throughout the turns. In addition, the content in both is positive and oriented towards forming a new relationship. In terms of indexicality and stance-taking, the prosodic qualities and content embodied in the reported speech seem to match the metalinguistic commentary, supporting the view that speakers are able to project their stance via reported speech as part of an act of identity construction within the real-world interaction. The following transcripts bolster the tentative claims made in the analysis of the first.

The next transcript comes from an interview with a 45-year-old local man who took a role as a community activist after losing his ability to work due to illness. He reported having led a strike aimed at improving the wages of locals working for the largest property development company in the area. He openly commented on the positive

and negative aspects of the tourism and property-development industry, and on the lifestyle differences pre- and post-tourism. This stretch of speech also centers on second-person singular pronoun usage, primarily on the common local variant, *vos* and the common tourist variant, *tú*.

(34)   *"¡Oiga, tú, ven! (Interview with 46-year-old male, 'Germán'):*

1	Germán:	*entOnces pero sÍ*
2		well, but yes
3		*aquí hay este:*
4		here there is this
5		*el grIngo (.)*
6		the gringo
7		*te dIce (.)*
8		says to you
9	f₁:	*<<rhythmic>Oye tÚ (.) vEn>*
10		<<rhythmic>listen$_T$ you$_T$ (.) come here$_T$>
11	Jeff:	ah:::
12		ah::
13	Germán:	*ya (.)*
14		yeah
15	Jeff:	*ellos usan ↑ tÚ*
16		they use you$_T$
17	Germán:	*sí*
18		yeah
19	f₁:	*<<rhythmic>oiga tÚ vEn>*
20		<<rhythmic>listen$_U$ you$_T$ come here$_T$>
21	f₁:	*ven*
22		come here$_T$
23		*ya(.) porque no te puede decir*

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24		yeah(.) because I can't say to you
25	*f₂:*	*<<f, breathy>VO(S)>*
26		<<f, breathy>YOU_V>
27		*porque esa palabra n-n-*
28		because that word
29		*-no la acostUmbra*
30		(the gringo) isn't used to it
31		*esa es palabra nicaragüEnse*
32		it is a Nicaraguan word
33		(1.2)
34		*suena fE:o ( )*
35		it sounds ugly ( )
36	*f₂:*	*<<f>VO(S)>*
37		<<f>YOU_V>
38		*como que estás peleando (.)*
39		like as though you are fighting (.)
40	*f₂:*	*<<breathy<VO(S)>*
41		<<breathy< YOU_V>
42		*pero no es*
43		but it isn't
44		*o sea (.) porque::*
45		or rather (.) because
46		*ese es costumbre que tenemos nohotros los nicaragüenses decir*
47		that is a custom we Nicaraguans have, to say
48		VO(S)
49		YOU_V

As in the previous transcript, the local speaker here makes ample use of prosody in contextualizing his story-world voices. All four instances of *vos* in his reported speech are stressed and include a breathy and/or loud voice quality; further, they include

stereotypical (and sociophonetically salient) s-reduction. It is noteworthy that this prosodic display is comparable to the local speaker's performance of *vos* in the previous transcript. With respect to *tú*, on the other hand, the present speaker does not use pitch or loudness, and instead relies on a rhythmic quality to bring the speech to life. This is perhaps not surprising, and even telling, in light of the content of his *tú* utterances: both are commands given by a hypothetical *gringo*, who the speaker explicitly casts as an outsider unfamiliar with local speech. That this character only offers simple direct orders seems logical considering this speaker's later conversational description of expatriates as employers and property-owners, both accustomed to delivering orders to local workers. Returning to the data, another telling feature of the *tú* utterances centers on the verbal conjugations: in line 9 the *tú* form appears (*oye* 'hey/listen'), while in line 19 the *usted* form appears (*oiga*). This pattern played out multiple times in later sections of the transcript, supporting the speaker's claim that locals, or at least this speaker, doesn't use *tú*, and that it is an outsider's word. The man not only implicitly evaluates the reported speech through his enactment of it, he also explicitly comments on it, referring to *vos* as *feo 'ugly'* and something Nicaraguan; note the deictic *nohotros* (with s-reduction) used in claiming the pronoun as part of local speech/culture practice. The first two transcripts provide evidence that these two speakers use reported speech as an evaluative tool: to comment on the very speech they are producing in particular, emphasizing differences related to personal pronoun usage. Their metapragmatic commentary supports this interpretation and that of Silverstein (1985) that reported speech is a metapragmatic activity in and of itself, giving insight to the speaker's stance.

The following short sequences suggest that local speakers use reported speech—and in particular personal pronouns as well as voice quality and pronunciation—to index a range of identities, including local, regional, and foreign personae. In addition, the first sequence highlights the role of the hearer in stance-taking (e.g. Goodwin 2007), as the speaker incorporates the interviewer's hypothetical voice into the reported speech. Thus,

the interaction displays stance-taking both *vis-a-vis* the recipient (i.e. the interviewer) and reported (or imagined) others; here, residents of a mountainous region of the country described as poor and uneducated.

(35) *"Ellos dicen 'andíte'." (Interview with 25-year-old male, 'Diego'):*

1	Diego:	*entonces (.) por ejemplo?*
2		so (.) for example
3		*cuando TÚ me dices?*
4		when you$_T$ say$_T$ to me?
5	*f₁:*	↑ *voy a ir:::?(.) a::*
6		↑ I'm going to go(.) to
7	*f₁:*	↓ *<<English phonology>surf spot.>*
8		↓ <<English phonology>surf spot.>
9	*f₁:*	*voy a comer un tAco.*
10		I'm going to eat a taco.
11		*entonces si yo?(.)*
12		then if I?(.)
13		*no puedo ir?(.)te digo(--)*
14		I can't go? (.) I tell you$_A$ (--)
15	*f₂:*	↑ *andÁte entonces (--)*↓*estoy tarde*
16		↑ you go$_V$ then (--)↓I'm late
17		*ellos dicen(-)*
18		they say
19	*f₃:*	↓*andÍte*
20		↓ you go$_V$

In line 3 the speaker directly addresses the interviewer with *tú* (a real-world pronoun of address), followed by the reportative *dices* 'you say'. In so doing he attributes the following reported speech to the interviewer. The reported speech itself incorporates

an English-named restaurant frequented by tourists. While the speech is introduced with a rise in pitch, the pitch is not sustained, speaking to Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen's (1999) observation that both pitch level and pitch range may serve to mark reported speech, and also to Jansen et al.'s (2001) observation that the intonational boundary at the start of the reported speech is the most frequent locus of pitch range reset. The telling data from a stance-taking perspective occurs in the next lines. In lines 13-15, the speaker invokes his own voice, again via a quotative (*te digo* 'I tell you'), and uses the *vos* verb form *andáte* 'you go'. The subsequent statement repeats the command in a stylized fashion, depicting the speaker's perception of how an uneducated Nicaraguan from another region would say it. The juxtaposition of the three voices within the sequence allows both speaker and recipient (as well as analyst) to evaluate the speech reported by each character, in addition to the stance-taking by the speaker. Through implicitly and explicitly contrasting his speech styles with the interviewer and other outside groups of Nicaraguans (via stylized characters), the speaker participates in the active construction of both participants' identities. Crucially, as Auer (2007) mentions, interpretation of these social styles requires shared understanding of stereotypes and social categories if they are to effectively serve as resources in identity construction. The speaker, in this case, explicitly explains the stereotype of mountainous Nicaraguans to the interviewer and, presumably, assumes the interviewer recognizes the stereotyped gringo character. This speaker, a 25-year-old male with several years of experience working in tourism and a relatively high proficiency in English, frequently switched pronouns when transitioning into reported speech. Another example appears in the following segment taken from the same interview. Due to space constraints, the participants' names are abbreviated: Diego (D) and Jeff (J).

(36) *"¿Cómo que sos bartender?" (Interview with 25-year-old male, 'Diego'):*

1	D:	*me gusta proba:r las diferencias de whIskey también-*
2		I like to try the differences of whiskey also

3		
4		*para saber cuál es el sabor que tienen-*
5		to know what flavors they have
6		*pero no tomo alcohol.*
7		but I don't drink alcohol
8	J:	*perfecto.*
9		perfect (I see)
10	D:	*ya=.*
11		yeah
12	J:	*=fácil ser* (.) [*bartender*]
13		easy to be (.) [bartender]
14	D:	[*sss- exactamente*]
15		[sss- exactly]
16		*sí soy un catador le digo a todo mundo y ellos ( ) ↑<<f, falsetto>QUE?>*
17		yes, I'm a taster I tell everyone and they ( ) ↑<<f, falsetto>WHAT?>
18	J:	*↑ cómo que* [*eso* (.) *hahahaha*]
19		↑ how is [that (.) hahahaha]
20	D:	[↓*<<f, breathy>cómo que-* (1.2) *heh*]
21		[↓<<f, breathy>how is it- (1.2) heh]
22		*cómo que sOs un bartender y no tOmas?> (laughing)*
23		how is it that you are$_V$ a bartender and you don't drink$_T$?> (laughing)

This interaction highlights the role of co-construction between the two participants. In line 17 the interviewer states *cómo que eso* 'how is that', which is immediately taken up and repeated (in part) by the speaker *cómo que-*, who then turns to the story world to evaluate the situation *cómo que sos un bartender y no tomas?* 'how is it that you are$_V$ a bartender and you don't drink$_T$?'. Despite the speaker's conversational use of the *tú* form (throughout the interview), in this hypothetical reported speech created by him and *directed at him*, he uses the *vos* form of *ser* 'to be', *sos* 'you are'. In the same

sentence, however, he switches to a *tuteo* verb form (*tomas* 'you drink$_T$'), producing an example of polymorphism in reported speech. In later sequences, co-construction extends beyond content to the co-construction of mutual bilingual identities: both speaker and interviewer employ code-switching in a mirrored fashion within the turn-taking structure. Several studies dealing with speech stereotypes, styles, and identity construction have also commented on the identity-construction functions of language selection and switching (e.g. Auer 2007). While there is not enough space to detail the interactions here, the next sequence, which highlights the same speaker's awareness of speech stereotypes and related speaker identities, ends with a code switch by both speakers.

