Nominal address and rapport management in informal interactions among university students in Quito (Ecuador), Santiago (Chile) and Seville (Spain)[1]

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Nominal and pronominal address forms, which play a central role in the construction of interpersonal relations (cf. Bargiela et al. 2002; Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009), have been the focus of attention in different linguistics subfields for several decades now. Less attention, however, has been paid to these forms from a variational pragmatics (Schneider and Barron 2008) perspective, particularly in Spanish.

Using a corpus of role play interactions, we examine the impact of region and gender on nominal address usage among male and female university students from Quito (Ecuador), Santiago (Chile) and Seville (Spain). We look at how these forms are employed in rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2008 [2000]) in two situations: giving advice and making a direct complaint (Boxer 1993). Building on work on nominal forms (cf. Leech 1999; McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003), we examine similarities and differences in their use across the three varieties of Spanish.

Among the findings recorded was a larger repertoire of nominal forms in the Santiago and Quito data sets relative to the Seville corpus, with the highest frequency of use in Santiago. We suggest that address usage in the dyadic contexts examined is connected to the expression of affect and involvement, with Chileans (Santiago) and Ecuadorians (Quito) displaying more affect than Spaniards (Seville). Contrary to early research suggesting that women employ more affiliative language than men (cf. Lakoff 1995), overall, males in the present study were found to use address forms more frequently than females across the three locations.

Key words: nominal address forms; variational pragmatics; regional pragmatic variation; Chilean Spanish, Peninsular Spanish, Ecuadorian Spanish**,** rapport management

1. Introduction

Address forms have long been recognized to be an index of social relations (cf. Braun 1988) and thus central to the management of social relations and to identity construction more widely (cf. Bargiela et al. 2002; Clyne et al. 2009). The key role that they can play in turn-taking and other aspects of the management of talk-in-interaction has also been highlighted (cf. McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003; Clayman 2012). Additionally, the different functions of address forms have been explored, for example, vis-à-vis their position in a given utterance

(cf. Leech 1999) or in relation to the speech acts with which they occur (cf. Placencia 1997).
Finally, other studies have highlighted their cultural specificity (cf. Fitch 1998).

Taking a variational pragmatics perspective (cf. Schneider and Barron 2008, Barron this issue), and on the basis of a corpus of role play interactions, we look at the impact of region and gender on the use of nominal address forms among friends in two situations: offering advice and complaining. Variational Pragmatics focuses on "the investigation of possible correlations between macrosocial factors and the use of language in action" (Barron 2005: 525). Region and gender are two macro-social factors that can influence pragmatic choices. They interact with age, socioeconomic background and possibly other factors. Most variational pragmatic studies focus on one macro-social factor (Schneider 2010), whereas here we look at two of these factors and their interaction with situational factors.

Studies of regional pragmatic variation across varieties of Latin American and Peninsular Spanishes have shown that there is variation, for example, in the use of pronominal address in Peninsular and Ecuadorian Spanish (Placencia 2005), or with respect to the use of mitigating devices in Chilean and Peninsular Spanish (Puga Larraín 1997) (see Placencia 2011 for an overview in the area). Variation in nominal address usage across region is thus probable. Concerning gender, research on gender variation in nominal address usage from a variational pragmatic perspective is underrepresented in the literature; nonetheless, there are studies that have shown such variation (cf. Enajas 2004).

We are aware of criticisms that have been made of variational pragmatics in terms of treating macrosocial factors such as region and gender as stable categories (Terkourafi 2012). However, we agree with Barron (2008:359) when she says that "social identities are never written on a tabula rasa in a socio-historical vacuum," and that "individuals cannot but be influenced by the social environment in which they are brought up". As in other variational pragmatics studies, we explore just such influences and investigate whether the selected

macrosocial factors appear to influence language use. In addition to variational pragmatics, the present paper draws on Conversation Analysis in the analysis of the location of address forms in openings and closings, and, also on intercultural pragmatics in our discussion of the use of address forms in rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2008 [2000]). Particularly in terms of rapport, it is of interest to see how address forms are used in the realization of different types of speech acts. Advice-giving and complaints are those chosen in the present study. Advice-giving can be categorized as a kind of supportive action (Goldsmith and Fitch 1997) that allows advice-givers to display empathy and concern for others in the face of a problem, although how advice is perceived may be related to whether the advice was solicited or not by the advisee. Direct complaints (Boxer 1993), on the other hand, represent a typically confrontational act that can involve (in)direct accusations, demands for repair and sometimes even threats. The present paper investigates how address forms are used in these two contrasting macro speech acts: one that, on the whole, can be described as contributing to rapport-building, and the other as constituting rapport-threatening behaviour.

In Section 2, we begin with an overview of studies on address forms, with a focus on nominal address, in the three varieties of Spanish under examination. Section 3 describes the methodology employed. The results are presented in Section 4.

2. Studies on nominal address in Spanish

Address forms have been investigated in multiple languages, including Spanish. Given space limitations, we focus on research on nominal forms in Spanish relevant to our study (cf. the bibliography of the International Network of Address Research (INAR) at https://inarweb.wordpress.com/home/annual-bibliography/ for current work on address usage in different languages). Hummel, Kluge and Vázquez Laslop's (2010) compilation offers several regional overviews of address usage in the Spanish-speaking world.

Nominal address usage has been examined in several varieties of Spanish. For example, in relation to Colombian Spanish, nominal forms are dealt with in the work of Flórez (1975). He highlights, among other features, the common use of affectionate address forms including first name shortenings such as *Tere* for *Teresa*. First name shortenings or the omission of sounds at the end of the name is what Flórez refers to as *apócope afectiva* 'affectionate apocope' (p. 176). Additionally, Flórez (1975: 179) describes the use of what he calls "*demostrativos de simpatía o cariño*" ('markers of sympathy or affection') as, for example, *gato* ('cat') or *galla* (female of *gallo* 'rooster[M]'). In addition, Fitch (1998: 44), employing an ethnographic approach, lists metaphoric uses of kinship terms such as *mijo/-a* 'my son/daugher[+D]',[2] as well as terms such as *huevón* (literally, 'egg[M+Aug]') or *imbécil* 'imbecile / idiot' (i.e. terms denoting stupidity, that are employed to insult strangers, but that can also be used among friends in a playful way). Finally, Travis (2006), adopting an ethnopragmatic perspective, examines the meaning of terms of endearment such as *gorda* (literally, 'fat') and *loca* (literally,'crazy'). She regards the use of these terms as expressions of *calor humano* (literally 'human warmth'; i.e. the expression of affection and concern for others) (p. 210) which is important for the development and maintenance of *confianza* relationships characterized by "closeness and a sense of deep familiarity" and certain behavioural expectations (e.g. that one can count on help when in need) (Thurén 1988: 222).

