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Language Development in Extra-Territorial Languages: Terms of Address in Colombian Spanish

Doctor in Philosophy (PhD)

2012

Aisling O'Donnell

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Summary

Methods

This study investigates the use of terms of address in extra-territorial languages and determines how terms of address function in language to encode relationships. In addition, this study examines how the relationship between speaker and addressee influences choice of address forms in Colombian Spanish. Finally, the hypothesis put forward by this study proposes that the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee supersedes the influence of personal characteristics of speaker and addressee, such as gender, age and social class.

The study begins by outlining three predicted outcomes for extra-territorial languages: i) colonial lag; the retention of linguistic features by the extra-territorial varieties of language which have fallen out of use in the variety of language used in the metropolis, ii) dialect mixing due to contact with regional dialects and iii) language variation due contact with other languages in the new territory. In addition, this study discusses Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle and the influence of the Founder Population on the development of new varieties of language. Mufwene proposes that the first settlers in a new territory demonstrate the strongest influence on the new variety of language which emerges.

The study investigates the development of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial language and the development of Colombian society as a colonial and post-colonial society. Evidence of these predicted outcomes is observed in Colombian Spanish. As a result, an analysis of the dialects used in different regions of Colombia reveals information about the origins of and languages spoken by settlers. The system of address in Colombian Spanish has developed in a way which is different to that of the system used in Peninsular Spanish. Some features of this address system, such as the use of *usted* to express closeness and solidarity and the use of *tú* to express a close yet not intimate relationship with the addressee, described by Uber (1985), are unique to Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, these features developed from examples of colonial lag. For this reason, the system of address in Colombian Spanish was chosen as the focus of this study.

The study observes the use of terms of address in a variety of IE and non-IE languages in order to compare how terms of address are used to express closeness and formality. In addition, the theories proposed by Brown and Gilman and Brown and

Levinson are discussed. Brown and Levinsons's 'practical reasoning' is employed in the data analysis. However, Brown and Levinson's ideas on Politeness Theory are adapted for to a variety of Spanish, as suggested by view of politeness Haverkate (1984) Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005), among others.

Findings

The conclusion drawn in from the analysis of extra-territorial languages is that the development of an extra-territorial variety of language is dependent on three factors; i) the origins and dialects spoken by the founder population, the first settlers in a colony, ii) the regional dialects which were in contact and where contact occurred and iii) the other languages with which the language of the metropolis was in contact. The aim of this study is to apply this model to the extra-territorial variety of Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, in post-colonial societies features of the colonial speech were preserved by the second generation colonisers, born in the colonies, in order to maintain their elite position in the hierarchically structure of the colonial society. As a result, these features often develop as examples of colonial lag in the extra-territorial language.

The results from the analysis reveal that *usted* is used by all genders and ages and across all levels of Colombian society to express solidarity as well as formality. The influence of the relationship between the speaker and addressee in an exchange on the choice of address form supersedes the influence of the gender, age or social class of speaker and addressee. Furthermore, social class was found to be the most influential of these personal characteristics. A preference was shown by lower class speakers for *usted* when addressing someone of an equal social level points back to colonial and post-colonial times when the lower classes of society were dominated by the Spanish colonisers and the post-colonial upper class elite, respectively. At the same time, the use of *tú* by the upper class towards those of equal status to express a close yet not intimate relationship with the addressee maintains an element of social distance which satisfies the upper class desire for social distance and again points back to colonial times when Montes Girlado (1982, p33) claims that conservatism was inherent in the language of the upper class colonial administrators.

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This work is dedicated to two very special men:
My Dad, Joe (RIP)
and
my son, Alex.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, raised awareness of globalisation has created an increased interest in extra-territorial languages. English has become known as a global or world language and many researchers, such as Crystal (2003), Hogg and Dennison (2006) and Pennycook (2011) have shown a particular interest in English world-wide.

The power and extent of the Spanish Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the British Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries meant that Spanish and English were transported to many parts of the globe. The transplantation of Spanish and English to new locations brought these languages into contact with other languages and dialects. This language contact resulted in variation occurring in the languages. As a result, extra-territorial varieties of Spanish and English developed in the Spanish and British colonies respectively. Furthermore, these extra-territorial varieties often became the official language of their respective colonies. For example, English was brought to locations such as North America and Canada, where American English and Canadian English developed, and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, where Australian English, New Zealand English and South African English developed. At the same time, Spanish was brought to Central and South America and the Caribbean. Extra-territorial varieties of Spanish developed in the majority of South America, with the exception of Brazil, Suriname, the Guianas and parts of Argentina. The extra-territorial varieties of Spanish which developed in Central and South America and parts of the Caribbean are collectively known as New World Spanish (NWS). In addition, English became a lingua franca in parts of India and Africa and English-based Creoles developed in parts of the Caribbean. The development of English-based creoles was more common than of Spanish-based creoles. Nevertheless, some Spanish-based creoles did develop such as Palenquero which developed in San Basilio de Palenque in the north of Colombia. Palenquero is discussed in section 3.2.3.of chapter three.

This type of world-wide dispersion was not exclusive to English and Spanish. French, Portuguese and Dutch were also transported to many parts of the world via colonisation. As was the case with English and Spanish, the transplantation of these languages in new locations resulted in language variation occurring and new varieties of the languages developing. In addition, these extra-territorial languages often became the official languages of the new locations. For example, French was brought to Canada,

where an extra-territorial variety of French, known as Canadian French developed, and to Africa and the Caribbean where French became a lingua franca and French-based Creoles developed. Portuguese was brought to Brazil and parts of Africa and Asia. Extra-territorial varieties of Portuguese developed in Brazil and in parts of Africa, such as Angola and Mozambique. In addition, Portuguese-based Creoles also developed in the Caribbean and South America. Dutch was brought to South Africa where an extra-territorial variety known as Afrikaans developed. African and Indian languages were also transplanted in the colonies via slave trading. African languages played a significant role in the development of many of the extra-territorial languages through language contact. However, the majority of African languages were either selected as a lingua franca and developed as Creoles or were displaced by other African languages or the extra-territorial language to which they contributed. Nonetheless, some of the languages spoken by slaves developed as extra-territorial varieties, such as Hindi, which was transported to Fiji by Indian slaves and developed as Fiji Hindi.

Research into extra-territorial languages and their development is relatively new, for example, Boberg (2004) found that until 1950 very little investigation had been done into the development of Canadian English. Nevertheless, research has indicated that three common outcomes are predicted to occur as extra-territorial varieties of a language evolve: i) colonial lag, ii) dialect mixing and leveling due to dialect contact and iii) language variation due to language contact. Firstly, colonial lag is described by Marckwardt (1958, p80) as the phenomenon in transplanted civilizations where certain features, which have fallen out of use in the metropolis, remain static over a period of time in the colonies. Secondly, dialect mixing or leveling occurs due to contact between people from different dialectal regions of the metropolis and often results in the assimilation of features from the various dialects creating a new variety or *koiné* of the original language. Thirdly, changes to the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and lexis of the original language and acquisition of loanwords occur in the new varieties due to contact with other languages in use in the new colony.

These predicted outcomes for transplanted languages have resulted in the development of features in the extra-territorial language which are beneficial for research purposes. Firstly, colonial lag is responsible for the retention of archaic linguistic features in extra-territorial varieties of language. These are linguistic features which have fallen out of use in the metropolis, yet remain in use in the colonies and ex-

colonies. As these features are no longer used in the metropolis and have not been used there for many years, they are considered archaic by speakers in the metropolis. Analysis of when these linguistic features were used in the metropolis may aid researchers to establish when population movement began or ceased. Furthermore, analysis of which sectors of society originally introduced these linguistic features into the speech in the new colony may aid researchers in determining why these features outlived other features of the transplanted language. Furthermore, a type of colonial lag may also be found in relation to culture and people´s attitudes in post-colonial societies.

Secondly, features found in a language as a result of dialect mixing facilitate researchers in establishing which languages were most influential in the development of a particular extra-territorial language. The presence of loanwords provides researchers with an indication of which languages the original colonisers and settlers were in contact with, and the languages and cultures which were most influential in the development of the extra-territorial language. Finally, the fact that most transplanted languages are no more than a few hundred years old facilitates access to archival documentation, such as correspondence between the metropolis and the colony. These documents can be used to trace the development of specific features of the language. Moreover, the reinvention of a system of address in a new society may be observed from the beginning and therefore, researchers can observe how aspects of the language have developed in the post colonial society.

This study aims to investigate the history and development of extra-territorial languages for evidence of these predicted outcomes. In addition, these features will be used to compare different extra-territorial varieties of the same language, and investigate differences in the development of diverse types of extra-territorial languages. By investigating the differences between types of extra-territorial languages this study aims to determine what extra-territorial languages indicate about the differing societies in which they develop. Linguistic patterns found in a variety of languages which have developed in a colonial or post-colonial setting may indicate the attitude of lower classes towards members of the upper classes, as well as attitudes about the metropolis and its representatives in the colony. Furthermore, this data may also be used to predict outcomes for the development of future extra-territorial languages.

The colonisers and first settlers responsible for transporting the language of the metropolis to the new colony are known as the 'founder population'. Mufwene (2001)

proposes that the founder population lays the foundations for the new varieties of language which may develop in a colony, be they Creoles or extra-territorial varieties of language.

Chapter two of this study outlines features of the development of extra-territorial languages, such as the time span of development, the social structure of the new territories before colonisation began and as the colonial society developed. In addition, this chapter investigates a range of extra-territorial languages for evidence of the predicted outcomes. These features are then compared and similarities found in the development of these extra-territorial varieties of language are highlighted. By highlighting similarities in the features of their development the study proposes to illustrate that the development of extra-territorial languages is similar regardless of the language of origin. Furthermore, chapter two aims to investigate the role of the processes which lead to the emergence of these predicted outcomes; colonial lag, dialect mixing and language variation, in the development of the extra-territorial languages.

Language is composed of different aspects and systems, such as phonology, syntax, morphology, and semantics. In order to observe the development of language over a period of time the investigation must be limited to one specific system within the makeup of the language. The address system in a language is made up of linguistic features which are used to speak to one or more persons directly. Every language uses a variety of linguistic features: such as lexical items or chunks, expressions, phrases, and grammatical structures when speaking to and about other people. When these features are used to speak about another person they are known as terms of reference. However, when they are used to speak to someone directly they are known as terms of address and it is these terms of address which combine to form a system of address in a language.

The use of terms of address within a language´s system of address is structured as the system is bound by the grammatical structure of the language. For example, pronominal address forms, such as second person pronouns, have a predetermined grammatical form. Honorifics are also connected to the grammatical structure of a language. Nevertheless, pronominal address and honorific phrases also allow for variation, because within these bound systems there are possibilities for choice. Therefore, although the form is bound by the grammatical structure of the language, use of pronoun and honorifics is also flexible as patterns of use vary depending on the level of formality of an exchange, the relationship between and characteristics of the

interlocutors and the context of the exchange. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 179) define honorifics as the "direct grammatical encoding of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event". In addition, non-pronominal address forms such as names, titles, terms of endearment, and expressions used to lower or elevate status are independent lexical items which form part of the system of address, yet are not bound to the grammar of the language.

The system of address in Colombian Spanish has developed in a way which is different to that of the system used in Peninsular Spanish. Some features of this address system, such as the use of *usted* to express closeness and solidarity and the use of *tú* to express a close yet not intimate relationship with the addressee, described by Uber (1985), are unique to Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, these features developed from examples of colonial lag, linguistic usage which is no longer found in Peninsular Spanish, yet was retained in the extra-territorial variety of Spanish which developed in Colombia. For this reason, the system of address in Colombian Spanish was chosen as the focus of this study.

Colonial societies often take on a similar type of hierarchical structure which sees the colonisers in superior administrative positions, the settlers and families of the colonisers as the elites in society and the local and native populations as the inferior members of society. As the evolution of extra-territorial varieties of language tends to occur over a relatively short period of time, compared to that of the varieties spoken in the metropolis, these features provide researchers with a finite time and social group for analysis and result in a type of naturally occurring laboratory in which to observe the development of the new variety of language. This natural laboratory provides the ideal environment in which to investigate the evolution and functions of the system of address in a language.

Chapter three of this study outlines the evolution of Colombia as an independent republic and the evolution of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial variety of Spanish. This chapter aims to apply the theories discussed in chapter two to Colombian Spanish. Although, some research has been undertaken to investigate the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish, the role of terms of address in the encoding of relationships has not been examined in any great detail. Section 3.2 of chapter three outlines the history of the colonisation of Colombia. This section highlights the origins

of the first explorers and settlers who arrived to Colombia in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. In addition, this section describes the establishment of Colombia as a Spanish colony and its later conversion to a Viceroyalty. The purpose of this section of chapter three is to provide the reader with an image of how Colombia evolved as a colony and to highlight the relationship which existed between Colombia and Spain during the colonial period.

Section 3.2 also describes the inhabitants of the pre-colonial and colonial societies of Colombia. This section is divided into three subsections. The first subsection outlines the origins of the first settlers and later immigrants in Colombia. The aim of this section is to highlight the regions of Spain and the countries which were represented in Colombia. In addition, this subsection aims to discuss the Spanish regional dialects which were represented in Colombia and how these dialects influenced the evolution of Colombian Spanish. The second subsection discusses the indigenous population of Colombia which occupied these territories before the Spanish explorers arrived. This section aims to provide information about the indigenous tribes which inhabited the different parts of Colombia as well as discuss their languages and customs. This section also describes how the Spanish explorers and immigrants interacted with one another. The aim of this discussion is to highlight the contact which occurred between Spanish and the indigenous languages. The third subsection describes the origins and languages spoken by the African slave population which developed in Colombia in the seventeenth century. The overall aim of section 3.2 is to provide the reader with an image of the composition and dynamics of Colombia´s colonial society.

The third section, 3.3, of chapter three discusses the evolution of Colombia from a Spanish colony to an independent Republic. The aim of this section is to describe the makeup of the colonial and post-colonial societies and to highlight how changes occurred in Colombian society after independence was achieved. In addition, this section also highlights how the change from a colonial to a post-colonial society influenced language use and the development of Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, this section also discusses the roles played by the Spanish colonizers and settlers, the *Criollos* 'second generation Spanish', the indigenous population and the African slaves in the colonial and post-colonial society.

The fourth section, 3.4, of this chapter outlines the founding and the development of Colombia´s capital city, Bogotá. This section describes the layout of the

city and the stratification system usted in the city. The data collection interviews for this study took place in Bogotá. The aim of this section is to provide a description of the environment in which the study's participants live. Furthermore, Bogotá is divided into six strata. The description of the city's stratification system provides the reader with an idea of how the different socio-economic sectors of Bogotá society are distributed around the city.

The fifth section, 3.5, of this chapter discusses the evolution of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial variety of Spanish. This section is divided into three subsections. The first subsection describes Montes Giraldo's (1982) dialectal bipartition of Colombian Spanish. The aim of this section is to describe how Colombian Spanish is used in the different regions of the country and to highlight the features which distinguish one region from another. In addition, this section highlights features of colonial lag and evidence of language contact found in Colombian Spanish. The second subsection describes the dialects which were most influential in the evolution of Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, this section discusses how the evidence of dialect mixing, which occurred in the ports of Southern Spain, en route to the new colony and in Colombia, is still evident in Colombian Spanish. The third subsection describes the address system used in Colombian Spanish and the features of this address system which are unique to Colombian Spanish. The purpose of this section is to outline the evolution of the address system in Colombian Spanish and highlight the factors which influence choice of address form.

Brown and Ford (1964) maintain that the selection of terms of address is governed by the characteristics of age, gender and socio-economic level of speaker and addressee as well as by the relationship between the speaker and addressee. In addition, Brown and Yule (1983) claim that the context in which the exchange occurs also influences the terms of address which are used.

Chapter four of this study discusses address systems and the use of terms of address in a variety of languages. In addition, this chapter discusses the theories which have been put forward in relation to the factors which influence how terms of address are used and the use of terms of address in relation to politeness theory. The first part of this chapter, section 4.2, describes the types of linguistic features which are used as terms of address and how the linguistic features function within a system of address. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 discuss the use of second person pronouns as terms of address and

illustrate how they are used in a range of Indo-European languages (IE) and non-Indo-European languages (non-IE). The purpose of this discussion is to highlight similarities in the way pronouns are used as terms of address across a range of languages. In addition, this section focuses on the factors which influence choice of term of address in each language.

The next part of chapter four, section 4.5, highlights the use of non-pronominal address in a range of non-Indo-European languages. The purpose of this section is to highlight the different linguistic and non-linguistic features which make up the address systems in these languages. In addition, this section focuses on how politeness and formality are conveyed in these languages.

Section 4.6 discusses Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory on the influence of power and solidarity on pronominal address Brown and Gilman's (1960) work on the use of personal pronouns and names as address forms in Indo-European (IE) languages laid the ground work for future research in the area of terms of address. This research investigates the influence of power and solidarity on choice of pronouns in IE languages. Although Brown and Gilman's (1960) findings made a substantial impact on the study of terms of address, the focus of this research is narrow as it focuses solely on the use of second person pronouns in IE languages and does not take in other types of address systems. The aim of this section is to describe the findings of Brown and Gilman´s research and discuss how these findings are applied in IE languages. In addition, this section aims to highlight the shortcomings of Brown and Gilman´s theory and draw attention to these shortcomings as areas of investigation which can be revisited.

The next part of this chapter, section 4.7, discusses Brown and Levinson's (1987) investigation into the use of terms of address in relation to politeness theory and the studies which have followed on from this work. Brown and Levinson (1987, p2) revisited the study of terms of address as an area of research and undertook extensive research into perceptions of formality and politeness using politeness theory. Based on the findings of this research Brown and Levinson (1987) developed a theory of positive and negative politeness. Positive-politeness is defined as the expression of solidarity and negative-politeness is defined as the expression of restraint. The aim of section 4.7 is to illustrate how Brown and Levinson's (1987) findings provided a method by which the shortcomings of Brown and Gilman's (1960) work can be developed. However,

Brown and Levinson´s theory has been criticised as being too Anglocentric and therefore not applicable to languages such as Spanish. This section addresses these criticisms.

Section 4.8 puts forward alternative views on politeness theory and discusses the theory of positive and negative politeness in relation to Spanish. The purpose of this section is to highlight Hispanists' view on politeness theory and discuss how politeness is expressed in varieties of Spanish. This section also suggests a pragmatic approach to the analysis of terms of address and investigates the possibility that second person pronouns may be used to express meaning in a way that is similar to that of other non-pronominal terms of address. Horn and Ward (2004) claim that: "pragmatics is the study of those context-dependent aspects of meaning which are systematically abstracted away from the construction of content or logical form." Furthermore, Saeed (1997, p 18) states that the object of study for pragmatics is the range of uses a term can be put to. The main objective of this section is to investigate the role of second person pronouns in the encoding of relationships and to examine the influence of the relationship between interlocutors in an exchange and their attitude towards one another on choice of address form in a range of languages. The purpose of this section is to highlight similarities in the principles employed by these languages to encode meaning despite differing origins or use of different types of address systems or strategies. By investigating terms of address in relation to the various uses to which they can be put chapter four aims to demonstrate that second person pronouns fall in line with non-pronominal address forms such as names and kinship terms and are used to encode relationships in a similar way.

Chapter five details the research methods employed to collect and analyse the data for this study. A pragmatic approach was taken to the investigation of terms of address in context. However, in the initial stages a variationist approach was adopted. Variationist Sociolinguistics is the study of language change and variation. Chambers (2002, p3) claims that "The foundations of variationist sociolinguistics come from the rudimentary observations that variants occurring in everyday speech are linguistically insignificant but socially significant." The hypothesis of this study proposes that terms of address in general and second person pronouns in particular function in language to encode relationships. In addition, this study aims to investigate how the relationship between speaker and addressee influences choice of address form used in an exchange

in Colombian Spanish. The hypothesis put forward by this study also proposes that the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee supersedes the influence of the personal characteristics of speaker and addressee such as gender, age and class. The first section of chapter five, 5.2, summarises the principles of Variationist Sociolinguistics and outlines why this approach was chosen for the initial stages of analysis.

The second section, 5.3, discusses the sources of data and methods of data collection chosen for the study. The fieldwork for this study took place in Bogotá, Colombia in 2009 and the data was collected via four sources: i) correspondence from 1800-1900, ii) Colombian novels, iii) Colombian *telenovela*s and v) recorded face to face conversations. Firstly, correspondence from the nineteenth century was accessed via *El Archivo General de la Nación (Colombia)* (AGN) 'The National Archive of Colombia' in Bogotá. The data consists of examples of formal and informal correspondence. Colombia gained independence from the Spanish Empire in the early nineteenth century. Therefore, the rationale behind investigating correspondence from the nineteenth century was to find examples of how the language was used at the initial stages of the post-colonial state. The examples taken from nineteenth century correspondence can then be compared with examples taken from contemporary sources to investigate for signs of variation and detect any patterns or changes which have occurred over the years.

The second source of data was novels based in Bogotá which were accessed via the libraries of The Caro y Cuervo Institute (*El Instituto Caro y Cuervo)*, the Luis Ángel Arango Library (*Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango)* and local bookshops in Bogotá. Novels were chosen as a source of data because the discourse used in novels is based on the norms of casual speech used on an everyday basis. Therefore, by analysing novels based in Bogotá, the investigator was given an insight into the perceived norms of use of terms of address across the sectors of Bogotá society represented within the novels. Thirdly, *telenovela*s based in Bogotá were accessed via local television networks. Colombian *telenovelas* were chosen as a source of data as the discourse used in *telenovelas* is based on real speech and therefore, reflects the speech patterns used in the sector of society being conveyed in the dramatisation. In addition, *telenovelas* often feature a variety of socio-economic levels. As the language used in *telenovelas* is based

on real speech, observation of the patterns of use of terms of address in these Bogotá based *telenovelas* can give an indication of the patterns used in Bogotá society.

The fourth and final source of data was recorded examples of contemporary speech. These examples of speech were gathered via recordings of informants from various sectors of Bogotá society. Milroy's (1987) use of Boissevain´s (1974), ´friends of friends´ method in the Belfast study (Milroy and Milroy 1978) was emulated by the investigator to source participants. The informants were then selected through use of specific criteria: place of birth and residence of informant, age, level of education and socio-economic background. The interviewees were put together in groups of two or more and recorded while engaging in discourse with one or all of the interlocutors. Due to the nature of personal pronouns they are employed in a conversation to refer to the other person or persons in the conversation as well as a third party outside the conversation. However, second person pronouns may not occur naturally in an interview between an interviewer and research subject. Therefore, a dialogue between two or more participants was chosen as the means of gathering live data rather than a face to face interview, as the recorded dialogue is a situation which is more conducive to the use of second personal pronouns.

Section 5.3 of chapter five discusses the analysis of the data collected in Bogotá via the four sources of data discussed in section 5.2. The data in this study are analysed for use of second person singular pronouns; *usted, tú, vos,* and for evidence of pronoun switching from *usted* to *tú* and *tú* to *usted.* In addition, the data are also analysed in relation to use of non-pronominal terms of address. The purpose of this analysis is to determine what factors influence a speaker´s choice of terms of address in an exchange in Colombian Spanish.

The process of data analysis for this study is carried out in three phases. The first phase of analysis investigates how terms of address are used in nineteenth century correspondence. Examples of terms of address extracted from these letters are analysed in relation to the social status of and relationship between the sender and recipient of each letter and the meaning conveyed by the term of address used. The purpose of this analysis is to investigate for examples of the use of *vos, vuestra merced* and *usted* being used to express solidarity with friends and family, as well as distance and respect, and the use of *tú* with offspring which was found by Quesada Pacheco (1988) in correspondence from the sixteenth century.

The second phase of data is carried out in four stages. For this second phase of analysis examples of exchanges are selected from the novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations and the terms of address used in these exchanges are analysed. The second and third phase of analysis employed GOLDVARB (The Variable Rule Program). Variable rules were originally introduced by Labov (1969) and were used to provide a linguistic research model which could be used to reach solutions to theoretical questions using data from within the speech community. In addition, Labov (1969, p761) maintains that variable rules could offer a stable and sound empirical base lacking in linguistic research at that time. GOLDVARB was chosen for this study as it provides the best means to analyse the examples extracted from the three sources of data and provide empirical results regarding the influence of external factors on pronoun choice. Each exchange was coded in relation to the gender, age and class of the speaker and addressee involved in the exchange, the relationship between the speaker and addressee, and the second person pronouns used in the exchange

A popular view expressed in Colombian society is that choice of address terms, and use of second person pronouns in particular, is governed by gender. This view claims that males use *usted* when addressing males and older females and only use *tú* with males who are close friends or brothers. This view also states that females use *tú* when addressing females and males, yet use *usted* with close female friends and family members and use *usted* when addressing someone older. Based on this popular view and the findings of previous research carried out by Bartens (2004) in relation to the influence of gender on use of terms of address, the first stage of analysis uses GOLDVARB to calculate the percentage of use of *usted, tú*, and *vos* in relation to the gender of the speaker and addressee in each exchange.

Previous research into the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish such as that carried out by Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b), Carrasco Santana (2002), Bartens (2004) and Bayona (2006) has also found evidence in relation to the influence of age and social class on terms of address. Based on the findings of these studies, the second and third stages of phase two investigates the influence of age and social class on terms of address and uses GOLDVARB to calculate the percentage of use of *usted, tú*, and *vos* in relation to the age of speaker and addressee and in relation to the social class of speaker and addressee. In addition, the findings of these studies also show evidence that the relationship between speaker and address in an exchange demonstrates an influence

on choice of address terms. Therefore, the third stage of phase two analysis examines the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee on choice of terms of address and uses GOLDVARB to calculate the percentage of use of *usted, tú*, and *vos* in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee in the exchanges under analysis for the purpose of this study.

Uber (1985) suggests that in Colombian Spanish *usted* may be used to express closeness or solidarity as well as formality and respect. Based on Uber´s theory of the *usted* of solidarity and the *usted* of non-solidarity and that idea that terms of address can be used to express different feelings or intentions in different situations, the third phase of analysis investigates the meaning conveyed by terms of address within an exchange. In this phase of analysis the terms of address used by a speaker are analysed in relation to the relationship which exists between speaker and addressee involved in the exchange. In order to determine the message conveyed by use a particular term of address in each exchange the characteristics of gender, age and class of speaker and addressee as well as the relationship between speaker and addressee and the circumstances of the exchange are examined. Once the meaning conveyed by the non-pronominal terms of address used in the exchange is established these terms of address are used to determine the meaning expressed by the second person pronouns used in the same exchange. The data are then coded in relation to the meaning conveyed by these terms of address.

Brown and Levinson's (1987, p 15) model of politeness theory proposes that there are three sociological factors determining the level of politeness a speaker will use with an addressee: i) the relative power of the addressee over speaker, ii) the social distance between speaker and addressee and, in the case of a face-threatening act (FTA), iii) the ranking of imposition involved in doing the FTA. These three factors are used to establish a set of criteria by which to identify whether a term of address is being used to demonstrate closeness between speaker and interlocutor and express solidarity, to show deference to an addressee out of admiration, or respect for the social distance which exists between speaker and addressee and express respect, or to demonstrate authority or hierarchical power over an interlocutor with lower status or less power and express dominance.

In this third phase of analysis GOLDVARB was used to calculate the factor weights for each of the external variables; gender, age, socio-economic level and for

speaker and address in relation to the pronouns used in each exchange. Tagliamonte (2002, p 145) states that factor weights are an indication of the likelihood of a variable to be used in specific circumstances. They appear as values between 0 and 1, when a value is closer to 1 the factor under analysis is said to ´favour´ the research variable and when a value is closer to 0 the factor is said to ´disfavour´ the research variable.

Chapter six illustrates the tabulated results from the data analysis and discusses these tables. In the first part of this chapter the results are laid out in tables based on the use of pronouns in relation to the gender, age and socio-economic level of the speaker and addressee in an exchange and the results shown in each of the tables are discussed. The second part of chapter six illustrates the results using examples of raw data. The purpose of chapter six of this study is to provide and discuss the results extracted from the data analysis upon which the conclusions of this study are based.

This chapter aims to use the analysis of the address system in Colombia Spanish in order to determine what factors influence choice of terms of address in this extra-territorial language. In addition, this study aims to investigate how these terms of address encode relationships. Furthermore, this study proposes to investigate the influence of the relationship between speaker and address on patterns of terms of address and determine how terms of address are used to convey a particular message in an exchange. Finally, this study aims to use the results of this analysis to show how language in a post-colonial society reveals the attitudes which are held by the members of the different sectors of this society about their own social position and that of those who hold positions which are socially higher or lower.

CHAPTER 2 THEORY OF EXTRA- TERRITORIAL LANGUAGES

2.1 Introduction

Extra-territorial languages are new varieties of language which developed in overseas colonies as a result of colonisation, immigration and slave trading. The establishment of colonies by the British Empire across America, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean, Africa and India, by the Dutch and Portuguese Empires in South America, Asia and Africa, and by the Spanish Empire in Central and South America and the Caribbean provided opportunities for immigration to and settlement in these new lands. During the journey to and on arrival in the new lands settlers from different regions of the same country and from different countries were often in contact. Furthermore, in the colonies settlers came into contact with the local people, who had inhabited these territories long before they became colonies. Contact between the various languages and dialects spoken by the settlers and the languages spoken by the locals often resulted in a process of dialect mixing and language variation from which emerged extra-territorial varieties of the languages spoken by the settlers. These extra-territorial varieties were a type of reinvention of the language spoken in the metropolis. In many cases, the number of speakers of the languages brought to the colonies outnumbered that of speakers of the local indigenous languages which had already existed in these territories. As the colonisers were the dominant power, the indigenous languages, which contributed to the development of the extra-territorial language, were often eventually supplanted by the extra-territorial language which developed.

The establishment of new lands and plantations in the colonies also resulted in the emergence of slave trades. Trading of African slaves took place to a great extent in the Americas and a large number of African people from various parts of West and Central Africa were taken to North and South America as slaves. Slave trading was also common in India under British rule and the indenture system was responsible for the movement of a substantial number of Indian slaves to Mauritius, Trinidad and the Pacific Islands. Slave trading resulted in the transportation of African languages to the Americas and Indian languages to Mauritius, Trinidad and the Pacific Islands. In the Americas contact between these African languages and the languages spoken by the settlers often resulted in the acquisition of African loanwords by the extra-territorial language. The African languages spoken by the slaves did not develop as extra-

territorial languages and more often developed as creoles. However, in the Pacific Island of Fiji, contact between the Indian language Hindi, which was brought to Fiji by Indian slaves working on the plantations, and the local Fijian language resulted in the development of an extra-territorial variety of Hindi known as Fiji Hindi.