(37) *"¿Eres de Costa Rica? ¡No, soy pinolero!" Interview with 25-year-old male, 'Diego':*

1	D:	*mundialmente se conoce que costa rica tiene un mejor español que nosotros*
2		worldwide it's known that Costa Rica has a better Spanish than us.
3		(1.2)
4		*no sé, ellos usan más la ese (.) para todo*
5		I don't know, they use 's' more for everything
6		*igual yo también*
7		the same goes for me too
8		*creo que tengo una pequeña confusión entre(.)hh*
9		I believe I have a small confusion between
10		*inglés y español*
11		English and Spanish
12		*y hay veces yo uso la ese?*
13		and sometimes I use 's'
14	J:	*sí.*
15		yes.
16	D:	*eso es TIco(.) hehehe*
17		that's tico(.)hehehe

18		*acá cuando alguien te habla ss ss ss ss*
19		here when someone speaks to you 'ss-ss-ss-ss'
20	ƒ₁:	*entonces ↑eres de cOsta rIca?*
21		then ↑are_T you from Costa Rica?
22	J:	*a::h? sí::?*
23		a::h? yeah?
24	D: ƒ₂:	*sí: y luego ↓<<f,len, breathy>NO(.)*
25		yeah and then↓<<f,len, breathy>NO(.)
26	ƒ₂:	*soy pinolEro> hehehe*
27		I'm a pinol drinker>hehehe
28	J:	*[¿qué es eso?]*
29		[what is that?]
30	D:	[you know what] is pinol?
31		((both parties continue conversation in English))

In this sequence, the speaker initiates conversation about a stereotypical feature of Nicaraguan Spanish, *s*-reduction. However, he inverts the previously-mentioned perspective: it is outsiders, namely, Costa Ricans, who consistently enunciate /s/ rather than locals, Nicaraguans, who reduce or delete it. He also attributes his (over)use of /s/ to confusion with English, thus actively constructing his identity as a proficient and capable bilingual. Subsequently, he invokes reported speech to show how a person might question his identity as a local; indeed, or suggest that he is Costa Rican. He adeptly shifts voices (louder, lower pitch, and breathy quality) to assert his identity as an authentic local (as someone who drinks a national drink). Immediately following this assertion, however, he returns to the real-world, shifting his stance back to that of a proficient bilingual wanting to ensure clear communication with an English-dominant outsider (the interviewer). On a brief side note, data across the transcripts shared here present two emerging patterns worth future investigation: the repeated use of *entonces* 'so' and *oye* 'hey/listen' as

markers to introduce reported speech and the tendency to depict Nicaraguan speech in a similar prosodical fashion.

4.2.5.1   *Summary of pronoun use in personal narratives*

This section has shown how locals in a region of recent intense cultural contact are able to construct and shift in- and out-group identities through personal narratives. An interactional view of identity construction (e.g. Auer 2007; Bucholtz 2005; Eckert 1989, 2008, 2010, 2012) and stance-taking (Goodwin 2007) allowed inspection of locals' conscious and un-conscious deployment of personal pronouns and other semiotic resources in their reported speech. The analysis suggests that locals use second-person singular pronouns in reported speech as a resource in stance-taking in conjunction with prosody, voice quality and deictics as they construct story-world voices (representing real-world social categories); further, these constructed story-world voices serve as a resource in stance-taking vis-à-vis both the story-world voices themselves and the real-world narrative audience. The analytical framework captures speaker agency as well as the role of outside forces (i.e. growing tourism, local and international economics and politics, etc.) that influence identity co-construction. The data also highlight the fluid and temporal nature of *emergent* identities, hinting at on-going and future identity shifts among younger educated locals in comparison to older locals.

In the next chapter, I provide a summary of the study's quantitative and qualitative findings. I consider how the data yielded through both methods, along with data from local metalinguistic commentary, combine to address the research questions. I conclude by discussing the implications of these overall findings, by identifying the study's limitations, and by suggesting avenues for future research.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

This dissertation combines quantitative and qualitative methodologies to: (1) identify patterning of second-person singular pronoun use according to select social and linguistic variables; and (2) pinpoint some of the pragmatic and socioindexical functions pronoun selection and alternation serve in this community of practice. The combination of methodologies allows not only a snapshot of pronoun use according to traditional sociolinguistic categories, but also highlights ways in which members of this speech community use personal pronouns actively, in contextualized interactions, to achieve different conversational goals. The three tools used to gather data—traditional sociolinguistic interviews with an out-group researcher, semi-structured conversations among locals, and retrospective metalinguistic reports—along with the data-gathering timeline of four separate time points (2011, 2013, 2015, 2016), allow a more comprehensive analysis of the variants in terms of the community's evolving social dynamics and a more informed discussion of how language practices might continue to adapt over time.

5.1 RETURN TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this discussion, I address each research question considering the collective data yielded from the three collection tools. I reflect on the overall quantitative patterning in both the sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations as it relates to the pragmatic and socioindexical functions identified in the qualitative analysis. I support the overarching analysis by referencing the naturally-occurring patterns identified through ethnographic observations and local metalinguistic commentary. For reference, the four research questions (RQs) are:

1. What is the proportion of local use of *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* with other locals and with outsiders visiting or residing in the community? Centrally, do locals use *tuteo* with other locals?

2. Does pronoun use vary according to the age and sex of the speaker and interlocutor or the amount of social contact the local speaker has with outsiders?

3. Does pronoun use vary according to discourse type (address, impersonal, reported speech), linguistic form (overt versus null pronoun) or speech act (question, statement, command, discourse marker)?

4. What pragmatic and socioindexical functions do *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* selection and alternation serve?

These questions were addressed in turn in the data analysis sections. Here, I elaborate on those previous analyses while also considering the four questions in tandem. I discuss how pronoun use according to the social variables (addressed by RQs 1 and 2) relate to the linguistic variables (RQ 3), and propose how both of them interface with underlying socioindexical and pragmatic functions of pronoun selection and alternation (RQ 4).

5.2   PRONOUN USE AMONG LOCALS AND WITH OUTSIDERS

Patterns that emerged in the sociolinguistic interview and the semi-structured conversation data, when qualified by ethnographic observations and metalinguistic commentary, allow some generalizations regarding the social distribution and the pragmatic functions of pronoun selection in this community. With regard to RQ1, the proportion of variants in this data set was found to differ according to the interlocutor's in- versus out-group status.[36] While the data show that locals do use *tuteo*, they suggest that the variant is more commonly used with outsiders. *Tuteo* was used 57% of the time during sociolinguistic interviews with the out-group researcher, but only 22% of the time with other locals in SSCs. Local metalinguistic accounts often explained *tuteo* use in terms of a local/outsider designation, which was typically drawn along Nicaraguan/non-

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[36] During this discussion, I focus centrally on the use of *tuteo* and *voseo*, the variants typically tied to prestige and stigma, respectively, within the community. Discussion of *ustedeo* is limited.

Nicaraguan lines (e.g. *Es algo original de nosotros [los nicaragüenses], decir vos. El tú, lo aprendimos de ustedes [los extranjeros].* 'It's something original of ours [Nicaraguans], to say *vos. Tú*, we learned from you [foreigners].'). This division suggests that accommodation to outsiders (i.e. convergence with outsiders' speech; Giles et al. 1991), who are predominantly *tuteante*, is a primary motivation of *tuteo* use by locals.

5.2.1   Accommodation

Participants in both the sociolinguistic interviews and the SSCs suggested a general tendency for locals to accommodate tourists by addressing them with *tú* in response to the tourists' own usage, as reflected in the commentary of SI participants in Table 5.1 below.

Variant	# Respondents	Notes
tú	21	14 of 21 claimed to use <u>only</u> *tú* with outsiders (5 explicitly remarked that tourists use *tú*)
usted	9	7: *usted* or *tú* 1: *usted* or *vos* 1: *usted* only
vos	3	only in very close relationships

Table 5.1:   Reported pronoun use with tourists by sociolinguistic interview participants

As illustrated by Table 5.1, 21 SI participants who explicitly commented on their own pronoun use with outsiders claimed to use *tú*; of those, 14 claimed to use *only tú*. This metalinguistic display of a tendency toward accommodation seemed to occur during the sociolinguistic interviews themselves. There were only two SI participants who did not utilize *tuteo* as a form of address: the 46-year-old community organizer whose

commentary on the foreignness of *tú* appeared in Chapter 4, and a 20-year-old female who used only *ustedeo*, claiming that *tú* was *too* formal. This pattern resonated in the interactions I experienced and observed in the community across a variety of settings—on the beach, on the road, in lodgings, restaurants, and bars. The majority of instances of *vos* I did observe were limited to interactions between Nicaraguans, and on occasion, between a Nicaraguan and a long-term out-group resident or periodic visitor.