With respect to the varieties that concern us here, and starting with Ecuadorian Spanish, address forms appear in the seminal work of Toscano Mateus (1953) who describes, among other features, shortened first names and metaphoric uses of family terms (see also Fitch 1998 above). Placencia (1997) offers a study on address usage in Quiteño Spanish in an analysis of naturally occurring telephone conversations between family and friends. Uses that appear in her work that are relevant to our current study include name abbreviations, such as *Merce* for 'Mercedes' (see Flórez's [1975] affectionate apocope above), and affectionate

forms such as *gordis* (from *gorda* 'fat', accompanied by the playful diminutive suffix *-is*) (see Travis [2006] above) which in the present study we classify as descriptive terms alluding to physical appearance (see Section 4.1). Affectionate forms and friendly terms also appear in Placencia's studies of face-to-face service interactions in Quito (cf. Placencia 2005).

With respect to Chilean Spanish, and from a corpus linguistics perspective, the works of Jørgensen and Aarli (2011) as well as Palma Fahey's (2011) are pertinent. Jørgensen and Aarli (2011) look at the use of vocatives among secondary school pupils in Santiago de Chile and Madrid, on the basis of the COLAs (Santiago) and COLAm (Madrid) corpora. They find the term *huevón / huevona* 'egg$^{M/F+Aug}$' to be most frequently used in Santiago whereas *tío/-a* (literally, 'uncle / aunt') is the form most commonly employed in their Madrid corpus. Palma-Fahey (2011) looks at nominal address usage as recreated in two film scripts: one Chilean –*Machuca*– and one Spanish –*Volver*. In terms of form, building on Leech (1999), she identified the following categories: first names, surnames, shortened first names (e.g. *Sole* for *Soledad*), endearments (e.g. *gordito*, literally 'fat^{M+D}'), familiarizers (e.g. *cabros* 'kids'), kinship terms (e.g. *madre* 'mother') (see Fitch 1998 above for Colombian Spanish) and honorifics and titles (e.g. *profesora* 'teacher') (p. 109). She added the category of insults (e.g. *güeón*, from *huevón* 'egg^{M+Aug}') which, depending on the relationship and the interaction, can be used to convey either disrespect or solidarity (p. 109).

Also relevant is Cortés's (2009) work on Chilean Spanish that highlights the widespread use of zoonimic (animalistic) expressions (e.g. *gallo/-a* 'rooster$^{M/F}$') in personal address that allude to metaphorical content. However, Cortés notes that some of these forms have become so common that users no longer recognise their metaphorical meaning. One of these is *huevón* ('egg^{M+Aug}') which has, according to this author (2009: 252), a polysemic character and can therefore be used in different relational contexts (see also Fitch 1998 above).[3] This observation brings to mind the distinction proposed by Ramírez Gelbes and

Estrada (2003: 335) between "insultive" (*insultivo*) and "insulting" (*insultativo*) vocatives which these authors employ to describe friendly ("insultive") and aggressive ("insulting") uses of *boludo* (literally, *bola* 'ball[M+Aug]'). This is an address form used in Argentinean Spanish, equivalent to Chilean (and Ecuadorian) *huevón*.

Finally, concerning Peninsular Spanish, in addition to Jørgensen and Aarli's (2011) work mentioned earlier, Bañón (1993), for example, examined vocatives among teenagers in Murcia (Spain), with data obtained using a questionnaire. Forms such as *tío/tía* (literally, 'uncle / aunt') were found to be used among friends. Also, on the basis of a literary work and examples taken from the VAL.ES.CO corpus (Briz Gómez 1995), Edeso Natalías (2005) examines the uses of vocatives. She notes their use in signalling positive and negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]), depending on the act with which the vocatives co-occur. Non-empirical work, such as that by García Dini (1998) and Alonso-Cortés (1999), focuses on the double function of vocatives as appellative markers and as focalizers. They also provide a phonological, morphological and syntactic characterization. Finally, of particular relevance for the present study is Enajas (2004), a study that examines amorous vocatives in youth talk in Almería in the South of Spain using questionnaire data. She looks at gender and the communicative situation as variables having an impact on the use of vocatives. She reports that names tend not to be used in relations of intimacy, but rather forms such as *cari* or *cariño* 'darling' or *nene/-a* 'kid[M/F]'. In addition, stereotypical forms, such as *vida* 'life' or *amor* 'love', appear to be employed more frequently by men than by women. Moreover, both men and women in the study also seem to use forms like *feo/-a* 'ugly[M/F]', which Enajas categorizes as instances of *parresia*, a rhetoric figure that consists of using expressions that appear to be offensive, but which, by antithesis, convey affection.[4]

3. Method

Data were collected in Quito, Santiago and Seville in 2013 through open role plays (Kasper and Dahl 1991), an instrument commonly used in speech act studies. All three places, Quito, Santiago and Seville represent urban areas in Ecuador, Chile and Spain respectively. Quito and Santiago are capital cities while Seville is the regional capital of Andalusia. Seville rather than Madrid was chosen as the Spanish city given that studies on language use in Seville are underrepresented in (variational) pragmatics. In addition, practical reasons also played a role in that the researchers had greater access to students at this location.

The role plays were conducted with male and female participants and all three scenarios involved friendship relationships (i.e. -Social Distance, -Power). Two scenarios were designed to elicit advice and one, a complaint. These are given in Table 1. The situations formed part of a larger study on advice and complaints across varieties of Spanish among friends and strangers and were developed on the basis of real-life examples. An additional situation eliciting complaints was not included here as it involved an interaction among strangers.

Table 1: Role play scenarios

Scenario title	Macro speech act elicited	Brief description
1. Illness	Advice	Someone who needs to go on a trip to attend a close relative's wedding falls ill; he/she seeks advice from a friend.
2. Impending wedding	Advice	Someone who is about to get married discovers her partner's infidelity; he/she seeks advice from a friend.
3. Broken laptop	Complaint	Someone who borrowed a laptop from a friend and downloaded material from the Internet, inadvertently damaging the hard disk, returns the laptop to its owner.

A pilot study was first carried out to check whether the designed situations did in fact elicit the macro speech acts expected. Appropriate adjustments to the formulation of the situations were made, since one of the advice situations (i.e., impending wedding) initially elicited commiseration rather than advice.