Rico Ocampo (1989) claims that language was used as a tool used for domination and also maintains that the history of colonisation follows a similar type of economic, political, social, linguistic and cultural model and therefore may be regarded as homogenous. In this model the colonisers impose their culture and language on the new land and the level of interaction between the metropolis and the colony is determined by the dominant country. This is true of territories which were part of a colonial empire, such as the Spanish colonies of Central and South America. Ammon *et al* (2006, p 2234) maintain that broadly speaking there are three types of colonisation: i) the dominant power exploits other groups through colonisation of their bodies, as in slavery, ii) through colonisation of their territories and natural resources and exploitation of their labour as in colonial empires and iii) colonisation of the mind, which involves colonised people internalising the values of the dominant power. In the second type of colonisation the culture and language is imposed on local people in a colony and a hierarchy develops, which sees the colonisers as the superior, dominant members of society and the local and native peoples as the inferior, dominated members of society. The make-up and hierarchy of the initial founder population in a new colony may influence the extra-territorial language and post colonial society which eventually emerges.

This chapter aims to review some of the theories regarding the development of extra-territorial languages as well as outlining the process of development. In addition, the chapter aims to highlight specific features responsible for this development found in a number of extra-territorial languages. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, 2.2, discusses the theory behind some of the outcomes predicted for extra-territorial languages, colonial lag, dialect mixing and language variation due to language contact. The purpose of this first section, which is subdivided into three subsections, is to provide descriptions of the three predicted outcomes for extra-territorial languages and discuss each outcome in relation to relevant research findings.

The first subsection discusses colonial lag. Colonial lag describes the retention of earlier linguistic features and archaic elements of the language which was originally transplanted in the colonies by the extra-territorial variety of language which emerges.

The second subsection describes the concept of dialect mixing and *koinéization*. As mentioned above, the regional dialects spoken by settlers travelling to the new colonies came into contact on the journey to the new territories. In addition, as new settlers arrived in the colonies the regional dialects spoken by these settlers came in contact with those spoken by the immigrants who had already established themselves in the colonies. This type of dialect contact often results in the mixing of features of these dialects and the development of a new dialect which retains features of the contributing dialects but does not resemble one dialect in particular. The third subsection focuses on language contact. Contact between the languages spoken by the various inhabitants in a colony often results in changes occurring in one or all of the languages. These changes are often lexical, yet changes may also occur in the phonology and morphology of the language. The discussions in this section are aimed at providing a framework for the later sections of this chapter.

The second section, 2.3, of this chapter discusses Mufwene's (2001) 'Founder Principle', which was developed based on the evolution of Creoles, in relation to that of extra-territorial languages. Mufwene suggests that there are similarities between the development of extra-territorial languages and creoles. However, Mufwene claims that the main difference between creoles and extra-territorial languages is that creoles select one language as a lingua-franca and this language becomes the vernacular, while, for extra-territorial languages dialect contact often results in the development of a new dialect which retains some features of the contributing dialects, yet, does not resemble any one dialect in particular. Mufwene maintains that the dialect spoken by the founder population is shown to have the most influence on the extra-territorial language which emerges. The purpose of this section is to discuss Mufwene's theories and apply them to the development of extra-territorial languages.

The third section, 2.4, discusses extra-territorial varieties of English, French, Portuguese, Hindi and Spanish in relation to the predicted outcomes discussed in section one of the chapter and in relation to aspects of Mufwene's (2001) 'Founder Principle'. The purpose of this section is to discuss examples of extra-territorial varieties of these languages which developed due to transplantation. One aim of this discussion is to outline how these extra-territorial varieties developed in the new territories. Another aim of this section is to highlight the origins of and dialects spoken by the settlers, to highlight the indigenous tribes which inhabited the colonies when colonisation began and the languages spoken by these tribes as well other languages which the transplanted

languages came into contact with in the new lands. Finally, this section aims to draw attention to evidence of the three outcomes for extra-territorial languages which are present in the extra-territorial varieties of these languages.

The overall aim of this chapter is to highlight the evidence of colonial lag, dialect contact and language contact found in each of the extra-territorial languages discussed in this chapter and also to emphasise the similarities which can be found between theses extra-territorial varieties of language regardless of how the language was transplanted, patterns of settlement, language of origin and languages and dialects with which the transplanted language was in contact.

2.2 Outcomes of language transplantation

From analysis of research which has investigated the development of extra-territorial languages, it appears that three common outcomes may be observed in extra-territorial languages which develop as a result of language transplantation. Firstly, many languages experience a type of colonial lag. Marckwardt (1958) describes colonial lag as the retention of linguistic features from the language originally transported to the colony by the first settlers which, with time, have fallen out of use in the Metropolis. Secondly, settlers in a new colony originate from different regions within the metropolis and speak different dialects of the standard language. The bringing together of these settlers from different regions brings the various dialects into contact and often results in dialect mixing. Trudgill (2004 p 84) defines dialect contact as "the coming together in a particular location of speakers of different dialects of the same language, or of readily mutually intelligible languages."

Thirdly, as well as those settlers originating from different parts of the metropolis, many settlers who arrive in a new colony originate from different countries and speak different languages. In addition, many of the territories which were colonised were inhabited by local people who had occupied these lands long before colonisation began. Integration amongst the settlers as well as between the settlers and the local people resulted in contact between the various languages spoken. This type of language contact often resulted in the acquisition of linguistic features by the extra-territorial language from the languages spoken by settlers and from the indigenous languages spoken by the local people. As the colonisers and settlers were dominant in the colonial societies many of the indigenous languages were eventually supplanted by the extra-territorial

language. The following sections of this chapter discuss each of these three predicted outcomes for extra-territorial languages.

2.2.1 Colonial lag

In his work on the pronunciation of early English A.J. Ellis (1869-89, p. 19, quoted in Montgomery 2001, p 106) refers to "a kind of arrest of development" of language which occurred in the British colonies and found that: "the language of emigrants remains for a long time at a stage in which it was at when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction". Ellis illustrates this point by referring to two extra-territorial varieties of English, American English and Irish English. Ellis claims that: "the speech of American English is archaic with respect to that of British English" and states that: "even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the XVIIth century." In addition, Schele de Vere (1872, p 427, quoted in Montgomery 2001, p 105) maintains that: "the largest part of so-called Americanisms are nothing more than good old English words which for one reason or another have become obsolete or provincial in England, while they have retained their full power and citizenship in the United States."

Later, in his work on American English, Marckwardt (1958) refers to this type of arrest of development as a lag and claimed that in a situation where language is transplanted, such as is the case in North America, certain features of the language remain static over a period of time. Marckwardt (1958, p80) claims that the transplanting of any organism, "be it a geranium or a brook trout", usually results in a time lag before the organism adapts to its new environment and suggests that these same principles can be applied to people, language and culture. Marckwardt coined the term 'colonial lag' to describe "the post-colonial survival of earlier phases of mother-country culture" and "retention of earlier linguistic features" in American English.

Marckwardt referred to the retention of earlier linguistic features and archaic elements found in American English such as those observed by Sir William Craigie, the original editor of *The Dictionary of American English,* as evidence of colonial lag. While reading proofs of the Oxford English Dictionary Craigie (1940, cited in Marckwardt 1958, p 80) found that "in the case of two or three words beginning with the prefix un- the older quotations (from the Seventeenth Century) were from English sources, while the later (from the Eighteenth Century) were all American." As a result, Craigie concluded that it seemed "probable that the use of words had continued later in

this country (America) than at home (England)." Marckwardt (1958, p 61) refers to another example which was taken from the Oxford English Dictionary. Marckwardt states that the verb *to progress*, which was common in England from 1590 to 1670, became obsolete by the 18th century, yet it was retained in America where it became very common towards the end of that century.

Marckwardt proposes that colonial lag is not restricted to the lexicon of a language and claims that evidence of retention of older features can be found in the pronunciation, inflectional forms and syntax of American English. Furthermore, Marckwardt maintains that colonial lag in a transplanted language is not unique to English and states that evidence of Continental French antedating the French revolution has been found in Canadian French, that some varieties of Latin American Spanish, otherwise known as New World Spanish (NWS), have retained elements of European Spanish and that modern Icelandic has been less affected by linguistic change than Norwegian. Examples of these features found in Canadian French and NWS will be illustrated in sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.9 of this chapter.

Görlach (1987) defines colonial lag as: "[t]he situation where colonies seem to fall behind developments in the mainland" and also proposes that colonial lag is a predicted outcome of all transplanted languages claiming that "although the historical conditions of the spread of languages diverge quite drastically, colonial lag is to be expected in extra-territorial varieties irrespective of language, settler type or new habitat". Trudgill (1999, p 227) puts forward another theory regarding colonial lag which states that it is "a lag or delay in the normal progression and development of linguistic change.' Trudgill agrees with Marckwardt's and Görlach's theories which claim that colonial lag is a feature of extra-territorial languages. However, Trudgill maintains that this lag only "lasts for about one generation and arises solely as an automatic consequence of the fact that there is often no common peer-group dialect for children to acquire in the first generation colonial situation involving dialect mixing." Trudgill (1999, p228) proposes that young children speak like their peers rather than their elders and that up to a certain age in European-style communities "children accommodate rapidly and totally, or almost totally, to the speech of any new peer group of which they become long term members." However, where there is no common peer-group dialect for them to accommodate to this cannot happen. Trudgill claims that when British English was first brought to New Zealand, between 1840 and 1860, there was no "single, established peer dialect for children to acquire to" and as a result children

acquired the English, Scottish and Irish dialects of their parents. Trudgill suggests that this scenario is typical of all colonial situations which involve dialect mixing and new-dialect formation and hence, is probably true for the formation of early American English.

Marckwardt (1958, p69) refers to the role played by innovation as another predicted outcome for the extra-territorial languages which developed in the colonies. Wells (1982) highlights examples of shared innovation which occurred independently in American English and British English, its metropolitan source. For example, evidence was found by Kenyon (1958, cited in Wells 1982, p258) and Bronstein (1960, cited in Wells 1982, p258) to demonstrate that the [I] pronunciation of the *happ*Y vowel, the final vowel in words such as *happy, lucky, coffee,* was replaced in American English in the speech of younger generations by the longer [i:] pronunciation. The same tendency was recorded in British English by Gimson (1962, cited in Wells 1982, p258). However, Montgomery (2001) claims that examples of language use which were retained in American English, yet displaced in Britain due to "fashion of the court, stage or media", may in fact imply more about Britain and British English being innovative than indicating that American English in any of its varieties is archaic and are therefore evidence of innovation in British English rather than colonial lag in American English.

As was mentioned earlier in this section, Marckwardt (1958, p80) claims that the principles of 'colonial lag' can be applied to people, language and culture and states that there was evidence of "post-colonial survival of earlier phases of mother-country culture" in America which had disappeared in England, such as "the blood feud, the patchwork quilt, the folk ballad and Calvinism". This would suggest that evidence of a lag may be found in the attitudes and customs of the inhabitants of the colonies as well as in the languages which emerge. However, Trudgill (2004, p149) does not extend his theory to the social or cultural characteristics of the colonial community and states "I do not find it at all necessary, in considering Stages I [adult accommodation] and III [third generation] of new dialect formation in *tabula rasa*[1] situations, to call on the social factors of 'prestige' or related factors such as 'status' and 'stigma' as explanatory factors. Nor do I invoke 'identity' or 'ideology' as factors that were involved." However, this view expressed by Trudgill does not take into consideration the fact that as new colonies develop and administrative centres are established in the newly

[1] Tabula rasa situations are situations in which there is no prior-existing population speaking the language in question, either in the location in question or nearby (Trudgill 2004, p 26).

acquired lands the colonial society often begins to take on a new hierarchical structure. As a result, prestige and social status become important features of the community. Examples of this can be seen in the society which developed in Cape Town where settlers accommodated to the speech of the elite in order to distance themselves from other members of South African society. In addition, if a colony achieves independence the reorganisation of the hierarchical structure is an important part of establishing the post colonial society. Furthermore, it is often the first-generation settlers who strive to maintain the colonial society's hierarchical structure. For example, Thurner and Guerrero (2003, p224) maintain that in Colombia the wars of independence secured independence from the Spanish Empire, yet, the social situation in Latin America did not improve for the lower classes. As the second generation Spanish replaced the Spanish colonisers as the dominant members of society, Thurner and Guerrero claim that it was the "same mule, new rider." The revolution was a mirage, a matter of mere rhetoric. From a linguistic point of view, the only changes which occurred were that Spanish became the official language and the ruling classes forgot about the languages and cultures of the indigenous Indians. In addition, Rico Ocampo (1989) claims that the dominance of the minority and the tyranny of the Spanish over their descendents were replaced with the unimpeded dominance of the criollo aristocrats. Further evidence of this found in Colombian society will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

2.2.2 Dialect mixing

Another predicted outcome of language transplantation is dialect mixing, the development of new dialects due to contact between different regional dialects of the same language spoken by settlers in the colonies. When European colonisers set about establishing settlements in the new colonies the settlers usually originated from different regions of the metropolis and as a result spoke different regional dialects. Contact between these diverse dialects often resulted in processes of accommodation, linguistic adjustments made by speakers to the language they use based on differences in social status between speaker and addressee and/or levelling, the reduction or attrition of marked or minority variants (Trudgill 1986, p 98), taking place. For instance, Lanham (1967, p 104) states that contact between the various regional dialects spoken by British settlers in South Africa resulted in the retention of some dialectal features and deletion of others to produce a new dialect which was similar to but not the same as any of the regional dialects originally brought to South Africa. Lanham maintains that:

> "Out of a welter of English dialects there grew up in a remarkably short space of time a form of English which was not identical with any one of them but presented a unique set of dialectal features deriving probably from several British dialects."

This type of reduction or adjustment of dialectal features by the settlers may be explained by Giles's (1973, p90) ideas on 'accent convergence' and 'accent divergence' in conversational situations. Giles maintains that in a dyadic situation a speaker may adapt his accent patterns towards his addressee in order to gain the addressee's approval, for example he may minimise pronunciation differences ('accent convergence'). Equally, the reverse ('accent divergence') may occur in an effort by the speaker to distance himself from the addressee or to show disapproval. This idea forms the basis for Giles *et al*'s (1979) *Accommodation Theory* which focuses on linguistic adjustments made by speakers to the language they use based on differences in social status between speaker and addressee. Trudgill (1986) claims that accommodation can also take place between dialects which differ regionally regardless of social differences and states that: "When two speakers of different varieties of the same language, which are completely mutually intelligible, come into contact and converse items may be transferred from one of the varieties to the other." In addition, Trudgill proposes that long term contact of different regional dialects usually occurs between regionally mobile individuals or minority groups who are in contact with a non-mobile majority with whom they are living amongst. Therefore, in the colonies speakers of dialects which were in a minority may have accommodated to the dialects spoken by the majority. Furthermore, in colonial situations where no one dialect had a significant majority of speakers accommodation resulted in the emergence of new dialects.

Mufwene (2001, p3) refers to the emergence of new dialects and proposes that speakers of the European lexifiers in the colonies "wound up developing a new colonial dialect which included their common features but only some of the features which distinguished them from one another" rather than selecting one single dialect as their lingua franca. In addition, Trudgill (2004, p2) states that from the early stages of colonisation settlers in most parts of America originated from different regions in Britain speaking different regional dialects and claims that this "led to the appearance of new, mixed dialects not precisely like any dialect spoken in the homeland." In the case of long-term accommodation, a levelling process may take place which results in the adjusted dialectal features of the language eventually falling out of use completely in

the new dialect. Trudgill (2004, p7) also refers to some exceptions; regions such as Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, where the majority of settlers seem to have originated from a single location and little or no dialect contact took place. The geographical situation of these locations made dialect contact difficult.

Avis (1973, p43) maintains that in the case of Newfoundland settlement was discouraged in the mid 1600s in the interest of English merchants who went to Newfoundland to fish. As a result, many of the inhabitants of Newfoundland were transient fishermen who were seasonal workers. Nevertheless, small communities were established in Newfoundland. Kirwin (2001, p 442) claims that in 1965 the total number of settlers was 1,700, but that this number had increased to 12,000 by 1770. However, the fact that the Newfoundland shoreline consists of a series of outports, some of which are often only accessible by sea, meant that contact between settlers in these isolated communities was difficult and as a result dialect contact was rare. Kirwan (2001, p 445) states that: "Newfoundland English consisted of a number of sometimes interblended varieties derived from the British Isles, slowly but independently evolving on the western side of the Atlantic."

There are mixed views amongst linguists regarding the role of dialect contact in the formation of extra-territorial languages. Trudgill (2006, p 268) maintains that proponents of a theory of dialect mixing agree that in areas where settlers in the new colonies spoke various regional dialects of the same standard language the new dialects which developed were, in part, a product of contact between the regional dialects spoken by the immigrants who initially settled in the new colony. However, opponents to a theory of dialect mixing propose a monogenetic theory of development which states that an extra-territorial language is a direct descendant of a single dialect.

Trudgill (2006, p 270) suggests that there are four identifiable factors which substantiate a monogenetic theory and considers each one in turn. Firstly, settlement from a single source, where settlement in a location was from a single source all inhabitants came from the same dialect community and there was no dialect contact in the colony. Trudgill (2004, 2006) claims that this type of situation is rare. However, reference is made to two extra-territorial varieties of English, West Falklands English and Bonin Island English, which are said to have developed from a single source. Trudgill (1986, p128) claims that in parts of The West Falklands Island the settlers originated from a single British location and very little mixing took place. As a result, the English used in these communities reflects the origins of these first settlers from the

West Country. Long and Trudgill (2004, p357) claim that the English used in the Bonin Islands shows no trace of dialect contact as there was only a handful of native speakers present in the founder population. Secondly, demography; where a number of dialects are in contact the dialect with the greater number of speakers wins out for demographic reasons. Trudgill (2006, p 268) argues that "other factors counterbalanced the impact of raw numbers". Thirdly, swamping; Lass (1990) proposes that New Zealand, Australian and South African English consistently selected forms from the English of southeast England when faced with alternatives. Both Bauer (1990) and Trudgill (2006) state that this theory needs more explanation.

The fourth identifiable factor is the founder effect. Mufwene (2001) suggests that the original founders of a colony have a greater influence on the linguistic outcomes than later settlers regardless of whether or not future settlers outnumber the original founders. Trudgill (2006) argues that this could only hold true if immigration was slow and therefore the original founders maintained a majority. However, on investigation of the development of extra-territorial varieties of English (American English, Australian English, Canadian English, New Zealand English, South African English), Dutch (Afrikaans), French (Canadian French), Portuguese (Brazilian Portuguese), Hindi (Fiji Hindi) and Spanish (New World Spanish) linguistic features present in the dialect spoken by the founder population were observed in the extra-territorial languages which emerged. These observations lend support to a proposal that Mufwene's Founder Principle may be fundamental to a theory of extra-territorial languages. Furthermore, as the Founder Principle claims that the founder population has a greater influence on linguistic outcomes than settlers arriving to the colony later, this may also explain situations such as that in The West Falklands and the Bonin Islands, where no dialect contact is said to have occurred. By the time later English-speaking settlers arrived the founder population's mark had been firmly established on the English spoken in these locations. In addition, this theory may also be applied to the demography factor, if a large number of settlers with a common dialect arrived to the colony once settlement patterns had been established and therefore, did not contribute to the founder population, the number of speakers of this dialect may not demonstrate any great linguistic influence. Evidence of these observations will be illustrated and discussed in more detail in section 4.3 of this chapter.

Another aspect of the discussion on dialect contact is *koinéization.* Trudgill (1986, p127) describes *koinéization* as "the process of mixing, levelling and

simplification" of dialectal features which results in a *koiné*. Siegel (1985) claims that in the case of many transplanted languages, a *koiné* developed en route to the colonies due to dialect contact in the European ports of origin and in the ships during the long and arduous journey to the new colonies. Siegel (1985, p 363) states that a *koiné* is: "a stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects", Siegel claims that this *koiné* then formed the basis from which the extra-territorial varieties of language developed. Matthews (1935, cited in Hickey 2004b) proposed a theory which claimed that the foundations of colonial varieties of English were laid down during the transoceanic journey and investigated this theory by examining ships' logs. Although Matthews's (1935) investigations were later deemed unsatisfactory, due to the lack of concrete evidence to show that colonial varieties had already begun to form on the ships and lack of links to established varieties, they did serve to confirm that features of colonial varieties of English were prevalent at the time of transportation.

Blanc (1968, p 249) claimed that nativisation of a *koiné* is important in its development and as a result the nativised variety "approximates a de facto standard". The idea that a *koiné* has developed from the combination of more than one dialect remains true to Thompson's (1960, pp34) ideas regarding the original Greek *koiné*. Thomson claims that the original Greek *koiné* contained features of several regional dialects of Greek. However, the original *koiné* was less complex in areas of phonology and grammar than any of the contributing dialects. Applying Blanc's (1968) theory regarding *koinéisation* to the development of extra-territorial languages may lend support to a monogenetic theory as the *koiné* may become the 'single dialect' from which the extra-territorial language develops.

The influence of *koinéisation* on the development of extra-territorial languages has also been discussed in relation to extra-territorial varieties of Dutch and Spanish. Buccini (1995) proposes that *koinéisation* had an influence on the development of Dutch and claims that diverse dialects of Dutch met in the ports of Amsterdam and Utrecht before they set sail to the colonies. Mufwene (2001, p36) summarises Buccini's arguments stating that: "Pre-colonial population movement and contacts in Europe itself must have initiated language restructuring and forms of these restructured varieties were brought over to the colonies where the process would continue under new ecological conditions". In relation to Spanish, Amado Alonso (1953) proposes that in the development of NWS a levelling process took place which eliminated traits of different

regional dialects of Peninsular Spanish in order to create linguistic homogeneity and accommodate to life in the new colonies.

Diego Catalán (1960a) proposes that a NWS *koiné* was the foundation of the extra-territorial variety of Spanish which developed in the Spanish-speaking colonies of South America and the Caribbean. Boyd-Bowman (1964) also puts forward the notion of a levelled variety of NWS which had adjusted to conditions in the new colonies. Boyd-Bowman maintains that this levelled variety of Spanish was initially concentrated in the Caribbean area; the Caribbean islands, east coast of Central America and the northern coast of Colombia and Venezuela. In addition, Hidalgo (2001, p22) claims that it is possible that levelling occurred along the way to the Caribbean and in fact took place in transit, as the emergence of a NWS *koiné* was simultaneous with the development of the Spanish spoken in the Canary Islands (*español canario*) where the same fleets heading for Santo Domingo stopped before departing for the new colonies of South America.

Bertil Malmberg (1966) investigated the idea of *koinéisation* as the basis of NWS and proposes that a *koiné* began to emerge before emigrants left the ports of Southern Spain. The fact that transport to the New World had to be carried out in large groups and was only possible when there was a ship ready to go meant that emigrants often had to wait months before leaving the port. As a result, Spaniards from every corner of the country met in the Andalusian ports of Seville and Cadiz. Malmberg (1966) suggests that while the emigrants were waiting to travel a *koiné* developed amongst the prospective emigrants based on the Southern Spanish heard around them and continued to develop during the journey to the New World. Furthermore, Malmberg (1966) claims that it was this Andalusian-Caribbean formula used by the Spanish settlers, otherwise known as *koiné español insular* 'Spanish Island Koiné', which later spread to the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela in the new colony.

Mufwene (2001) refers to *koinéisation* as a levelling process and states that these new varieties putatively developed in the metropolis triggering levelling processes which would continue up to the time of the colonies. Furthermore, Mufwene (2001) claims that it is plausible that these emergent port-city *koinés* and nautical varieties influenced the vernaculars that developed in the colonies. However, it is not clear what role these diachronic processes played in the development of nautical varieties, nor to what extent they had normalised before the colonists emigrated. Finally, it is not clear

whether or not they were dominant among the varieties which were brought to the colonies from Europe.

Parodi (2001) proposes that dialect contact does not impede the predominance of one dialect over others and claims that the process of *koinéisation* may reoccur where two or more dialects are in prolonged contact. Parodi (2001) attributes regional variations in NWS to this 're-koinéization' and maintains that the predominance of *Andaluz,* the Spanish dialect spoken in the region of Andalusia, in Southern Spain, in NWS is an example of this predominance of a dialect as it combined with other dialects to form *una koiné Americana de corte andaluzado* 'an American *koiné* with an Andalusian touch'. At the height of the colonisation of Latin America immigrants were arriving from various parts of Spain, yet, as immigrants from Andalusia always tended to be in the majority there was a constant influx of new speakers of *Andaluz.* Boyd-Bowman (1964) proposes that between 1560 and 1579 approximately three of every four emigrants in the New World were from the south of Spain.

Parodi's claims echo Trudgill's (1986, p3) comments, referred to earlier in this section, that long term dialect contact usually occurs between regionally mobile individuals or minority groups and a non-mobile majority. Therefore, it could perhaps be said that as new *Andaluz* speaking settlers arrived in the Spanish speaking colonies of South America they contributed to the existing *Andaluz* speaking community and created a non-mobile majority. In the same way, if Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle is applied, it can be proposed that once a new colonial dialect was established and used among early settlers, the founder population, who remained in the colony and were therefore non-mobile, future settlers arriving to the colony may have then accommodated to this new dialect as they became part of the settlement community and as a result created a linguistic majority.

2.2.3 Language contact

Another factor influencing the development of extra-territorial languages is language contact. When a language is transported to a new location contact may occur between this language and the local and indigenous languages of the new territory. In addition, contact may also occur between other languages brought to the new location. In the colonies contact occurred between the languages brought by explorers and settlers, the local languages of the existing inhabitants, and the languages spoken by slaves brought to the colonies via the slave trade. Chambers (1992, p 677) suggests that

when language contact occurs: "lexical replacements are acquired faster than pronunciation or phonological variants"

Clyne (2003) states that languages in contact are the result of people in contact and of communities of people from different language backgrounds in contact. In the early days of the colonies Europeans and natives were forced to work close together and this meant that the languages spoken by both were in contact on a daily basis. As in many of the colonies the number of European settlers was in the majority, and Europeans were the dominant members of these colonial society, the European languages acquired lexis from many of the native languages before eventually supplanting these languages.

Evidence of lexical borrowing can be observed in many extra-territorial languages. Romaine (2001) and Trudgill (2006) both investigated the influence of contact between English and the indigenous languages found in the colonies at the time of colonisation. In North America, English came into contact with the languages of the Algonquian and Narragansett Native Indians. Romaine (2001, p165 & 167) found evidence of loanwords such as *moose*, a large animal of the deer family, and *caucus*, a political meeting, which were acquired by American English from these indigenous languages. In addition, Trudgill (2006) observed evidence of the acquisition of loanwords from the African language Khoi and Bantu languages in South African English, from the native Cree language in Canadian English, and from Maori, the language of the native New Zealanders in New Zealand English.

Evidence of contact with indigenous languages was also found in NWS. Montes Giraldo (2000) maintains that Quechua, the language spoken by the Incas, was most influential across South America during the early colonisation of the Americas. In Colombia, Muisca, the language spoken by the Muisca Indians, who were part of the Chibcha family, was also influential. Rodríguez de Montes (1984) and Montes Giraldo (2000) investigated the influence of language contact with indigenous languages on NWS and both found evidence of loanword acquisition. Rodríguez de Montes (1984, p 317) found evidence of lexical borrowing from Muisca such as *changua* `a soup or broth made with water, onion, coriander and salt to which is added bread, milk or egg" which originated from the Muisca language. In addition, Montes Girlado (2000, pp 160) found evidence of lexical borrowing from Quechua in NWS, such as *pucho* 'cigarette butt or small piece of something'. These and other examples of loanword acquisition will be illustrated in greater detail in the sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.9 of this chapter.

Language contact also occurred with African languages in many colonies. For instance, African slaves were brought to the Spanish colonies from West and Central Africa in the seventeenth century and contact between the Spanish spoken by the settlers and colonisers, and the African languages spoken by these slaves resulted in the acquisition of African loanwords. Juan y Ulloa (1978, cited in Del Castillo Mathieu 1992, p 42) observed evidence of *africanismos* 'loanwords from African languages' such as *cucayo* 'the rice that sticks to the inside of the pot after cooking' in the Spanish used on the Caribbean coast of Colombia.

In Brazil, Portuguese was in contact with African languages from Guinea, Dahomey, Nigeria, Ghana, Cape Verde, São Tomé, Angola, the Congo and Mozambique. Guy (1989) investigated the influence of language contact with African languages on the development of Popular Brazilian Portuguese (PBP), a non-standard variety of Brazilian Portuguese used by the lower and working class. As the lower and working classes form a majority in Brazilian society PBP tends to be used by the majority of the population and the educated standard is used by the middle and upper classes which are a small minority. Guy (1989, p 228) claims that Brazilian linguists such as Mattoso Câmara make a clear distinction between PBP and standard Brazilian Portuguese and deny any African influence on the standard. However, these linguists suggest that African languages have influenced the development of PBP. Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000) also investigated the development of non-standard Brazilian Portuguese dialects such as PBP and found that these Brazilian Portuguese dialects were radically divergent from Peninsular Portuguese. Naro and Pereira Scherre agree with Guy's (1989) proposal that the principal cause of this divergence from European lines of development was the massive presence in Brazil of people of African origin, as the languages spoken by these African people may have influenced Brazilian Portuguese. However, Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000, p238) claim that features such as variable S-VA, which Guy (1989) attributes completely to contact with African languages, were present in Latin and early languages from which Portuguese is derived and show evidence of variable agreement in modern Portuguese. As a result, Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000, p 251) dispute Guy's (1989) theory that PBP experienced a hypothetical pidgin or Creole-Portuguese stage and claim that the divergence between PBP and European Portuguese is the result of "the centuries-old drift inherent in the language brought from Portugal and exaggerated] [in Brazil by extensive contact between adult language speakers of particularly diverse origins."