During my first visit to the region in 2011, I noticed the use of *vos* by locals only after an entire week's stay. Two local acquaintances refused my request to address me using *vos*, politely stating that they were comfortable using *tú*, the form I used. Such accommodation could serve a communicative function, as suggested by the following local comments:

(38) *[Uso tú] con extranjeros porque pienso que ellos entienden un poco más.*
'I use tú with foreigners because I think they understand it a little better.'

- Male, 26, Maintenance Supervisor

(39) *Es lo que aprenden en la escuela en otros lados.*
'It´s what they learn in school in other places.'

- Female, 23, Assistant Restaurant Manager

These two comments point to the communicative role of pronoun selection, suggesting that locals use the form they perceive as most familiar to outsiders. Such accommodation could also relate to interpersonal stance, however, representing an effort by locals to be friendly and to make outsiders feel welcome. Consider the following comment:

(40) *Extranjeros, cuando hablan, yo he escuchado que hablan de tú. Uno trata de sentirse que uno habla de su mismo idioma… entonces uno lo trata igual.*

'Foreigners, when they speak, I've heard them use '*tú*'. One tries to feel as if one speaks the same language… so one treats others the same.'

- Male, 31, Security Guard

The interpersonal stance described in this quotation represents what I perceived as a general attempt by locals throughout the community to accommodate outsiders, with respect to facilitating communication and access to goods and services, in both relational and transactional talk.

While accommodation certainly seems to be a primary or initial driver of local *tuteo* use and *voseo* avoidance with outsiders, it is clearly not the only one. It is important to emphasize here, once again, the potential mismatch between metalinguistic accounts and actual performance. As mentioned in the methodology section, one of the groups that participated in the SSCs (Group 1) also engaged in a second round of SSCs with four US expatriates living in the community. In follow-up interviews, the two younger locals (Loreto and Rafa) explained their nearly exclusive *tuteo* use with the non-local residents in terms of accommodation; they claimed to use the form the outsiders were using. Upon listening to audio recordings of their conversations, however, Loreto and Rafa were surprised to discover that the outsiders, a 77-year-old man and an 80-year-old woman, had, in fact, addressed both of the young locals using *ustedeo*. It seems, perhaps, that Loreto and Rafa were accommodating to an imagined 'type of speaker' rather than the actual individuals in the interactions.

Alternatively, pronoun selection in such encounters might be explained in stylistic terms, similar to Labov's (1966) well-known New York department store study, in which style was driven by the institutional context. Given the power differential between local workers and visitors, and the broadly service-oriented nature of interactions, this seems a logical interpretation as well. Indeed, many participants referred to the formality and respect entailed in *tú*, equating it to *usted*; as mentioned, one participant even judged *tú* as more formal than *usted*. This respectful form of address seems appropriate in the formal tourist clubhouse setting, for example. However, ethnographic observations suggest that *tuteo* use is widespread in the community with non-local interlocutors, regardless of setting.

5.2.2   Identity: Boundary work

In addition to accommodation, *vos* versus *tú* selection, in particular, seems to serve identity-related functions, often playing a role in boundary work (i.e. indexing in/out-group boundaries; Wimmer 2008a, 2008b). A constructivist view recognizes the ability of locals to construct and index their own identities through language selection, emphasizing the roles of agency and performativity.[37] The overwhelming participant commentary indicates that *vos* is Nicaraguan and *tú* is 'foreign'. For example:

(41)   *[Se usa tú con] turistas porque está distinguiendo que no es de origen nica. Tú es bastante común… fuera de Nicaragua.*

'Tú is used with tourists because it's distinguishing that one isn't Nicaraguan. Tú is rather common… outside of Nicaragua.'

- Male, 40, Maintenance Personnel

(42)   *Algunos queremos manejar el idioma **de ellos**… porque el que lo usa el gringo es casi "tú, oye, tú, ven," como en Costa Rica.*

'Some of us want to use **their** language… because what the gringo uses is almost "you, hey, you, come here," like in Costa Rica.'

- Male, 46, Community Organizer

Note the deictic reference 'their' in the second example. This individual articulates a clear divide between us (*Nicaraguans*) and them (*gringos*, i.e. tourists and expatriates). His commentary also reflects the common association between *gringos* and other outsiders, including other Spanish-speaking Central Americans. This local man's view aligned with several other locals who suggested that local use of 'outsider' forms, such as *tuteo*, as well as local use of other languages, was driven by audience design (Bell

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[37] 'Agency' is understood as "the property of those entities (i) that have some degree of control over their own behavior, (ii) whose actions in the world affect other entities' (and sometimes their own), and (iii) whose actions are the object of evaluation (e.g. in terms of their responsibility for a given outcome)." (Duranti, 2004, p. 453).
'Performativity' is used to capture the notion that common speech acts serve to perform or construct identity (Austin 1962; Butler 1990).

1984), wherein locals seek to index a more cosmopolitan identity. This was reported to occur in conversations with outsiders and among locals only. As mentioned, roughly one-third of the SI participants signaled that they used *tú* with both foreigners *and* Nicaraguans. Consistent use of 'outsider' forms by locals could be seen as indexing an identity status, while pronominal/language switching could be analyzed as shifts in identity stance. There is some evidence, however, that the boundary between *vos* and *tú* is beginning to bleed among younger locals, as illustrated by the strikingly similar use, quantitatively-speaking, of both forms by the young participants in the SSCs.[38] The qualitative review of pronoun switches, however, revealed some differences in function across the variants that were obscured by the similar quantitative patterning of *voseo* and *tuteo*.

Some performance and anecdotal accounts suggest that membership in the *immediate* local community is the most relevant in-/out-group distinction. As mentioned in the qualitative analysis, several Nicaraguans visiting the community proclaimed to the researcher that Nicaraguans do not use *tú*, only *vos* and *usted*. They expressed surprise while re-counting occasions in which locals had addressed them using *tuteo*. Recall the surprise reported by Sabrina from Managua upon being addressed with *tuteo* by her housekeeper, as well as by the two young local men at the hot springs, even after her Nicaraguan identity had been well established (see Section 4.1.4). Carvalho (2010) provides a lens for interpreting this intra-Nicaraguan variation. The author observed a difference in *tuteo* and *voseo* distribution in comparing the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo to the city of Rivera on the border of Brazil. She pointed to a change-in-progress in which locals of Rivera were increasing their use of *voseo* in a traditionally *tuteante* ('*tuteo*-using') community. Carvalho considered it an instance of dialect leveling in which a rural community was moving toward a more prestigious regional norm due to

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[38] Recall Figure 3.17 showing no significant difference in the amount of *voseo* and *tuteo* use by the younger participants. The lack of significant difference held with interlocutors of the same age and older.

urbanization. The case of Southwest Nicaraguan may present a similar trend, with locals increasing their use of *tuteo*. I propose that the region under study represents a virtual border experiencing sudden and heavy contact with broad (regional and global) prestige norms, as embodied by *tuteo* forms. This hypothesis is strongly supported by participant commentary contrasting Nicaraguan Spanish with other varieties, and in particular, *vos* with *tú* and *usted*. The contrast between 'Nicaraguan' and 'other' is also reflected frequently in the reported speech of locals. For example, the 46-year-old male community organizer, who showed the highest amount of *usted* and *vos* usage among SI participants, produced *tú* in only one instance, in the reported speech of a "gringo" tourist: "*Oye, tú ven. Oiga, tú ven (Hey, you, come here)*." This usage highlights the pattern that emerged from both SI and SSC data: a tendency to use *vos* in the reported speech of Nicaraguans, and *tú* in that of outsiders (or Nicaraguans interacting with outsiders). This type of use in reported speech aligns with observations by Carvalho (2010) regarding her speakers in Rivera, Uruguay. She interpreted the phenomenon as an act of identity-construction, whereby individuals indexed themselves as local via pronoun-verb paradigm selection. The local man quoted above enthusiastically discussed his role as a community leader. He recounted his efforts to promote a variety of community improvement projects and mentioned his part in leading a strike to demand better wages for locals working in tourist lodges. His comments underscore two important observations: (1) this individual strongly envisioned himself as a local, which may be reflected in his speech in terms of identity-construction (following Carvalho, 2010); and (2) the majority of his daily interactions were with local Nicaraguans and he had limited contact with outsiders.

The first consideration seems to be reflected in the generally-observed pattern of *vos* usage across speakers. It is generally limited to in-group contexts, perhaps signaling one of its potential roles as an in-group marker. However, as detailed in the ethnographic observation section, several younger locals used *vos* with me, an out-group visitor, in 2015. In addition, self-repair from *tuteo* to *voseo* was commonly observed among

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younger locals, while self-repair by older locals always proceeded in the opposite direction. This suggests a difference along generational lines regarding the perception of the socioindexical value of the *voseo* and *tuteo* variants amid the current social landscape, or a difference in where younger and older locals view themselves within this landscape in relation to outsiders. Younger speakers, whether through increased interaction with outsiders or greater access to material wealth and social mobility, use pronouns to index alignment with outsiders at some level. While use by these young locals of the *tú* form, at times, might index a higher level of prestige and sophistication, reciprocal use of *vos* with an outsider maintains some level of common ground or footing. This usage could represent the active rejection of a more hierarchical norm projected by older speakers or may reflect a sense of ease among younger speakers in expressing solidarity with outsiders, given their high level of contact with outsiders from a young age.