Role plays facilitated the contrastive study of address forms and other features across

the three varieties of Spanish under examination in a number of ways. Firstly, they enabled the elicitation of comparative data across cultures and so facilitated the contrastive study of the three varieties at hand. Indeed, contrastivity, as Barron and Schneider (2009: 429) highlight, is a key methodological principle in variational pragmatics in that the contrastive study of at least two varieties "of the same kind and of the same language" is the only way to identify language features that are variety-specific (see also Schneider 2010).

A further key advantage of role plays is that, like other data-eliciting methods, they allow for variable control (cf. Kasper 2008 [2000]; Zhu Hua 2011) which is necessary in contrastive studies. Another advantage is that, while role play data do not correspond to naturally occurring interactions, they do represent "an approximation of spoken discourse" (Félix-Brasdefer 2003: 253) as they allow for a fluid exchange of turns and the negotiation of goals provided at least one of the participants in the role play, as in the present study, is not aware of the conversational outcomes in advance. Additionally, the fact that participants in our study had to focus on performing the key speech acts of advising and complaining may have diverted their attention from side actions such as addressing, thereby possibly yielding (more) spontaneous uses of address forms.

With respect to the disadvantages of role play data, Kasper (2008 [2000]: 291), for example, highlights the fact that it can be difficult for participants to take part in role plays in imagined contexts with "no real-life history and consequences". In addition, one constraint of role plays that is not usually considered relates to the fact that often (and as in the present study) a fixed person performs one of the roles in order to achieve variable control. The spontaneity of the fixed person's participation can be questioned since he/she will be aware from the start, or after the first role play, of the outcome of the interaction. More importantly perhaps for the present study is that including the language of the fixed participant in the analysis (i.e., the use of address forms in this case) can distort the results as it is the same

person using certain forms across interactions. For these reasons, we opted for excluding address forms employed by fixed participants from our analysis. This alternative is not problem-free in that utterances naturally form part of sequences. However, in the present corpora, address usage by the non-fixed participants was found not necessarily to be conditioned by usage by the fixed participant. In (1) below, for example, it can be seen that the non-fixed participant is the one who initiates the use of nominal address forms, and employs one in nearly every turn. The fixed participant, in contrast, does not employ any nominal address form. Given space limitations in the present context, the interactive dimension of address and other forms is discussed in a separate publication (Placencia, Fuentes-Rodríguez y Palma-Fahey forthcoming).

(1) Extract, M10[5] and Luis (fixed participant), illness situation (see below), Quito
[italics have been added to turns in Spanish]
01   M10:   *Qué tal **bro** cómo estás.*[6]
                'How are you doing *bro* how are you.'
02   Luis: *A los tiempos que te veo.*
                'It's been a long time since I last saw you.'
03   M10:   *Sí a los tiempos que te dejas ver **loco** (.) pero te noto medio mal **loco** qué te pasa?*
                'Yes, it's been a long time since you *loco [crazy]* last showed up (.) but I can see you are sort of under the weather *loco [crazy]* what's the matter?'
04   Luis: *Chuta me duele la cabeza estoy (.) con dolor de garganta y tengo fiebre.*
                'Gosh I have a headache (.) a sore throat and a fever.'
05   M10:   *En serio si-sí se te nota medio mal **loco** cuidaraste **bróder** (.) ya te hiciste ver?*
                'Really yes one can see you are not all that well *loco [crazy]* take care of yourself *bróder [brother]* (.) have you seen a doctor yet?'
.
.
.
17   M10:   *Ya pues cuidaraste yo te he de estar llamando.*
                'Okay then take care of yourself I'll call you some time.'
18   Luis: *Ya ahí hablamos **loco**.*
                'Okay we'll talk some time *loco [crazy]*.'

Finally, another difficulty with role plays is that the sex of the fixed participant can be a factor affecting the interaction (cf. Holmes 1995). To take this factor into account one

would need to elicit and analyse role plays involving both male and female fixed participants in interaction with a group of males and a group of females each, for each situation. However, this factor is usually not taken into account. Instead, for each scenario, the sex of the fixed participant is kept constant across data sets, as it was in the present study. This is a limitation of our study.

3.1. *Participants*

Ten male and ten female native speakers of each variety of Spanish – Chilean (Santiago), Ecuadorian (Quito), and Peninsular Spanish (Seville) – took part in the study, amounting to 60 participants altogether. They were all undergraduate students, aged between 18 and 24, with an average age of 21. The Spanish students came from a state university that admits students from different social backgrounds. The Ecuadorian and Chilean students, on the other hand, came from private universities that also take students from different backgrounds and charge fees according to parental income or offer loans or financial support. Indeed, in Quito, state universities were not selected as they would tend to provide access to students from a mainly lower socio-economic background. Ease of access for the researcher to a private university was also a factor that played a role in the selection of university in Chile.

3.2. *Task and procedure*

For each of the three situations, participants were told to imagine that they were going to take part in certain scenarios. They were asked to interact as spontaneously as possible. Informed consent was obtained in advance from all the participants. Also, before taking part in the role play, participants were asked to provide some personal information, namely: age, place of birth, length of residence in Quito, Santiago or Seville, and mother tongue.

The instructions students received, presented here in English, depended on whether

they were the fixed participant or their interlocutor:

Situation 1: Illness

Fixed participant:

You are in the street and feeling quite unwell: you have a fever and a headache, as well as a sore throat and bad cough. You have a trip abroad planned for tomorrow for your brother's wedding, and you do not know what to do. You meet a friend and ask him/her what to do.

Other participants (10 males and 10 females):

You are walking in the street when you meet a friend who looks quite unwell. You stop to talk to him/her.

Situation 2: Impending wedding

Fixed participant:

You are distraught. You are getting married in a week's time and you have just found out that your partner is involved in another relationship. You meet a friend and ask him/her what to do.

Other participants (10 males and 10 females):

You meet by chance a friend you have not seen for a while. He/she looks quite worried. You talk to him/her.

Situation 3: Broken laptop

Fixed participant:

Your friend lent you his/her laptop and you downloaded a programme from the Internet

before returning the laptop to him/her. He/she comes to talk with you. Interact with him/her.

Other participants (10 males and 10 females):

You lend your laptop to a friend. Your friend uses it to download some programmes from the Internet and infects your laptop with a virus that erases your hard disk and you thus lose information you are not able to recover. You talk with your friend.

These scenarios were formulated in three versions of Spanish in order to suit usage within each of the three varieties. The interactions were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis, using a modified version of Jefferson's (1984) transcription conventions (see Appendix).