The Spanish brought to South America was in contact with English, due to the influence from North America. This contact resulted in the acquisition of English loanwords by NWS. Flórez (1963) states that *anglicismos* 'loanwords from English' can be observed in Spanish as the result of the complete Anglicisation of Spanish words such as *casual, informal* (informal) / *descuidado* (unkempt), or as hybrids of English and Spanish such as, *automóvil* ´automobile', and *hamburguesa* ´hamburger´, which are most commonly used in cities and especially by young people. Canadian French also shows evidence of lexical borrowing from English. Mougeon and Beniak (1994, p 206) claim that examples of borrowing are generally either old established borrowing words which require no prior knowledge of English such as *le fun* ´fun´, or lexical borrowings which are the "result of intensification of contact with English" such as *boyfriend.* Siegel (1975, pp 132) claims that evidence of contact with English can also be found in Fiji Hindi in the form of loanwords such as *āpul* 'apple'.

2.3 The founder principle in relation to extra-territorial languages

The research discussed in section 2.2 outlines processes of accommodation, levelling, reduction, simplification, retention and innovation which took place when different regional dialects of the same language or different languages came into contact in the colonies and resulted in new varieties of language. Mufwene (2001, p 4) claims that: "the same mechanisms were involved in the restructuring processes which produced creoles as in those which generated *koinés."* Mufwene undertook extensive research into the evolution of Creoles and developed the 'Founder Principle' based on the findings of this research. The 'Founder Principle' states that, in the case of Creoles, when two or more languages come into contact, one language is selected as a *lingua-franca* and eventually becomes the vernacular. This vernacular in turn gradually displaces and replaces the other languages. Mufwene (2001, p28) proposes that Creoles and extra-territorial varieties of European languages often developed from the same standard languages. In addition, the lexifiers, the languages brought to the colony, from which Creoles developed in the new world were primarily 'the colonial variety which was spoken by European colonists and was itself developing from contact of diverse metropolitan dialects'. However, Mufwene proposes that the processes involved in the creolization of language were made more complex by the presences of Europeans who did not speak the lexifiers natively. An example from French is used to illustrate this.

Kibbee (1999) shows that in certain parts of France, Midi and Brittany, French did not become a common vernacular until the twentieth century. Therefore, many of the indentured slaves did not speak fluent French. As a result, Mufwene (2001, p 37) maintains that: "much the same kind of restructuring of lexifiers that took place among the Africans was taking place among the European colonists." However, the main difference was that after segregation of slaves and settlers was institutionalised the Africans interacted more among themselves than with the settlers. Therefore, substrate influence applied along racial lines, except for common features which had been selected earlier. In addition, some linguistic habits may have developed among the Africans that were not attested among other speakers and vice versa. These similarities in the initial development of creoles and extra-territorial languages imply that the 'Founder Principle' may be applied to the evolution of extra-territorial varieties of language. Furthermore, Mufwene states that it is plausible that creoles´ lexifiers were not the metropolitan varieties. This would explain how the same type of evolution process resulted in different end products.

Trudgill (1986) suggests that in the colonies speakers of dialects which were in a minority may have accommodated to the dialects spoken by the majority, a process which demonstrates some similarities to that of creolization. However, in the development of creoles one language is chosen as a lingua franca and eventually becomes the vernacular, yet in the development of extra-territorial languages features of a variety of dialects may combine to create a new dialect. Mufwene (2001, p 3-4) claims that the development of extra-territorial varieties of language differs to that of Creoles as "instead of selecting one single dialect as their lingua franca, speakers of the European lexifiers wound up developing a new colonial dialect which included their common features but only some of those that distinguished them from one another." Lanham (1967) comments on the effect of dialect contact on South African English and maintains that dialectal features were retained or lost yet no dialect feature was dominant and the language which emerged was not similar to anyone dialect in particular.

At the initial stages of European colonisation the European settlers were in the majority in many of the newly colonised lands. Chaudenson (2001, p 96) describes this initial European-majority period as 'the homestead phase' and proposes that it was a time of settling in, becoming acclimatized and developing the minimum infrastructure needed by the colonial agriculture to define the subsequent period in the colony.

Furthermore, Chaudenson (2001) claims that 'the homestead phase' is when there was most direct contact between the colonisers and slaves due to the demographic and socioeconomic features of the new colony. Firstly, demographic evolution was marked by a slow rise in the slave population, which in many colonies was initially sparse and gradually became more important. The lack of a significant slave population in the early days of these colonies meant that during this 'homestead phase' the Europeans were involved in many of the labouring and agricultural tasks that would later be done by the slaves. Secondly, as Europeans were involved in manual labour and tasks usually associated with slave labour, slaves and Europeans were nearly on an equal footing. Therefore, socioeconomic levels were merged and initially life in the colony was difficult for everyone.

However, as the colonies switched to the second, agricultural-economy phase more slaves were imported to work on plantations. The slave population increased significantly and often made up as much as 80 percent of the plantation population. The post-homestead phase in the eighteenth century signified a change in colonial societies which had been homestead societies and then plantation societies. The switch to plantation societies had a significant impact on the lives of the African slaves in the colonies, and as a result also had an impact on the emergence of creoles. Firstly, African slaves had very little contact with other inhabitants of the colonies, even the European indentured servants. Secondly, newly arriving Africans learned the colonial vernacular from the slaves who were already living in the colony. Thirdly, the continuous arrival of new slaves resulted in a continual restructuring of the colonial vernacular. This restructured variety became the model for the newly arrived slaves. As a result, this restructuring process often led to the basilectalization of the colonial vernacular. A basilect is the non-standard variety of speech which has diverged so far from the standard that in essence it has become a different language. Mufwene (2001) suggests that the basilectalization was a gradual process which came to an end at the later stages of the plantation economic systems during the second half of the nineteenth century with the stabilization and growth of African descent by birth.

Mufwene (2001, p 62) proposes that the duration of the initial European majority has a bearing on variation between Creoles as "cross-territorial differences in the proportions of speakers of the lexifiers and substrate[2] languages in the founder

[2] Substrate languages are languages which are supplanted by the languages they influence.

population accounted for variation between one Creole to another." Mufwene's (2001) ideas on the influence of the founder population on the development of creoles can be applied to the development of extra-territorial languages in order to determine if the proportions of speakers of the lexifiers and substrate languages or dialects within the founder population can also account for variation from one extra-territorial variety language to another.

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, p30) make reference to the influence of the founder population on the development of new language varieties and state that: "There is little doubt that the earliest peoples in new settlements can have a lasting effect on the language legacy of a region". This phenomenon is referred to by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes as the Founder Effect and is defined as: "The durable imprint of language structures brought to an area by the earliest groups of people forging a new society in the region". Application of Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes's (2006) Founder Effect theories regarding the influence of early settlers on new languages which emerge in colonies raises questions about the extent to which the dialects and languages spoken by the founder population influence the extra-territorial languages which develop.

2.4 Different kinds of extra-territorial languages

European colonisation resulted in the transplantation of English, Spanish, French, Portuguese and Dutch in new colonies, where these languages came into contact with other regional dialects and other languages. Contact between other dialects and languages eventually led to the development of new colonial varieties of these languages. Extra-territorial varieties of English developed in America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, extra-territorial varieties of French developed in Canada and parts of Africa, extra-territorial varieties of Portuguese developed in Brazil and parts of Africa, an extra-territorial variety of Dutch developed as Afrikaans in South Africa and extra-territorial varieties of Spanish developed in Central and South America and the Caribbean. In addition, in Fiji a variety of Hindi known as Fiji Hindi developed from the Hindi which was transported to Fiji due to slave trading. A vast number of African slaves were transported from various parts of Africa to work on the plantations in South American, and the Caribbean. However, although this resulted in the transplantation of many African languages, these African languages did not develop as extra-territorial

varieties in their own right and more often developed as creoles. Nevertheless, these African languages played an important role in the development of extra-territorial languages as many African loanwords were acquired by these new varieties of language.

Kurath (1972) states that extra-territorial languages are a variation of the standard mother language which has developed where settlers have not given up their languages. Based on previous research, Kurath (1972) compiled a list of socio-cultural factors affecting extra-territorial languages. Firstly, the regional and social provenance of settlers, as well as the location of early settlements and the chronology of lines of expansion, influences the features of language used and patterns of variation. Secondly, the social organisation of the colony and its subdivisions influence social contact among inhabitants of the colony and therefore, influence language and dialect contact. Thirdly, commercial and cultural contacts with the 'homeland' during and after the settlement period as well as the status of the literary language shared with the homeland during the colonial period and after the achievement of political and cultural independence affect how much or how little the development of the extra-territorial variety differs from that of the metropolitan variety. Finally, the influence of the natural environment of other ethnic groups and of socio-cultural innovations upon the lexicon may also affect the extent of language variation.

Mufwene (2001) maintains that extra-territorial varieties of language are largely by-products of the emergence of new communities which developed as immigrants settle across colonies. These new communities are often next to more indigenous populations, which have also reorganised themselves into new communities in the same geographical space. For example, in South Africa as the British colonies expanded they began to intrude on the land of indigenous tribes causing conflict between the settlers and the indigenous tribes. According to Mufwene (2001) the role of the more indigenous African languages in the restructuring process that produced extra-territorial varieties of English, French, Dutch and Portuguese is inversely proportionate to the nature of the integration of the speakers of these languages with the more indigenous African populations.

The following sections (2.4.1 to 2.4.9) outline the immigration to and settlement patterns in European colonies which resulted in the development of extra-territorial varieties of languages such as English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Hindi and Spanish. One aim of this section is to highlight evidence of colonial lag, dialect mixing and

acquisition of loanwords due to language contact which have been found in these extra-territorial varieties of language. A second aim of these sections is to investigate the influence of the languages and dialects spoken by the founder population on the extra-territorial language which developed.

2.4.1 American English

Marckwardt (1958) maintains that words did not jump merely from England to the American mainland but more probably to the overseas colonies in general and continued in active use in these countries. As a result, the English which was transported to the British colonies and actively used in these overseas colonies developed as extra-territorial varieties. Kurath (1972, p104) states that settlement patterns influenced the features of language used and patterns of variation in extra-territorial languages and claims that dialectal areas often match settlement areas as the dialects were carried along the lines of expansion by the colonisers and immigrants as they moved and settled across the colony.

Albert Marckwardt (1958, p60) proposes that standard British English was the source of early American English and in support of this proposal refers to comments by the American Poet James Russell Lowell who maintains that Americans "unhappily could bring over no English better than Shakespeare's". Ellis (1869-89, cited in Montgomery 2001, p106) proposes that the speech of American English was archaic with respect to that of British English. Marckwardt (1958, p59) agrees with Ellis and comments on the use of antiquated terms in American English stating that: "[in America] descendants of the early settlers often retained words, pronunciations, forms and modes of expression brought from England and continued in their elders, while in the country of origin, (Britain) these words had either been dropped from use or were considered to be old-fashioned". Furthermore, Marckwardt (1958, p60) refers to evidence of colonial lag in American English which was found in J.O. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaisms and Provincialisms. Halliwell (1874 cited in Marckwardt 1958, p 60) claims that words were found which were "obsolete in England, all of which were familiar and in common use in America".

Kurath (1972) maintains that British folk dialects, which were predominant among the middle and lower classes, gave way to varieties of Standard British English (SBE) spoken among the elite of the colonial centres, and it was these variants of SBE which were carried inland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and west across the

Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean in less than half a century. Fischer (1989) illustrates examples of how American English can be mapped to British dialects. For example, characteristics of dialects spoken by the Southern English settlers, such as the tendency to use the construction "you be" rather than the standard "you are" were found to be prevalent in the speech of Virginia in the eighteenth century. However, by this time these words and phrases had disappeared from formal usage in Britain and were perceived as archaic or provincial expressions. Furthermore, Fischer (1989, p259) claims that their usage in Virginia survived for a further three centuries. The survival of such constructions in post-colonial American English long after they had fallen out of use in British English is another example of colonial lag. Such examples of colonial lag may be seen as an effort by the post-colonial society to maintain linguistic practices adopted while America was still a British colony in order to preserve a hierarchical structure in the new post-colonial society.

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) propose that the history of American English can be traced to the various parts of England from which the settlers in the new colony originated. Furthermore, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes share Kurath's (1972) view that once the founder population set up a population centre, dialect boundaries followed migratory routes. At the time of the British colonisation of America the Quakers Friends' migration brought the speech of England's north midlands to the Delaware Valley, where it became the basis of an American regional dialect. The epicentre of this speech region was Chester county in Pennsylvania, where Wolfram and Schilling–Estes (2006, p30) claim: "as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the people of Chester still spoke in a broad Yorkshire dialect". However, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, p 29) clarify that although much has changed in America over the centuries, the initial patterns of habitation by English speakers from various parts of the British Isles are still reflected in the patterns of dialect differentiation in the United States today. Furthermore, archaic features of British English were preserved in the extra-territorial variety of English which developed in this part of America. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, p 29) state that: "some of the dominant characteristics still found in varieties of American English can be traced to dialect differences that existed in the British Isles before the British Colonisation of America began"

Furthermore, the same literary language was used in the metropolis and the colony and this served to keep American English close to British English. However, some evidence of language change can be found as new words and applications of old

words had to be introduced to cope with features of a different natural environment, new topographical and biological settings and other socio-cultural changes. For example, Trudgill (2006, p266) states that: "in North America, the word *robin* refers to a different bird to that of its referent in Britain" In addition, evidence of language acquisition form Native American languages can be found in American English. For example, Romaine (2001, p165) claims that contact with Native American Indian languages led to the acquisition of new words such as *moose*, a large animal of the deer family, from the Narragansett Indian word *moosu* 'he trips or cuts smooth' which refers to the moose's eating habits, and *caucus*, a political meeting, from the Algonquian word *caucauasu* 'one who emerges or advises'.

2.4.2 Australian and New Zealand English

British colonies were established in Australia and New Zealand relatively recently. European settlement began in Australia in 1788 and New Zealand was established as an official colony in 1840. Due to overcrowding in Britain's prisons, Sydney was initially established as a penal colony between 1788 and 1800. Therefore, the first British immigrants were for the large part prisoners, and prison officers and their families. Free settlers did not reach significant numbers until the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition, although New Zealand was not established as an official colony until 1840, Burridge and Kortmann (2004) state that an unofficial settlement was established by settlers from Australia at the end of the eighteenth century. Once British colonial rule was established in New Zealand and organised settlement began, the English-speaking population grew rapidly. Bauer and Warren (2004) propose that in 1838 Europeans in New Zealand numbered 2,000, by 1842 they numbered 10,000 and by the mid nineteenth century the number of European, English-speaking settlers had outnumbered Maori-speakers.

The settlement of New Zealand can be broken down into three distinct phases. Bauer and Warren outline these three phases of settlement and the origins of the immigrants involved in each stage. Firstly, from 1840-1860 settlement was planned, The New Zealand Company organised settlements in Wellington on the North Island and Nelson on the South Island. The majority of immigrants in these settlements came from London and south-east England. Settlements in the Taranaki region of the North Island were occupied by immigrants from Devon and Cornwall. In the South Island,

Otago, a region in the south of the island, was settled by the Scottish, and Canterbury, a region in the north of the island, was settled by Scottish Highlanders.

Secondly, from 1860-1870 the discovery of gold influenced settlement patterns and there was an increase in settler numbers in gold-field areas such as Otago and the west coast of the South Island. In addition, a large percentage of the settlers who arrived between 1860 and 1870 came from Australia. Australia was a trading partner and provided continuing settlement as well as trading and communication links for New Zealand. For example, Bauer and Warren (2004, p 581) claim that "the sea-link from Auckland across the Tasman and back to Wellington was for a long time easier than the land route through the New Zealand bush". Thirdly, from 1870 immigration was once again planned and the majority of immigrants in this third stage were from Southern England, as many as 10 percent being from Cornwall. Bauer and Warren (2004) maintain that by 1890 the population of New Zealand–born Europeans had increased greatly and now outnumbered that of the new settlers. Therefore, from 1890 onwards the influence of native New Zealanders on New Zealand English became greater than that of the British or Australian influence.

Australian and New Zealand English are found to be distinct from other extra-territorial varieties of English as settlement began later than in other English speaking colonies, and English was in contact with different indigenous languages. Furthermore, Burridge and Kortmann (2004) suggest that the geographical location provided a physical separation from other English-speaking territories which allowed this distinctiveness to thrive. Although there is very little regional variation of accent within the two countries, examples of lexical variation have been found in the two extra-territorial varieties. For example, in both countries the name given to a type of large, smooth sausage varies from region to region. Burridge and Kortmann (2004, p 568) claimed that in New Zealand it is known as *a polony* in Auckland (North Island), as *a saveloy* in Christchurch (South Island) and as *a Belgium or Belgium roll/sausage* in Southland (South Island). Both *polony* and *saveloy* are also used in some parts of Australia, but in Adelaide (South Australia) this type of sausage is known as *a fritz,* and in Brisbane (Queensland) and Sydney (New South Wales) it is known as *a devon.*

In addition, a certain amount of social variation involving accent and the extent to which accents differ from the accent of Southern England known as Received Pronunciation (RP) was observed in Australian English. Hammarström (1980, p 4) notes that the pronunciation of the phoneme /I:/ in Australian English is closer to RP in

the higher social classes and more open and longer in the lower classes. Trudgill and Hannah (1982, p16) investigated social variation in Australian English and found that 'mild' accents, which "differ somewhat from RP", were observed in higher socio-economic groups, yet 'broad' accents, which "differ considerably from RP" were noticed at the lower end of the social scale. Burridge and Kortmann (2004, p 569) also refer to differences found in the 'broadness' of accent and propose that speed is another variable feature within different regional communities stating that: "people in Melbourne (Victoria) tend to speak faster than those in rural Victoria of the same socio-economic background. There are also a greater proportion of broad speakers in the rural regions". There was one notable variation in New Zealand English which was observed in the south of the South Island. New Zealand is mostly non-rhotic. However, Burridge and Kortmann (2004) found that speakers in this region had "a striking semi-rhotic variety of English"; /r/ is variably pronounced in post vocalic positions, such as in the word nurse. Therefore in the South Island *nurse* was pronounced /nɜːs/. This was attributed to the significant number of Scots who settled in the South Island between 1840 and 1860.

Ideas regarding the origins of Australian English are mixed. Hammarström (1980) claims that Australian English is a direct descendant of Cockney, the urban dialect used in the East End of London, yet, Cochrane (1989) and Turner (1994) disagree and claim that Australian English is the product of dialect contact. Trudgill (1989, 2006) and Horvath and Horvath (2001) support Cochrane's (1989) and Turner's (1994) claims for dialect mixing. Trudgill (1986) maintains that when new varieties of language are formed due to dialect mixing all the variants expect one will be levelled out. However, if more than one competing variant survives, which occasionally occurs, reallocation of the variants will take place. Furthermore, Trudgill (2006) refers to an example of structural reallocation which was observed in Australian English by Horvath and Horvath (2001). At the time the British began to settle in Australia, 1788, northern English dialects retained the original pronunciation of the *bath* lexical set with /æ/, which is still used today in northern English. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century dialects in the south of England had acquired a newer pronunciation with /a:/. Both variants, /æ/ and /a:/, were represented in the dialects which mixed to form the original input of Australian English and both variants have been retained in the Australian English used today. Furthermore, Trudgill (2006, p277) states that these

variants have been reallocated to "different phonological environments, with /æ/ being restricted, for the most part, to positions before nasal clusters in words such as *dance* /dæns/, *advance* /ədvæns/, *plant* /plænt/ and /a:/ being used in other phonological contexts".

Wall (1938) claims that New Zealand English is a direct descendant of Cockney. Bauer (1994, p 391) agrees with Wall's claim stating that New Zealand English originates from a dialect spoken in southeast England. In addition, Bauer (1994, p428) maintains that "the hypothesis that New Zealand English is derived from Australian English is the one which explains most about the linguistic situation in New Zealand". The variety of regional dialects represented in the various stages of settling in New Zealand from 1840 and 1890 could lend some strength to an argument that a combination of dialects provided the origins of New Zealand English. However, the first phase of settlers originated in London and the South-East of England and these settlers are considered to be the founder population. Therefore, if Mufwene's (2001) theory is applied it is possible to say that the dialects spoken by these settlers laid the foundations for the variety of English which would eventually emerge, and that later settlers accommodated to these dialects on arrival in New Zealand. As a result, in contact situations the dialectal features of the Cockney and South-East England dialects are those which would have been retained by this extra-territorial variety of English. This would justify the arguments by Wall (1938) and Bauer (1994) which state that New Zealand and Australian English are descendents of a dialect spoken in the South-east of England. Furthermore, similarities found by Burridge and Kortmann (2004) between the New Zealand English used in the south of the South Island and English taken to the South Island by Scottish settlers in 1840-1860 also lends support to the theory regarding the influence of the founder population for New Zealand English.

2.4.3 Canadian English

The first English-speaking settlers in Canada were from East New England in North America. They arrived in the 1760s via the British colonies of North America and established a settlement in Nova Scotia, which had been abandoned by French-speaking Acadians when they were expelled by the British government. The next group of settlers were American colonists loyal to the British crown, 'United Empire Loyalists'. These joined with the New England settlers and formed the first large, permanent English-speaking settlement in the regions of New Brunswick, the 'Eastern Townships'

of Quebec and Ontario. By 1812, the English-speaking population of Canada was predominantly American. In Ontario, out of a population of 100,000 only 5,000 had come directly from Britain, the other 95,000 were largely made up of immigrants from the United States. This American predominance continued through to the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, in almost every region of Canada and according to Avis (1973) had an important influence on the emergent local speech. By the time numbers of British immigrants increased, in the mid nineteenth century, American speech patterns were already in place. Therefore, Bloomfield (1948) claims that, the British immigrants tended to adapt to these patterns rather than impose their own new patterns. Boberg (2004) claims that despite Canada being a British colony from 1763 to 1867 and continuing to have cultural ties with Britain since then, Canadian English has a distinctly North American sound and is considered a North American variety of English.

As is the case for Australian and New Zealand varieties of English, Canadian English is relatively homogenous and shows very little regional variation from one end of the country to the other. However, there are some exceptions, such as Newfoundland, Cape Breton and the Ottawa Valley, where large groups of relatively homogenous immigrants arrived directly from Britain and which, still, Boberg (2004, p 353) maintains, "survive today as traditional enclaves of regional speech". Scargill (1957) propose a theory which disagrees with Bloomfield's (1948) theory that British immigrants adapted to American speech, and with Avis's (1954-56) proposal that American speech patterns influenced the emergent local speech. Scargill (1957) claims that British immigrants largely outnumbered American immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century and that it is therefore implausible to propose that such a large number of British immigrants adapted to a model imposed by a smaller number of American immigrants. Moreover, Scargill (1957) states that features of Canadian English, which are attributed to an American influence, may have in fact come from the regional dialects of British English spoken by immigrants from Northern or Western Britain who were predominant in the nineteenth century. In addition, Scargill (1957) claims that Canadian English today shows "the effect of a standard Southern British superstratum having been imposed on a North American variety". However, the fact that the first English-speaking settlers in Canada were American rather than British implies that a substantial number of American settlers made up the founder population in Canada.

In addition, keeping in mind Trudgill's (1999, 2004) theory regarding new-dialect contact, the fact that there were initially no other English-speakers in Canada meant there was no common-peer group dialect to accommodate to. Therefore, children accommodated to the speech of their parents and the other adults around them. As a result, features of the American dialects brought by the first settlers formed the basis of the first generation speech of Canadian English. The result in contemporary Canadian English is a usage which shows features of both American and British forms. For example, spelling traditionally follows British norms which means that where both a British and American version of a word exist, such *colour / color* and *centre / center* the British version, *colour*, *centre,* is used. However, this is also true of the spelling in Britain. Chambers (1994) proposes that American forms are used more often by younger Canadians. Furthermore, Boberg (2004) claims that although, Canadian English demonstrates features of both American and British English, it is gradually shifting towards increased use of American forms. This shift may be a result of the younger Canadian's preference for American forms. In addition, Boberg (2004, p 356) states that Canadian usage of general vocabulary tends to favour the American variants of pairs such as: *chemist/drugstore, chips/fries, lift/elevator, lorry/truck, petrol/gas, spanner/wrench,* and *torch/flashlight*. This gradual shift towards American spelling and lexis may be a result of increased contact between speakers of Canadian and American English due to the proximity of the two countries.

2.4.4 South African English

For most of the eighteenth century South Africa was a Dutch colony. However, in 1806 Britain finally succeeded in gaining control from the Dutch, and quickly set about establishing South Africa as a British colony. The first British colony was established in South Africa in 1814, at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1820 and 1821, 4,500 British settlers landed in Algoa Bay. These settlers, who were all working class, originated from various parts of Britain and spoke a variety of regional dialects. These settlers became known as the '1820 settlers'. They were given farming land and lived in close contact with their Dutch neighbours. In 1822, English was declared the official language of the Cape colony and took over from Dutch in most public settings. This resulted in relations between the British and Dutch growing strained. Furthermore, the British colony began to expand and this expansion intruded on the territory own by the indigenous people. As a result, there was also conflict between the indigenous people

and the British settlers. Between 1834 and 1836 large numbers of Dutch left the Cape colony in 'The Great Trek' in order to escape British rule and seek autonomy. The Dutch headed north and east, and established three Dutch-speaking territories, the 'South African Republic' later known as Transvaal, the Orange River Sovereignty, later known as the Orange Free State, and Natalia. Lanham (1982, cited in Bowerman 2004, p 932) maintained that although Dutch became the official language of the three territories, competency in English remained a sign of a good education.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Natalia was annexed by the Cape Colony and proclaimed a crown colony (Natal) in its own right. A planned British settlement programme was then established in Natal between 1848 and 1862. The majority of British settlers in Natal were from the middle and upper classes. There was little contact between the British settlers in Natal and the Dutch, and there was no conflict with the indigenous people. Furthermore, the settlers in Natal were less diverse in origin than those of the Cape colony and social distinctions based on position and rank which were levelled in the Cape Colony were maintained. Lanham 1982 (cited in Bowerman 2004, p 932) claims that the English spoken by the first generation in Natal differed from the English spoken by the settlers in the Cape, as there was less social and regional variation and even less social levelling.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the territory of what is today known as South Africa was made up of four regions, two which were British-administered and English-speaking, the Cape and Natal colonies, and two which were independent and Dutch-speaking; Transvaal (South African Republic) and the Orange Free State. However, the British and Afrikaners (Dutch settlers) eventually came to blows about the territories of South Africa in 1899. This conflict resulted in the 'Boer War' which ended victoriously for the British, who then laid claim to the Voortrekker republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Voortrekker republics became crown colonies in 1902, but, Hogg and Denison (2006) claim that South Africa did not become a single country until 1910.

Lass (1990) proposes a monogenetic theory for the evolution of South African English and claims that, South African English originated from a south-eastern English dialect. However, Lanham (1967, p 104) disagrees with Lass (1990) and maintains that the English which developed in South Africa did so in "a remarkably short space of time and was not identical to any one of them but presented a unique set of dialectal features deriving probably from several British dialects". As the origins of the first

British settlers in South Africa were so diverse, Lanham's (1967) theory that a mix of dialects formed the basis from which South African English evolved is the most logical.

2.4.5 Afrikaans

Dutch colonists arrived in South Africa in the mid seventeenth century. At that time two indigenous tribes, the Khoikhoi and the San people, were most prominent. The languages spoken by these indigenous tribes were very different to those spoken by the European settlers. John Sigmund Wurffbain, a German travel writer, was quoted by Raven-Hart (1967, p.166) as stating that: "They have no language nor speech like other men, but gurgle and click in a most strange manner in their mouth". The indigenous people learned just enough of the European languages; Dutch, Portuguese and English to allow them trade with the European ships calling to the Cape port. When a settlement was established in Cape Town, Dutch became the dominant language and the indigenous tribes which remained in the area became Dutch speakers. Dutch was also used by speakers of European languages such as German and French, and Asian languages. McCormick (2002) claims that as a result of this the Dutch used in South Africa changed in form and many of the features which developed in this period are now characteristics of Afrikaans.

Efforts have been made to map Afrikaans to the Dutch spoken in specific regions of the Netherlands. For example, Kloeke (1950, cited in Kurath 1972) points out that certain characteristic features of Afrikaans are only found in the western section of the Netherlands. As a result, Kloeke (1950) undertook to narrow down the homeland of Afrikaans to the province of South Holland and the adjoining district of North Holland. Using specific areal and diachronic linguistic evidence Kloeke succeeded in pinpointing a variety of features that Afrikaans shares primarily or only with the province of South Holland. Kurath (1972) states that the close connection of Afrikaans with the dialects of the Western Netherlands, North and South Holland and Zeeland, would seem to imply that the majority of the early settlers, the founder population, of Cape Town and its environs came from that area. However, Hollanders and Zeelanders never made up more than one fourth of the total population. Kloeke (1950) assumes that a close-knit community from the province of South Holland (Rotterdam) constituted an elite whose usage was adopted by Netherlanders speaking other dialects and by the North Germans, French Huguenots and others settlers in Cape Town. As mentioned in section 2.2.2 of this chapter, a process of accommodation took place where dialectal features of other

dialects were adjusted and features of the dialect of the South Hollander founder population were retained. In addition, Kurath (1972) maintains that the slow growth of Cape Town, established in 1652, facilitated this development as after half a century the white population of Cape Town was still under 1,500.

Afrikaans differs strikingly from other extra-territorial languages, such as American English or NWS, as it has had its own unique development. Kurath (1972) states that extra-territorial languages generally preserve the morphological system, as well as the vocabulary and the essential features of the phonemic system of their source language. However, the morphology of Afrikaans differs from Standard Dutch as it is stripped of most of its inflections and the phonological system also suffered rather radical changes. The fact that Afrikaans is less complex than the Dutch dialects from which it developed indicates that some level of dialect mixing was involved in the development of this extra-territorial variety of Dutch. In addition, this may also point to evidence of *koinéization*. The restructuring process that produced Afrikaans is inversely proportionate to the nature of integration of the speakers of other languages. Mufwene (2001) claims that in South Africa there was very little integration, so little in fact, that by the end of the nineteenth century the Dutch settlers decided to identify themselves as Afrikaners, so as to distinguish themselves from the British colonists, while also distancing themselves from the more indigenous Africans. Kloeke's (1950) suggests that adoption of the speech of the elite by non-Dutch-speakers in South African society points to the existence of a hierarchical structure within the Afrikaners' society.