The second directly-related consideration points to a phenomenon that could have broad implications for the community. Many, but not all, locals work in the newly burgeoning tourist industry. Likewise, only a fraction of those have daily interactions with tourists, and to varying degrees. In consideration of this fact, I ran a mixed-model statistical analysis to compare individuals who had a high degree of outsider contact (e.g. server, bartender) to those with jobs/lifestyles that entailed less contact (e.g., gardener, maintenance worker). This approach was motivated by Irvine's (2004) observation of a front office/back office division among the speech patterns of Jamaican English speakers. The quantitative analysis revealed some intriguing patterns (see Section 3.1.2.1). Members of the Front social group used *voseo* with the out-group interviewer significantly more than members of the Back social group, and their rate of *voseo* use was unaffected by Discourse Type or Form. Members of the Back group, on the other hand, showed highly limited use of *voseo* when addressing the interviewer. When they did use *voseo* in their impersonal and reported speech, Back-group participants tended to avoid the *vos* pronoun. *Tuteo* use, however, was balanced across the Front and Back groups. I

suspect the balanced use of *tuteo* reflects a general tendency to accommodate outsiders, a practice that had already spread across much of the community.

Even so, I do not discount the influence of both degree and *nature* of contact with outsiders on pronoun selection. Consider again, from Chapter 4, the 46-year-old community activist who displayed only two tokens of *tú*, which came in the reported speech of a "gringo" (Example 34). His brother-in-law, a 45-year-old living on the same property, was also an SI participant. During his interview, however, he maintained nearly exclusive *tú* usage. Although he did not report frequent interactions with outsiders, his livelihood as a self-employed baker indirectly depended on the patronage of outsiders. I suspect this fact may have had bearing on his selection of *tú* as a form of accommodation. Of course, I cannot discount other pragmatic factors, including his sense of propriety; he repeatedly commented on his parents' strict guidance with respect to using socially-appropriate speech. Regardless, the stark difference in pronoun selection between these two men, of the same age and living in the same household, reflects the complexity of underlying motivations and constraints affecting pronoun use. I suggest that it also points to a shifting or division of norms within the community. This interpretation is reflected in the speech of a younger male member of the community, a 19-year-old university student who explained that *tú* was appropriate for interactions with tourists. However, in practice, he caught himself addressing me with *vos* on multiple occasions and laughed in surprise. This pattern again points to the disconnect between performance and metalinguistic awareness while at the same time suggesting a present instability or shifting of norms.

I observed considerable variation among sociolinguistic interview participants' attitudes and reported pronoun use with different interlocutors. This evidence was gleaned in a manner mirroring Michnowicz and Place's (2010) verbal questionnaire methodology, yet through interviews conducted by an out-group member. As apparent in Table 5.2, there was a split in reported use of *tú* in speech with outsiders and, crucially, *between Nicaraguans*.

Interlocutor	Foreigners Only	Nicaraguans and Foreigners	Friends/ Family	Elders	Strangers
Number of participants who find acceptable[39]	10	9	9	9	4

Table 5.2:   Acceptable interlocutor types for *tú* use according to interviewees

Table 5.2 shows the lack of consensus in metalinguistic designation of acceptable interlocutors for *tú*. While ten respondents reported that they only used *tú* with foreigners, roughly the same number reported using it with Nicaraguans as well. Curiously, these self-reports suggest that *tú* is used among these Nicaraguans in both familiar and formal domains. Some speakers considered it to be highly informal, only to be used among close friends, while others perceived it to be the most formal option. This apparent ambivalence across speakers (also reflected in their use during sociolinguistic interviews and semi-structured conversations), suggests that the domain of *tú* is in flux within the community, which, consequently, may affect the domains of *vos* and *usted*. I claim that this state of flux is due to various levels of contact between locals and outsiders throughout the community, and a notion of prestige attached to the pronoun variant associated with outsiders: *tú*. The different levels of contact correspond primarily to occupation and generation; certain jobs entail more direct contact with outsiders than others, and only younger locals have experienced regular contact with outsiders from an early age.

While the above analysis is based on metalinguistic commentary, which can belie actual performance, the 2016 semi-structured conversation data provide interactive

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[39] These categories are not exclusive. Some speakers claim that *tú* is appropriate across multiple interlocutor types, for example: friends, family, and elders.

evidence of *tuteo* use among locals and capture variation in use across speakers and interlocutors that mirrors the 2013 metalinguistic commentary.

5.2.3   Potential for language change

A particularly striking quote regarding *vos* usage points to a potential for language change with respect to pronouns of address:

(43) *Los señores de antes, muchos lo usaban; lo estamos dejando atrás.*
'The older community members from before, many of them used it; we're leaving it behind.'

- Female, 41, Nurse

Notably, this comment came from a female nurse who had limited contact with outsiders; her husband, on the other hand, worked for one of the property developments. He insisted that *tú* was reserved for interactions with outsiders and *vos* was still the preferred form among familiar Nicaraguans. This individual is the same one who self-repaired from *vos* to *tú* on multiple occasions when addressing me. Following Labov (1966, 2001), I take this as evidence of the locally-perceived stigma attached to the community's traditional *vos* form and the relative prestige of *tú*. Labov notes that females tend to drive convergence with a prestige form and abandonment of a stigmatized vernacular variant. Whether or not tourists have an active hand in *vos'* status as a stigmatized or "incorrect" form, it is apparent that many locals perceive it as such. Indeed, ten sociolinguistic interview participants labeled *vos* negatively, as "incorrect", "ugly-sounding", "offensive", or "strange". The remaining 16 participants labeled the item as "correct", "inoffensive" or otherwise neutral. Additional commentary from SSC participants in 2016 supports the view that *vos* is stigmatized and that there is a perceived ongoing (or need for) change in the direction of more *tú* use.

(44) *Donde están igual de posiciones es el tú y el usted. Siempre se siente mejor que lo tratan así que de vos. ¡Ese vos se siente FEO! ...Va a seguir cambiando. Dentro de unos cinco años más solo el tú; se va a perder el vos. Cada año vienen más gringos y más canadienses, super más gringos, personas como usted que usan*

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inglés. Siempre las personas que usan el inglés, solo el tú, hablan… Esto es como una escuela; que nosotros les enseñamos a ustedes y ustedes a nosotros.

'Where they are in the same position is *tú* and *usted*. One always feels better if they address you so rather than with *vos*. That *vos* sounds ugly! …It is going to keep changing. Within some five years more, just *tú*; *vos* will be lost. Each year, more gringos and more Canadians come, way more gringos, people like you who use English. Always the people who use English, they only speak *tú*… This is like a school; we teach you all and you all teach us.'

- Loreto, Female, 18 (SSC participant)

This commentary not only points to the perceived stigma attached to *vos*, and prestige, to *tú*, but also identifies the increase in visitors from the U.S. and Canada as the primary driver of perceived ongoing changes in the direction of more *tú* use. The negative perception of *vos* could be due to a number of factors: schooling, regional media, observation of outsiders' using other forms, etc. Regardless, it predicts that locals might avoid *vos* usage with outsiders, and instead opt for the other common local variant, *usted*, or less-common *tú*, which is indeed seen in the 2013 sociolinguistic interview data. Likewise, following Labov (1966, 2001), we might predict that *vos* usage would decline in the community-at-large over time in favor of a prestige form, such as *tú*. This prediction is tentatively supported by the analysis of the 2016 semi-structured conversations between eight locals. The interaction plot of *tuteo* use showed significantly more *tuteo* use by the young locals and the older female locals than the older males, representing a traditional social pattern of language change in progress. The small number of participants in the SSCs prohibits any firm language change claims, but provides strong contextualized evidence of pronoun use patterns by a group of locals. Several factors shown historically to play a role in language change are relevant in this community: contact with a prescriptive norm, simplification to facilitate communication among speakers of different varieties and languages, and lower class imitation of language used by the powerful and prestigious group in the region (Fontanella de

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Weinberg 1977).[40] The added observation that the powerful/prestigious group historically determines usage trends, predicts that *tuteo* use in this community will continue to expand. Nonetheless, there remains the potential for locals to utilize speech features commonly associated with Nicaraguan Spanish, such as *voseo*, in the co-construction of a local identity. As observed by Dubois and Horvath (1998), use of traditionally stigmatized identity markers can decrease from one generation to the next, but then increase among third generation speakers. The researchers note that this pattern can reflect an emerging sense of in-group pride or perception of social and economic value of being an in-group member. The more common use of *voseo* by younger locals with the out-group researcher suggests that *voseo* use by locals could persist with out-group interlocutors and may serve a function of expressing pride in being a local community member.

5.3 PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF PRONOUNS

Turning attention to the linguistic factors in the quantitative analysis, I now address Research Question 3 in tandem with a discussion of how the factors relate to Research Question 4:

3. Does pronoun use vary according to discourse type (address, impersonal, reported speech), linguistic form (overt versus null pronoun) or speech act (question, statement, command, discourse marker)?

4. What pragmatic and socioindexical functions do *tuteo*, *voseo*, and *ustedeo* selection and alternation serve?

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[40] The pronominal system actually appears to be complexifying among locals, with expanded use of the non-traditional variant, *tuteo*. It seems to be simplifying, however, in interactions with a wide range of outsiders, with nearly ubiquitous and exclusive use of *tuteo* across informal and formal settings.

5.3.1 Pronouns of address versus impersonal pronouns

In the sociolinguistic interviews with the out-group researcher, *tuteo* appeared in similar quantities as a pronoun of address and as an impersonal pronoun.[41] *Voseo*, on the other hand, was used considerably more in impersonal (and reported) speech, while *ustedeo* displayed the opposite trend. Broadly, I suggest that this patterning reflects a tension between the interactional socioindexical functions of the variants with regard to the immediate relationship between participants and the use of the variants in identity-construction and stance-taking.