4. Analysis and results

4.1. *Types of address forms employed and frequency of use*

In our analysis, we first looked at the type of address form employed, taking into account the address forms produced by the informants (10 men and 10 women) in each scenario. Building on Alonso-Cortés (1999), Leech's (1999) and Carrasco Santana's (2002) taxonomies, we arrived at five main categories, and subcategories, as can be seen in Table 2. It should be pointed out that 'family' and 'descriptive' terms in our corpus represent metaphorical and/or playful rather than literal uses of the different terms under these categories (cf. Fitch, 1998).

Table 2: Types of nominal address forms identified in Quito, Santiago and Seville

Categories		Examples from the present study		
		Quito	Santiago	Seville
First names	**Full forms**	*Marcela*	*Pedro*	*Alicia*
	Shortened/ Familiarized	*Marce* (from *Marcela*) *Mi Marce bella* 'my beautiful Marce'	*Pedrito* 'Pedro[+D]' *Kary* 'from *Karina*	*Ali* (from *Alicia*)
Terms of friendship		*pana* 'mate'	*amigo/-a* 'friend[M/F]' *compadre* ('godfather of one's child') *huachita* 'orphaned[F]'	—
Endearments		*mi amor* 'my love' *mi vida* 'my life' *preciosa* 'darling'	—	—
Family terms	**in Spanish**	*hermano* 'brother' *mija* (from *mi hija*, 'my daughter') *linda* 'my lovely daughter'	*hermano* 'brother'	*tío/-a* 'uncle/aunt' *prima* 'cousin[F]' *hijo* 'son'
	English loanwords	*bróder/bro* (from 'bro(ther)')	—	—
Descriptive terms alluding to …	**physical appearance**	*gorda* 'fat[F]' *gordi* (abb. from *gordito/-a* 'fat[M/F +D]')	*flaca* 'skinny[F]' *gato* 'cat[M]' *galla* 'rooster[F]'	—
	character or behaviour	*loco/-a* 'crazy[M/F]' *huevón* 'egg[M+ Aug]'	*huevón/huevona* 'egg[M/F+ Aug]' *loca* 'crazy[F]'	*macho* (term used to designate animal male species) *picha* (literally, penis)
	age (in Spanish)	*chico* 'boy'	*viejo* 'old man'	*hombre* 'man' *chico/-a* ' boy/girl' *(qu)illo/-a* (from *chiquillo/-a*) 'boy/girl[+D]'
	age (English loan words)	*man*	—	—

Table 2 shows some differences in the range of nominal address forms employed across the three locations: the Seville corpus has the narrowest range, with, for example, no

instances of the overall categories of terms of friendship, endearments, or the subcategory of descriptive alluding to physical appearance. The Quito corpus, on the other hand, shows the broadest range with the overall category of endearments as well as two subcategories of English loan words (for family and descriptive terms) not present in the other two data sets.

In terms of the overall frequency of use of the different forms identified (cf. Table 3), the Santiago corpus displays the largest number of occurrences with 202 instances, followed by the Quito corpus with 140 and the Seville corpus, with 111 (cf. Table 3). A chi-squared analysis of the data showed these differences to be statistically significant ($X^2 = 101$, df = 8, p<0.005).

Table 3: Distribution of nominal address forms according to location and sex of the participants

Categories		Quito			Santiago			Seville		
		M*	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
First names	*Full forms*	*1*	*—*	*1*	*1*	*8*	*9*	*1*	*8*	*9*
	Shortened/ Familiarised	*7*	*7*	*14*	*21*	*38*	*59*	*0*	*2*	*2*
	Total first names	8	7	15	22	46	68	1	10	11
Terms of friendship		—	5	5	22	10	32	—	—	—
Endearments		5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family terms	*in Spanish*	*20*	*2*	*22*	*4*	*2*	*6*	*19*	*6*	*25*
	English loan words	*5*	*—*	*5*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*
	Total family terms	25	2	27	4	2	6	19	6	25
Descriptive terms	*alluding to physical appearance*	*3*	*7*	*10*	*23*	*6*	*29*	*—*	*—*	*—*
	alluding to character / behaviour	*60*	*14*	*74*	*30*	*36*	*66*	*2*	*—*	*2*
	alluding to age	*—*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*—*	*1*	*43*	*30*	*73*
	English loan words	*3*	*—*	*3*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*	*—*
	Total descriptive terms	66	22	88	54	42	96	45	30	75
Total		104	36	**140**	102	100	**202**	65	46	**111**

*M stands for Male; F for Female.

Starting with first names, these were found in the three varieties, albeit with a higher incidence in the Santiago corpus (representing 33.66% (68/202), 10.71% (15/140), and 9.90% (11/111) of the Santiago, Quito and Seville address form data, respectively). Interestingly, familiarised forms of first names (Flórez's [1975] *apócope afectiva*), as opposed to full forms, are more frequently employed in Quito (familiarised: 93.33% (14/15) vs. full forms: 6.66% (1/15)) and Santiago (familiarised: 86.76% (59/68) vs. full forms: 13.23% (9/68)). In Seville, in contrast, the reverse situation is found (familiarised: 18.18% (2/11) vs. full forms: 81.81% (9/11). These results are in line with studies that have identified a higher use of diminutives in some varieties of Latin American Spanish, for example, including in Ecuadorian (Quito) and Chilean (Santiago) Spanishes (cf. Puga Larraín 1997; Placencia 2005, respectively), relative to Peninsular Spanish. This is not to say, however, that Spaniards do not employ similar forms in other situations as reported by Enajas (2004), for example (see Section 2).

Along the same lines, terms of friendship occurred in Quito (3.57% (5/140)) and Santiago (15.84% (32/202)) but not in Seville. Endearments were found only in the Quito corpus, albeit with a low incidence (3.57% (5/140)). Interestingly, family terms occurred with similar frequencies in Quito (19.28% (27/140)) and Seville (22.52% (25/111)), but were little used in Santiago (2.97% (6/202)). It should also be noted that not the same family terms are necessarily preferred in each context (e.g., *tío/-a* 'uncle/aunt' appears only in Seville, and *hermano* 'brother' only in Quito and Santiago). *Bróder* (from 'brother'), an English loan word which can also be regarded as an instance of 'language crossing' (Rampton 2009),[7] occurred only in Quito.