2.4.6 Canadian French

Canada was colonised by the French in the early seventeenth century and Boberg (2004) maintains that by the middle of that century French colonies had been well established in the eastern part of the country. However, after a struggle between France and Britain over control of the Canadian territories, the Treaty of Paris was drawn up in 1763 giving possession of Canada to Britain. As a result, English-speaking immigrants began to settle in the newly acquired British colony and soon outnumbered French-speakers, who made up less than a quarter of the population. The majority of French-speakers remained in the eastern parts of Canada. The largest percentage was found in Quebec and neighbouring parts of New Brunswick and eastern Ontario, regions which Ball (1997) claims are still bilingual today.

The original French immigrants who settled in Canada in the mid seventeenth century came from the mid-west regions, Poitou, Aunis, Angoumois and Saintonge, and the north-west provinces; Brittany, Anjou, and Lle-de-France. There is some degree of regional variation in Canadian French, for example variation can be found between Acadian and Quebec French. This variation is attributed to the differing origins of European settlers in the two provinces. Balcom *et al* (2008) suggest that the majority of settlers in Quebec tended to be from north of the Loire Valley. This area was made up of the former provinces of Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Poitou and Touraine. However, those who settled in Acadia, the Canadian Maritime Provinces of Nova-Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, were from the mid-west French provinces. Speakers of Acadian French lived in relative isolation for more than three centuries and as a result Acadian French retains features which have not been used in other varieties of French for many years. For example, Acadian French uses morphology such as the first person plural *je....-ons* (see example 1) and the third person *ils....-ont* (see example 2), which have not been used in France in several centuries.

1. *je* *parl-* *ons*
   we speak (we)
   'we speak'

2. *ils* *parl-* *ont*
   They speak (they)
   'they speak' (Balcom *et al* 2008: p 1).

Trudgill (2006) refers to ideas proposed by Morin (1994), and Mougeon and Beniak (1994) in relation to the role of language and dialect contact in the development of Canadian French. Firstly, regarding language contact, Canadian French shows evidence of contact with English in the form of lexical borrowing. Mougeon and Beniak (1994, p 206) divide examples of such borrowing into two types, old established borrowing, words which require no prior knowledge of English and have gained the status of bona fide French lexical items, such as *le fun* ´fun´, *la job* 'job', *le truck* 'truck' , *le hot dog* ' hot dog', and those lexical borrowings which are the "result of intensification of contact with English" and show "signs of entering the French

lexicon", such as *boyfriend, high school, TV*. Secondly, in relation to dialect contact, Morin (1994) states that dialect contact played an important part in the development of Canadian French. In addition, Mougeon and Beniak (1994, quoted by Trudgill 2006, p 269) refer to a *fusion dialectale* 'fusion of dialects' stating that the contact between immigrants from different regions in mid and north west France resulted in a unique mixture of these regional dialects.

Furthermore, Poirier (1994, quoted in Trudgill 2006 p 269) maintains that philological studies have proven the existence of a *koiné* along the St. Lawrence River in the mid seventeenth century, which was influenced by dialects from various French provinces. However, as occurred with other extra-territorial languages, such as American English and NWS, some linguists rejected the importance of dialect contact in the development of Canadian French, and proposed a monogenetic theory of development. Rivard (1914, cited in Poirier 1994) proposes that Quebec French is a direct descendant of the dialects of Normandy. As the majority of settlers in Quebec originated from north of the Pays de la Loire Province, which is to the south of Normandy, many of these settlers may indeed have come from near Normandy and therefore, as the founder population the dialects spoken by these settlers may indeed have laid down the foundations from which Quebec French developed.

2.4.7 Brazilian Portuguese

Brazil was made a Portuguese colony in the early sixteenth century. Between 1506 and 1534 the Portuguese crown maintained factories at strategic posts along the coast, such as Pernambuco and Porto Seguro. By 1530, the population of Brazil was only a million and a half and those settlers were spread over 34,200 square miles. Convincing the Portuguese to settle in Brazil was not easy and initial settlers consisted of exiles, political offenders and criminals. However, many of the captains objected to this class of settler and therefore, worked on convincing Portuguese peasants to settle in Brazil. In 1534 Brazil was leased to territorial lords for settlement purposes.

Brazil had a large population of native Indians. Initially, there was regular contact between the Portuguese and Indians as relations were good. However, settlement interfered with these good relations as the setting up of sugar plantations infringed on Indians´ land rights. In addition, Indians were called on to increase the labour force on sugar plantations and in sugar mills. However, as this sort of work was unfamiliar to the Indians this resulted in further conflicts. As a result, the Portuguese

settlers resorted to enslaving Indians to work on the growing sugar plantations. Johnson (1987, p19) claims that during the first ten years of colonisation Portuguese settlers had either the co-operation of the Indians or the upper hand in the struggle with them.

In 1570, King Sebastião prohibited enslavement of Indians unless they were taken as prisoner by war. This decree was confirmed by Philip II in 1595, 1605 and again in 1609 when he declared that all Indians were free and therefore could not be made to work and had to be paid when they volunteered to do work. In 1759, Sebastião João de Carvalho e Melo raised the rank of Indians to be equal with all the king's subjects. The Indians were given a Portuguese surname and required to speak Portuguese in an effort to integrate them into Brazilian society. Nevertheless, Indians continued to be exploited and soon planters realised that Indians were not the answer to the labour problem. Therefore, they began to look to Africa as African slaves had been brought to Portugal as early as 1433 and had proven to adapt well to the tasks required by the colonists.

The first African slaves were imported into Brazil in 1538 and from then on ships were sent east with cargos of tobacco, sugar, manioc, beans, flour, spirits, and cloth in exchange for slaves. The origins of the slaves were diverse. They came from Guinea, Dahomey, Nigeria, Ghana, Cape Verde, São Tomé, Angola, the Congo and Mozambique. Trade between Brazil and Angola was so frequent that a Portuguese historian, Jaime Cortesão (cited in Burns 1993, p.42) wrote that "Angola was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a Portuguese province of Brazil". Africans could be found in every part of the colony and they did more than work in the fields, they were carpenters, painters, masons, jewellers, sculptors, locksmiths, tailors, cobblers and bakers.

Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000) investigated concord variation in the Portuguese spoken in Brazil and Portugal focusing on concord variation. Based on this research it was proposed that IE languages in general and the Romance languages in particular tend to drift towards a less inflected grammar over time. Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000) found that in Brazil non-standard dialects of Brazilian Portuguese demonstrated variable concord phenomena of disputed origin (see examples 3, 4a & 4b).

3. *Eles* *fala* *español*
   They speaks Spanish
   'They speak Spanish.'

4a.	*As*	*casas*	*branca*
	The (plural)	houses	white
	'The white houses.'		
4b.	*As*	*casa*	*branca*
	The (plural)	house	white
	'The white houses.'		

This radical divergence from European Portuguese was attributed to large number of peoples of African origin in Brazil.

Guy (1989) maintains that evidence of the influence of African languages on PBP can be found in the morphology of the language, through observation of noun phrase agreement (NPA) and subject–verb agreement (SVA), and in the lexicon. Firstly, in Standard Portuguese NPA and SVA is obligatory. However, the rules of NPA and SVA in PBP are variable and examples of agreement and non-agreement of NP and S-V can be found. In the examples of non-agreement the subject or words at the beginning of the phrase are plural but the verb or other words in the phrase are singular. Guy (1989, p 233) proposes that the use of a plural marker at the beginning of a NP in PBP may be based on African patterns, and bases this idea on the fact that in the languages spoken by the Kwa group of West Angola, especially Ibo and Yoruba, and in the Bantu languages of Angola and the Congo River Basin plural markers are located at the beginning of a NP. These African languages were spoken by the most of the slaves taken to Brazil and therefore, are the languages which are most likely to have influenced PBP. In addition, Guy showed examples of words from the African languages Ibo, Yoruba, and Kimbundu, a Bantu language, which have been acquired by PBP. Furthermore, Guy (1989, p 232) suggests that the marking of plurality just by a word at the beginning of the NP may indicate a creole-history for PBP as this pattern of plurality marking is found throughout the attested creole languages whose lexical base is Portuguese such as Cape Verde Creole Portuguese.

In relation to S-VA, Guy states that S-VA in PBP is governed by various constraints but focused particularly on the morphological constraints. Guy (1989, p 234) claims that Portuguese verbs in PBP are distributed along a continuum and that the probability of S-VA is "determined by the *saliency* or distinctiveness of the morphological opposition between the singular form and the plural form." Therefore, for verbs with plurals which are very different from the singular the rate of agreement is

high and those with minimal plural / singular opposition are unlikely to agree. Guy (1989, p 236) proposes that saliency affects the learning of a language as the salient features are perceived more easily and learned more quickly. In addition, Guy proposes that African languages may have influenced Brazilian Portuguese through a hypothetical pidgin or Creole. Guy claims that Portuguese underwent a process of creolisation and de-creolization which resulted in the development of PBP and suggests that the saliency effect in PBP is a result of decreolization. Afro-Brazilian slaves and their descendants would naturally have learned the features which were easiest to apprehend first, that is the most salient features.

However, Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000) reject this claim and suggest that variable NPA and SVA were present in Latin and European Portuguese. As a result, Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000, p 237) suggest that:

> "The original source of variable concord phenomena came from Portugal, but the conditions of endemic pidginisation and adult second language learning that predominated throughout the history of Brazil, even before the arrival of Africans, accelerated and exaggerated the original trend during the process of nativisation of the Portuguese language by communities of particularly diverse backgrounds."

In addition, Naro and Pereira Scherre (2000) conclude that the drift towards a less inflected grammar has been exaggerated by extensive contact between adult language speakers of diverse origin and nativisation of Portuguese by communities of such speakers.

Therefore, it appears that a feature of the Portuguese dialects which were brought to Brazil in the initial stages of Brazil's colonisation was retained in the extra-territorial variety of Portuguese which developed as the native language of Brazil. Burns (1993) claims that integration of the Indians into Brazilian society resulted in the acquisition of indigenous loanwords into Brazilian Portuguese, such as *hamaka* 'hammock', *tobako* 'tobacco', *manioca* 'manioc' and *typyoca* 'tapioca'.

2.4.8 Fiji Hindi

The development of an extra-territorial Indian language in the South Pacific, where there was no colonisation by India, differs to that of the development of extra-territorial varieties of European languages outlined in the sections above. The main difference is that in the case of this extra-territorial language it is the language of the

dominated population rather the dominating population which emerged as an extra-territorial variety.

Siegel (1987) investigated the development and use of Fiji Hindi in the Fijian plantations and stated that towards the end of the nineteenth century Sir Arthur Gordon, the first governor of Fiji, introduced a policy to restrict Fijian labour so as not to disturb their society. Sir Arthur Gordon was familiar with the indenture system from his time spent in Mauritius and Trinidad and wanted to avoid importing labourers from other Pacific Islands because of previous abuses of the system and difficulties in recruiting. Therefore, indentured labourers were brought to Fiji from India. Mayer (1961) claims that a total of 60,537 Indians arrived in Fiji under the Indenture system. 24,655 of these were repatriated during the indenture period and 35,882 remained in the colony. Siegel (1987) proposes that as of the late nineteenth century, the majority of the labourers on Fijian plantations were Indian rather than Fijian or Pacific Islanders.

Hindi was the lingua franca of the indenture system and as the majority of labourers on the Fijian plantations were Indian, Hindi was used as the lingua franca among these labourers. As a result, a variety of Hindi, which became known as Fiji Hindi, began to develop on the plantations. Furthermore, the Indian majority amongst the plantations labourers meant that the overseers were also forced to learn Fiji Hindi, the language of the labourers, rather than the labourers being forced to learn the dominant language as occurred on the plantations of the colonies. As the number of Indian labourers grew the use Fiji Hindi spread rapidly outside the plantations. Siegel (1987) states that as a result police constables were forced to act as interpreters, interpreters were appointed to the courts, and government officials were encouraged to learn Fiji Hindi.

English was also used in Fijian society and the influence of both English and the Fijian language may be seen in the form of borrowings in Fiji Hindi. For example, Siegel (1975, pp 132) illustrates some examples of English loanwords which were acquired by Fiji Hindi such as, *āpul* 'apple', *kičan* 'kitchen' and *kantāp* 'cane top' are borrowings from English. Borrowings from Fijian tend to refer to fish and vegetation, *wālu* comes from the Fijian word *wálu* 'kingfish' and *moto* comes from the Fijian word *móto´* 'spear'. Fiji Hindi is found to differ from Eastern Hindi in many ways. For example, Fiji Hindi tends to lack contrast between certain consonant pairs, */ph/ & /f/, /j/ & /z/, /b/ & /v/,* in some case /l/ becomes /r/, and there are no gender, pluralisation or case distinctions in Fiji Hindi. However, Siegel (1975, p 131) suggests that evidence

can be found of lexis which has been taken from Eastern Hindi, such as *khassī* 'goat', *gor* 'foot', *ghām* 'sunlight' and *bistuiyā* 'lizard'.

2.4.9 New World Spanish

The Spanish colonisation of Central and South American began in the late fifteenth century. At that time most of Central and South America was inhabited by tribes of indigenous Indians. Rodríguez de Montes (1984) claims that a variety of indigenous tribes and languages existed in the northern colonies of Colombia and Venezuela. The Muiscas tribes inhabited the highland areas (see map 1) and spoke Muisca, the Arahuaca and Chibcha tribes inhabited the Andean regions (see map 2) and spoke Chibcha languages. Lipski (1995) states that Chibcha tribes extended as far as Panama and the south of Costa Rica. In addition, Lipski claims that Arahuaca, Taino and Siboney speaking tribes inhabited the Caribbean, yet, suggests that evidence of contact between these languages and Spanish is limited to lexical items. Rodríguez de Montes (1984) maintains that the Cumanagoto tribe inhabited the Atlantic Coast of Venezuela, and the Incas occupied the Andean regions in the south of the country, where Quechua was used. Triana and Antorveza (1987) claim that at its height, the Inca Empire extended from Peru and the north of Bolivia as far as the southern half of Colombia. Quechua, the language of the Incas, was found to be present in these areas and used almost exclusively by indigenous tribes in Peru and Ecuador.

Triana and Antorveza state that Náhuatl was used as a lingua franca by the inhabitants of different indigenous villages in Central America. Lipski (1995) claims that in Mexico, Nahua tribes, the Aztecs are the best known Nahua tribe, were found in central Mexico and extended along the Pacific coast to Costa Rica. The influence of the Mayan tribes was strongest on the Yucatán Peninsula and in Guatemala. Chile was inhabited by Mapuche and Araucano tribes. However, Lipski claims that the influence of the languages of these tribes on Spanish was never more than the acquisition of isolated lexical items. Panama was inhabited by Guarani speaking tribes. Lipski (1995, p 324) states that the situation of Guarani in Paraguay is unique as it is the only country in –Spanish-speaking South America where an indigenous language is still spoken as or more widely than Spanish.

By the time the Spanish colonisers arrived in the New World many of the Indigenous tribes had already reached varying levels of development. Within the Inca, Chibcha and Aztec societies the concept of private property and power of the State

already existed, and the Mayas had already perfected a hieroglyphic system of writing. The arrival of the colonisers in the New World provoked a violent shock within these indigenous societies which disrupted their traditions. As a result, Rico Ocampo (1989) maintains that the history of the Spanish colonisation became the history of a permanent struggle between the colonisers and the colonised over the social, political and linguistic elements of the New World.

At first, communication between the explorers and Native Americans was limited to mime and gestures. However, as interaction between the two groups increased members of each group began learning the language of the other. Indians who spoke various indigenous languages were employed as interpreters, guides and porters by the Spanish explorers to accompany their troops on expeditions. Triana and Antorveza (1987, p 107) maintain that these Indians were known by various names; those who worked mainly as interpreters between the Spanish and indigenous Indians were known as *faraute*s ´messenger´, *lengua* ´tongue´ *or lenguaraz* ´talkative´. The term used in to describe the interpreters in colonial documents was *lenguatario* ´chatterbox´ and the name used by the Spanish legislation for those who worked in the High Court on a permanent or temporary basis was *intérprete* ´interpreter´. Due to the great variety of indigenous languages different interpreters were needed depending on where the troops were going and the tribes with which they needed to communicate. As the Indian interpreters travelled with the explorers as part of the expedition many of them became bi- or multi-lingual, speaking Spanish, Quechua and other Indigenous languages. The fact that they worked as interpreters and guides meant that they had more contact with the Spanish explorers than other Indians. However, their linguistic abilities and interaction with immigrants was both an advantage and a disadvantage. On one hand, working with the Spanish explorers as part of an expedition held an element of prestige. However, on the other hand, Triana and Antorveza (1987) claim that indigenous tribes were often attacked and Indians were taken hostage to later bring the explorers to their village and then treated as slaves to serve the explorers. Lipski (2005) states the explorers often complained about the lack of linguistic skills of the interpreters, claiming that they were clumsy and 'Bozal'[3] with Spanish and that they communicated more with signs than speech. Eventually, the Spanish explorers realised the importance of learning the Indigenous languages themselves.

[3] "Bozal referred to the halting Spanish or Portuguese spoken by Africans (Lipski 2005, p5)."

Triana and Antorveza (1987) maintain that the promise of riches in the new colony was enough to provoke more than three thousand Spanish to travel on the first expedition in 1513. This three thousand was made up of people from all walks of life, from noblemen with administrative positions to commoners. In the early part of the sixteenth century, the expeditions mainly consisted of explorers, chronicle writers, missionaries and young males, and were led by officials such as ship captains and merchants. A small percentage (6.3%) of women and children also travelled to the new world. The women and children tended to settle in Mexico and Santo Domingo. Whereas, the sailors and merchants shuttled back and forth between Europe and South America or set up residence in one of the Caribbean ports or Mexico City, Panama or Lima. However, it was not long before every sector of society was found in the new colony. By the mid-sixteenth century, patterns of immigration to the new colony had changed, the number of women and children had increased (28.5%) and the number of explorers had decreased.

Boyd Bowman (1964, 1976) proposes that there was a predominance of immigrants from Andalusia in the first expeditions to South America in the early and mid sixteenth century. In addition, Boyd Bowman undertook extensive research into the evolution of NWS and provided statistics that helped to identify the profile of Spanish immigrants in the early years of colonisation. These statistics show that between 1493 and 1559, the number of settlers originating from Andalusia and its capital city, Seville, was in the majority. Most of the ship captains, merchants and sailors were Andalusian, and the few women and children that immigrated in the early years also tended to be Andalusians. Furthermore, between 1560 and 1579, approximately three of every four emigrants in the New World were from the south of Spain. Boyd-Bowman (1976) proposes that the majority of sailors working on the ships destined for the New World were Andalusians. Other regions of Spain such as *Castilla la Nueva* 'New Castile' and *Castilla la Vieja* 'Old Castile' and the Northern provinces (Basque country, Leon, Aragon, Navarra and Asturias) were also represented in the new colony. However, Boyd-Bowman maintains that the total number of immigrants arriving from all of these regions was almost equal to that of the number from Andalusia. Between 1493 and 1600 the total number of immigrants who travelled to the new colony was over 42,000. This number was made up of 20,229 Andalusians and 22,219 settlers from the New and Old Castile and Northern provinces. New Castile and Old Castile represented the next most prominent group after Andalusians, with 16,209 immigrants travelling to the New

World. Boyd-Bowman (1964, 1976) maintains that Andalusians had an advantage from the beginning as they had ease of access to the *Casa de Contratación* 'House of Commerce', the central trading house and procurement centre for the New World empire, and ports of embarkation due to their location, as well as ease of communication with ship captains, merchants and bankers who could accelerate their passage to the colony. As a result, the Andalusian majority was attributed, in part, to the fact that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the idea of travelling to the New World was taken more seriously by the Andalusians as they had already established a pattern of successful immigration to the colony.

When Boyd-Bowman's (1964, 1976) data were re-examined it showed that the total number of immigrants from New Castile, Old Castile, and other northern provinces (Basque country, Leon, Aragon, Navarra and Asturias) was equal to that of the number from Andalusia. Therefore, numbers of Andalusians and non-Andalusians were equally distributed in the colony. Nevertheless, these regional dialects of Peninsular Spanish were in contact in the ports and ships en route to Central and South America which may have resulted in dialect mixing before the settlers arrived in the New World. In addition, initially settlers originated from Andalusia were in the majority and therefore, formed a significant part of the founder population.

However, Hidalgo (2001) claims that official and administrative positions tended to be held by those from Old Castile. Throughout the sixteenth century the speech of Toledo, the capital of New Castile was considered the most prestigious by those in the Peninsula and the Viceroyalties in the new colony. The viceroyalties were seen as the overseas centres of normalisation of Spanish in the New World and therefore promoted the use of traditional and formal speech which was modelled on the Spanish used in the Metropolis. Alonso (1958: cited in Becerra 1985, p 25) states that: "*Al fundarse los virreinatos de Lima y México, estas ciudades actuaron como focos difusores de modelo imperial existente.*[4]" At the same time, the Andalusian ports of Seville and Cadiz had a monopoly on transport to the New World and by the middle of the sixteenth century Seville was considered to be one of the most important commercial ports of Spain. Becerra (1985) claims that this coupled with the fact that the majority of immigrants and sailors destined for the new colony were from Andalusia, resulted in the speech of Andalusia, Andaluz, becoming the popular speech in the

[4] Once the viceroyalties of Lima and Mexico had established themselves, these cities acted as centers for the spread of the existing imperial model [of language] (Alonso (1958: cited in Becerra 1985 p 25)'

coastal areas of the new colony. Furthermore, Escamilla Morales (1993) proposes that as the majority of the crew on many of the ships were Andalusian they influenced the speech of sailors from other areas. Montes Giraldo (1987) proposes that the Caribbean islands, particularly Santo Domingo, which were used as a point of arrival to the new colony and an area of adaptation for the immigrants, served as a melting point which resulted in a certain amount of dialect levelling.

The influence of this dialect contact can be seen in features of the phonology, grammar and lexis of NWS. For example, Cuervo (1901) made particular reference to specific features of NSW, which he claimed, derived primarily from Andaluz, *seseo*, (the levelled pronunciation of */z/* and */s/,) yeísmo* (the levelled pronunciation of /y/ and /j/) and the weakening of *d* in final and intervocalic positions. Furthermore, Catalán (1957a, 1957b) claims that both *ceceo* (the levelled pronunciation of /θ/ and /ð/ and *seseo* were present in the speech of Seville when the colonisation of Central and South America began, *seseo*, was the prestigious form of the upper classes and *ceceo* was the stigmatized variety used among the lower classes. In addition, *yeísmo*, the pronunciation of ll and y as the voiced palatal fricative /ʝ/, is another feature of Andaluz which was also present in the speech of the coastal areas of the colony by the seventeenth century.

Other linguistic changes also occurred in NWS as a result of language contact. For example, *voseo*, the use of the third person pronoun *vos* as an informal second person pronoun instead of *tú*, developed as an independent innovation which is not found in Peninsular Spanish. *Vos* was originally used in the Peninsula as a plural form and a singular form of respect. The use of *vos* as a plural form survived until the sixteenth century when *otros* 'others' was added and it became the second person plural pronoun (SPPP) *vosotros*. Uber (1985) states that during the sixteenth century the singular form of *vos* began to lose its respectful status and was replaced by *vuestra merced* 'your grace', which eventually became shortened to *usted. Vos* became interchangeable with *tú*. By the seventeenth century *vos* had become replaced by *tú* in most regions of the Iberian Peninsula. However, use of *vos* survived as a second person singular pronoun (SPSP) in many parts of South America. *Voseo* is commonly used in Argentina, and parts of Peru and Colombia.

Quesada Pacheco (2000) investigates three stages of NWS development outlined by Guitarte (1992) and maintains that the sixteenth century, the first stage of development, was when NWS was first regarded as being different to Peninsular

Spanish. Fontanella de Weinberg (1993) and Guitarte (1992) refer to comments made by Bishop Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, bishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá, about the speech of the inhabitants of Cartagena de Indias. Bishop Fernández de Piedrahita criticised the inhabitants of Cartagena as being undisciplined in maintaining the purity of the Spanish language and stated that the pronunciation used in Cartagena de Indias resembled that of the coasts of Andalusia. Quesada Pacheco (2000) claims that Bishop Fernández de Piedrahita's testimony was the first to distinguish the language of any region of Central and South America as being different to that of the prestigious variety of Toledo and also the first to mention similarities to Andaluz. Furthermore, this testimony is of vital importance as it shaped the fundamental ideas which formed the *teoría andalucista,* 'the Monogenetic theory 'for NWS.

Quesada Pacheco (2000) refers to two more testimonies cited by Meléndez (1974) and Fontanella de Weinberg (1993). Meléndez (1974) discusses the testimony of Antonio Blanco, a South American traveller. Blanco comments on the language spoken by the inhabitants of Guanacaste in Costa Rica and states that they spoke a variety of Spanish that was so distorted due to language contact with the Indigenous languages of Costa Rica that it was very difficult for him to carry out a conversation with them. Fontanella de Weinberg (1993) mentions comments made by Fernando Borrero, who travelled around the Rio de la Plata area in 1789. Borrero claims that nowhere else in Central and South America had he found customs which reminded him so much of the ports of Andalusia, he felt that the clothing and the language used in the Rio de la Plata area were almost identical to those used in Andalusian ports. In addition, Quesada Pacheco (2000) refers to comments made by the Colombian writer José Joaquín Borda in 1865 after spending some time in Costa Rica. Borda claims that similarities such as stress on imperatives, use of *voseo* and joining of diphthongs which should be pronounced separately existed between the Spanish used in Costa Rica and that used in his native Colombia.

"Allí como en estas tierras se acostumbra acentuar los imperativos, usar el vos en lugar de tú i convertir en diptongos, vocales que deben pronunciarse separadas y con distinto acento"[5](Borda 1865, p123).

[5] 'There, as in these lands, they are in the habit of emphasising imperatives, using *vos* instead of *tú* and converting vowels which should be pronounced with a separate and distinct accent into diphthongs. (Borda 1865, p123)'

Quesada Pacheco (2000) claims that Borda's comments are very important for the dialectal history of Central and South America because, even though the previous testimonies by Borrero and Blanco highlighted the fact that there were differences between NWS and Peninsular Spanish, Borda's testimony was the first to outline linguistic details and concrete features which describe these differences.

Chaudenson (2001) proposes that the Spanish Empire was more concerned with the spread of their language than other Europeans and linguistic unity was seen as a way of reducing diversity within the Empire. As a result, 'Hispanicization of the colonies' was a major objective of the Spanish Colonization. Furthermore, King Carlos III imposed an order which banned the use of all indigenous languages so that only Spanish was spoken. Another fundamental objective of Spanish colonization was the education and evangelization of the Indians and African slaves. Rico Ocampo (1989) claims that missionaries were sent to the Spanish colonies with the first colonisers to bring the Christian religion and the Spanish language to the inhabitants of the New World. As one of the main objectives of the missionaries was to ensure they learned *Castellano* 'Peninsular Spanish' very few of the missionaries learned the indigenous languages. Furthermore, the colonisers needed the indigenous Indians to learn *Castellano* 'Peninsular Spanish' in order to be able to implement their laws and administer their power. Rico Ocampo (1989) maintains that the language and religion of the colonisers was inflicted on the Indians by force and sometimes with the use of violence, with the intention of wiping out the language, religion and culture of the Native Americans. However, the Catholic King and Queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, refused to allow Indigenous Indians fall into slavery by assigning them to Lords who were responsible for their educational and religious guidance. Therefore, there was a large amount of integration between Spanish speakers and speakers of the indigenous languages in the new Spanish colonies.

Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1921, 1930, 1932) suggests that the cause of language diversity in the New World was language contact with indigenous languages and claimed that contact with different languages resulted in the development of different varieties of NWS. Evidence of such diversity can be seen in the lexicon. Quesada Pacheco (2000) refers to lexical differences between NWS and Peninsular Spanish highlighted in *Descripción de la provincia de los Quixos*, a manuscript written by el Conde de Lemos in 1608, which is said to be the first glossary of Americanisms. These lexical differences are examples *indigenismos* 'loanwords from Indigenous languages'

and show evidence of the influence of language contact on NWS. In addition, Conde *de Lemos* also claims that some words which originated in the Iberian Peninsula developed a different meaning in the New World in order to cope with features of a different natural environment, new topographical and biological settings. Friar Pedro Simón's (1637) book about the conquest of Central and South America outlines a list of indigenous loanwords and words from Peninsular Spanish which were used in NWS with a different meaning to that in the Peninsula (see example 5 and 6). Furthermore, Simón (1637) also highlights differences which existed within varieties of NWS due to the different Indigenous influences.

5. *Borrachera* –'drunkenness' (Peninsular Spanish)
   -'name of a tree' (NWS)
6. *Tigre / león* - 'Tiger / Lion' (Peninsular Spanish)
   - 'Puma and Jaguar '(NWS)

In addition, paraphrases were used to describe new or different species of animal (see example 7).

7. *Gallina de tierra* -
   'Hen of the land'
   Turkey (Manitlla Ruiz 1986; Quesada Pacheco 2000).

In his work on Colombian Spanish Flórez (1975, p 106) mentions features of Peninsular Spanish which survived in Colombian Spanish and became part of the everyday vocabulary and refers to these lexical items as *arcaismos* 'archaic terms'. For example, the verb *pararse* ´to stand up´ which is used in Colombian Spanish has been replaced by the expression *ponerse de pie* 'to stand up' in Peninsular Spanish. Evidence and examples of *arcaismos* 'archaic terms' is found Colombian Spanish will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three of this study.

Evidence of language contact with African languages and English is also evident by the acquisition of African loanwords and English loanwords into the lexis of NWS. For example, Flórez (1963) maintains that *sueter* ´sweater´ and *tiquete* 'ticket', *corte* 'tribunal', *asumir* '*suponer* (suppose) / *aceptar* (accept)', *resentir* '*dolerse* (to hurt oneself) / *experimentar* (to feel something or suffer from or because of something)

which are used in NWS were acquired from English. Del Castillo Mathieu (1992) claims that *cucayo* 'the rice that sticks to the inside of the pot after cooking' originated from *koko* 'crust' a term used in Bantu languages and *biche* 'unripe or young' and *guineo* 'banana' originated in the parts of the Congo.