In the SSCs, *tuteo* was much more common as a pronoun of address and in reported speech than as an impersonal pronoun, and it was primarily used by young locals addressing their peers. The limited *tuteo* usage in impersonal speech was mostly directed to young interlocutors. This pattern could represent accommodation to the younger speakers' greater use of *tuteo*. Or, given that impersonal speech was often used in these data to represent 'general truths' from a local perspective, the pattern could also suggest that *tuteo* use is expanding and/or that it has particular socio-indexical value associated with younger locals. Nonetheless, as in the sociolinguistic interviews, *voseo* was more common during the SSCs in impersonal speech; in fact, in the SSCs, *voseo* was by far the most common form used in impersonal speech, roughly four times more likely to be used as an impersonal pronoun than as a pronoun of address. The qualitative analysis provided contextualized examples of how these local speakers regularly shifted from *ustedeo* or *tuteo* forms while addressing their interlocutor to *voseo* forms in their impersonal speech. The inferential statistical analysis revealed this practice as a significant pattern for both young and old speakers. I propose that this pattern reflects the tension between the interpersonal function of the pronominal variants and their

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[41] As mentioned, the high proportion of *tuteo* use by locals, in general, during these interviews is presumed to represent accommodation to both the perceived norm for outsiders and the researcher's own *tuteo* usage. The focus in this section is not on overall proportions of the variants, but on their relative proportions in address versus impersonal contexts.

association with local identity. *Voseo* has potential to index local identity as the Nicaraguan norm (e.g. [*Vos*] e*s algo nuestro* '[*Vos*] is something that is ours'); or, conversely, it can index a lack of respect among strangers (e.g. *Suena feo* 'It sounds ugly'*; Es incorrecto* 'It's rude'). Future research should consider other linguistic resources used in impersonal speech beyond impersonal second person, such as *uno* 'one', *hay que* 'one must', and impersonal *se* (e.g. *se come bien aquí* 'one eats well here'). These alternatives free speakers from having to choose between second-person singular variants. Analysis of the distribution of these alternatives and the contexts of their use could shed additional light on the socio-indexical and pragmatic functions of the second-person variants, adding nuance to the discussion by further assessing the role of pronoun avoidance.

5.3.1.1   *Functions of impersonal pronouns*

By using a second-person pronominal form in an impersonal fashion, local speakers are able to generalize in reference to the category or group they are discussing and invite their interlocutors to simulate or empathize with that category (Deringer et al. 2015; Gast et al. 2015). By switching to the *voseo* variant in impersonal speech, I claim that speakers are able to represent that category as local. In this manner, they can index solidarity between the conversational participants without threatening the interlocutor's face through use of *voseo as an address form*, given its local association with informal, non-deferential, or intimate speech. The variant usage pattern in this data set challenges the claim by Gast et al. (2015) that impersonal pronouns "establish a direct referential link to the addressee, just like personal uses" (p. 148), given the frequent adjacent switches between variants across address versus impersonal contexts. In particular, the near absence of *voseo* as an address form in sociolinguistic interviews suggests that its frequent use in impersonal speech does not serve a direct referential purpose with respect to the interlocutor.

5.3.2   Form: overt pronoun versus morphology

Local use of overt pronouns versus morphology alone varied across the sociolinguistic interview and SSC data sets. The source of that variation was *voseo*. As mentioned, when locals addressed the researcher, who was an outsider, during sociolinguistic interviews, they overwhelmingly avoided *voseo*. When *voseo* did appear, it was typically used in impersonal speech. There was a distinction in the use of the overt pronominal form, *vos*, according to one of the social variables: Social Network. The statistical analysis revealed that locals pertaining to the 'Back' social network (i.e. those who had limited contact with outsiders) were significantly less likely to use the *vos* pronoun than members of the 'Front' social network. This patterning can be explained by the locally-perceived stigma associated with the *vos* pronoun. Unsurprisingly, all metalinguistic commentary identified the pronominal form, *vos*, as the stigmatized item, with no mention of corresponding morphology. The regularly observed verbal *voseo*— use of the *tú* pronoun with *voseo* verbs—also supports the view that the pronouns themselves are the salient items (indeed, they may be regarded as stereotypes), with less or no attention paid to their corresponding morphology. I suggest that avoidance of *vos* by locals in the 'Back' social network when interacting with outsiders reflects that perceived stigma, along with the social distance these locals perceive between themselves and outsiders. The distance is very real, particularly in economic terms, and I propose that awareness of that distance engenders a more hierarchical social structure than that of the traditional, more egalitarian, community. Such a social structure would be compatible with a non-reciprocal/asymmetric pronominal use pattern (Brown & Gilman 1960) and general avoidance of stigmatized forms by the 'lower class' or less powerful group. Differences in linguistic repertoire and level of education among the locals further enhances this hierarchical structure. Locals in the 'Front' social network, who have frequent contact with outsiders, find themselves at a great economic advantage over those who do not have access to the higher-paying jobs that demand a diverse linguistic

repertoire and higher level of education. These differences often, but not always, correspond to generational divides. I suggest that locals in the 'Front' social network perceive less of a social divide between themselves and outsiders, both by virtue of their frequent long-term contact with outsiders and their own prospects for social mobility. This perception is reflected, in part, by their greater facility of *vos* usage with outsiders, as noted in the sociolinguistic interviews and in self-repairs observed during naturally-occurring interactions.

5.3.3 Speech act patterns

The quantitative analysis of the SSCs uncovered several patterns of variant use according to speech act. *Tuteo* was significantly more likely to appear in questions and commands than in general statements or as discourse markers (e.g. attention callers) or tags. *Ustedeo*, similarly, was most likely in questions. *Voseo*, on the other hand, was least likely to be used in questions and most likely in tags.

The identified patterns of SSC variant usage according to speech act, paired with some qualitative observations and metalinguistic commentary, provide insights into local associations between the variants and notions of politeness, particularly in terms of face-threat. Questions (analyzed as '*requests* for verbal action'; Terkourafi & Villavicencio 2003) and commands are associated with a relatively high threat to the interlocutor's face, given the imposition such acts entail: requiring an answer, in the first case, and demanding an action, in the second. The high use of *tuteo* and *ustedeo*, and limited use of *voseo*, in SSC questions aligns with local metalinguistic commentary regarding the appropriate use of the different variants in terms of folk notions of politeness, as captured in this excerpt from an interview with a local 19-year-old male:

(45) *Cuando no conozco a una persona, la trato de tú… también cuando, como quiero hacer amistad con alguien, "Hola, usted…" para comenzar una plática de forma educada porque... [vos] es, como, más vulgar, como, más incorrecto…*

'When I don't know a person, I address him/her with *tú*... also when, like I want to make friends with someone, "Hi, you$_U$..." to begin a conversation in a polite way because... [vos] is, like, more unrefined, like, more inappropriate/rude...'

-Male, 19, Student

This commentary reflects the speaker's perception of *tuteo* and *ustedeo* as more polite forms than *voseo*, specifically in contexts with an unknown interlocutor. Such commentary motivates the prediction that more *tuteo* and *ustedeo* would be used in speech acts associated with higher face-threat, such as questions and commands. While this is borne out in the SSC data on questions, the data on commands (e.g. limited use of *ustedeo* and greater presence of *voseo*) appears to contradict politeness-oriented commentary; that is, however, until the discourse context is considered. The bulk of commands uttered during the SSCs appeared in reported speech and, therefore, served a different function than commands directed to a real-world interlocutor. The acts did not entail the same face-threat associated with a command delivered in a face-to-face interaction. Instead, it was discovered that the pronouns used in commands typically represented local and outsider voices or interlocutors, indexed by *voseo* and *tuteo*, respectively, as observed by other scholars (e.g. Carvalho 2010; Rivadeneira Valenzuela 2016; Woods & Lapidus Shin 2016). This patterning again underscores the importance of coding for discourse context in the quantitative analysis of pronouns of address. While it can certainly be methodologically valid to limit the envelope of variation to either address or impersonal contexts, depending on the research goals, a comparison of patterning across the contexts can yield a more complete understanding of the potential functions of variant selection.

Turning to the speech acts labeled 'tags' and 'discourse markers' in this study, the frequent use of *voseo* in tags during the SSCs matches local commentary and ethnographic observations that *voseo* continues as the local standard among local acquaintances. In contrast, the items labeled as 'discourse markers' in this study, which

primarily consisted of attention callers (e.g. *mira* 'look$_T$', *fijáte* 'consider$_V$'), showed greater variation in pronoun use, with significantly less *voseo* than tags. Both *tuteo* and *ustedeo* were much more common in discourse markers serving as attention callers than in tags. These findings suggest a fundamental difference between attention callers and tags, which have been grouped together in some studies of second-person pronoun use (e.g. as 'set phrases' or 'fixed expressions'; Woods & Lapidus Shin 2016). It seems that, perhaps by virtue of the attention callers' form, which is typically imperative, and/or their position in the beginning versus the end of the sentence, attention callers serve more of an addressee-referential function than tags. They may, as such, entail greater potential for face threat.