Finally, with respect to descriptive terms, as can be seen in Table 3, these were the most frequently employed in the three varieties. However, looking at the subcategories,

Seville participants mainly made use of forms alluding to age (97.33% (73/75)), with no occurrences of forms alluding to physical appearance, and only (2.66% (2/75)) to character / behaviour. By contrast, in Quito and Santiago, the latter were the most common, representing 84.09% (74/88) of the descriptive terms data in Quito; 68.75% (66/96) in Santiago, followed by terms referring to physical appearance (Quito: 11.36% (10/88); Santiago: 30.20% (29/96). There were very few occurrences of forms referring to age in either variety. Descriptive terms alluding to age could be regarded as more impersonal than those alluding to physical appearance or character. In this respect, one could argue that these results are also in line with previous studies that show, for instance, more involvement in the interactional style of speakers of Ecuadorian Spanish (Quito), compared to speakers of Peninsular Spanish (Madrid) (cf. Placencia 2005). While Peninsular Spanish speakers have generally been regarded as oriented towards positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]) when compared with the English, for example (cf. Hickey 2005), it may be more appropriate to talk about a continuum when it comes to varieties of Spanish, with speakers of some Latin American varieties perhaps displaying greater affect in their communication than Spaniards in certain communicative situations. However, a larger sample would be needed to test this hypothesis.

4.2. *Address forms and gender*

While early research on language and gender attributed rather clear-cut, differentiated characteristics to male and female speech (cf. Tannen 1991; Fishman 1997 [1978]), current research is more nuanced. Under the influence of Cameron (1992), among others, for example, it is now recognized that uses of language are context-specific and that the context of the interaction may indeed be more important than gender considerations. Therefore, certain features of language use may be found in both male and female speech according to

the activity type (Levinson 1979) or the discourse type (Fuentes Rodríguez and Bañón Hernández in press). As we shall see, while we have found statistically significant differences in overall frequency of address form use among males and females across data sets in the present study, the picture appears to be more mixed when we look at usage relating to subcategories and specific stages of the interaction.

Table 3 above showed the distribution of address forms among males and females in the three locations. Comparing results across locations, we see that whereas in Santiago both men and women use nominal address forms with similar frequencies (men: 50.49% (102/202) vs. women 49.50% (100/202)), in Quito and Seville men use them to a greater proportion. The difference between men and women is particularly noticeable in Quito with 74.28% (104/140) of forms produced by men and 25.71% (36/140) by women. In Seville, the distribution is 58.55% (65/111) for men and 41.44% (46/111) for women. A chi- squared analysis of the overall results for men and women reveals that our observations are genuine features of the data and not a product of chance (total Chi2 comparing male and females across locations 19.5452 df=10 0.05<p<0.025).

If we take address forms in the present study to perform key rapport management functions, especially in terms of reinforcing the *confianza* relationship between participants (see Section 2), the findings across locations, but particularly for Quito and Seville, seem to contradict early research claiming that women employ more affiliative or supportive language than men (cf. Tannen 1991; Lakoff 1995). Indeed, they lend support to recent studies such as Eisenchlas (2012) who compares male and female behaviour in an online forum, finding that males express affect as frequently as women, and at times even produce "more emotional tokens" than females (p. 343).

Some tentative differences between the genders can also be outlined for the use of the various subcategories of nominal address forms. In Quito, for example, while descriptive

terms are the most frequently used nominal address forms used by both males (63.46% (66/104)) and females (61.11% (22/36)), use of family terms is higher among males (24.03% (25/104)) than females (5.55% (2/36)). In Santiago, descriptive terms are also those with the highest incidence among both groups, but used more frequently among males (54.94% (54/102)) than females (42% (42/100)). Likewise, when it comes to terms of friendship, males use them more frequently than females (21.56% (22/102) vs. 10% (10/100)), but females use more first names than males (46% (46/100) vs. 21.56% (22/102)). Finally, in Seville, both males and females prefer descriptive terms too, although males use them slightly more frequently than females (69.23% (45/65) vs. 65.21% (30/46)). On the other hand, like in Santiago, in Seville, females use first names more frequently than males (21.73% (10/46) vs. 1.53% (1/65)), and, like in Quito, males use more family terms than females (29.23% (19/65) vs. 13.04% (6/46)).

4.3. *Address forms and situation*

Looking at the use of address forms according to situation, the results, while tentative, show that the broken laptop situation (the complaint situation) elicited the highest use of address forms in the three data sets (cf. Figure 1).
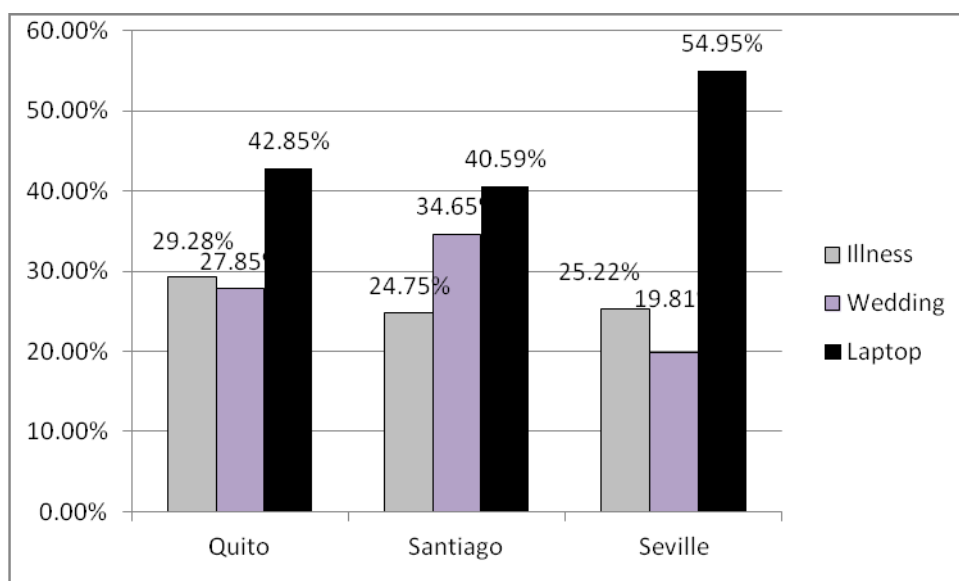
Figure 1: Nominal address usage according to situation and location

This can possibly be explained by the fact that accusations and demands for repair, for example, both found in direct complaints (Boxer 1993), are inherently face-threatening acts. Therefore, their enactment requires more interpersonal work if participants in a friendship relationship, as in the present study, wish to preserve the relationship. Address forms are a tool that can be employed to counteract the face threat of the core acts that make up a complaint. Nonetheless, they can also be used to intensify the accusation or other face-threatening acts. The function of address forms in rapport management is considered in more detail in the next section.