The social and linguistic situation of the Spanish Colonies of Central and South Americas was complicated. The society of the new colonies were made up of Spanish colonisers and settlers, other European and American settlers, *Criollos*[6] with Spanish parents otherwise known as the second generation of colonisers, indigenous Indians and African slaves. In addition, from the early stages in the colonial period all provinces of the Iberian Peninsula and members of the lower, middle and upper class were represented in the new colonies. Rico Ocampo (1989) proposed that class was distinguished by language. The privileged classes, which consisted of Spanish, European and American settlers and *Criollos* spoke Spanish. While, the poorer, dominated classes, which were made up mainly of indigenous Indians and slaves, spoke various languages other than Spanish.

Throughout the sixteenth century there was a negative attitude towards NWS. Although, the Spanish empire was divided across two continents, initially there was no division in relation to the governing of language. Aldrete (1606, cited in Guitarte 1992) claims that the only significant difference noted was that the area governed by Toledo had now increased. Furthermore, the negative attitude towards NWS was not only held by those in the Peninsula, some Latin Americans also considered the peculiarities of their speech as undignified regionalisms. As the new colony lived under the rule of the Spanish empire, 'los americanos' naturally followed the linguistic norms and used the speech of Toledo or Madrid as the model to follow. Guitarte (1992) claims that the Spanish of America was considered the least prestigious variety of the language.

During the struggle for independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century relations between the Spanish administrators and the *Criollos* in the new colony were strained. Outside the viceroyalties' administrative centres in Mexico City, Santa Fé de Bogotá and Lima differences between NWS and Peninsular Spanish were observed. The retention of features such as *seseo* and *yeísmo* and *voseo,* which were stigmatized or seen as archaic in the Peninsula, by the post-colonial society once independence had been achieved, may have been a conscious effort to distance NWS from the speech of

[6] Criollo/a – *el americano descendiente de europeos* 'an American who is a descendent of Europeans' (*Americanísmos* 1982).

Toledo. In addition, preservation of features used in the colonial society also served to maintain the superiority of the second generation Spanish, *Criollos,* as the elite in the new post-colonial society.

Hidalgo (2001) maintains that research into NWS can be divided into two theories: i) the Monogenetic Theory (*teoría andalucista),* which states that NWS is a direct descendant of *Andaluz* and ii) the Polygenetic Theory, which states that NWS and *Andaluz* underwent independent processes of evolution and are not correlated. Boyd-Bowman's (1964, 1976) data proved to be a turning point in the research supporting a Monogenetic theory (*teoría andalucista*) for the development of NWS. The high proportion of Andalusians in the immigrant community and the observations of some features in NWS which were associated with *Andaluz* were used by Max Leopold Wagner, a German philologist, and Boyd-Bowman to propose a Monogenetic theory for NWS. Wagner (1920) was one of the first proponents of the Monogenetic theory in NWS. The main proponents of the Polygenetic theory, Rufino José Cuervo, Pedro Henríquez Ureña and Amado Alonso, agreed that any similarities found between NWS and southern Spain were mostly limited to the coastal areas of Colombia and Venezuela. Cuervo (1901) maintains that, despite some common features, NWS is not similar to any one specific peninsular dialect and claimed that features such as *voseo*, the use of the third person pronoun *vos* as an informal second person pronoun instead of *tú* are specific to NWS. In addition, Henríquez Ureña (1930) states that *seseo* and *yeísmo*, which, according to Max Leopold Wagner (1920), are markers of a connection between NWS and Andalusian Spanish, are not derived directly from southern Spanish dialects as they can be also found in the dialects of northern regions of Spain.

Amado Alonso (1953a, 1953b) also maintains that features of NWS such as *seseo* and *yeísmo* were not linked to Andaluz and echoes Cuervo's (1901) observations which state that NWS it is not similar to any one dialect in particular. Alonso (1953a, 1953b) attributes the presence of features such as *seseo* and *yeísmo* to dialect mixing and a levelling process, stating that speakers of different dialects will often eliminate traits of different regions in order to create linguistic homogeneity and therefore belong to a more encompassing group. Tuten (2003, p 29) refers to the levelling process and states that: "many of the alterations that take place are not strictly speaking necessary to fulfil communicative needs....Rather, speakers accommodate to the speech of their interlocutors in order to promote a sense of common identity". Hence, Alonso (1953) suggests that this type of accommodation of language occurred in the Spanish speaking

colonies, with Spanish immigrants giving up their provincial identities in order to embrace a new identity in the New World.

Nevertheless, as settlers from Andalusia made up the majority of the founder population in Central and South America it is possible that the features of *Andaluz* observed in NWS were initially brought to the colony by the founder population. Subsequent settlers in the colony may then have adjusted their language to that of the non-mobile majority. Furthermore, until the middle of the sixteenth century the majority of new settlers originated in Andalusia which contributed to the existing majority. As a result, even though by the last sixteenth century the number of Andalusians and non-Andalusians were equally distributed in the colony, these non-Andalusians may have adjusted features of their regional to accommodate to the dialect used by the Andalusian majority.

2.5 Conclusion

By briefly outlining the history and development of extra-territorial varieties in a number of locations and circumstances, this chapter illustrates that in most cases the evolution of extra-territorial language took place over a relatively short time span. The settlement of Spanish and Portuguese colonies began in the late fourteenth century. In the America and Canada settlement began a little later, in the sixteenth century. The settlement of America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa came later again in the late sixteenth early seventeenth century. The fact that the majority of extra-territorial languages are less than six hundred years old facilitates research into the development of these languages. In addition, as is demonstrated by Trudgill's (1999) investigation of extra-territorial languages can also offer insights into features of the language which was spoken in the metropolis before transplantation took place.

The first section of this chapter aimed to outline some outcomes; colonial lag, dialect mixing and language variation due to language contact, which are predicted for extra-territorial languages and discuss the origins of these outcomes as well as review the linguistic thoughts and theories which exist in relation to these predicted outcomes. The purpose of this discussion was to review the current thinking regarding these outcomes in order to apply it to this project. Additionally, this section also discusses the regions of the metropolis from which the majority of settlers in the colonies originated and therefore provides information about the origins of the founder population.

The second section of this chapter outlines Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle which was developed based on the development of Creoles. Mufwene suggests that there are similarities between the development of extra-territorial languages and creoles. However, Mufwene states that the main difference between creoles and extra-territorial languages is that creoles select one language as a lingua-franca and this language becomes the vernacular whereas in extra-territorial languages dialect contact often resulted in the development of new dialects which retained some features of the contributing dialects yet do not resemble any one dialect in particular. Mufwene claims that the dialect spoken by the found population is found to have the most influence on the extra-territorial language which emerges. Evidence of this is found in relation to many of the extra-territorial languages discussed in this chapter.

The third section of this chapter discusses a selection of extra-territorial languages which have developed from different European languages, under similar circumstances in different colonies, including NWS. These extra-territorial languages were analysed in relation to the history of settlement patterns, and evolution as an extra-territorial language. The purpose of this analysis was to highlight evidence of the predicted outcomes, discussed in section one, in these extra-territorial languages and focus on similarities between the processes of evolution in NWS and the other languages. By highlighting similarities in the processes of evolution this chapter aims to illustrate that development of extra-territorial languages is universal regardless of standard language, contact languages and location. Evidence of dialect contact and language contact can be observed in the lexicon of each of the languages analysed. Evidence of colonial lag was more difficult to pinpoint and was often limited to the lexicon. However, evidence of colonial lag was found in the morphology of first person pronouns in Acadian French, and in the address system of NWS, which has retained the use of *vos* as a SPSP.

This chapter concludes that the founder population in a colony has a lasting effect on the extra-territorial language which emerges in the colony. This founder population lays down the dialectal features to which later settlers accommodate their language usage. Mufwene (2001) suggests that the original founders of a colony have a greater influence on the linguistic outcomes than later settlers regardless of whether or not future settlers outnumber the original founders. In addition, many samples of language use which are taken as examples of colonial lag may in fact be dialectal features of the founder population dialect which have gained strength in the colonies

due to accommodation by new settlers. For example, in Australian and New Zealand Wall (1938) and Hammarström (1980) maintain that these varieties of English are direct descendants of Cockney, the urban dialect used in the East End of London. However, the fact that features of the Cockney dialect are found in New Zealand may be because many of the first settlers in Australia and New Zealand originated from London and the South-east of England. In addition, the dialect used in the south of the South Island of New Zealand shows evidence of the influence of the first Scottish settlers in aspects of its pronunciation. In Canadian English evidence of an American influence can be seen in the lexicon. This may be a combination of the influence of the founder population which was predominately American and the fact that the proximity to American provides regular contact between American and Canadian English. The first settlers in South Africa originated from various parts of Britain and spoken a variety of regional dialects. Lass (1990) proposes that South African English is a direct descendant of the dialect spoken in the South-east of England. Similarities between South African English and the dialect of South-east England may imply that this dialect was spoken by members of the founder population and also that features of this dialect were predominant.

Furthermore, the influence of the founder population may also be applied to attitudes and the social identity of the colonial and post colonial society. For instance, differences in language patterns were noticed among the different social classes. In New Zealand English, higher classes tended to accommodate more towards the standard and the language of the lower classed tended to diverge away from the standard and more towards non-standard language. This divergence may have been an effort by the lower classes to distance themselves from the colonisers. For example, New Zealand English was said to be a direct descendent of Cockney, a non-standard dialect of British English. Furthermore, evidence of the retention of features associated with 'elite' speech was also observed by Kloeke (1950) in Afrikaans. In Cape Town the speech of settlers from Rotterdam was considered elite and adopted by Netherlanders speaking other dialects, as well as Germans and French. In NWS features such as *seseo*, *yeísmo* and *voseo,* were retained in use by the Criollo population of the post-colonial society once independence had been achieved as a means of maintaining the hierarchical structure of the colonial society.

In colonial societies the colonisers and settlers arriving from the metropolis are regarded as the elites and the indigenous people and slaves are regarded as under-

privileged members of society. The retention of features of the language used by the elite, be it a *koiné* as the result of dialect mixing or a specific dialect, in a post-colonial situation may be an effort to maintain a hierarchal structure of society. This notion will be discussed further in relation to Colombian Spanish in chapter four.

CHAPTER 3 COLOMBIA SPANISH: A TRANSPLANTED LANGUAGE

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two of this study discusses three predicted outcomes for transplanted languages; colonial lag, dialect mixing and language contact and discusses how these predicted outcomes influence the development of extra-territorial languages. In addition, chapter two discusses the development of extra-territorial varieties of English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Hindi and Spanish and analyses how the three factors manifest themselves in these languages. The conclusion drawn in chapter two was that the development of an extra-territorial variety of language is dependent on three factors; i) the origins and dialects spoken by the founder population, the first settlers in a colony, ii) the regional dialects which were in contact and where contact occurred and iii) the other languages with which the language of the metropolis was in contact. The aim of this third chapter is to apply this model to the extra-territorial variety of Spanish which developed in Colombia, and analyse Colombian Spanish in relation to these three factors mentioned above.

Spanish was first introduced to Colombia by the explorers who arrived on the northern shores of Colombia in the late fifteenth century. As Colombia was home to some of the most popular Spanish-American ports many of the explorers and settlers, whose final destination may have been the South American territories to the south of Colombia, arrived to these posts and travelled through the country. However, Spanish explorers and immigrants also settled in various parts of Colombia. Settlers from countries other than Spain such as The Netherlands, Portugal and parts of Italy, which were part of the territories controlled by the Spanish crown in the late fifteenth century (see map 3 Spanish territories in Europe in 1600), also made their homes in Colombia. The Spanish settlers in Colombia originated from various regions in Spain and spoke a variety of regional dialects. The regional dialects spoken by the settlers came into contact in the Spanish ports and also on arrival in Colombia. This contact may have resulted in the development of a *koiné* which then influenced the extra-territorial language which developed in Colombia.

As the Spanish colonies developed settlement in different regions of Colombia influenced contact with the metropolis. For example, as the main Spanish-American

ports were situated on the Caribbean coast immigrants arrived to this region bringing with them linguistic innovations from the metropolis. The immigrants in the interior of the country would not have been in such constant contact with these linguistic innovations. In addition, the immigrants in Colombia came from many different walks of life and the status of immigrants arriving in Colombia also influenced their level of contact with the metropolis and as a result language development. Once *Nueva Granada* 'New Granada' had been decreed a Viceroyalty by the Spanish Empire in 1718 the majority of settlers in Santa Fé Bogotá, the administrative centre of New Granada, were from New and Old Castile. The speech of Toledo was considered to be the most prestigious form of Spanish. Therefore, these settlers were sent to the new colony to occupy official and administrative roles in the administrative centre in order to introduce and promote this variety of speech. As a result, these settlers were in regular contact with the linguistic innovations in the metropolis.

When the Spanish and other European settlers arrived in South America they met with indigenous tribes who already inhabited these territories. Ortiz (1965, p 395 quoted in Patiño Rosselli 1991, p 158) claims that when the first explorers arrived to Colombia in the late fifteenth century almost three hundred languages were spoken in the country. The vast majority of those languages were indigenous languages spoken by the tribes who inhabited Colombian territories. Contact between the Spanish explorers and settlers and the indigenous Indians resulted in contact between the languages spoken by each. One of the major objectives of the Spanish Colonisation was the spread of the Spanish language. Therefore, Spanish was often imposed on the indigenous Indians. Nevertheless, the indigenous languages with which Spanish was in contact influenced the variety of Spanish which emerged in Colombia and evidence of this contact can still be observed in the language used in Colombia today.

The first section of this chapter provides the reader with a brief description of the settlement history of Colombia and describes the inhabitants of Colombia during the early part of the colonial period (1509 – 1718). This section briefly outlines the initial exploration of Colombia and the development of relationships between the Spanish explorers and settlers and the indigenous tribes. There are three subsections within this section which describe the different types of people and languages found in Colombia during the Colonial period. The first subsection outlines the origins and numbers of Spanish settlers arriving to Colombia. The second subsection provides details of the indigenous tribes who inhabited Colombia at the beginning of and throughout the

Colonial period. The third subsection discusses the origins of African slaves who were brought to Colombia and gives details about where they worked and settled in the country. Each of these subsections also briefly discusses the influence each group had on Colombian Spanish and Colombian culture.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the evolution of Colombia as an independent republic. The purpose of this section is to provide an outline of the stages of the political development of Colombia, from the end of the colonial period, during the struggle for independence and the eventual establishment of a Colombian Republic. This section also discusses the changes which occurred in Colombian society during Colombia's evolution from a colony to an independent republic and the linguistic implications of these changes.

The third section of this chapter describes the founding of Santa Fé de Bogotá and the establishment of Bogotá as Colombia´s capital city in post colonial Colombia. The additional Santa Fé was dropped in 1819. This section also explains how the socio-economic levels in the city are determined and distributed. The data collection for this study took place in Bogotá. For this reason, this study is primarily an investigation of the use of terms of address in the speech of Bogotá. The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with an idea of the social situation in Bogotá as it is today.

The final section of this chapter discusses the evolution of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial language. This section discusses dialect variation in Colombia and focuses on the features which differentiate dialects as well as the factors which have influenced their development. In addition this section outlines the research of prominent Colombian linguists and details of the development of various dialects within Colombia. The influence of dialect and language contact on Colombian Spanish is discussed and linguistic features of Colombian Spanish which illustrate this influence are highlighted. Finally, this section describes the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish and provides details of their development.

The overall aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the development of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial language. Furthermore, this chapter aims to describe the historical, social, political and linguistic circumstances in which this extra-territorial variety of Spanish developed in order to provide a detailed profile of Colombian Spanish as an extra-territorial language.

3.2 History of Colombian Colonisation

Lipski (1994) proposes that the Spanish colonisation of Colombia began in 1509 when the first explorers, Alonso De Ojeda and his troop of soldiers, landed in La Guajira, a peninsula in the north of Colombia (see map 4 New Granada). De Ojeda and his troops, who originated from the Spanish regions of *Castilla la Nueva* 'New Castile' and *Castilla la Vieja* 'Old Castile' (see map 5 Regions of Spain in 1600), travelled along the northern Colombian coast to Cartagena bay in the department of Bolivar (see map 6 Departments of Colombia). Various attempts were made to form a colony on the Caribbean coast but all failed due to resistance by indigenous tribes and other adverse circumstances. Eventually, the first permanent colony was established in Santa Marta in the department of Magdalena (see map 6), on the Caribbean coast, in 1525. Cartagena de Indias was later founded in 1533. Soon, Cartagena de Indias, Santa Marta and Riohacha, a port in the department of La Guajira (see map 6), became some of the most important Spanish – American ports in South America. After its founding, Santa Marta developed into the busiest port on the northern coast. However, Lipski (1994) claims that squabbling amongst colonial officers shifted attention to Cartagena de Indias in 1561 when Spain adopted the fleet system in an effort to reduce losses due to piracy. Rippy (1932, p 70) describes the fleet system as the confinement of trade to convoyed merchant fleets sailing at stipulated dates from the Spanish port of Seville, and its subsidiary Cadiz, to the America ports of Havana, Cartagena de Indias, Veracruz and Porto Bello. As a result, Cartagena de Indias became an obligatory stop on all journeys to and from South America and this guaranteed its status as the most important Spanish-American port throughout the colonial period. As a result, Cartagena de Indias became a major point of access to South America for Spanish explorers as well as for immigrants from Spain and other parts of the territories controlled by the Spanish Crown (see map 3). Hernández Sanchez-Barba (1980, pp118 quoted in Triana and Antorveza 1987, p 9) claims that Colombia's geographical location on the north-west corner of South America provides access routes for immigration to the southern part of the continent:

"Colombia ofrece dos costas marítimas como posible zonas de contacto; grandes ríos interandinos – Magdalena, Cauca, San Juan, Atrato – la penetran profundamente, ofreciendo inmejorables rutas de acceso; la mayor parte de su territorios pertenece a la

gran hoya amazónica, en la cual los ríos y llanuras proporcionan excelentes caminos de inmigración.[7]"

In addition, Cartagena's status as the most important Spanish-American port facilitated the slave trade in the early seventeenth century and the transport of slaves into South America, as it was one of the few Spanish-American ports authorized to receive African slaves.

Once Cartagena de Indias and Santa Marta had been established as Spanish – American ports on the Caribbean coast, Spanish explorers began to arrive to Colombia via these ports as well as via the neighbouring territories of Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru. The explorers' expeditions tended to move in three directions; to the west, to the east, and to centre of the country along the river Magdalena. The expeditions travelling to the west took two different routes and ended in opposite points. Those starting in the port of Cartagena went via the Gulf of Urabá to the region which is now the department of Antioquia and others, who travelled up from Peru, entered Colombia via Ecuador and travelled up to the Gulf of Urabá over land (see map 7, map of Colombia & map 6). These two groups explored the west of the country, the regions that are now the departments of Nariño, Huila, Tolima, Cauca, The Chocó, Caldas and Antioquia (see map 6). The expeditions to the east travelled through the regions that are now Santander and North Santander between 1532 and 1536. From 1536 onwards expeditions along the river Magdalena, led by Jiménez de Quesada, discovered and populated the regions which are now the departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b) maintain that the capital city, Santa Fé de Bogotá, was founded in the Andean highlands between 1536 and 1539 by Jiménez de Quesada. In 1539 Pascual de Andagoya led an expedition from the delta of the river San Juan on the Pacific coast which travelled north almost as far as the Darien Gap. In 1540 de Andagoya led another expedition south along the Pacific coast. There they discovered a bay, which is now known as la Bahia de la Cruz, where the town of Buenaventura was then founded. De Andagoya and his troops then travelled inland from Buenaventura to Santiago de Cali, which had been founded in 1536 by Sebastián de Benalcázar. Triana and Antorveza (1987) claim that by 1540, all of the Viceroyalty of *Nueva Granada* 'New Granada',

[7] "Colombia offers two maritime coasts as possible zones of contact, large, inter-Andean rivers; Magdalena, Cauca, San Juan, Atrato, which penetrate the country deeply, offering unbeatable routes of access, most of its land belongs to the large Amazon basin, whose rivers and plains provide excellent routes of immigration" (Hernández Sanchez-Barba 1980, pp118 quoted in Triana and Antorveza 1987, p 9).

which took in the territories of what is now present day Colombia, Panama, Ecuador and Venezuela, had been explored.

Lipski (1994) states that in 1718 New Granada was converted to a Viceroyalty which in theory was as important as Peru and Lima, yet in reality was less important. The government of Santa Fé de Bogotá controlled the territories from the Costa Rican – Panamanian border to the North of, what is now, the department of Nariño in the South and from the Pacific Ocean to mouth of the Orinoco delta in Venezuela. This elevation of New Granada to a Viceroyalty brought with it a university and other cultural and religious centres, which resulted in the arrival of clerics, teachers and administrators. From a linguistic point of view this elevation of status facilitated for Bogotá continued contact with the speech of the Castilian elite, yet the distance from principal ports on the coast meant that the speech of the Colombian highlands was isolated from that developing amongst the *atlántico-caribeños* 'the inhabitants of the department of Atlántico on the Caribbean coast.' This may be one of the reasons for the variation which exist between the dialects spoken in these two regions. The dialectal breakdown of Colombian Spanish is discussed in detail in section 3.5.

3.2.1 History of Spanish Immigration

The Spanish colonisation of Central and South America was driven by a highly nationalistic character and purity of blood was one of the initial objectives. Triana and Antorveza (1987, p76) claim that purity of blood implied 'someone of Christian descent without any trace of Jew or Moor'. Juan Rodríguez Freile (1926, cited in Triana and Antorveza 1987, p 77) commented in *El Carnero* that the *Casa de Contratación* 'House of Commerce' in Seville ordered that only those who were Spanish and Christian be allowed to travel to the New World. In addition, this order also stipulated that male immigrants had to be accompanied by their wives. The fact that immigrants were encouraged to travel to the New World as a family unit implies that the Spanish Empire had an awareness of the impression made by the founder population on the emergent language and culture of the colonies. By ensuring that male immigrants travelled with their wives the Spanish Empire decreased the risk of interracial mixing between Spanish men and indigenous women. Such a lack of interracial mixing would then increase the chances of maintaining purity of Spanish blood within the colonies. However, this order was not always followed and many immigrants who did not fit this description travelled through the ports of Cartagena and Santa Marta in the North of Colombia. Triana and

Antorveza (1987) claim that in 1535 a royal decree obliged all explorers, setting forth from Spain, to only include soldiers from Castile in their expeditions. This decree stated that only the subjects of Castile were permitted to travel to the new colony and trade with these territories. Those from regions of Spain other than Castile were considered foreigners. This effort by the Spanish Empire to encourage the introduction and maintenance of the prestigious speech of Toledo in the colonies once again implies an awareness of the impact the founder population has on language transplantation.

Initially, the explorers who arrived in the Spanish colonies, such as de Ojeda and his troops, originated from the Castile regions of Spain. However, as Cartagena had become one of the most important ports in Central and South America the population soon became very cosmopolitan. Gerbi (1978, p 391) refers to the presence in Colombia of immigrants from areas outside Spain such as, Portugal, Flanders, Sicily and Milan, which was documented by Fernández de Oviedo. Despite the fact that each of these countries had spent time under the political control of Spain (see map 3) their presence on the Spanish ships and in areas of the Colombian coast populated by the Spanish was seen as a dangerous intrusion. In fact, they were looked down on because of where they came from and were seen as a threat to the virtuous Spanish noblemen and people of honour. As a result, those who could not speak Spanish well pretended to be subjects of one of the many countries governed by Emperor Carlos I of Spain and V of Germany: "los que son portugueses, llámanse Gallegos, e los franceses llámanse flamencos, e los suizos alemanes, e los italianos dícense sicilianos o napolitanos[8]". King Carlos V tried to ensure that all the subjects of his Empire, Castilians or otherwise, had equal rights regards trading with the New World. However, local pressure made this difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, in 1596 inhabitants of other regions of Spain, such as Navarros, Aragons, Catalans, Valencians and Mallorcans, finally succeeded in being seen as equal to those from Castile.

Boyd-Bowman´s (1976) findings in relation to immigrant numbers in South America were discussed in chapter two. These findings claim that between the years 1493 and 1600 over 42,000 immigrants travelled to South America. Boyd-Bowman suggests that the majority of immigrants (20,229) came from Andalusia, with New and Old Castile representing the next most prominent group of immigrants (16,209) and that

[8] 'Those who are Portuguese call themselves Galician, and those who are French call themselves Flemings, and the Swiss Germans and Italians call themselves Sicilians and Neapolitans (Gerbi 1978. p 391).'

the remainder (6,010) came from the Northern provinces of Spain. As Cartagena was an obligatory stop on all journeys to South America many of these immigrants entered South America via Colombia. The distribution of immigrants across the different regions of Colombia varied. For instance, Boyd-Bowman (1976) maintains that the majority of sailors working on the ships destined for the Spanish colonies were Andalusian. As was mentioned earlier, in the initial stages of colonisation many of sailors and merchants travelled back and forth between the Peninsula and the colonies or set up residence in one of the Caribbean ports, Mexico City, Panama or Lima. Therefore, many of these Andalusian sailors settled in the Caribbean ports of Cartagena, Santa Marta or Riohacha and may not have travelled further south than the Caribbean coast of Colombia. Lipski (1994) states that as the inhabitants of Cartagena were in constant contact with linguistic innovations from the South of Spain and the Caribbean, there were great similarities between the dialects spoken in these regions. In addition, this indicates that the founder population of the coastal regions of Colombia was predominantly made up of Andalusians. Evidence of dialect contact and the Andalusian influence can be found in the variety of Spanish spoken on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Colombia. This evidence will be illustrated later in section 3.5 of this chapter.

The Andalusian and Castilian majority noted by Boyd-Bowman was represented in the early population of Santa Fé de Bogotá. Rivas (1923 cited in Montes Giraldo *et al* 1998b, p10) claims, that when Santa Fé de Bogotá was founded between 1536 and 1539 the population of thirty-three was made up of sixteen Andalusians, ten Castilians, three Leoneses, and four Portuguese immigrants. As mentioned in section 2.4.9 of the previous chapter, Chaudenson (2001) claims that one of the main objectives of the Spanish Colonisation was the spread of the Spanish language, the 'Hispanicization of the colonies'. As a result, the administrative centres (Mexico City, Lima, Bogotá and Buenos Aires) in the viceroyalties were seen as extensions of Toledo in the new colonies and as such responsible for the promotion of the speech of Toledo. In an effort to achieve this all official and administrative positions in the colonies tended to be held by Castilians, those from New and Old Castile. Therefore, when New Granada became a viceroyalty in 1718 and Santa Fé de Bogotá was chosen as the administrative centre, the proportion of Castilians found in the city increased. The close contact between Santa Fé de Bogotá and Toledo meant that the speech of Santa Fé de Bogotá tended to be more similar to that of the Peninsula than the speech used in other parts of the country where there was less contact with the speech of the Metropolis. Furthermore, as the

immigrants from New and Old Castile formed a large percentage of the initial settler population of Santa Fé de Bogotá, evidence of influence from these settlers can be found in the speech of Bogotá. This evidence will be illustrated in section 3.5 of this chapter.

3.2.2 Profile of indigenous tribes

When colonisers first arrived in Colombia the fact that none of them spoke any indigenous languages made life very difficult. In many cases it resulted in troops getting lost on expeditions, suffering from hunger, and enduring fierce struggles with the indigenous tribes. In addition, there was permanent resistance by the indigenous Indians against the introduction of *Castellano*[9] 'Peninsular Spanish'. As stated in section 3.1, Ortiz (1965, p 395 quoted in Patiño Rosselli 1991, p 158) maintains that when colonisation began close to three hundred languages and dialects were spoken in Colombia. As mentioned in subsections 2.2.3 and 2.4.9 of the previous chapter, Rodríguez de Montes (1984) proposes that the highland plains of the department of Cundinamarca, Colombia (see Map 6) were inhabited by the Muisca tribe (see map 1), that Chibcha (see map 2), Inca and Arahuaca tribes inhabited the Andean regions and that the Atlantic Coast of Venezuela, which formed part of New Granada until 1830, was inhabited by the Cumanagoto tribe. Triana and Antorveza (1987) suggest that the languages of the Chibcha, Muisca and Inca tribes, Chibcha, Muisca and Quechua, were the languages spoken by the parish priests in Colombia. Yet, Chibcha and Quechua were the languages officiallyrecognised by the Spanish Empire.

As mentioned in subsection 2.4.9 of the previous chapter, initial communication between the Spanish explorers and indigenous tribes was aided by Indian interpreters. These interpreters helped the explorers to integrate and communicate with the indigenous tribes. In Colombia some interpreters became quite famous. For example, many historians wrote about la India Catalina, interpreter for Pedro de Heredia, and commented on her linguistic ability. Castellanos (1955, p 26 quoted in Triana and Antorveza 1987, p115) wrote that she was: "*En lengua castellana muy ladina y que las desta gente entendía.*"[10] Another famous interpreter was Pericón, an interpreter for the expedition of Jiménez de Quesada. Much of the success of this expedition was

[9] In South American the Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula is known as *Castellano* 'Castilian' and the Spanish spoken in South America is known as *Español* 'Spanish'.

[10] 'very clever with the Castilian language and the people understood her (Castellanos 1963, p 26 quoted in Triana and Antorveza 1987, p115)'

attributed to Pericón as, according to the chronicles of Fernández de Piedrahita (1973), Pericón and the other interpreters and guides on the expedition, who originated from the North of Colombia, learned both Spanish and the language spoken by the Bogotáe tribes of the highland plains quickly. Therefore, Pericón and other interpreters and guides integrated easily with the Bogotáes which enabled Jiménez de Quesada and his explorers to communicate with these Indians.

In the early stages of the colonial society the indigenous Indians tended to live apart from the European settlers. However, as the settlers began to form communities integration between the two communities began to increase slowly. Vargas Lesmes (1982) proposes that the Indians most probably had some economic dealings with the European settlers and as a result, many may have become integrated into the community through these dealings. Furthermore, Lipski (1994, pp 67) claims that for much of the colonial period, men outnumbered women among the European settlers. This resulted in ethnically mixed unions between the European men and indigenous women. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b) suggest that this integration resulted in the development of a *Mestizo* 'mixed European and Native American ancestry' population. In these unions the indigenous women became the primary care giver and linguistic role model for Mestizo children. In addition, Lipski (1994) states that indigenous women were hired as domestic servants and nursemaids for the children of Spanish families. This type of contact resulted in the indigenous languages affecting a large community without social upheaval or demographic predominance.