5.3.4 Polymorphism: pronoun switching

Some instances of polymorphism and self-repair within and across speech acts in the SSC data provide insights into competing factors influencing pronominal variant use. While *tuteo* appeared to be an initially preferred form for questioning among the strangers in the SSCs, intra-sentential shifts to other variants suggest that other interpersonal or pragmatic factors (or even habits) can 'override' *tuteo* use in these contexts.[42] For example, when questioning Moisés about the increasing presence of outsiders in the community, Loreto initiated a self-repair from *tuteo* to *voseo* within the same speech act:

(46) *¿Cómo mira- como miráh voh el ingreso de los extranjeros?*
'How do you view$_T$- how do you$_V$ view$_V$ the influx of outsiders?'

Similarly, Moisés switched from *tuteo* to *voseo* when questioning Loreto about herself:

(47) *Hoy en día, ¿cómo eres, qué hacés, a qué te dedicás?*

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[42] The initial choice of *tuteo* could be due to its association with education and formality, perhaps deemed appropriate for the SSC task and setting, rather than the act of asking a question.

'Nowadays, how are$_T$ you, what do you do$_V$, to what do you dedicate$_V$ yourself?'

These switches could reflect an emerging rapport (i.e. expression of solidarity) among the two strangers as they begin to know one another, in particular, as they discuss their shared local community and their individual places within it. This view is supported by self-repairs and pronominal switches within other speech acts. For example, while discussing machismo in the community, Feña initiated a self-repair from *tuteo* to *voseo* in the following discourse marker while directly addressing Ingrid: *Como tú s- sabés que aquí...* 'As you$_T$ kn- you know$_V$ that here…'. During this segment of the conversation, Feña and Ingrid brought to the fore their shared identities as local women, in contrast to men, through the use of deictics (e.g. *we* vs. *they*), a common practice among female conversational partners in the SSCs while talking about a new law designed to protect women from domestic violence. This evidence suggests that conversational pronominal shifts (within the same discourse type of 'address'), along with other contextualization cues, can serve to index shifts in 'identity stance' among the conversational participants. As detailed in chapter 4, a detailed qualitative analysis of instances of polymorphism can bring to light different pragmatic functions of variant selection. A handful of such context-specific functions were identified in the SSCs. Switches were shown to index a flirtatious stance or the interlocutor's youth, and, more, generally, to negotiate newly-formed relationships, primarily with respect to age. Examples of pronominal switching by the same speaker also revealed that deference conferred by a speaker via pronoun selection is not static, but dynamic, and negotiated by participants as an interaction unfolds. This quality was evident in Rafa's report that he switched from *ustedeo* to *tuteo* when addressing older Feña to index a less-deferential stance, a move Rafa explained as a reaction to what he perceived as Feña's condescending stance. In his follow-up interview, Rafa also claimed that he had consciously increased his general *tuteo* usage over the past year in response to a request from his girlfriend to use the form with her; she had

indicated that *voseo* was disrespectful and that she expected to be addressed with the more respectful *tuteo*. This example shows how the expression of emotion by individuals (Friedrich's [1971] individual component) can relate to culturally-specific components (e.g. age, generation, sex, family membership) and social group membership (e.g. class, locality, dialect). Identification of this link enhances our understanding of how individual behavior changes can lead to broader language use patterns, at both individual and community levels.

5.4   CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has demonstrated the flexibility of the Spanish second-person pronominal system in response to evolving social dynamics in a rural Nicaraguan community experiencing linguistic and cultural contact driven by tourism. It has identified differences in local usage of the three variants, *tú*, *vos*, and *usted*, with apparent social trends corresponding to the amount of contact locals have with the increasing number of outsiders in their community; this level of contact seems to correlate to both occupation and generational group. At the same time, through a fine-grained analysis of conversations among locals, the study has pinpointed some of the specific pragmatic functions that pronoun selection and alternation serve. Perhaps the most significant finding is that of the division of pronoun variant use according to discourse type, with frequent shifts across address and impersonal contexts. These shifts, also often captured in reported speech, mirror recent observations of the identity-related function of pronoun use in personal narratives and reported speech (e.g. Carvalho 2010; Rivadeneira Valenzuela 2016; Woods & Lapidus Shin 2016). Another central finding highlights the general value of cross-linguistic research. The multi-variant pronominal system in this variety of Spanish has offered new insights into the pragmatic functions of second-person pronouns in impersonal speech. This study supports the view that impersonal use of second person can serve to create solidarity between conversational partners and to

generate empathy over the category being generalized (Gast et al. 2015), as suggested by the study of Russian, German, and English data (Deringer et al. 2015) but it refutes the view that impersonal pronouns "establish a direct referential link to the addressee, just like personal uses" (Gast et al. 2015: 148).

While the study is robust in that it pulls from a variety of data sources collected on four occasions over a five-year period, it is limited in several aspects, as well. The community-center school room setting of the SSCs may have influenced pronominal selection among the participants, particularly given the association between *tuteo* and education and writing (Christiansen 2014; Christiansen & Chavarría Úbeda 2010), although similar use of *tuteo* was observed in the community in local speech directed to outsiders. Further, the limited pool of participants (eight locals) mitigates any tentative generalizations at the community level. However, the insights gleaned through the fine-grained review of the SSCs, which generated 1,234 variant tokens, paired with ethnographic observations and sociolinguistic interviews with 26 additional locals, enhanced the ability to make valid claims. The retrospective reports from SSC participants also helped to triangulate the pragmatic functions of pronoun selection and switching; they complemented the micro-analyses of the conversations themselves and offered insight into patterns generally observed in the community. Future analyses would benefit from a broader range of participants, as well as a cross-community comparison. Such a comparative approach would ideally include nearby communities that are also experiencing recent tourism-driven growth, as well as those that are not, and would involve the study of interactions among and across residents of the different communities. This approach would further highlight locals' active identity-construction via pronoun use and other linguistic and material resources. It would also add to this study's contribution of describing (1) Nicaraguan Spanish, the least-studied Central American variety (Lipski 1994), and (2) a language variety spoken by historically under-studied groups (i.e. speakers from a rural region of high poverty and a low level of formal

education). Finally, a micro-analytic comparison of the speech of the same local individuals with both outsiders and other locals would help to identify specific elements of speech tied to identity status and stance, and the formation of local styles. While there are potentially multiple social and pragmatic factors governing pronoun selection, a diachronic study in this community can document changes in both frequency and attitudes governing usage across speakers and domains. The present study provides a step in that direction, while documenting current variation in light of the previous sociolinguistic literature on the highly understudied Spanish of Nicaragua.

Appendices

(Delivered to participants in Spanish; English translation follows)

1. ¿Cuántos años tienes?
2. ¿De dónde eres? ¿Dónde vives? ¿Por cuánto tiempo has vivido ahí?
3. ¿De dónde son tus padres?
4. ¿Tienes hermanos? ¿Dónde viven?
5. ¿Dónde asistías a la escuela y a qué nivel llegaste?
6. ¿Qué estudiabas?
7. ¿Trabajas? ¿Dónde? ¿Por cuánto tiempo? ¿Qué tipo de trabajo, ahora y en el pasado?
8. ¿A qué edad comenzaste a trabajar?
9. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacen/hacían tus padres?
10. ¿Asistían tus padres a la escuela? ¿Hasta qué nivel llegaron?
11. ¿Estás casado/a?
12. ¿De dónde es tu esposo/a?
13. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo tienes?
14. ¿Tienes hijos?
15. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablas?
16. ¿Hablas inglés? ¿Ejemplos?
17. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablan los miembros de tu familia?
18. ¿Tienes interés en aprender el inglés?
19. ¿Hay veces que mezclas los idiomas? ¿Con quién y por qué?
20. ¿Hay personas en la comunidad que mezclan los idiomas?
21. ¿Quiénes, con quién, y cuándo?
22. ¿Por qué crees que los mezclan?
23. ¿Hay personas en la comunidad que traducen?
24. ¿Quiénes, para quién, y cuándo?
25. ¿Hay algunas palabras o expresiones que usaban tus padres o abuelos que ya no se usa hoy en día?
26. ¿En cuál parte de Nicaragua se habla el mejor español?
27. ¿Cómo es el español nicaragüense?
28. ¿En cuál parte del mundo se habla el mejor español? ¿Por qué?
29. *Vos*, *tú*, y *usted*: ¿Con quién usas cada una y por que?
30. ¿Cuál forma usas con los turistas?
31. ¿Sabes si el *vos* se usa en otras comunidades o países?
32. ¿Cuándo llegó el turismo a esta comunidad?
33. ¿De dónde vienen los turistas?
34. ¿De dónde vienen los trabajadores que no son de aquí?
35. ¿Por que crees que trajeron gente de fuera para trabajar aquí?
36. ¿Cuáles son algunos aspectos positivos del turismo y del desarrollo en la comunidad?
37. ¿Algunos aspectos negativos?

38. ¿Cuáles son tus deseos y preocupaciones para el futuro?