4.4. *Address forms and rapport management*

Address forms are multifunctional. They can perform both interpersonal functions displaying closeness or distance, camaraderie or unfriendliness etc. as well as discursive and conversation management functions. In this paper we focus on the former interpersonal functions. More specifically, and with reference to Spencer-Oatey (2008 [2000]), we look at how address forms are employed in supporting actions through which interpersonal rapport may be (re)created, enhanced or threatened.

Clayman (2012: 1853) notes that in dyadic interactions, nominal address forms are "entirely redundant as a resource for addressing". This is so in that in such interactions there is no ambiguity as to who the addressee is, so there is no need to use address forms for attention-getting or turn allocation. It is therefore their interpersonal function that is to the fore. This is something that has been noted, for instance with respect to advice-giving, as in Morrow's (2012: 274) work on advice in online forums where "some advice givers use[d] vocatives, names or kinship terms with the effect of heightening the level of involvement". A

similar observation can be made with regard to both our advice and complaint data since the scenarios presented to participants represent dyadic interactions. Additionally, these scenarios explicitly instruct participants to interact as 'friends'. Hence, among other features, we see the use of familiar pronominal address usage (e.g. *tú* rather than *usted* in Seville) without a need for much or any negotiation of the relationship in this respect. However, participants do need to modulate the interaction as they go along, moving from openings to the performance of advice-giving or complaining to closings. As we shall see, address forms, while not essential in our corpora for conversation management purposes, appear to play a not insignificant rapport management role at different stages of the interaction and with different speech activities within the interaction. In Table 4, we provide results of their occurrence, grouped under openings, closings, and the speech acts they accompany in the body of the interaction. Under the latter, we have taken into account categories of speech acts found in advice-giving (e.g. expressing empathy) and complaints (e.g. reproaches) that occurred with address forms twice or more. We have grouped these together for the purposes of the statistical analysis, thus allowing us to examine overall trends.

Table 4. Use of nominal address forms at different stages of the interaction

	QUITO			SANTIAGO			SEVILLE		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Openings	20	10	30	22	20	42	13	16	29
Closings	22	4	26	15	6	21	3	0	3
Body of the interaction*	40	7	47	35	43	78	33	10	43
TOTAL	82	21	**103**	72	69	**141**	49	26	**75**

* Here we have included address forms found in advice giving and complaint speech acts that occurred twice or more. As such, the totals in this table do not correspond to the totals in Table 3.

As can be seen in Table 4, a comparison of the overall results for male and female address usage across locations reveals that males use nominal address terms more frequently than females (Quito: 79.61% (82/103) vs. 20.38% (21/103); Santiago: 51.06% (72/141) vs. 48.93% (69/141) and Seville: 65.33% (49/75) vs. 34.66% (26/75)). We can be confident that the overall trends observed across the three locations are statistically significant ($X^2 = 18.5$, df=10, p<0.05). While a larger sample would be desirable in order to compare male and female address form usage, we are satisfied that the data set is still sufficiently large to allow us to form reliable conclusions. In the following sections we look at each stage of the interaction in more detail, and suggest some tentative trends for further exploration with a larger corpus.

4.4.1. *Address forms in openings and closings.* In the opening section of the interactions, address forms were found to occur with informal greetings and/or how-are-you enquiries, as in (2) and (3) below. Address forms as in these examples are used as face-enhancing mechanisms, marking the existing closeness among the participants.

(2)   *Hola **Kary*** (.) cómo estái? (M6, Impending wedding, Santiago)

        'Hi *Kary* (.) how are you?'

Two or more forms are sometimes used by the same person, as in this example:

(3)   *Qué hay **bróder** cómo estás ve?(.) a los años **loco**.* (M3-Illness, Quito)

        'How are things *bróder [brother]* how are you? (.) it's been ages *loco [crazy[M]]*.'

With respect to closings, address forms were found to occur with pre-closing devices, that is with certain utterances that function as warrants for closings (Schegloff and Sacks 1974

[1973]) such as *ya (pues) entonces* ('okay (then) then'), as in (4) and (5). They were also found with tokens of agreement in closings, as in examples (6) and (7).

(4)   *Ya **March** entonces ahí (.) estamos hablando…* (H1, Laptop, Quito)

        'Okay *March [for Marcela]* then we'll (.) talk some time…'

(5)   *Ya pues **loquita** entonces'* (M1, Laptop, Quito)

        'Okay then *loquita [crazy^{F+D}]* then'

(6)   *Ya po **huachita** cuídate.* (M8, Impending wedding, Santiago)

        'Okay then *huachita [orphan^{F}]* take care.'

(7)   *Venga **tío** pos mucha suerte eh?* (M7, Illness, Seville)

        'Okay *tío [uncle]* lots of luck then okay?'

Openings and closings have been regarded as potentially delicate phases of an interaction in that they involve transition into and out of talk (cf. Laver 1975). Address forms constitute mechanisms that can be employed to make these transitions smoother. However, as seen in Table 4, there is some variability in their use across locations which can be interpreted as variability in the degree of attention given by informants in the three locations to rapport management matters. Overall, nominal address forms are used more frequently in openings than in closings across locations. However, as a percentage of the total use of nominal address forms at different stages of interaction, nominal address forms in openings were slightly more frequent in Seville (38.66% (29/75)) compared to in Santiago (29.78% (42/141)) and Quito (29.12% (30/103)). With respect to closings, the Quito corpus shows the highest use (25.24% (26/103)), whereas the Seville corpus shows the lowest (4% (3/75)), with Santiago in between (14.89% (21/141)). The results for Quito, while tentative, are in line with findings relating to closings in telephone conversations among family and friends

(Placencia 1997), where address forms were found to be commonly employed. No comparable study is available for Santiago or Seville.

4.4.2. *Address forms in advice giving.* Advice-giving consists of a complex set of actions, as Locher (2006), for example, has shown in her study of advice-giving online. In addition to *guidance* (Goldsmith and Fitch 1997) through which advice recipients are told what to do, advice-giving can include other micro speech acts, such as assessments, sharing of one's experience, providing information, expressing concern. In the corpus examined, we identified a number of such micro actions that occurred with address forms. Of these, we focus on those with two or more occurrences in the present context. In Situation 1 (Illness), two central advice micro speech acts with two or more occurrences were identified: expression of concern / interest / empathy, with 3 instances in Quito corresponding to 6.38% of address forms occurring in the body of the interaction (N=47), 6 in Santiago (7.69%, N=78), and 9 in Seville (20.93%, N=43), and guidance, with 14 instances in Quito (29.78%, N=47), 5 in Santiago (6.41%, N=78), and 15 in Seville (34.88%, N=43), as in the following examples:

1. Expression of concern / interest / empathy:

    (8)   *... te noto medio mal **loco** ...* (M10, Illness, Quito)

            '…you don't seem to be very well *loco [crazy] ...*'

    (9)   *Se te nota medio decaído **hermano** qué pasó?* (M1, Illness, Santiago)

            'You seem to be kind of down *hermano [brother]*, what's happened?'