In the case of Santa Fé de Bogotá, the administrative capital of New Granada, the central plain where the capital was founded in 1539 was inhabited by the Muisca Indians. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b) propose that the Muiscas, although perhaps relatively segregated from the European inhabitants, were mentioned by many historians as forming part of the population of the newly formed city. This integration of the Muisca Indians into the new society also resulted in an integration of culture and language. Montes Giraldo (2000) states that indigenous influences can be found in the phonetic, semantic and morphologic make up of Colombian Spanish. The influence of Muisca and Chibcha languages can be observed in the lexis of dialects spoken in the highland regions. In addition, the influence of Quechua can be found in the lexis and patterns of sentence structure of dialects used in the Western Andean regions of Valle de Cauca, Tolima and in the southern regions of Nariño and Cauca. Examples of this evidence will be illustrated in section 3.5 of this chapter.

3.2.3 *History of the African slave trading in Colombia*

Cartagena de Indias as well as being one of the most important Spanish-American ports and a mandatory stop on all journeys to and from South America, was also one of the few South American ports authorised to receive African slaves. As a result, thousands of slaves arrived to Cartagena de Indias and along the Caribbean coast in the ports of Santa Marta and Riohacha. Lipski (1994) claims that a large concentration of Africans grew along the Caribbean coast of Colombia and at one time Africans made up as much as 75% of the population of Cartagena. Escalante (1964) maintains that the majority of slaves arriving in the port of Cartagena were from Angola. However, the slave population also consisted of slaves from other parts of West and Central Africa. In the seventeenth century the slave trade in South America was controlled by the Portuguese. Due to the *Asiento* system of slaving, a system where the Spanish government gave permission to other countries to sell slaves to the Spanish colonies, monopolies of slaves from different areas were predominant at different times. In the late sixteenth century slaves from Senegambia, the Windward Coast and the Gold coast were represented greatly. However, by the early seventeenth century, slaves from Dahomey and Nigeria were also present. In addition, by the mid to late seventeenth century, slaves from the Congo-Angola region began to arrive in Colombia.

In general, the slaves in Colombia worked in agriculture or in the mines, which were located on the coast and in the interior regions of Cauca and The Chocó. Initially, the slaves were put to work in the mines and placer gold deposits in the highlands in the city of Popayán, in the department of Cauca, in the department of The Chocó and around Bogotá, in the department of Cundinamarca. Popayán had the richest placer gold deposits and therefore received the largest amount of slaves of all the interior regions. Slaves were also sent to the mines in Bucaramanga in Santander and Barbacoas in Nariño. Many of the slaves in these areas were from the Congo-Angola area.

By the eighteenth century, slaves were also arriving to Colombia via Guayaquil, Ecuador. Some of these slaves had arrived to Ecuador from Africa, yet, others were American-born in Ecuador. In the eighteenth century, many of the slaves were brought to the mining areas and there was an increase in the number of slaves working in mines around Cali, in the department of Valle del Cauca and The Chocó. As a result, the number of slaves in the department of The Chocó increased greatly. At the same time, slave numbers on the coast dropped. Nevertheless, even though the percentage of slaves on the coast eventually dropped to below 50% the African influence on the northern

coast, both linguistically and culturally, remained strong. Furthermore, there is still a strong African influence found in this region of Colombia. Lipski (1994) claims that evidence of contact with African languages and culture is still prevalent in the dialect, traditions and eating habits of the *costeños* ´people from the coast´ on Colombian´s northern coast. For example, plantain forms a large part of the coastal diet and is served with almost every meal. This habit may be a result of the Congolese influence on the coast. Obenga (1985, p28 cited in Del Castillo Mathieu 1992, p 70) states that in the Congo fish and poultry were traditionally eaten with "bananes grilles et cueillies avant leur maturité" 'grilled unripe bananas.' Further evidence of the influence of African languages on Colombian Spanish will be illustrated in 3.5 of this chapter.

The development of Spanish-based is not common. However, a Spanish-based creole developed in the north of Colombia in an area called San Basilio de Palenque. San Basilio de Palenque is a town located in the northern highlands of Colombia where the African customs and traditions originally brought by the slaves in the sixteenth century are still preserved. San Basilio de Palenque originated as a *palenque* 'a settlement by free slaves who had escaped from their owners.' These *palenques* began to develop in the mountains in the early seventeenth century and provided a safe refuge for *cimarrones* 'slaves who had escaped from their owners.' In addition, these *palenques* became communities as the number of African slaves grew.

As many of the slaves originated from different parts of Africa and spoke different languages communication among African slaves and between Africans and Europeans was initially difficult. As a result, of the difficulties communicating with Europeans a type of Creole, *Palenquero* developed. This *Palenquero* was based on a Spanish lexicon with morpho-syntactical characteristics of the Bantu languages; Kikongo, and the Kimbundu. Romero (2007) states that evidence of words derived from Kikongo is still found in *Palenquero* such as *ngombe* 'cattle' and *ngubá* 'peanut. The fact that a Creole developed in the Northern highlands of Colombia but nowhere else in the country may be due to the fact that in the seventeenth century African slaves were in the majority along the northern coast of Colombia. Furthermore, as the *palenques* provided a safe haven for free slaves these communities consisted of an African majority.

3.3 Evolution of Colombia as an Independent Republic

Initially, trade routes opened up between the metropolis and the New World. After some disputes regarding taxation, *comerico libre* 'a free trade agreement' was set up in 1778. However, Lynch (1987) claims that the free trade agreement prevented the colonies from trading with international markets and provided the metropolis with a monopoly. As a result, relations between the Peninsula and the new colony became strained. Arcila Farías (1946, quoted in Lynch 1987, p 19) maintains that *Criollo* ´second generation Spanish´ landowners accused Spanish merchants of being oppressors and claimed that the free trade agreement only existed "for the benefit of the metropolis". Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse (1978, p 113 quoted in Lynch 1987, p 15) states that the secretary of the Consulate of the city of Veracruz in Mexico, wrote that "among the motives, real or imaginary, invoked by the rebels for lighting the fires of insurrection, one has been the grievances against the scarcity and costliness of goods, national and foreign, supplied by the merchants of the peninsula". Lynch (1987, p 26) claims that: "the evidence of antipathy between *Criollos* and *Peninsulares* ['Spanish immigrants'] is too specific to deny and too widespread to ignore. Their rivalry was part of the social tension of the time." Furthermore, Lynch (1987) claims, that the Spanish bureaucracy and Americans were both aware of the division. Phelan (1978, p 174, quoted in Lynch 1987, p 26) maintains that as a result, in 1781, the *comuneros* ´rebels´ of New Granada demanded offices for "creoles born in this kingdom" and insisted that "nationals of this America should be preferred and privileged over Europeans". The war with Britain eventually put an end to the Spanish trade monopoly between 1797 -1801. The French invasion of Spain in 1808 resulted in a rising of the Spanish people and in 1809 a decree was issued by the Spanish Empire in an effort to unite the opposition to France. Lynch (1987, p 48) claims that the decree stated that "the dominions in America were not colonies but an integral part of the Spanish monarchy". However, relations between Spain and the colony remained strained. In 1809 a group of *Criollos´* in Caracas removed the captain-general and set up a junta which vowed loyalty to King Ferdinand VII. Nevertheless, not long after the junta deported the captain-general and all Spanish officials, and disowned Spanish rule.

Rippy (1932) claims that in March 1811 a general congress was installed and in July the 'United Provinces of Venezuela' was established. The events in Spain and Venezuela affected the viceroyalty of New Granada, where relations between Spanish

immigrants and *Criollos* were already strained. However, despite the fame of an 'Act of Federation of the United Provinces of New Granada', the government set up to administer the act was disorganised and spent more time quarrelling among themselves than discussing the act. The Venezuelan military leader Simón Bolívar succeeded in conquering Cundinamarca in 1814 and the seat of government was moved from Tunja to Bogotá. However, while Bolívar was in Cartagena, a Spanish General, Pablo Morillo, arrived in Venezuela with a troop of 10,000 Spanish soldiers. Bolívar, realising that the situation was hopeless abandoned the 'Patria Boba' 'Foolish Fatherland' for Jamaica.

Riddy (1932) states that by 1816 Morillo had conquered the northern territories of the colony. Morillo's conquest of the northern territories brought with it executions, banishments and confiscations which did little to make the Spanish cause attractive to the *Criollo* upper classes. Furthermore, increased taxation, arbitrary recruitment and labour levies caused resentment from other levels of society. Bolívar returned to South America in 1816 and launched an expedition against the coast of eastern Venezuela. Between 1816 and 1819, Bolívar and his patriots fought for the independence of New Granada. Finally, after the Battle of Boyacá in 1819, Bolívar formed the Republic of Great Colombia which united Venezuela and the territories of the viceroyalty of New Granada in one single state. Great Colombia was proclaimed by the Congress of Angostura on 17th December 1819. It was divided into three departments: Venezuela, Quito (Modern Ecuador) and Cundinamarca (Modern Colombia).

However, problems arose in Great Colombia and Bolívar began to hear complaints. Some complaints came from friars and slave-owners, who were adversely affected by the measures of the constituent congress and others from wealthy citizens who condemned the efforts to introduce taxation. Furthermore, there were complaints from the territories of Ecuador and Venezuela, about the fact that final authority lay in Bogotá. The situation deteriorated substantially, and in 1826, Venezuela, under President José Antonio Páez, was in open rebellion. This in turn stimulated defiance of Santander's administration in Ecuador. Bushnell (1998, p 145) claims that Bolívar returned to Great Colombia from Bolivia in order to work on this deterioration of internal politics. However, this proved to be the "beginning of the end for Great Colombia itself." The Colombian union finally fell apart in 1830, Venezuela first assumed its independence and then Quito followed. Rippy (1932) proposes that with the dissolution of Bolívar's Great Colombia, the Republic of New Granada, which is now the present day Republic of Colombia, was brought into existence.

Rico Ocampo (1989) claims that the emancipation of South America was on the whole a political revolution. It replaced the dominance and the tyranny of the Spanish over their descendents with the unimpeded dominance of the *Criollo* aristocrats. The *Criollo* elite struggled against numerous obstacles to create an independent, free, modern nation. Thurner and Guerrero (2003, p225) claim that rather than forming part of this new modern nation, the lower classes were regarded as one of the obstacles the patriots had to overcome. However, the lower classes neither participated in the revolution nor were affected by political changes and the situation of the indigenous was not even taken into account. The primitive status of the lower classes and indigenous prevented them from understanding the trappings of revolutionary politics, which were the exclusive domain of "the enlightened elites enamoured of foreign ideas". In addition, the only political strength of the lower classes was to strengthen the conservative and royalist inclinations of the *Criollo* elite in places where they feared Indian or slave insurrection. Therefore, Thurner and Guerrero (2003, p224) propose that the wars of independence had secured independence from the Spanish Empire, yet, the social situation in South America had not improved for the lower classes it was the "same mule, new rider". From a linguistic point of view, the only changes which occurred were that Spanish became the official language and the ruling classes forgot about the language and culture of the Indigenous Indians.

3.4 Santa Fé de Bogotá, administrative centre to Bogotá, Capital city

Bogotá is situated in the department of Cundinamarca, in the west of the central Andean highlands and stands at 2,650 m above sea level making it the third highest city in the world. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b) claim that Santa Fé de Bogotá was founded on the site of a Muiscan village called *La Bacata* between 1536 and 1539 by Jiménez de Quesada. The name *Bogotá* was derived from *Bacata* '*territorio del cercado de la frontera*' 'land which fences of the border'. *La Bacata* was a recreational area for the chief of the Muisca and was situated in the middle of the central plain at the foot of the mountains. Montes Giraldo *et al* maintain that the site of this *La Bacata* was what is today the city's historical centre, where Second Avenue crosses thirteenth and fourteenth streets. In addition, some historians refer to this location where Santa Fé Bogotá was founded as Teusaquillo, a name which is not indigenous and Montes Giraldo *et al* maintain that the Spanish may have changed the Muisca name *Teusacá* to

Teusaquillo by adding the Spanish diminutive *illo* 'little'. However, Teusacá is an area of Bogotá which is situated on the outskirts of the city. So there is some confusion about where the city was originally founded.

As stated in section 3.2.1, at the time of its founding the population of Santa Fé de Bogotá was made up of sixteen Andalusians, ten Castilians, four Portuguese and three Leones. Martínez (1976) proposes that in 1789 the last population figure for Santa Fé de Bogotá in the colonial period was recorded by Francisco de Silvestre. The population was 18,161 and was made up of 8, 122 Americans and Europeans, 721 Indians, 762 slaves. However, 8,517 of the population are not accounted for in these figures. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b) suggest that this may indicate that these 8,517 inhabitants were *Mestizo* 'a mixture between Europeans or Americans and Indians'.

In 1814 Santa Fé de Bogotá was established as the seat of government by Simón Bolívar. In 1819 Venezuela and the Viceroyalty of New Granada were united in one single state, the Republic of Great Colombia. The Republic was divided into three departments: Venezuela, Quito (Modern Ecuador) and Cundinamarca (Modern Colombia), and the capitals of the departments were Caracas, Quito and Bogotá, which from that point forward dropped the addition Santa Fé. After the establishment of the Republic of Colombia the growth of the population was initially slow. However, by 1918 the city's population was 143,918 and was made up of Spanish, American and European immigrants as well as indigenous Indians. In the subsequent years the population began to increase rapidly. Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998b, p11) claim that in the 1928 census the population was 234,421, in 1938 it was 330,312 and by 1964 it had increased to 1,697,311. This massive increase in population between 1938 and 1964 was largely due to the civil unrest which had existed in Colombia since the beginning of the 1940s. Montes Giraldo *et al* state that: "*gran cantidad de refugiados emigraron a la capital y a otras áreas urbanas para escapar de la matanza y mucha gente evitó abandonar las ciudades.*[11]" In the 2005 census figures published by DANE (El Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística 'The National Administrative Department of Statistics'), the population of Bogotá was recorded as 6,778,691 and the projected figures for 2010 were 7,363,782. In 2005, 61.4% of the city's population were natives of Bogotá and 38.6% were born in outlying towns and villages or other regions of the country and had come to the city in search of work or due to problems caused by

[11] 'A large quantity of refugees emigrated to the capital and other urban areas to escape the killings and many people avoided fleeing the cities (Montes Giraldo *et al* 1998b).'

the violence and civil war going on in the country. 93.9% of the non-native inhabitants had lived in the city for a minimum of five years. A small percentage of the population was made up of indigenous people (2.2%) and people of African origins (1.5%). 52% of the population were women and 48% were men (DANE census 2005).

The city of Bogotá is laid out over 177,598 hectares and is divided into six socio-economic strata: Strata 1 (low-low), Strata 2 (low), Strata 3 (low-mid), Strata 4 (mid), Strata 5 (low-high) and Strata 6 (high). The stratification of Bogotá is used to determine which sectors of the population can contribute more towards public services and those which are more vulnerable and in need of subsidies in the form of a discount on public services bills. Table 1 illustrates the discount on public services charges which is provided to stratas 1 to 3. The purpose of this discount is to benefit those in low socio-economic groups. The lower the socio-economic level the greater the discount. Table 1 shows that in those in strata 1 are only responsible for 50% of the cost of the public services they consume. The other 50% is subsidised by the state. Likewise, those in strata 2 are only responsible for 60% of the charges, as 40% of the charges are subsidised and those in strata 3 are responsible for 85% of charges, as 15% is subsidised by the state (see table 1). For all public services customers in stratas 1 to 3 are billed for the percentage of consumption they are responsible for paying. No discount or subsidies are provided to those in stratas 4 to 6.

Table 1 Discounts per strata

Strata 1	Up to 50% of consumption
Strata 2	Up to 40% of consumption
Strata 3	Up to 15% of consumption

The distribution and allocation of strata across the city of Bogotá is based on household earnings. The earnings in each household are calculated in relation to the legal minimum monthly salary (LMMS). Households which earn less than the LMMS are considered to be strata 1. Households which earn the LMMS or twice that are considered to be strata 2. Households which earn between three and five times the LMMS are considered to be strata 3. Households which earn between five and eight times the LMMS are considered to be strata 4. Households which earn between eight and sixteen times the LMMS are considered to be strata 5. Finally, households which

earn more than sixteen times the LMMS are considered to be strata 6. Table 2 illustrates the earnings for each strata (1-6) (see table 2).

Table 2 Strata

Strata	Income percápita
1 (low – lower)	Less than 1 LMMS
2 (lower)	Between 1 and 3 LMMSs
3 (lower – middle)	Between 3 and 5 LMMSs
4 (middle)	Between 5 and 8 LMMSs
5 (middle – high)	Between 8 and 16 LMMSs
6 (high)	More than 16 LMMSs

(http://contenido.metrocuadrado.com/contenidom2/ciudyprec_m2/inforbog_m2/informacingeneralbogot/ARTICULO-WEB-PL_DET_NOT_REDI_M2-2026901.html)

Based on the average earnings of the total number of households each block in the city is allocated a strata level between 1and 6. Map 8 (the stratification of Bogotá) shows the layout of strata across the city. Bogotá consists of 41,474 blocks:
Strata 1 has been assigned to 5,782 blocks these are marked in red in map 8
Strata 2 has been assigned to 14, 243 blocks, these are marked in yellow on map 8
Strata 3 has been assigned to 11, 371 blocks, these are marked in blue on map 8
Strata 4 has been assigned to 2, 262 blocks, these are marked in green on map 8
Strata 5 has been assigned to 971 blocks, these are marked in orange on map 8
Strata 6 has been assigned to 783 blocks, these are marked in dark green on map 8
Stratification is only applied to buildings which are used for residential purposes. Therefore, stratas are not assigned to factories, warehouses, office blocks, car parks, workshops and clubs are not allocated. The areas on the map which are marked in white are those areas to which a strata has not been assigned.

From map 8 it is clear that the majority of strata 6 blocks are found in the north of the city and the majority of the strata 1 blocks are found in the south and the outskirts of the city. Moreover, the infrastructure of the various parts of the city is quite distinct. The north of the city is very affluent and the infrastructure reflects this affluence. The streets and buildings are new, clean and well maintained. Many designer shops and exclusive bars and restaurants can be found in the north of the city. In addition, parts of the north of the city have an almost 'European' feel to them and this has increased in

recent years with the opening of many European and American chain stores and restaurants in the affluent *Zona Rosa* 'Pink Zone' in the north of the city.

As one moves closer to the centre and south of the city there is a noticeable change in the infrastructure. Buildings and roads appear to be older and less well maintained. Many improvements have been made to the city in recent years. The introduction of the *Transmilenio* 'a rapid bus transit system' in 2001 improved the city´s transport system substantially. In addition, the city centre has been redeveloped and there has been a noticeable decrease in petty crime and delinquency. The south and the outer-lying parts of the city are the poorest. Many of the inhabitants of these parts of the city are immigrants from other parts of the country who were forced to flee their homes due to Colombia´s civil unrest. In some areas slums have developed due to the large number of *desplazados* ´displaced people´ arriving to the city.

3.5 Colombian Spanish: an Extra-Territorial Language

Montes Giraldo (2000, p 42) claims that from an ethnographical and sociological point of view the Spanish speaking community of Colombia can be divided into eight distinct groups; Costeño, Caucano, Antioqueño, Santandereano, Cundi-boyacense, Llanero, Tolimense and Nariñense. This is the division adopted by the *Atlas de Colombia* ´Atlas of Colombia´ published by el Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (Bogotá 1977). However, in the *Atlas liguistico-etnografico de Colombia* (ALEC) ´Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Colombia´ Luis Flórez (1981-1983) proposes that from a linguistic point of view and specifically in relation to dialectology, Nariñense and Caucano can be combined to form one group, Nariñense-Caucano, therefore reducing the number of groups to seven (see map 9 Dialectal groups of Colombia).

In Colombia great differences are found between the people and communities on the coast and in the interior highlands. Many of these differences stem from differences in the ethnic origin of the early population in each location. For instance, as was discussed in section 3.2.3, the majority of African slaves in Colombia were found on the coast and in the mining areas of the department of The Chocó. As a result, a strong African influence can still be found in these areas. This influence can be heard in the language and can be seen in the physical appearance of the people as well as the traditions and customs practised. The people in the department of The Chocó and on the

coast tend to have darker skin than those in the highlands and many have physical features which are African in origin, such as height, build, facial features. In addition, Del Castillo Mathieu (1992) referred to evidence from the ALEC (Flórez 1981-1983) which showed that the word *guineo* 'banana' was found in use across the entire northern coast of Colombia. Del Castillo maintains that the word *guineo* originated in West Africa as *Guinea* is a one of the names by which West Africa was known. In addition, a comparison can be drawn between African customs and those practised along the Caribbean coast. For example, as mentioned in section 3.2.3, the *costeño* practice of eating plantain with almost every meal is similar to eating Congolese eating habits. This shows that the African influence on the coastal regions is not confined to the language (see Obenga 1985, p28 cited in Del Castillo Mathieu 1992, p 70).

The interior highlands of Colombia were home to a large number of indigenous tribes and the influence of these tribes, particularly the Chibcha and Muisca, can still be found in the physical appearance, customs and traditions practised in the highlands. In the highlands many people have paler skin than those in from the coast and they have physical features which are indigenous in origin. In addition, the habit of eating *changua* 'a meat based broth' stems back to the eating habits of the Muisca Indians. Due to these differences the people of each location view the people from the other location as unusual. Montes Giraldo (2000, p 42) states that those from the interior highlands claim that "*la Costa es otro pais*"[12] and those on the coast refer to those from the interior highlands as *cachaco* 'vain' or 'snobbish' or *interiorano* 'someone from the interior'. Montes Giraldo proposes that the speech of these locations also differs significantly and undertook research to investigate what dialectal phenomenon characterises the speech of the coast and that of the interior of the country as being different to one another.

After working on various publications (Montes Giraldo 1982, 1987, 1989, 1996) Montes Girlado proposed a possible *bipartición dialectal* 'dialectal bipartition' of Colombian Spanish which was based on the ideas presented by Fernández Sevilla. Fernández-Sevilla (1970, p 470) proposed a global bipartition of Spanish, which separated Spanish into two zones; *el español centro-septentrional´* mid-northern Spanish´ (The centre and north of the Iberian Peninsula) and *el español meridional* ´southern Spanish´ (The south of the Iberian Peninsula, the Canary Islands and the

[12] 'The coast is another country' (Montes Girlado 2000, p 42).

Spanish speaking countries of Central and South America). Fernández-Sevilla suggested a modification to this division, a geographical separation which he suggested was more useful in relation to implosive phonemes. Fernández-Sevilla suggested "colocando a un lado la mitad septentrional de la Península y las tierras altas de América, y, por otro, la mitad meridional de la Península, Canarías y las tierras bajas del continente americano."[13] Based on these ideas Montes Giraldo (1982) suggested that Colombian Spanish could be divided into two super dialects: Super dialect A, *el superdialecto central andino,* 'the Central Andean super dialect' and Super dialect B, *el superdialecto Costeño,* 'the coastal super dialect'. Montes Giraldo (1996, p135) states that this division is based on two key features: i) the treatment of implosive or postvocalic –s and ii) neutralisation of –r, -l and final –n. In addition, each super dialect is subdivided into two dialectal zones, Super dialect A is divided into a) Eastern Andean Dialect and b) the Western Andean Dialect and Super dialect B is divided into a) the Caribbean coastal dialect and b) the Pacific coastal dialect.

The next part of this section will outline the features of each of the super dialects and their sub-dialects.

3.5.1 The Super dialects A and B of Colombia

Montes Giraldo (1982) indicates that super dialect A (dialect *central andino* 'Central Andean Super Dialect') is found in the interior highlands of Colombia. As in section 3.2.2, there is a strong indigenous influence in the highland regions of Colombia due to the large population of indigenous tribes which inhabited the area before, during and after the Spanish colonisation of Colombia. In general, the greatest indigenous influence on the language of this region can be observed in the acquisition of *indigenismos* 'loanwords from Indigenous languages'. Flórez (1963, p291) recorded some examples of loanwords from Indigenous languages which are in general use in this region, such as *chicha* 'a drink made from fermented maize' which comes from Arahuaca or Chibcha languages, *Guarapo* 'a fermented drink made from fruit or sugar cane', *Tamal* 'a typical dish made with rice and pork and cooked in a banana leaf' and *yuca* 'a type of tuber vegetable found in the Andean region'. In addition, evidence of the indigenous influence is also evident in the morphology and pronunciation of the Central

[1313] 'Placing the northern half of the Peninsula and the highlands of Central and South America on one side and the southern half of the Peninsula, the Canary Islands and the lowlands of Central and South America on the other."

Andean super dialect, examples of this can be found in each of the sub dialects of Super dialect A (Western Andean dialect and Eastern Andean dialect) will be illustrated below.

As discussed in section 3.3, Bogotá was the administrative centre of New Granada and was responsible for upholding the speech of Toledo in the viceroyalty. In the viceroyalties administrative positions tended to be held by those from New and Old Castile. Therefore, the majority of Spanish immigrants in this area originated from New and Old Castile and held official positions. Montes Girlado (1996) claims that the speech of this region has an elitist quality which can be attributed to the distinguishing features of the super dialect A. These distinguishing features are the sibilance of implosive –s, the maintenance of the phonetic status of implosive r – l, the predominance of alveolar –n, the frequency of *voseo* in different social contexts and the scarcity of *tuteo.* Montes Giraldo divided the Super dialect A into two sub-dialects: a) the Western Andean dialect, which is found in the western and central ranges of the Andes and covers the departments of Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda, Quindío, Tolima and Valle de Cauca, and b) the Easter Andean dialect, which is found in the departments of Nariño, Cauca, Boyacá, Santander, and part of North Santander. The dialectal division was based on the use or lack of use of *yeísmo* 'a lack of distinction between *ll* and *y*.'

Montes Giraldo (1996) states that the dialect of the western Andean region is characterised by the use of *yeísmo*, a linguistic feature commonly found in Andaluz. This sub-dialect is also characterised by the total absence of fricative allophones, strong articulation of /r/ and /rr/, and the rapid articulation of /y/ and /ch/. In addition, this zone is distinguished by the use of *voseo* as an informal form of address expressing intimacy and equality, and the almost non-existent use of pronouns of respect or terms of address which indicate distance such as *su merced.*

Montes Giraldo (2000) states the morphologic influence of Indigenous languages on Colombian Spanish is not found to be as great as that of other varieties of NWS. However, there are some aspects of the phonetic, semantic and morphologic make up of Colombian Spanish which show a definite indigenous influence. Triana and Antorveza (1987) propose that many of these indigenous elements are still used in Colombian Spanish today. For example, Montes Giraldo (2000, p 159) suggests that the sentence construction shown in examples 8 and 9, which is used in the departments of Nariño and Cauca, copies the structure of Quechua (see examples 8 & 9). Mazzotti (2008, p 113) claims that, in Quechua, the verb typically appears in the form of either the

subordinating gerund or the preterit and in some cases both appear together, as is seen below.

8. *Está el árbol que lo dejó*
   It is the tree that it left
   sembrando un Maestro
   Sprouting a teacher
   'This tree that was left sprouting by a teacher.'

9. *De rabia puso rompiendo la olla*
   Of anger I put breaking the pot
   'In a rage he set to breaking the pot.'

As some of the regions of the Western Andes such as Valle de Cauca and Tolima are close to Ecuador, Inca tribes were found in these areas but were not found in the eastern Andean departments. As a result, the influence of Quechua can be found in the Western Andean dialect in the form *quechuismos*, 'loanwords from Quechua' such as *china* 'woman', *pucho* 'cigarette butt or small piece of something', *chanda* 'mange', *chócolo* 'a type of dough made from ground maiz', *cabuya* 'a rope or cord'

The dialect of the eastern Andean region is distinguished from that of the west by lack of *yeísmo.* In this sub-dialect *ll* and *y* are pronounced as two distinct sounds *ll* - /ʎ/ and *y*- /ʝ/, a feature which would have been common to the speech used in Toledo. This sub-dialect is also characterised by the frequency of fricative allophones and the silencing of /r/ and /rr/. Montes Giraldo (1996) claims that the northern part of Cundiboyacense (Cundinamarca and Boyacá) (see map 6) can be defined by the use of *su merced* and other pronouns of respect and distance such as *su persona* and *suyo.* The use of such address forms relates back to the colonial society and the situations of the Indigenous Indians in the new colony. The Indians' socio-pragmatic situation in Colombia, most of all the highlands of Cundinamarca, where Bogotá is situated, and Boyacá, encouraged the use of formal address forms. Montes Giraldo (2000) stresses that the use of such address forms was an influence of the Indians' usage of Spanish, rather than the influence of the indigenous language on NWS. In addition, the emphasis on formality and use of terms of address which express respect or distance also reflects the fact that the Spanish used in Bogotá was in continuous contact with the Metropolis during the colonial period and as a result was strongly influenced by the speech of

Toledo. Montes Girlado (1982, p33) maintains that conservatism was inherent in the language of the colonial administrators and that this is one of the differences between the two super dialects (A and B).

As mentioned in section 3.2.2, Cundinamarca, Boyacá and Santander, the central regions of the country (see map 6), were dominated by Muisca tribes and as a result the Spanish of these regions was influenced by the pre-Hispanic language of the Muiscas. As a result, features which are associated with Muisca, such as the use of closed pronunciation of –a, -e, -o, -i and -u and the reduction of vowels (see example 10) are found in the Spanish used in these regions. Therefore, these features demonstrate the indigenous influence on the pronunciation of Colombian Spanish, and also differentiate the Eastern Andean dialect from the Western Andean dialect.

10. *muchísimas gracias* 'very much thanks' = *muchíssmas grasiss*

Rodríguez de Montes (1984, p 317) claims that *muisquismos* 'loanwords from Muisca languages' can be observed in the highlands around the departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, where Santa Fe de Bogotá was founded, and which was inhabited by the Muisca Indians at the beginning of the sixteenth century (see map 6). For example, the word *changua* 'a soup or broth eaten for breakfast, prepared with water, onion, coriander and salt, milk, bread and egg' may have originate from one of the participles (*chaguasca, chaguaca, chaguanga)* of the Muisca verb *zeguascua 'to feed'*. Rodríguez de Montes maintains that the possible Muisca origins of this word can be upheld, as the areas where *changua* is eaten are found to be in the precise settlement region of the Muiscas.