English translation:

1. How old are you?
2. Where are you from? Where do you currently live? How long have you lived there?
3. Where are your parents from?
4. Do you have siblings? Where do they live?
5. Where did you go to school? What year/level did you reach?
6. What do/did you study? (if reached post-secondary level)
7. Do you work? Where? How long? What type of current and past work?
8. At what age did you begin working?
9. What work do/did your father and mother do?
10. Did your father and mother go to school? If so, until what level?
11. Are you married?
12. Where is your spouse from?
13. What type of job does your spouse have?
14. Do you have any children?
15. What language(s) do you speak?
16. Do you speak English? Examples?
17. What languages do your family members speak?
18. Do you have interest in learning English?
19. Do you ever mix languages? If so, with whom and why?
20. Do you ever observe people in the community mixing languages?
21. Who, with whom, and when?
22. Why do you think they mix languages?
23. Do you observe people translating in the community?
24. Who, for whom, and when?
25. Do you know of any words or expressions that your parents or grandparents used that are no longer used?
26. Where in Nicaragua do people speak the "best" Spanish?
27. How would you describe Nicaraguan Spanish?
28. Where do you think the best Spanish is spoken worldwide? Why?
29. Tell me about *vos*, *tú*, and *usted*. With whom do you use each and why?
30. Which form do you use with tourists?
31. Do you know if *vos* is used in other countries?
32. When did tourism arrive to this community?
33. Where are the tourists from?
34. Where are the non-local workers in the community from?
35. Why do you think they brought outsiders to work here?
36. What are some positive aspects of local tourism and growth?
37. What are some negative aspects of local tourism and growth?
38. What are your hopes and fears for the future?

APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED CONVERSATION PROMPTS

(Provided to participants in Spanish only; English translation follows)

1. Presentaciones personales.
2. Pasatiempos: ¿Qué les gusta hacer?
3. Lugar de nacimiento: ¿Cómo era? ¿Cómo es hoy en día?
4. Momento más feliz.
5. Experiencia que les dio más miedo.
6. Algún accidente que han tenido o visto.
7. Encuentro memorable con una persona extranjera.
8. Grupos sociales en esta comunidad: ¿Cuáles son? ¿Se identifican con alguno?
9. La llegada del surf; torneos de surf.
10. Acceso a la playa y otros lugares: ¿Ha cambiado con el crecimiento turístico? ¿Alguna vez que se prohibió acceso a algún lugar?
11. Acceso a la educación y su importancia.
12. La construcción del Canal (interoceánico) de Nicaragua.
13. Ley 779, "La ley de la mujer"

English translation:

1. Personal introductions.
2. Hobbies: What do you (plural) like to do?
3. Place of birth: How was it/how is it today?
4. Happiest moment.
5. Experience that scared you (plural) most.
6. An accident you (plural) have had or seen.
7. A memorable encounter with a foreigner.
8. Social groups in this community: What are they? Do you (plural) identify with any?
9. The arrival of surfing; surf competitions.
10. Access to the beach and other places: Has it changed with tourism growth? Any time access was prohibited to some place?
11. Access to education and its importance.
12. Construction of the interoceanic canal in Nicaragua
13. Law 779, "The woman's law"

APPENDIX C: SSC RETROSPECTIVE REPORT GUIDING QUESTIONS

(Delivered to participants in Spanish; English translation follows)

Introductory Questions:
1) *Tú*, *vos*, y *usted*… ¿Con quiénes se usan y por qué?
2) ¿Alguna forma es mejor? ¿Alguna es mala o incorrecta?
3) ¿Cuál se usa con:
   a) gente de la misma edad?
   b) gente mayor?
   c) gente menor?
   d) personas del otro sexo (por ejemplo, una mujer con un hombre)?
   e) turistas o extranjeros?
4) ¿Importa si estas personas son conocidos o desconocidos?
5) ¿Cuál usaste con cada persona en las conversaciones grabadas? ¿Por qué?
6) ¿Cambiaste alguna vez? Si cambiaste, ¿por qué?

Discussion of Conversational Data:
<Selected audio excerpts played and discussed>

Final Questions:
7) ¿Cuál forma usás:
   a) cuando te enojás? o para mostrar que estás enojado/a? (A veces, ¿cambiás de una forma a otra?)
   b) para pedir un favor?
   c) para coquetear?
   d) para mostrar que sabés más que la otra persona (que sos experta, sabia, tenés más experiencia, etc.)?
   e) ¿Algunos otros usos de cambiar entre *vos*, *tú*, y *usted*?
8) ¿En dónde se habla el mejor español del mundo? (¿Creés que existe un "mejor español"?)
9) ¿En cuál parte de Nicaragua se habla el mejor español?

English Translation:

Introductory Questions:
1) *Tú*, *vos*, y *usted*… With whom are they used and why?
2) Is one form better? Are any of them bad or inappropriate?
3) Which is used with:
   a) persons who are the same age?
   b) persons who are older?
   c) persons who are younger?
   d) persons of the opposite sex (for example, a woman with a man)?

e) tourists or foreigners?
4) Does it matter if these people are known or not?
5) Which did you use with each person in the recorded conversations? Why?
6) Did you ever change (forms)? If you did change, why?

Discussion of Conversational Data:
<Selected audio excerpts played and discussed>

Final Questions:
7) Which form do you use:
   a) when you get mad? or to show that you are mad? (Do you ever change from one form to another?)
   b) to ask a favor?
   c) to flirt?
   d) to show that you know more than the other person (that you are an expert, wise, have more experience, etc.)?
   e) Any other uses of changing between *vos*, *tú*, y *usted*?
8) Where in the world is the best Spanish spoken? (Do you believe a "best Spanish" exists?)
9) In what part of Nicaragua is the best Spanish spoken?

APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS FOR REPORTED SPEECH

Based on GAT, Gesprächsanalytisches Trankriptionssystem (Selting et al. 1998); taken from Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999):

Sequential structure

[ ] [ ]	overlap
=	quick, immediate connection of new turns or single units

Pauses

(.)	micro-pause
(-), (--), (---)	short, middle or long pauses of 0.25 - 0.75 seconds, up to ca. 1 second
(2.0)	estimated pause of more than 1 second

Other segmental conventions

and=uh	slurring within units
:,: :,:::	lengthening, according to its duration
uh, ah, etc.	hesitation signals, so-called "filled pauses"

Laughter

haha hehe hoho	syllabic laughing
((laughing))	description of laughter

Reception signals

hm, yes, yeah, no	one syllable signals
hm=hm, yea=ah,	two syllable signals

Accents

ACcent	primary or main accent
Accent	secondary accent

Pitch step-up/stepdown

↓	pitch step down on the following syllable
↑	pitch step up on the following syllable

Change of pitch register

<<l>	>	low pitch register
<<h>	>	high pitch register
<<n>	>	use of small segment of speaker's voice range
<<w>	>	use of large segment of speaker's voice range

Final pitch movements

?	high rise
,	mid-rise
-	level pitch
;	mid-fall
.	low fall

Volume and tempo changes

<<f>	>	forte, loud
<<ff>	>	fortissimo, very loud
<<p>	>	piano, soft
<<pp>	>	pianissimo, very soft
<<all>	>	allegro, fast
<<len>	>	lento, slow

Breathing in and out

.h, .hh, .hhh	breathing in, according to its duration
h, hh, hhh	breathing out, according to its duration

Rhythm

/	/	Isochronous beats; distance between bars indicates length
/	/	of rhythmic units

Other conventions

( )	unintelligible passage, according to its duration
(such)	presumed wording

->   specific line in the transcript which is referred to in the text

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
Speaker Sex (Male)	-1.6639	0.7900	-2.106	.04
Speaker Age (Young)	-1.0684	0.8041	-1.329	n.s.
Interlocutor Age (Young)	0.4249	0.2607	1.630	n.s.
Interlocutor Sex (Male)	-0.4938	0.1716	-2.878	.004
Discourse Type				
⟹ *Impersonal*	-0.9180	0.2609	-3.518	<.001
⟹ *Reported*	1.1570	0.2443	4.735	<.001
Speaker Sex: Speaker Age (Male: Young)	2.8852	1.0922	2.642	.008
Speaker Age: Interlocutor Age (Young: Young)	2.5927	0.4047	6.406	<.001

Table E.1:   Results of model describing *tuteo* use in semi-structured conversations

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
Speaker Age (Young)	-2.1648	0.6922	-3.128	.002
Interlocutor Age (Young)	0.9754	0.1916	5.090	<.001
Interlocutor Sex (Male)	0.0691	0.1442	0.479	n.s.
Discourse Type				
⟹ *Impersonal*	1.4172	0.1956	7.247	<.001
⟹ *Reported*	0.7272	0.2189	3.322	<.001
Speaker Age: Interlocutor Age (Young: Young)	0.9522	0.3126	3.046	.002

Table E.2:   Results of model describing *voseo* use in semi-structured conversations

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p-value
Speaker Sex (Male)	0.9754	0.9407	1.037	n.s.
Speaker Age (Young)	1.4259	0.9455	1.508	n.s.
Interlocutor Age (Young)	-1.9804	0.2601	-7.614	<.001
Interlocutor Sex (Male)	0.8060	0.2111	3.818	<.001
Discourse Type				
⇒ Impersonal	-1.7373	0.2712	-6.406	<.001
⇒ Reported	-2.6636	0.3264	-8.161	<.001
Speaker Age: Interlocutor Age (Young: Young)	-3.5698	0.4908	-7.274	<.001