    (10)   ***Illo** se te ve chunguito no?* (M5, Illness, Seville)

            '*Illo* (from *chiquillo* 'boy') you look under the weather are you?'

2. Guidance

(11) **Compadre** *tení que puro ir no más* (M1, Illness, Santiago)

'*Compadre [Godfather of my child]* you just have to go'

(12) *Pues dópate* **tío** (M7, Illness, Seville)

'Then drug yourself *tío [uncle]*'

Interestingly, in this illness situation, we found that in all three cultures it was only men (in addressing another male) who employed address forms such as these to support the main action. Most of these appear to convey some affect and could be interpreted as an expression of male solidarity, since the 'patient' in the illness scenario is another male.

In the impending wedding situation, also an advice situation, address forms were found to occur in a wider variety of acts than in the illness situation:

1. Expression of surprise / disbelief:

(13) *No jodas* **mija** *focazo* (M4, Wedding, Quito)

'Don't bullshit me *mija [my daughter]* what a surprise'

(14) *Mentira (.) po::: **huevón** …* (M3, Wedding, Santiago)

'You can't be serious (.) *huevón [egg^{M+Aug}]…*'

2. Expression of concern / interest / empathy (as in illness situation above)

3. Expression of disagreement:

(15) *No* **galla** *tení que hablar con él …* (F5, Wedding, Santiago)

'No *galla [rooster^F]* you have to talk to him …'

4. Reproach

(16) *No me vengas con pretextos* **hijueputa** (F5, Wedding, Quito)

'Don't come up with excuses *hijueputa [son of a bitch]*'

5. Guidance (as in illness situation above)

In this impending wedding situation, the occurrence of address forms with expressions of concern / interest / empathy has a slightly higher incidence in Santiago (17.94% (14/78)) compared to Quito (12.76% (6/47)); it is negligible in Seville (6.97% (3/43)). Address forms in guidance occur more frequently in Santiago (15.38% (12/78)) and Seville (16.27% (7/43)) compared to Quito (4.25% (2/47)).

Concerning the functions of address forms in this situation, the micro speech acts identified all involve a kind of assessment of the person, the situation or the other speaker's previous turn. In this context, the address forms employed seem to serve an affiliative function that possibly counteracts the face threat of straightforward disagreements and strengthens the expressions of concern. It is clear that the expression of disagreement and reproach are not actions typically associated with advice-giving. These are, however, also speech acts that support the actions of the advisor in that they show the strength of the speaker's views in attempting to persuade the advisee to follow a certain course of action, as in (15), or to goad the advisee into action, as can be seen in the reproach in (16). In this last example, the closeness and existing *confianza* relationship between the participants appears to allow the advisor to use harsh terms such as *hijueputa (*'son of a bitch') towards her addressee. This use, again, seems to display the strength of conviction of the advisor of what is in the best interests of her advisee. It can be described as an instance of what Zimmermann (2002) refers to as *anticortesía* 'antipoliteness' (rather than impoliteness) in that it is one of those terms that appears to be offensive but it is not intended to cause offence (see also the notion of *parresia* above). On the contrary, as we have suggested, it can be said to be aimed at reinforcing the relationship, showing that the person concerned cares.

All in all, nominal address forms in advice-giving function as supportive moves, supporting the act that they accompany and the relationship in the interactions in question.

Like *tú* in Quito and Seville, and *voseo culto* (Torrejón 2010)[8] in Santiago, nominal address forms help construct the relationship as one of *confianza* and interconnectedness (Fitch 1998), where advice-giving is rapport-enhancing, and not face-threatening (cf. Hernández Flores 1999). This can be seen most clearly in the two main speech acts that are found across situations and locations: expressing concern / interest / empathy, and offering guidance.

4.4.3. *Address forms in complaints.* Complaints are no less complex acts as they are also realized by a series of actions that can include accusations, requests for repair, warnings and threats (cf. Chen et al. 2011). The following are the speech acts that occurred with address forms in our data two or more times:

1. Alerter to a problematic situation

(17)   *Ve mija ...* (F8, Laptop, Quito)

   'Look *mija ['my daughter']* …'

2. Statement of the problem / Accusation

(18)   *Oye chucha me has dañado la laptop **pana** ... no sirve **pana*** (M1, Laptop, Quito)

   'Hey for fuck's sake you've broken my laptop *pana [mate]* ...it's not working *pana [mate]'*

3. Reproach

(19)   *¡**Tía**! qué has hecho* (M2, Laptop, Seville)

   '*Tía [aunt]!* what have you done'

4. Expressions of disagreement

(20)   *No **Karina** (.) mira (.) mi computador está nuevo (.) primero (.) te lo pasé a ti*

   … (F4, Laptop, Santiago)

   'No *Karina* (.) look (.) my computer is new (.) first of all (.) I lent it to you …'

5. Warnings and threats

(21)   ***Quilla** que no te voy a poder dejar otra ve[z] na[da)]* (M10, Laptop, Seville)

   '*Quilla [from chiquilla 'girl^{+Dim}']* I won't be able to let you have anything

   another time'

There is some variation in the use of address forms with these speech acts across locations and across the sexes. For example, statement of the problem/accusation, a common complaint speech act (cf. Chen et al. 2011) has the highest incidence in Santiago (20.5% (16/78)), followed by Seville (18.6% (8/43)), and Quito (12.76% (6/47)), and address forms with warnings and threats only occur in the Santiago (5.12% (4/78)) and Seville corpus (4.65% (2/43)). However, for a more productive analysis of variation at this level of detail, a larger corpus would be needed.

In relation to the function of address forms in complaints, in a few cases the form employed appears to strengthen the face threatening act. This is the case with *huevón* within an accusation, for example, as in (22).

(22)   *Me cagaste la compu huevón* (M4, Laptop, Quito)

   'You fucked up my laptop *huevón [egg^{M+Aug}]*'

As noted earlier (Section 2), *huevón* is a polysemic term that can be rapport enhancing (or *insultive*, using Ramírez Gelbes and Estrada's 2003 term), or rapport threatening (or *insulting* in Ramírez Gelbes and Estrada's 2003 terminology), depending on the context and the co-text of its occurrence. Even forms such as full names (e.g. *Karina*) as in (20), as opposed to their shortened variants (e.g., *Kary* for *Karina*), can contribute to harshening the impact of the face threatening act when used among friends in that full forms mark some distance between the interlocutors. In other instances, friendship terms like *pana* 'mate' in Quito (18) or familiar forms like *quilla* (from *chiquilla* 'girl^{+Dim}') in Seville (21) appear to soften the face-threatening act.