Montes Giraldo (1996) states that the Spanish of the coast belongs to the *superdialecto Costeño*, 'Coastal Super Dialect', which has also been known as the *superdialecto andaluzado* 'Andaluzised Super dialect' as many of the dialectal features resemble features of Andaluz. The distinguishing pronunciation features of this super dialect are implosive –s, neutralisation or loss of postvocalic /r/ ~ /l/, articulation of –n, articulation of /c/, conserved H and hiatus for diphthongs, all of which are typical of Andaluz. Based on field work carried out to gather data for the ALEC, these features were found in the speech of people from the coast and surrounding departments, North Santander, the Eastern Llanos and the Magdalena river valley.

Aspiration or loss of –s is one of the main features which characterises the Coastal Super dialect (Super dialect B). This is achieved by dropping the –s at the end of a word (see example 11), or assimilating the consonants (see example 12).

11. *las vacas* 'the cows' = *lah báka*

12. *whisky* '*whiskey*' = *wiki*
disco 'disco' = *díkko*

The other distinguishing features mentioned above are the neutralization of implosive –r and –l (see example 13), and exclusion of the final –r in words such as *mujer* and *hacer.*

13. *pierna* 'leg' = *pielna,*
carne 'meat' = *kalne*

In relation to grammar, Montes Giraldo (2000) states that the following traits were observed *tuteo,* the use of *tú*, the informal second person, in an exchange, *voseo* the use of *vos,* pluralisation of impersonal *haber* 'have (auxiliary)', subject and adjective word order, the *pretérito compuesto* of subjunctive with *ser.*

The Coastal Super dialect is broken down into two sub-dialects, a) the Caribbean coastal dialect and b) the Pacific coastal dialect. The main differences between these two dialects are grammatical. However, the Pacific coastal dialect demonstrates some aspects of pronunciation ´which are not found in the Caribbean coastal dialect.

The Caribbean coastal dialect is used on the northern coastal region which takes in the entire Atlantic Coast of Colombia; the departments of Guajira, Cesar, Magdalena, Atlántico, Bólivar, Sucre, Córdoba and parts of Antioquia, North Santander and the Eastern Llanos (see map 6). Montes Giraldo (1996) claims that the feature which distinguishes the Caribbean coastal dialect from the Pacific coastal dialect is the use of *tuteo* as an intimate address form. On the Caribbean coast *tú* is used almost exclusively regardless of formality or status. However, *voseo* is used more often on the Pacific coast as the use of *vos* is more common than *tú* among friends and family.

Some indigenous influence can be seen in the Caribbean coastal dialect in the form of lexical borrowing from the indigenous languages. Flórez (1963, p137 & 147)

mentions Indigenous influence found in the lexis of coastal regions, such as *Arepa* 'a type of corn cake' which comes from the Cumanagotao word *erepa* 'maize' used by the Cumanagotao Indians of Venezuela, *Masato* 'a drink made from lightly fermented maiz or corn and used as refreshment' which comes from the Caribbean Indians and *Patilla* 'watermelon' may also come from Cumanagoto languages. Furthermore, the large African population which grew along the Caribbean coast resulted in language contact occurring between Spanish and the African languages spoken by the African slaves. Del Castillo Mathieu (1992) investigated the influence of such contact on the evolution of Colombian Spanish and found *africanismos* 'loanwords from African languages' to be present in the Spanish spoken along the Caribbean coast. Words such as *guineo* 'banana', *cucayo* 'the rice that sticks to the inside of the pot after cooking' and *guarapo* 'a drink extracted from the sugar cane' all form part of the day to day vocabulary of the Caribbean coastal dialect. Juan y Ulloa (1978) states that *guineo* 'banana' has been used in Cartagena since the first half of the eighteenth century and refers to Garcia Marquez's (1980, p 47) use of *guineo* in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. Guthrie (1971, cited in Del Castillo Mathieu 1992) proposes that the word *cucayo* 'the rice that sticks to the pot' comes from the word *koko* 'crust' which is used in Bantu languages to refer to the crust which forms on cooked foods. Furthermore, Del Castillo Mathieu (1992) states that the final syllable *–yo* in *cuca-yo* is similar to monosyllabic verbs from Western Bantu languages which mean 'to become dry and hard', 'to roast' and 'to burn'.

The Pacific coastal dialect is used in the Pacific coastal region which covers the department of The Chocó and the coastal areas of the departments of Valle de Cauca, Cauca and Nariño. As well as the use of *voseo,* the Pacific coastal dialect is distinguished by the replacement of d with r (see example 14).

14. *maduro* 'ripe' = *maruro*

An overcompensation of this feature can also occur resulting in the replacement of r with d (see example 15).

15. *Mosquera* 'bad mood' = *Mosqueda*

Furthermore, those from the Pacific coastal region have a habit of repeating adverbs such as *ya* (see example 16).

16. *'Ese ya lo apunté ya'*
This already it I noted already
'I have already written it down. ' (Montes Giraldo 1996)

The evolution of Colombia as an independent state had an influence on the development of Colombian Spanish. As Colombia was no longer a Spanish colony, contact between Colombia and the Peninsula diminished and efforts to maintain the standard Spanish of the Peninsula as the model for Colombian Spanish were no longer upheld. Colombian Spanish began to develop independently to that of the Peninsula. However, due to colonial lag some features of Peninsular Spanish survived and became part of the everyday vocabulary of Colombian Spanish. Flórez (1975, p 97) refers to these examples of colonial lag as *arcaismos* 'archaic terms' and describes them as words or expressions which disappeared from the educated speech of Spain and Spanish literature many centuries ago yet are still used by many speakers in South America, even those from higher socioeconomic levels. Some examples of lexical items which were retained in Colombian Spanish but have fallen out of use in the Iberian Peninsula are listed below (see examples 17 - 20).

17. *amañarse* (Colombian Spanish CS) *acostumbrarse* (Peninsular Spanish PS) 'to get used to something/somewhere, to be comfortable'
18. *bravo* (CS) *enfadado* (PS) 'angry'
19. *cobija* (CS) *manta* (PS) 'blanket'
20. *plata* (CS) *dinero* (PS) 'money'.

These terms are used by many speakers in Colombia regardless of age or social status. Examples of colonial lag can also be found in the address system of Colombian Spanish. These examples of colonial lag will be described in detail in section 3.5.3.

3.5.2 Evidence of dialect mixing in Colombian Spanish

Immigrants to the Spanish colonies came from various regions of Spain, from different countries such Portugal and Italy and from other regions such as Sicily, Milan and Flanders. The fact that the immigrants came from different regions implies that many different dialects were represented in the colonies. As was the case for NWS in

general, there are a variety of theories regarding how these different dialects influenced the development of Colombian Spanish.

Firstly, Cuervo (1901) maintains that Colombian Spanish is not similar to any one peninsula dialect in particular as feature such as *seseo*, 'the levelled pronunciation of ç, *z* and *s as /s/*' and *yeísmo* 'the levelled pronunciation of *y* and *ll as /ʝ/*' which are found in the dialects of regions in the North and South of Spain, and the weakening of /d/ in final and intervocalic positions, which derive primarily from Andaluz, were all commonly found in Colombian Spanish. Secondly, Amado Alonso (1953b) proposes that when these different dialects came into contact a levelling process took place which eliminated traits of different regions and created linguistic homogeneity. Thirdly, Catalán (1960a, 1960b) agreed with Cuervo and also suggested that the presence of *yeísmo*, and *seseo,* observed along the Caribbean coast and in the Western Andean region by the seventeenth century is evidence that a *koiné* was the foundation of NWS.

Malmberg (1966) states that this *koiné* may have developed in the ports of Seville and Cadiz even before the immigrants left for South America. Many emigrants had to wait months in the South of Spain before setting sail for Central and South America. As a result, Spaniards from every corner of the country were forced to be in regular contact over a prolonged period. Therefore, dialect contact and subsequent dialect mixing was possible. Malmberg (1966) maintains that this dialect mixing resulted in a *koiné* which was based on Andaluz, the Spanish dialect, heard around the ports of Andalucía. In addition, Malmberg claims that during the long journey to the New World this *koiné* continued to develop into an Andalusian-Caribbean *koiné*, which Hidalgo (2001) claims is otherwise known as *koiné español insular* 'Spanish Island Koinés', which the settlers in the New World brought to the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela.

As Cartagena was the most important port during the colonial period and received the majority of the immigrants passing through on arrival to the Spanish colonies, it may be assumed that evidence of this *koiné* or features of the speech of southern Spain would be observed in this region of Colombia. Guitarte (1992) and Fontanella de Weinberg (1993) cite comments made by Bishop Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita regarding the speech of the inhabitants of Cartagena de Indias, which stated that the pronunciation used by the inhabitants resembled that of Andaluz. Furthermore, Parodi (2001) claimed that at the height of the colonisation large numbers of immigrants

were arriving from various parts of Spain, and as immigrants from Andalusia always tended to be in the majority, the influx of new speakers of Andaluz resulted in a re-*koinéi*zation of language on the Caribbean coast. Furthermore, Montes Giraldo (1987) maintains that Santo Domingo and other Caribbean islands were used as an arrival point to the New World as well as an area of adaptation for the immigrants. As a result, they served as a platform for a certain amount dialect levelling. Rona (1958) states that as the Andalusians were predominant in this melting pot, the Spanish which was then carried on to the main land, via the Caribbean coastal areas of Colombia, possessed many Andalusian characteristics. Montes Giraldo (1987, pp163-164) agrees with Rona (1958) and states that:

"*Hay en América una zona – coincidente grosso modo con el Caribe insular, las costas y tierra bajas – en donde la similitud con el Andaluz es muy grande, mientras que para el resto del continente - en general tierras altas , regiones interiores – tal similitud se reduce a unos cuantos rasgos.*[14]"

In the Highland regions of Colombia less dialect mixing occurred for a variety of reasons. Firstly, in the Western Andean region, there majority of immigrants were sent from New and Old Castile to occupy official positions in Bogotá. In addition, contact with the metropolis meant that the speech of Toledo had an influence on the language used in this region. Furthermore, the Spanish immigrants made a specific effort to maintain the speech of Toledo.

3.5.3 Address forms in Colombian Spanish

As was mentioned in section 2.4.9 of chapter two, until the 16th century Peninsular used *tú* as an informal address form to express closeness to friends and family, and *vos* as a formal address form used to express respect and show deference. However, by the sixteenth century *vos* began to lose its respectful status and became interchangeable with *tú* as an informal term of address. The address form *vuestra merced* 'your grace', which until the sixteenth century had been reserved for addressing those of superior status, became used as a singular term of respect and soon replaced *vos* as the formal SPSP (see table 3).

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[14] 'There is an area in America, which broadly speaking corresponds to the Caribbean islands, the coasts and the low lands, where similarities to Andaluz are great. While, in the rest of the continent, generally the highlands and interior regions, the similarities are restricted to a few random features' (Montes Giraldo 1987 pp163-164).

Table 3 The basic address forms employed in South America in the sixteenth century.

Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Prepositional case	Possessive	Verb Form
Vos (medieval)	os ~ os	Vos	Vos	Vuestro	Second person plural
tú	Te	te ~ ti	Ti ~ contigo	tú ~ tuyo	Second person plural
Vuestra merced	Lo/la	Le	Vuestra merced	Su	Third person singular
Vos (America)	Te	Te	Vos	tú ~ tuyo	Second Person singular

(Quesada Pacheco 2000 p 84-5)

Vuestra merced was shortened to *usted,* which is the form used in present day speech. By the seventeenth century, *tú* had replaced *vos* in Peninsular Spanish and was used as the informal SPSP along with *usted* the formal second person plural pronoun. In the early sixteenth century the suffix *otros* 'others' was added to *nos* 'us' and *vos* 'you' to form the informal first and second person plural pronouns, *nosotros* 'we'/ 'us' and *vosotro/as* 'you (plural)'.

As there was regular contact between the Peninsula and the administrative centres of the Spanish colonies, Mexico City, Lima and Bogotá after 1718, these changes to the pronoun system occurred more or less simultaneously in the Viceroyalties. Montes Giraldo (1967, pp22) states that "[E]n Lima, y sobre todo en México el cambio de *vos* por el *tú* se realizó prontamente a imitación a España"[15] However, as the Spanish which was transplanted in the colonies developed in a different environment to that of the Spanish in the Peninsula, differences were found in its development. For example, in the Peninsula *Vosotro/as* and *ustedes* were used as informal and formal second person plural pronouns respectively. However, *Vosotro/as* has disappeared from use in NWS and *ustedes* is used as the only second person plural pronoun.

[15] 'In Lima and particularly in Mexico the change from *vos* to *tú* was realized quickly to imitate Spain' (Montes Giraldo 1967, pp22).

In the regions of the colonies which had less contact with the metropolis some innovations did not occur. For example although *vos* was replaced by *tú* in Peninsular Spanish, it has survived as an informal SPSP in its own right in Colombia and other parts of the New World such as Argentina and Peru. Montes Giraldo (1967, p 23) proposes that the retention of *vos* in NWS is an example of colonial lag, as the innovation which replaced the use of *vos* with *tú* in the Peninsular did not occur to the same extent in the Spanish colonies. Tiscornia (1930 cited in Montes Giraldo 1967, p 22) claims that in the early sixteenth century the Spanish colonies of America were introduced to a language whose linguistic rules were in flux, as innovations had not be fully established in the Peninsula.

The use of *vos* in the place of *tú* became known as *voseo* and is a feature which is unique to NWS. Initially, *vos* was used across all of Colombia but now has almost completely disappeared from use on the Caribbean coast. This may be due to the fact that during the colonial period the Spanish fleets which arrived in the ports on Colombia´s Caribbean coast provided a constant source of innovations from the Metropolis. *Vos* is still used as an informal address form on the Pacific coast and the western Andean highlands in Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda, Quindío, and Valle del Cauca. However, in the rest of the country and particularly in the Andean highlands, *voseo* is seen as less prestigious and often considered vulgar or rural. This attitude towards *voseo* may result from the way the use of *vos* evolved in Colombia. Tiscornia (1930, p 125 cited in Montes Giraldo 1967, p 22) maintains that the use of *vos* was adopted quickly by the lower class in the colonies despite the fact that in the Peninsula it was seen as a uncouth form of address: "El *vos*, que llegaba aplebeyado, halló fácil arraigo en el vulgo americano, libre de ciertas presiones sociales que en la Península iba desterrando el voseo"[16] In the early stages of the new republic the *Criollos* strived to maintain the prestigious speech of the Spanish elite which would have included the use of *tú* in the place of *vos.* Montes Giraldo (2000) claims that when *vos* is used in these regions it is only in extremely informal circumstances, such as within a family.

In Colombia, the use of second person pronouns *tú, usted* and *vos* varies from region to region. For example, *tú* is used exclusively on the Caribbean coast, yet it is used in conjunction with *vos* on the Pacific coast. In addition, *vos* is found to be used

[16] '*Vos,* which arrived devalued, took hold easily amongst the American lower classes free of social pressures which in the Peninsula were banishing *voseo*' (Tiscornia 1930, p 125 cited in Montes Giraldo 1967, p22).

more often than *tú* in the south western regions of Cauca, Valle de Cauca and Nariño and the central regions of Antioquia, Tolima and Caldas, yet, in Santander and North Santander use of *vos* and *tú* is found to be variable. This may be due to the influence of the speech of Toledo on the Super dialect A, the central Andean dialect, in colonial times.

The use of *vos* as a SPSP affects verb forms in some tenses. For example, when *vos* is used in the present indicative the verb endings are derived from the *vosotros* form. In -AR and –ER verbs the unstressed i in the verb ending – *áis* is deleted, but in –IR verbs the *-is* form is the same as for vosotros, as there is no unstressed i (see figure 1 Bradley and Mackenzie 2004).

verb ending	*cant-AR* 'to sing'	*com-ER* 'to eat'	*viv-IR* 'to live'
Vosotros 'you plural'	*Cantáis*	*Coméis*	*Vivís*
Vos 'you singular'	*vos cantás*	*Vos comés*	*Vos vivís*

Figure 1 Verb conjugations for *vosotros* and *vos.*

However, Lipski (1994) claims that some variation of verb endings exists. In Nariño, the same form is used for -ER and -IR verbs, -ís. For example, the verb *comer* 'to eat' becomes *vos comís* 'you eat'. In the north of Colombia diphthongised endings, *–ais* and *–eis,* are found in –AR and -ER verbs, but these tend to be disappearing.

In Colombian Spanish, *tú* and *vos* are generally restricted to informal circumstances, yet, *usted* and *ustedes* may be used in both formal and informal circumstances. From investigations of correspondence between the colony and the peninsula in the sixteenth century Quesada Pacheco (1988) found that *vos* and *vuestra merced* were used to express solidarity and intimacy among friends and family members as much as they were used to express distance and respect, while the pronoun *tú* was reserved for use with offspring to express solidarity. Based on these findings, Quesada Pacheco (2000) proposes that the use of *usted*, known as *ustedeo,* both as a formal address form, expressing distance, and an informal address form, expressing intimacy developed from the above mentioned use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* in colonial times. As a result, this use of *ustedeo* may be considered another example of colonial lag.

Evidence of the use of *vuestra merced* and *usted* used to express both closeness and formality can be found in correspondence from the early seventeenth century. In addition, terms such as *Vuestra Señoria, Vuestra Excelencía, Vuestra Majestad,* were used as terms of respect to acknowledge the recipients superior social status in letters addressing as those in positions such as a viceroy, or army captain or general (see examples 21-. 24).

21. Taken from a letter written in Quito, in 1807 by Felipe Fuentes Amar, nephew of the Virrey, to his uncle the Virrey Amar y Borbón (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 139 pp 1068 l. 6-7). In this example *usted* is used by Felipe Fuentes Amar to express respect for his uncle Virrey Amar y Borbón (see appendix 4a & 4b).

En	*su*	*vista*	*no*	*puedo*		*menos*	*a*
In	your	visit	not	I can		least	to
tributar	*á*	*VD (usted)*	*las*	*debidas*	*gracias*		
pay	to	you	the	deserved	thanks		

'On your visit I can do no less than give you the deserved thanks.'

22. Taken from a letter written in Maracaibo, Venezuela in 1807 by Francisco de la Guerra, an army captain and a historian, to Manuel Martínez Mansilla, a lieutenant to the Governer (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 130 p 1094 l. 7-10) (see appendix 5a & 5b). In this example *usted* is being used to express deference for the lieutenant, Manuel Martínez Mansilla.

Es	*regular*	*que*	*refrigerado*	*V (usted)*	*con*
It is	normal	that	refreshed	you	with
estos	*días*	*de*	*la*	*vida*	*continúa*	*gozando*
these	days	of	the	life	you continue	enjoying
de	*la*	*perfecta*	*salud.*		
of	the	perfect	health		

'It is normal that refreshed by these days, you continue enjoying in your life perfect health.'

23. Taken from a letter written Popayán, Colombia in 1829 by V.E. Andrade to the President of Colombia (Republica, Historia Roll 2 p.195 l. 7-10).

Creo	*di*	*mi*	*dever*	*anticipar*	*esta*	
I think	that	to me	should	to anticípate	this	
noticia	*a*	*-l*	*supremo*	*gbño*	*para*	*lo*
news	to	the	supreme	government	for	it
que	*corresponda.*	*Sirviría*		*Vuestra*		
that	corresponds.	It would serve		Your		
Señoría	*elevar*	*isto*	*a*	*-l*	*conocimiento*	*de*
Highness	to elevate	this	to	the	knowledge	of
Su	*Excelencia*	*el*	*virrey.*			
His	Excellence	the	viceroy.			

I think that I should have anticipated this news from the supreme government as it consistent with what they do. It would be a good idea to let His Excellence the Viceroy know about this.

24. Taken from a letter written in Santa Marta, Colombia in 1829 by Manuel Vadés, a commander of arms to *el Colonel Jefe del Estado* 'the Chief State Colonel' (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 120 p 523 l. 1-3).

Acompañó	*a*	*Vuestra*	*Señoría*	*las*	*listas*	
Acompanied	to	Your	Highness	the	lists	
de	*revisita*	*de*	*enero*	*y*	*febrero*	
of	reviews	of	January	and	February	
de	*-l*	*comandante*		*Guilliot,*	*las*	
of	the	commandant		Guilliot,	those	
de	*febrero*	*de*	*-l*	*Capitán*	*Viana*	*y*
of	February	of	the	Captain	Viana	and

Fuerte Ruiz.

Fuerte Ruiz.

The lists of the visit in January and February of Commandant Guilliot and that of Captain Viana and Fuerte Ruiz in February accompanied Your Highness.

Research into the use of *usted* in both formal and informal circumstances carried out by Diane Ringer Uber (1985, p 389) found that in Colombia, and in Bogota in particular, *usted* has a dual function. The first function is to express distance when addressing people one does not know well and to express respect. This function is label by Uber as "The *usted* of non-solidarity". The second function is to express solidarity or intimacy with family members, spouses and intimate friends. Uber labels this function "the *usted* of solidarity". Uber claims that these two functions of *usted* fall on either end of a continuum of solidarity, with *tú* being placed between the two (see figure 2).

usted ---------- *tú* ---------- *usted*

(no solidarity) (solidarity)

Figure 2 The continuum of solidarity (Uber 1985, p389)

In this continuum *tú* is characterised as denoting some familiarity or trust, but with a certain distance. As relationships change over time patterns of pronominal address will also change. For example, as a person becomes friendlier with someone whom they have been addressing as *usted* he/she may switch to *tú.* Furthermore, as a relationship becomes more intimate speakers, who addressed each other as *tú,* may switch to *usted* (of solidarity), moving to the right of the continuum. In general, movements to the left of the continuum are momentarily to express anger or distance. Gili y Gaya (1961, p 229) claims that a momentary move to the left of the continuum is an expression of anger or resentment towards the addressee. A way of showing that this person no longer has the speaker´s trust. Gili y Gaya states that: "*Un padre trata de usted a su hijo en son de reprimenda.*"[17] This distinction between the dual functions of *usted* may be relevant in relation to patterns of address used between male friends. During the interviews carried out for the data collection of this project it was found that men in Bogotá do not tend to address male friends, and in some cases brothers, using *tú* as it is seen as effeminate. Therefore, when *usted* is used among male friends in positive circumstances it may be ´the *used* of solidarity´ which is in use.

Another form of address commonly used in parts of Colombia is *su merced* 'your grace'. This is another example of colonial lag as it is reminiscent of *vuestra*

[17]'A father addresses his son using *usted* to reprimand him.' (Gili y Gaya 1961, p 229)

merced which was used in the colonial period. *Su merced* was used in colonial times as an address form to convey respect to noblemen and royalty in a similar way to the plural form *vuestra merced. Su merced*, which is most commonly found in the highland dialects of Cundinamarca and Boyacá and in Eastern Colombia, can be used as a form of respect as well as to imply solidarity. Some speakers in this region used *su merced* in the same way as *usted* of solidarity. In these cases *su merced* replaces *usted* on the right side of the continuum of solidarity (see figure 3).

usted ---------- *tú* ---------- *su merced*

(no solidarity) (solidarity)

Figure 3 The continuum of solidarity (Uber 1985, p390)

However, other speakers use *su merced* in a family setting to convey a special nuance of tenderness and express solidarity among parents and children or among siblings. This use of *su merced* is seen as more intimate than *usted* on the continuum (see figure 4).

usted ---------- *tú* ---------- *usted* ---------- *su merced*

(no solidarity) (solidarity)

Figure 4. The continuum of soldarity (Uber 1985, p390)

Furthermore, in the market place *su merced* is used by sellers to demonstrate that their prices and wares are trustworthy. In Bogotá *su merced* competes with *usted*, *tú* and *vos*. Based on an investigation into the everyday speech of Bogotá, Montes Giraldo, *et al* (1998b) propose that *usted* tends to be dominant in formal exchanges with a superior, an older person from a lower station or when the speaker wishes to treat the addressee with respect. *Tú* tends to dominate in exchanges with children or offspring, and *su merced* tends to dominate in exchanges with one's parents. However, *usted* was also found to be dominant in exchanges among friends and acquaintances, a younger person from a lower station and with one's brothers and sisters, all of which are situations usually associated with the use of an informal pronoun.

Lipski (1994, p 213) states that the use of *su merced* has not been observed in the coastal regions or in the West of the country. In addition, Uber (1985) found that the use of *su merced* was dying out in Bogotá and being replaced by the *usted* of solidarity. Furthermore, during the data collection for this study the occurrences of *su merced* were

very rare. These results were discussed with a Colombian colleague, Professor Sandra Soler Castillo, who at that time was director of the sociolinguistics department in the Caro and Cuervo Institute. Professor Soler Castillo claimed that, despite *su merced* being used in everyday speech in Bogotá, it is relatively difficult to record examples of *su merced* in use. Furthermore, Professor Soler Castillo maintains that the use of *su merced* in Bogotá is stigmatised and therefore informants are reluctant to use this term when their language use is being observed. This reluctance to use *su merced* when being observed may be one reason why Lipski (1994) and Uber (1985) found limited use of *su merced* when carrying out their studies.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter traces the development of Colombia from the early colonisation of South America by the Spanish Empire to the emergence of the independent Republic Colombia is today. Throughout Colombia's development, Spanish immigrants, indigenous Indians and people of African origins have played a significant role in and have contributed to the make-up of Colombian society and the development of Colombian Spanish. The first section of this chapter discusses the early stages of the Spanish colonisation of Colombia and the development of contact between the Spanish explorers and the indigenous Indians. The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with an idea of how Spanish was initially introduced into Colombia and also to highlight the initial struggle which occurred between the Spanish and the indigenous tribes. Within this section three subsections outline the details of the various inhabitants of Colombia during the Colonial period.

The first subsection discusses the origins of the Spanish immigrants who came to Colombia and where these immigrants settled and formed communities. From this section it is clear that initially immigrants from Andalusia were in the majority with immigrants from New and Old Castile making up the next largest group. The settlement patterns of these immigrants were influenced to some extent by their social circumstances. For instance, many of the sailors on the ships transporting immigrants to the Spanish colonies of South America were Andalusians. These sailors travelled back and forth between the metropolis and the colonies. As a result these Andalusian sailors had more contact with the Caribbean coast of Colombia than any other part of the country. On the other hand, many of the immigrants from New and Old Castile were

sent to Colombia in order to take up official or administrative positions in Bogotá when New Granada was converted into a Viceroyalty in 1718. The dialects which emerged on the coast and in the highlands demonstrate the influence of the different immigrants. For example, in the highlands there is a formality to the language which is not found on the coast. This is illustrated by the use of *su merced, suyo* and *su persona.*

The second subsection outlines the various indigenous tribes which inhabited different parts of Colombia during the Colonial period and discusses the influence these tribes had on the customs and language which emerged in these regions. Although indigenous tribes were found both on the coast and in the interior highlands in Colombia, the strongest indigenous influence is found in the highlands. This influence can be seen in the eating habits, which are reminiscent of those of the Muisca, and also in the language which uses indigenous loanwords. As mentioned previously, the formality of the highland dialect was influenced by the speech of Toledo in the Metropolis. In addition, this dialect is also influenced by the socio-pragmatic situation of the indigenous Indians who were viewed as being socially inferior to the Spanish and therefore, expected to demonstrate deference when addressing the Spanish. Furthermore, the Spanish tended to use formal terms of address amongst themselves, yet, addressed the indigenous Indians using informal address forms.

The third subsection discusses the origins of African slaves brought to Colombia and the locations where they were most prominent. Throughout the colonial period the number of African slaves in Colombia fluctuated. In addition, the origins and destinations of the slaves within Colombia also changed. In general, the majority of African slaves were found on the coast and in the department of The Chocó. As a result, a strong African influence can be observed in both the customs and the speech of these regions. On the coast the language used tends to lack formality and the use of formal address forms such as *usted* is almost non-existent. In addition, many African loanwords are found in the dialect used on the coast.

The second section of this chapter discusses Colombia´s evolution from a Spanish colony to an Independent Republic and outlines the struggles undertaken and shifts in Colombian society which occurred as part of this process. The purpose of this section was to highlight the shift in power from the Spanish Empire to the *Criollos* ´second generation Spanish´ as Colombia became an independent state. The retention of Spanish words in Colombian Spanish may be the result of a conscious decision made by the *Criollo* population to maintain their position as elites in the post-colonial society.

The *Criollo* aristocrats replaced the Spanish as the privileged sector of the population once independence from the Spanish Empire had been achieved, yet, continued the dominance of the minority. By using forms which were regarded as prestigious by the elites of the colonial society, the Spanish, the *Criollo* elites succeeded in maintaining their elevated position in post-colonial society. At the same time, the fact that these forms were disappearing from use in the peninsula served to distance the *Criollo* aristocrats from the Spanish Empire.

The third section of this chapter discusses the geographical and social situation in Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia. As the data collection for this study was carried out in Bogotá, the purpose of this section is to enable the reader to build up an image of the social situation in Bogotá as it exists in the present day. In addition, this section aims to explain the stratification system used in Bogotá.

The fourth and final section of this chapter discusses Colombian Spanish´s status as an extra-territorial language. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the influence of language contact on the dialects which have developed in the various parts of the country. In this section the reader can clearly see evidence of the indigenous influence on the dialects used in the highlands and evidence of African influence on the coastal dialects. In addition, the influence of the founder population on Montes Giraldo´s two super dialects (A and B) can also be seen. For instance, on the coast the founder population was predominantly from Andalusia and the Andalusian influence can been seen in the pronunciation through the aspiration of –s and the informality of language via the use of *tuteo.* On the other hand, the founder population in the highlands was made up of a large percentage of immigrants from New and Old Castile. The influence of these immigrants can be seen in the formality of language and the lack of *yeísmo* used in the highlands. This chapter also demonstrates the unique use of pronouns in Colombian Spanish. The formal second person pronoun *usted* may be used to express distance and solidarity depending on the context of the exchange. In addition, this section also exemplifies how the term of address, *su merced,* is used to express distance and solidarity. The fact that terms of address in Colombian Spanish may be used to express a variety of meanings provides an interesting aspect to the analysis of such forms.