Table E.3:   Results of model describing *ustedeo* use in semi-structured conversations
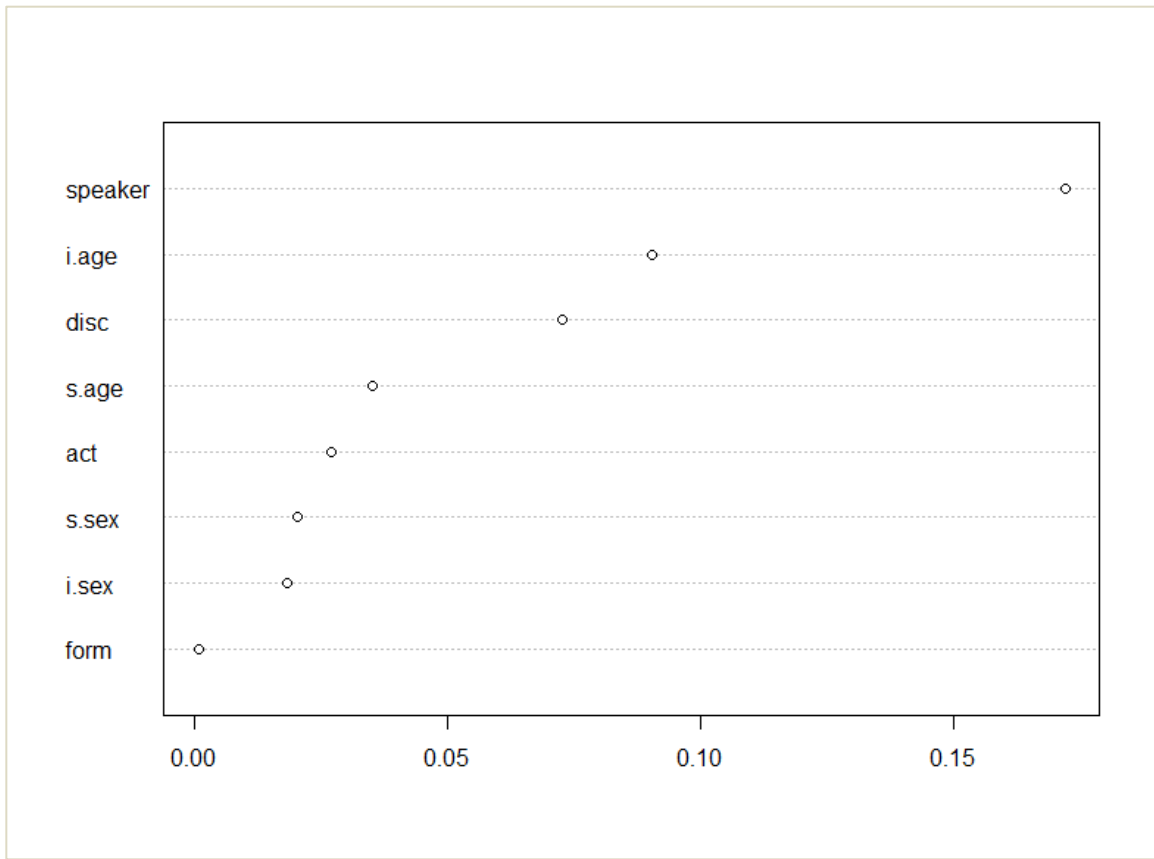
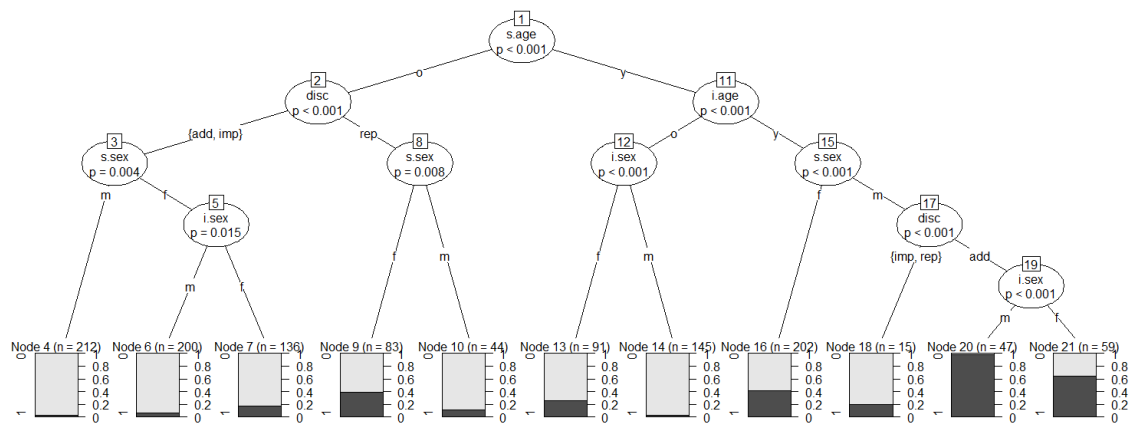Figure F.1:   Random forest: weights of factors affecting *voseo* use during SSCs

Figure F.2:   Conditional inference tree: impact of social factors and discourse type on *tuteo* use during SSCs
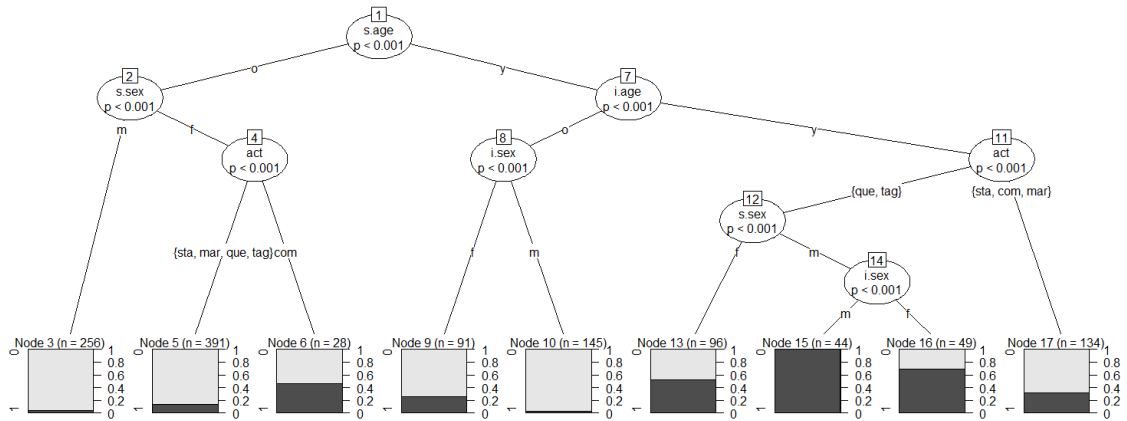
Figure F.3: Conditional inference tree: impact of social factors and speech act on *tuteo* use during SSCs
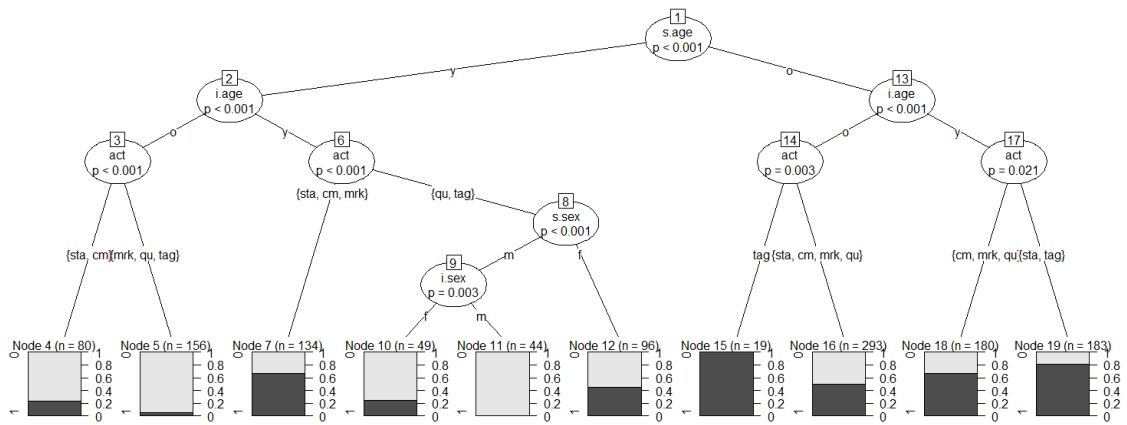

Figure F.4: Conditional inference tree: impact of social factors and speech act on *voseo* use during SSCs
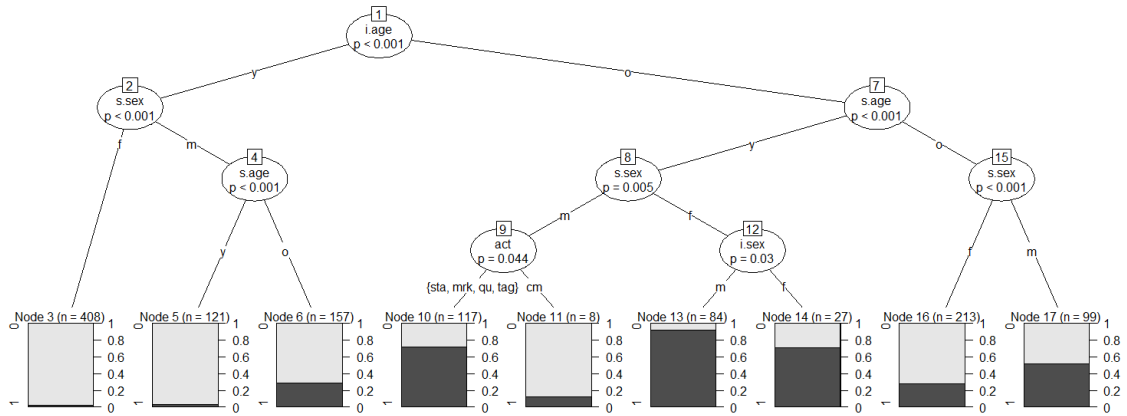
Figure F.5:   Conditional inference tree: impact of social factors and speech act on
ustedeo use during SSCs

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