5. Final remarks and conclusions

In this paper we looked at the impact of region and gender on nominal address usage among university students from Quito, Santiago and Seville in advice-giving and complaint formulation, based on role play data. With respect to region, looking at frequencies of usage, we found the highest frequency of nominal address forms in Santiago. Quito came second, while our Seville corpus displayed the lowest frequency of use. We suggest that the use of address forms in the context examined, where address forms are "redundant as a resource for addressing", to repeat Clayman's (2012: 1853) words above, is connected to the expression of affect and involvement (cf. Morrow 2012), with Chileans (Santiago) and Ecuadorians (Quito) displaying more affect than Spaniards (Seville) and, therefore, possibly heightening their involvement with their interlocutor in the contexts examined.

As observed by Schneider and Barron (2008), region is a macro social factor that interacts with other macro (and micro) social factors. Indeed, looking at address usage according to the sex of the participants, we found, for example, that overall, taking all three locations together, males used address forms more frequently than females, with the largest

difference across gender groups being found in Quito, and the smallest, in Santiago. Interestingly, in the illness situation, to take one example, it was only men in the three data sets who employed (affiliative) address forms when interacting with the male fixed participant, thus displaying a kind of male solidarity. As observed, males' overall higher use of address forms relative to females' in the present study, goes against early research about females employing more affiliative language than males and lends support to studies that suggest that gendered uses of language are context-specific (cf. Eisenchlas 2012), and that it is important to take into account the discourse type (Fuentes Rodríguez and Bañón Hernández in press).

Macrosocial factors interact with other factors such as situation, and we did indeed observe some situational variation: the complaint situation was the one that elicited the highest usage. We attempted to account for these results by taking into account the face-threatening nature of complaints, and the fact that complainants and the recipients of the complaint are in a relationship of friendship. Complainants in our corpora seem to strive to preserve good rapport in order to attenuate the complaint, and, for example, use rapport-enhancing forms when announcing the problem and/or when closing the interaction.

With regard to the range of address forms in use, five main categories were identified. The Seville corpus, nonetheless, displayed the narrowest range in terms of the repertoire of forms available. It was interesting to find that descriptive terms were the most frequently employed across locations. However, in terms of subcategories of these forms, Quiteños and Santiagueños preferred those alluding to character / behaviour, while Sevillanos, those alluding to age. The results thus show that, as Schneider and Barron (2008) have pointed out for other languages, differences across varieties tend to be found at the level of sub-strategies rather than overall strategies. While a larger corpus would be needed to draw firmer conclusions about the use of substrategies, we tentatively suggest that the differences

encountered point again to differing levels of involvement: Sevillanos seem to prefer less personal address terms compared with Quiteños and Santiagueños in the contexts examined. Involvement in this case may be described with reference to Travis's (2006) notion of *calor humano* or Fitch's (1998) of interconnectedness (see above).

With respect to the stages of the interaction in which address forms are used, we found that, overall, across locations address forms were more frequently employed in openings as opposed to closings, thereby suggesting that the preliminary stages of the interaction require more interpersonal attention. This tentative finding is not surprising since openings are where vocatives are prototypically found. Nonetheless, the Seville corpus reflected a higher use in openings compared to Santiago and Quito. On the other hand, in relation to address forms in closings, the highest incidence was found in the Quito corpus, and the lowest in the Seville data set. The results for the Quito corpus appear to mirror results from a study of telephone conversations in Ecuadorian Spanish (Quito) (Placencia 1997), where address forms were found to be common in closings, serving a relationship-affirming function.

Finally, we examined the speech acts with which address forms tend to co-occur, pointing out that, while address forms are multifunctional, interpersonally they seem generally to fulfil a supportive role in the context examined, enhancing positive-rapport oriented actions, or reinforcing face-threats in some cases. In both advice situations, address forms were found to be more frequently employed in guidance and expressions of concern or empathy, thus strengthening the supportive function of these acts.

Turning to the complaint situation, it was noted that nominal address forms appear with a range of speech acts, such as statements of the problem/ accusations, which usually serve a mitigating function. On the other hand, nominal address forms occurred in a few cases with warnings and threats. In such cases they appear to reinforce the face-threat implicit

in these kinds of acts. *Huevón* 'egg^{M+Aug}' is the main address form that appears to be employed with these two functions, that is, as a friendly insultive and as an aggressive insulting action. However, full names which reflect some distance in the relationship were found to be used in a few cases, possibly contributing to strengthening the face-threat of certain acts.

Account must also be taken of the fact that there is some individual variation within each data set, with some men, for example, employing address forms more frequently than others. This is something that could fruitfully be explored in a future study.

Finally, while we have focussed here on address forms, it is important to remember that these constitute only one of many resources available to participants in rapport management. Therefore, a next step would be to analyse co-occurring features of the interactions examined to build a fuller picture of variation in the contexts in question. A future study could also look at address usage in naturally occurring interactions although it will not be an easy task to find comparable data across varieties on specific macro speech acts such as the ones examined here.

Appendix

Transcription conventions (adapted from Jefferson 1984):

:	Prolongation of the sound preceding the symbol
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
!	Exclamatory tone
CAPITALS	Raised volume
(.)	A brief pause that cannot be readily measurable
( )	Word or utterance was unintelligible
[	Beginning of overlap

Abbreviations:

word^F   'F' stands for female

word^M   'M' stands for male

word^D   'D' stands for diminutive suffix

word^Aug   'Aug' stands for augmentative suffix

Notes

[1] We are very grateful to Anne Barron and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2] Letters and abbreviations presented in superscript: 'D' stands for diminutive suffix and 'Aug' for augmentative suffix. 'M' stands for male and F for female (see also Appendix).

[3] See also Sáez-Godoy (1983) and Rojas (2012) on *huevón* in Chilean Spanish.

[4] Martínez Lara (2009) also looks at this type of form in Venezuelan Spanish.

[5] 'M10' is male participant 10 (see also Appendix).

[6] See Appendix for transcription conventions employed.

[7] Rampton (2009: 287) defines 'language crossing' as "the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker". It involves "a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries…"

[8] *Voseo culto,* employed mainly in informal contexts, is characterized by the use of *tú* followed by a verb in second plural person.

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