Finally, this chapter demonstrates the way in which Colombian Spanish has developed as an extra-territorial language and has illustrated how the people, languages, social situation and political situation were influential in this development. The

provision of this profile of Colombian Spanish facilitates the development of a template by which other extra-territorial languages may be analysed.

Chapter six illustrates and discusses the data analysis for this study. Based on Montes *et al* (1998b) findings in relation to the use of *tú* to address children and offspring, and the use of *usted* by young people and those in the lower level of society to address friends and family, it is predicted that chapter six will demonstrated a predominance of *tú* in exchanges between parents and offspring and a predominance of *usted* in exchanges between young people, and by the lower class level of society.

CHAPTER 4 THEORY OF TERMS OF ADDRESS

Chapter two of this study discusses some of the factors effecting the development of extra-territorial varieties of language. In addition, in chapter two a range of extra-territorial languages is analysed in relation to these factors. As a result, conclusions are drawn and a general theory of extra-territorial languages is proposed. This theory states that the three main factors influencing the extra-territorial languages which emerged in the colonies were; i) the origins and dialects spoken by the founder population, the first settlers in a colony, ii) the regional dialects which were in contact and where contact occurred and iii) the other languages with which the language of the metropolis was in contact.

In chapter three of this study the theory of extra-territorial languages is applied to Colombian Spanish, a language which developed as an extra-territorial variety of Peninsular Spanish in Colombia. Chapter three discusses the settlement patterns which occurred in Colombia as well as the people and cultures which influenced the evolution of Colombian Spanish and Colombian culture. In addition, chapter three discusses the evolution of Colombia as an independent republic and the changes which occurred in Colombian society as it made the transition from a colonial to post colonial society. Furthermore, chapter three analyses Colombian Spanish in relation to the factors, mentioned above, which are said to influence the development of extra-territorial languages and provide the basis for the theory of extra-territorial languages. On analysis, evidence of colonial lag, dialect mixing and language contact were found in Colombian Spanish. In addition, it was found that the ethnic background and the languages and dialects spoken by immigrants, natives and slaves inhabiting the different regions of Colombia influenced the dialects which emerged in each region.

As mentioned in section 3.5.3, the use of *vos* as a second person pronoun is an example of colonial lag which is found in the address system of Colombian Spanish. In the seventeenth century, *vos* was discarded in Peninsular Spanish and replaced by *tú*. However, *vos* can still be found in use in conjunction with *tú* as an informal SPSP along the Pacific coast and in the western Andean highlands of Colombia. Another example of colonial lag found in Colombian Spanish is the dual function of *ustedeo* to express closeness as well as formality. As was shown in chapter three, Quesada Pacheco (1988) found that in the sixteenth century *vos* and *vuestra merced* had a dual function. They

were used to express solidarity and intimacy among friends and family members, yet they were also used to express distance and respect. It is from the dual function of these two terms of address that the dual function of *ustedeo* emerged in Colombian Spanish. This dual function of *usted* does not occur in Peninsular Spanish. In Peninsular Spanish *usted* is used to express distance and respect, but not solidarity. A third example of colonial lag found in the address system of Colombian Spanish is the use of *su merced.* Uber (1985) proposes that *su merced* is used in a similar way to *usted;* it can be used to express formality and also solidarity. As can be seen from Uber´s continuum of solidarity in chapter 3 (figure 2), *usted* has two distinct functions. Based on these distinct functions, Uber suggests that there are two different forms of *usted,* the *usted* of non-solidarity and the *usted* of solidarity. The grammatical structure of *usted* and *su merced* always remains constant. *Usted* is a SPSP which is used with the third person singular verb conjugation. *Su merced* is a term of address rather than a pronoun, but it is also always used with the third person singular verb conjugation. Both terms of address are used to address one person directly. What *usted* and *su merced* are used to express within a dyad depends on the relationship between the speaker and addressee. Even though the relationship between the speaker and addressee may change and the function expressed by the term of address may vary, the grammatical structure will always remain constant. Therefore, any movement to the right or left along the continuum of solidarity indicates some change in the relationship between speaker and addressee, be it significant or momentary.

The study of terms of address provides an insight into the social structure of society. Lambert and Tucker (1976) state that the rules of social criteria for address systems act as sensitive indicators of differences between social groups and of social change. Hence, as situations in colonies change, such as the development of post-colonial societies due to the establishment of independent republics, the way terms of address are used is influenced by this change. As a result, whether or not specific terms are preserved or new terms of address are introduced can reveal important factors about the development of the post-colonial society, and the attitudes held by each level of society towards the others. The address system of a language not only sheds light on the grammatical make up of the language, but also offers an insight into social relations within the society in which the language is used. The social set up of a society and relations within this set up are influenced by power and status, elements which also influence language choice. Rico Ocampo (1989, p149) maintains that higher and lower

class speakers of the same language often use different features of the language. The way each group uses the language and the linguistic features they choose reflect their social class as one can see *"el sello de clase en la lengua"* 'the stamp of class' in the language. Language reflects the concept that each class has of the world and therefore the manner in which one speaks, their choice of lexis, the type of syntax used and certain aspects of their phonology will identify an individual in relation to the social class to which he/she belongs. Therefore, it can be said that language *vehicula* 'drives' social relations.

4.1 Introduction

The fourth chapter of this study aims to review existing theories regarding the use of terms of address and analyse examples of terms of address used in a range of Indo-European (IE) and non-Indo-European (non-IE) languages. The purpose of this review and analysis is to uncover similarities in the principles underlying how terms of address are used in unrelated languages. These similarities can then be used to construct a theory of terms of address.

To date, two studies have laid the ground work for research into terms of address. Brown and Gilman's (1960) work on the use of second person pronouns in IE languages and *T/V* pronominal address, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on politeness theory and the role of politeness strategies in overcoming face threatening acts (FTA), acts which threaten an individual's self esteem or 'face'. Nevertheless, both of these studies have significant shortcomings. The focus of Brown and Gilman's (1960) work is narrow as the investigation is limited almost exclusively to how second person pronouns are used in IE languages. Brown and Levinson's work (1987) has been criticised as being too anglocentric.

The first section of chapter four describes the different types of terms of address used in many IE and non-IE languages. The aim of this section is to use these examples to highlight similarities in the factors influencing choice of terms of address across IE and non-IE languages. In addition, this section aims to focus on the use of terms of address to encode relationships. Another aim of this section is to draw attention to the influence the relationship between speaker and addressee has on selection of address forms.

The second and third sections of this chapter focus on the studies carried out by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987) and review the theories they propose for the study of terms of address. The purpose of these sections is to highlight the main principles of these theories. Another aim of this section is to highlight the shortcomings and address the criticisms directed at these theories in the light of new developments in the study of terms of address and politeness theory. Brown and Levinson's (1987) use of politeness theory in the analysis of terms of address provided a new perspective to this area of research. However, Linguists such as Kasher (1986), Held (1989), Rhodes (1989), Werkhofer (1992) and Kingwell (1993) claim that Brown and Levinson's theory is principally based on British analytical logic and North American psychology.

Hispanists such as Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) and Carrasco Santana (2002) have criticized Brown and Levinson's theory in relation to its universality of face and politeness strategies. The fourth section of this chapter highlights the strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) used in discourse to counteract FTAs and their use of politeness theory to analyse the role of terms of address in these strategies. In addition, this section addresses the Hispanists' criticisms of Brown and Levinson's theory. Furthermore, this section also introduces two approaches proposed by Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) as being more suitable for the study of terms of address in Spanish. Finally, this section discusses the importance of pragmatics in the study of terms of address.

4.2 Systems of address

"When one person speaks directly to another the selection of linguistic forms is governed by the relationship between the speaker and his addressee [and by] the properties of the dyad (Brown and Ford 1964, p 234)."

A system of address in any language is made up of a combination of linguistic features which are used to speak to another person directly. Depending on the language in question the system of address may be made up of a variety of linguistic features. The linguistic features, pronominal or non-pronominal, which make up the address system of a language, are collectively known as terms of address. As Brown and Ford (1964) state, in the quote above, use of terms of address is governed by the relationship between speaker and addressee as well as their age, gender and social status in relation

to one another. Depending on the language in question the influence exerted by the age, gender and social status of the interlocutors and their relationship with one another may vary.

Linguistic features may also be used to refer to someone indirectly, in this case they are collectively known as terms of reference. Reference is the practice of speaking indirectly about a person, who may or may not be present at the time of speaking. Choice of terms of reference is governed by the speaker and referee's relationship and the properties of the dyad. In addition, choice of terms of reference may also be influenced by other elements, such as the relationship between the speaker and hearer, the relationship between the hearer and the referee, and the context or circumstances of the discourse. Some linguistic forms may be used as both terms of address and terms of reference with little or no adjustment. For example, in English, a first name can be used to address an individual directly (see example 25), or refer to an individual indirectly (see example 26).

25. John, are you going to the party tonight?
26. John is going to the party tonight.

Kinship terms are often used as terms of address within the family and may also be used to address non-family members as an expression of solidarity or dominance. For example, in English, the term *son* may be used to address a younger male who is not related to the speaker. This use of *son* can be used as a term of endearment to express closeness as in example 27. At the same time, the term 'granddad' used to address an older male who is not related to the speaker may be used to express dominance over the older male as in example 28.

27. Son, can you give me a hand to push the car?
28. Hey granddad, watch where you are going!

In Spanish, women of similar age who are not related often refer to one another as *hija* 'daughter'. This may be done to express closeness as in example 29, or as an expression of dominance to create a sense of authority when giving advice as in example 30.

29. *Hola* *hija!* *¿Qué* *tal?*
Hello *daughter* *how* *such*
`Hello daughter. How are you? ´

30. *Oye* *hija,* *así* *no* *se* *hace.*
Hey daughter, like that not it you do
`Hey daughter, you don´t do it like that.´

Some linguistic features, such as second person pronouns in IE languages, are bound to the grammatical system of the language and can only used as terms of address.

4.3 Pronominal address in Indo-European languages

4.3.1 *Pronominal address in Europe*

In some European languages, such as English and German, second person pronouns are a fundamental part of the address system and are used in most exchanges. Subject pronouns may be dropped in informal English due to ellipsis and the second person pronoun is implied by the statement (see examples 31). However, this only occurs in informal speech as without a subject the structure in example 31 is grammatically incomplete.

31. *Got any spare cash?*
*(Have **you**) got any spare cash?*

Second person pronouns also form part of the address system in Romance languages. Many Romance languages, with the exception of French, are pro-drop languages. Flores-Ferrán (2004, p 49) defines a pro-drop language as a language in which "the speakers have the option of expressing a subject personal pronoun or omitting it". In Romance languages which are pro-drop second person pronouns may be omitted when addressing someone directly and the subject is indicated by the morphology of the verb. For example, in a direct offer in Spanish the use of the second person singular verb conjugation, *quieres* 'you want', of the verb *querer* 'want' indicates that the offer is delivered directly to a single addressee in the second person (see example 32).

32.	*¿Quieres*	*ir*	*a-*	*l*	*cine?*
	You want	to go	to	the	cinema

`Do you want to go to the cinema?'

Regardless of whether they are considered pro-drop or non-pro-drop languages an element of the grammatical structure of many European languages is a system of subject personal pronouns which, with the exception of English, consists of two SPSPs. Brown and Gilman (1960) claim that this practice of using two SPSP began with Latin. The pronominal address system in Latin was based on the use of two second person pronouns, a singular pronoun *tu* and a plural pronoun *vos.* However, in the fourth century the plural pronoun *vos* began to be used as a singular pronoun to address the emperor. One theory as to how this occurred is put forward by Brown and Gilman (1960). This theory proposes that in the fourth century although there were two emperors, the office of emperor was administratively unified due to Diocletian's reforms. Therefore, words addressed to one emperor were, by implication, addressed to both and *vos*, the Latin second person plural pronoun (SPPP), was chosen as the term used to address the emperor due to its implicit plurality. In addition, an emperor is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative. Therefore, an emperor is also plural in this sense. Furthermore, Brown and Gilman (1960, p 255) propose that plurality is "a very old and ubiquitous metaphor for power and the reverential *vos* may have been directly inspired by the power of an emperor". This pattern of pronominal address developed in many languages across Europe. English originally used two SPSP, an informal pronoun *thou* and a formal pronoun *ye*. These later became *thou* and *you,* when the informal pronoun *ye* was replaced by *you.* However, the informal pronoun *you* eventually also replaced *thou* and was used as both the informal and formal SPSP. As a result, now in contemporary English *you* is the only SPSP used. Nevertheless, the use of two SPSPs is still found in a wide range of European languages. For example, Russian, a Slavic language, uses the informal SPSP, *ty* and the formal SPSP *vy.* In addition, German uses a system of informal and formal second person pronouns which has evolved over the years. Originally, German used the informal SPSP *du* and the formal SPSP *Ihr.* However, *Ihr* was displaced by *er* which was then replaced by *Sie.* Therefore, in contemporary German *du* is used as the informal SPSP and *Sie* is used as the formal SPSP.

Many of the Romance languages which evolved from Latin, such as Italian, French and Spanish, also use this system of formal and informal second person pronouns. In Medieval Times, *la vostra Signoria* 'your lordship' was abbreviated to *voi* and used in Italian as the formal SPSP. *Voi* was then displaced by *lei.* Today *lei* is used as the formal SPSP in most regions of Italy and *tu* is used as the informal SPSP. French uses the informal SPSP *tu* and the formal SPSP *vous.* As was discussed in chapter three, until the early sixteenth century, in Spain *tú* was used as the informal SPSP and *vos* was used as the formal SPSP. However, *vos* lost its respectful status to *vuestra merced* 'your grace' which was abbreviated to *usted* and used as the formal SPSP. Uber (1985) claims that *vos* became interchangeable with the informal pronoun, *tú,* and in Spain *vos* was eventually displaced by *tú* which then became the only informal SPSP. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, *vos* continues to be used as an informal SPSP in various parts of South America such as Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. In this type of address system the informal second person pronoun is used when addressing friends, family members and people with whom one is acquainted, in relaxed situations. The formal second person pronoun is used with people one is not acquainted with, older people, people of a higher social status or in a more powerful position and in situations where more reserved language is required. Based on the evolution of the second person pronouns in European languages from *tu* and *vos* in Latin, Brown and Gilman (1960, p 252) propose that the symbols *T* and *V* be generic designators for an informal and formal pronoun in any language.

4.3.2 *Pronominal address outside Europe*

Some other IE languages, which are found outside Europe, such as the Indian languages Hindi and Urdu, also use a system of pronominal address.

The pronominal system in Hindi is similar to that of European languages as first, second and third person singular and plural are represented by a personal pronoun. In addition, second person singular address forms may be formal or informal. However, Hindi uses two informal SPSPs and the formal second person singular address form is an honorific term rather than a pronoun. Kachru (2006) maintains that the pronouns *tū* and *tum*, which were historically second person singular and plural pronouns are now used as informal SPSPs. *Tū* is treated as an intimate form, a very informal pronoun which is used to express adoration, endearment, familiarity or contempt when addressing younger family members and friends, and *tum* is treated as a familiar form

used to address people of the same age and younger people outside the family. The formal second person form is represented using the honorific term, *ap*. This term is not a pronoun but it is used to express respect in the same way as a formal second person pronoun is in European languages. The honorific term *ap* is the formal address form used to express deference when addressing older people, acquaintances and in formal situations.

Table 4 Second person singular forms in Hindi

Informal Second person singular	Formal Second person singular
Tū (intimate form) *Tum* (familiar form)	ap

In Hindi, a lower class speaker may address an upper class addressee using *ap* to express deference as in example 33. However, an upper class speaker may address a lower class addressee using *tum*, to express dominance due to his superior status in example 34.

33. *Ap* *kya* *kəlkətte* *se* *aye* *hɛ́*
You what Kolkata from come have
'Have you come from Kolkata (Calcutta)?' (Kachru 2006, p 187)

34. *Tum* *səb* *ko* *kana* *pəros* *dogī*
You all to meal serve give
'Will you serve food to everyone?' (Kachru 2006, p 174)

Urdu also uses the second person pronouns *tū* and *tum*, and the honorific form *āp*. The use of these three forms is similar to that in Hindi. Schmidt (1999) claims that the way these terms of address are used to convey meaning is similar to that of second person pronouns in the *T/V* system. For example, the informal pronouns, *tū* and *tum,* may be used to express closeness or distance in a way that is similar to *T*. *Tū* is used with offspring and intimates, yet, may be used as an insult or also to address servants or subordinates. Furthermore, *tum* is used to address one or more people who are younger or of lower status, yet, may also be used when addressing people of equal status in

informal circumstances. In addition, the message conveyed by use of *āp,* when addressing one person, is similar to that conveyed by use of *V. Āp* is used to address one or more people of higher status and older people to express deference, yet, is also commonly used by people of equal status in formal situations.

4.4 Pronominal address in Non-Indo-European languages

The use of personal pronouns as terms of address can also found in some non-IE languages. For example, a system of subject personal pronouns form part of the address system in Tamil, a Dravidian language of Southern India and Sri Lanka and can also be found in the address systems of Japanese and Korean. The use of subject personal pronouns as terms of address in Tamil shows some similarities with their use in IE languages. However, in Japanese and Korean they function differently.

4.4.1 *Tamil*

Tamil uses a system of singular and plural second person pronouns. In Tamil, plural pronoun is used to show deference to a single addressee. Brown and Levinson (1987, pp 201& 293) state that in archaic Tamil *nii* was used as a SPSP and *niim* was used as a SPPP. The honorific *yir* was added to *nii* and created *niir* which became used as a SPPP to address more than one person and a formal SPSP. In order, to distinguish between the two uses of *niir* the plural morpheme, *ka(L),* was added to create the SPPP *niirka(L).* This reintroduced a singular / plural pronoun dimension *nii / niirkal.* Nevertheless, the new plural, *niirkal,* began to be used to a single addressee as a sign of respect, causing *niir* to become disused as it was considered second-best in terms of politeness. As a result, *niinka(L)* replaced *niirka(L)* as both the formal SPSP and informal SPPP. As a result, in Tamil today the informal SPSP *nii*, is used in the same way as *T,* and the formal SPSP, *niir,* is used to express respect in the same way as *V.* However, *niir* is rarely used as the SPPP, *niinka(L),* is used most often to express respect to one person. Table 5 illustrates the second person pronoun system used in Tamil.

Table 5 Person-number switch in Tamil pronoun usage

Actual singular referent	**Forms used**	**Literal meaning**
Addressee	*Nii*	'you' (singular)
	Atu	'it'
	Niir *Niinka*	'you' (singular) with connotations of respectful equality *(niir* archaic 'you' (plural))
	Niinka	'you' (plural)
	Naam	'we'(inclusive)
	taanka	'themselves'

(Adapted from Brown and Levinson 1987, p 201)

4.4.2 Japanese

Japanese also employs a system of second person pronouns as terms of address. However, they do not function in the same way as second person pronouns in European languages as they do not influence the morphology of the verb when used in a sentence. In Japanese, personal pronouns are classified in relation to level of formality. Therefore, personal pronouns may be very formal, formal, informal or very informal. In addition, personal pronouns are allocated by gender. There are personal pronouns which are used exclusively by women and those which are used exclusively by men. Nevertheless, there are some pronouns which are neutral and can be used by both (see tables 6a and 6b). Choice of address form in Japanese is influenced by gender, age and social status and formal terms of address are used most often by women to men, young people to their elders, and lower classes to upper classes. Ide (1979) proposes that sex-differentiation in Japanese is clearly observed and maintains that even the use of the neutral pronouns by men and women is different. Furthermore, Ide claims that the reason for the different usage is based on the fact that in Japanese society, women are expected to be modest even when there is no difference in status between speaker and addressee. As a result, power is ascribed to the male role and women will invariably choose to use formal speech when addressing men. This difference also extends to language use within family units. For example, a husband will address his wife with the very informal SPSP, *omae,* yet to show respect his wife will address him with the more formal SPSP, *anata,* which can be used by men and women, rather than the very informal SPSP, *anta.* However, although the husband will not address his wife using the formal pronoun, *anata,* this pronoun may be used by the same man to address people outside the family to indicate social distance but not necessarily inequality. This

example of non-reciprocal usage of pronouns demonstrates the inequality in relationships between spouses in Japanese.

Table 6a and 6b illustrate the Japanese pronoun system. Table 6a shows the singular personal pronouns and table 6b shows the plural personal pronouns. In both tables second person pronouns are categorised according to level of formality, which range from formal to very informal.

Table 6a Singular personal pronouns in Japanese

Level of formality	**Second person singular 'You'**
Very formal	
Formal	Anata
Informal	Kimi (male)
Very informal	Omae (male) Anta

Table 6b Plural personal pronouns in Japanese

Level of formality	**Second person plural 'You'**
Very formal	
Formal	Anata-*gata*
Informal	Kimi-*tachi* (male) Anata-*tachi* Kimi-*ra* (male)
Very informal	Omae-*tachi* (male) Anta-*tachi* Omae-*ra* (male) Anta-*ra*

(Tsutsui and Makino 1997. p.29)

4.4.3 Korean

Korean also employs personal pronouns as terms of address. However, in Korean, second person pronouns tend to be used only when addressing children. Song (2005) and Young-mee (2000) state that the system of second person pronouns and their use in Korean is very complicated and hence, speakers tend to avoid using second person pronouns rather than risk insulting the addressee. For this reason, honorific phrases are formed using informal and formal verb endings and are used with terms of address in the place of second person pronouns.

First person pronouns are used in Korean and may be informal *(plain)* or formal *(humble)*, there is no very formal first person pronoun. Byon (2006) states that informal *(plain)* first person singular and plural pronouns *na 'I'* and *wuli* 'we' are used when the speaker and addressee share an equal status level or the speaker is superior to, or knows

the addressee well. Formal *(humble)* first person singular and plural pronouns *ce* 'I' and *cehuy* 'we', are used when the addressee has higher status or is unknown to the speaker. The examples below illustrate the use of first person pronouns and informal and formal verb phrases in Korean. In example 35, the informal *(plain)* first person plural pronoun *wuli* 'we' (plural) and the informal verb ending *-e* are used by the speaker to address a person of equal or lower status.

35. *Ecey* *wuli* *moim-ey* *wa-cwu ( )ese*
Yesterday our meeting-to come- give ( )-so
komawe-ss *-e*
thank-[you] - informal verb ending
'I appreciate that you came to our meeting yesterday' (Byon 2006, p 258).

However, in example 36, the speaker is addressing someone with higher status than themselves and therefore, uses a formal *(humble)* first person plural pronoun *cehuy* 'we' and the formal verb endings – *(u) si-* and *-(su)p.nita.*

36. *Ecey* *cehuy* *moim-ey* *wa- cw-u-si– ese*
Yesterday our meeting-to come- give -me-so
komawess *-supnita*
thank-[you] - very formal ending
'I appreciate that you came to our meeting yesterday' (Byon 2006, p 258).

Although the grammatical make up of the IE, discussed in section 4.2 and non-IE languages discussed in this section may differ, there is a common theme running through the address systems used in each. That is, that the choice of term of address in an exchange is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Furthermore, this relationship tends to influence the level of formality of the exchange. For example, in Romance languages, the Indian languages and Tamil an informal SPSP is used to address people who are close to the speaker, friends and family and formal pronouns are used when there is greater social distance between the speaker and the addressee. In addition, in Indian languages, such as Hindi and Urdu, and non-IE languages close relationships are further divided into those which are intimate, very close and those which are familiar, close but not intimate, and a different pronoun is

used for each type of relationship. Similarities can be seen between the address system in Hindi and Urdu and that of Colombian Spanish. For example, Hindi and Urdu use two informal SPSP, *tū* and *tum* and Colombian Spanish also has two possible SPSPs, *vos* and *tú.* Although *vos* and *tú* may be interchangeable in many parts of Colombia, *vos* is often seen as the more informal of the two pronouns. In addition, the use of the honorific term *ap* in Hindi and Urdu as a formal term of address is similar to the use of *su merced* in Colombian Spanish to express deference.

Friedrich (1966) claims that pronouns refer to universal properties of speech as there must be a speaker, addressee and topic of discourse. Second person pronouns used in a conversation are particularly delicate indicators of the socio-cultural and personal relationship between the speaker and addressee. Hence, understanding patterns of address and the factors affecting their usage allows one to gain a deeper understanding of how language is used to express the proximity of relationships.

4.5 Non-pronominal address

Linguistic features other than second person pronouns may also be used to address someone directly. Some of the non-pronominal terms of address used in IE languages are names: first names, last names, nicknames, pet names, terms of endearment, insults and kinship terms, terms used to refer to familiar relations. These non-pronominal terms of address may also be found as part of the address system in non-IE languages. In addition, many non-IE languages also use terms referring to occupational and social roles, honorific phrases and strategic elevating and lowering strategies as part of the system of address. Irvine (1995, p 1) defines honorifics as: "forms of speech that signal social deference, through conventionalised understandings of some aspect(s) of the form-meaning relationship." Fillmore (1975) suggests that honorifics are considered part of the deictic system of a language, as the use of specific features is dependent on a variety of variables such as the status of speaker and addressee, the relationship between the speaker and addressee and the formality of the situation and setting. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that Fillmore's suggestion has two merits. Firstly, considering honorifics as part of the deictic system of a language gives structure to the possible distinctions between kinds of honorifics. Secondly, it sets limitations to the variety of honorifics. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 180) claim that: "every kind must be anchored to some particular aspect of the speech event – speaker,

addressee, other participants or over hearers, and settings". Therefore, if honorifics are considered part of the deictic structure of a language it can be assumed that honorifics will follow similar universals properties to those outlined by Friedrich (1966) for pronouns.

The choice of address forms in Japanese and Korean is influenced by four factors: i) social position, ii) age, iii) sex and iv) outgroupness of speaker and interlocutor and this choice is governed by speech levels.

4.5.1 Japanese

Martin (1964) states that Japanese uses six speech levels which determine the use of personal pronouns and honorific phrases. Three levels govern patterns of reference *humble* (informal), neutral and *exalted* (formal) and three levels of style influence patterns of address, *plain* (informal), *polite* (formal) and *deferential* (very formal). However, no *deferential* (very formal) copula exists and therefore address is considered to be *plain* (informal), denoted by the copula *dá* and verb ending *(r)u,* or *polite* (formal), denoted by the copula *désu* and verb ending *masu*. The level of formality of the verb endings and copulas which combine with verbs to form terms of address is determined by the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. Furthermore, this determines whether a phrase is informal or formal. These address forms are then used with kinship terms, social role and occupational role when addressing someone.

According to Fillmore (1975, p 81) "In Japanese one tends to use honorifics or honorific endearment [formal language] with members of one's family but the humble [informal] equivalent when talking to people outside one's family". In addition, within a family, if the speaker is considered superior to the addressee the speaker may use a kinship term as a form of self-address. However, if the speaker is not considered superior he may only use a first person pronoun in self-address. Conversely, if the addressee is considered superior to the speaker, the speaker must employ a kinship term or SPSP when addressing him or alternatively the addressee's name with *–san*, a title of respect similar to *Mr.* or *Mrs.* in English. Therefore, in example 37 the speaker addresses Tanaka as *Tanaka-san* 'Mr Tanaka'.

37. *Tanaka*-san *no* *inu* *desu* *ne*?
Mr Tanaka that dog be not?
'That is the dog of Mr Tanaka, isn't it?' (Tsutsui and Makino 1995, p 37)

In exchanges with non-family members when the speaker is superior to the addressee he must use the addressee's social role when addressing him (see example 38).

38. *Sensei* *wa* *Amerika* *no* *daigaku* *de*
nihongo Teacher will America an College
at the professor
o *o-oshie- ni nari-* *masu*
teach+(very formal + formal verb ending)
'The teacher will teach Japanese at an American college'.

(Tsutsui and Makino 1995, p 37)

4.5.2 Korean

Korean uses six speech levels which are classified in relation to formality and group membership. Three speech levels are informal: *plain* (informal), *intimate* (very informal), *familiar* (most informal), and are used to express intimacy or solidarity to members of one's 'in-group', relationships which are close, such as family members and friends. The other three are formal: *polite* (formal), *authoritative* (very formal) and *deferential* (most formal) and are used to express formality and show deference when addressing members of one's 'out-group', relationships which are not close or are marked by social distance such as people outside the family, superiors or people one does not know well or at all. In addition, verb endings are used to influence the level of formality of an exchange. The informal speech levels correspond to Brown and Gilman's (1960) use of the informal pronoun *T*. The informal level is used to express solidarity with or condescension of younger people, the very informal level is used to express closeness based on intimacy with family members and the most informal level is used to express closeness based on familiarity with friends. At the same time, the formal speech levels correspond to Brown and Gilman's use of the formal pronoun *V*. The formal level is used to express distance or formality with strangers, the very formal level is used to give respect to older family members and the most formal level is used to show deference to people of higher status. In Korean close friendship is rigidly age-graded and addressees more than two years older or younger than the speaker are addressed differently from those of the same age as the speaker. Ervin-Tripp (1972) claims that in Korean, status is first assessed, if status is equal then relative age within

two years is assessed, if that is equal, then solidarity (shared group membership) will differentiate informal and formal speech. Martin (1964) claims that in Korean, both inferiors and superiors are addressed differently to equals and patterns of non-reciprocal address have been observed in local Korean dialects. For example, in the local dialect in Seoul, the very formal form, –swu/-su, is used with older family members and servants to show respect. However, the very informal form, –e, and informal, –ta, are used to address young people to express intimacy and solidarity respectively. The very informal form is used with younger family members, and the informal form is used with young people outside the family.

Howell (1967) states that solidarity may have several forms in one society and maintains that Korean separates intimacy from solidarity, which is illustrated by the way speech levels are used to express solidarity based on friendship to friends and solidarity based on family ties to family members.

4.5.3 Javanese

In Javanese, the language spoken on the island of Java in Indonesia, the system of address is based around the use of '*stylemes*' and honorific phrases which regulate the formality of the language. A *styleme* is a unit of Javanese speech which is made up of a linked three conjugate set[18]. Geertz (1976) states that speech patterns employed by the Javanese are organised in a similar way to their social behaviour and therefore, the linguistic forms used by the Javanese are strongly connected to status and familiarity. As a result, a number of words and affixes carry a 'status meaning' as well as their intended linguistic meaning. When these words and affixes are used in conversation they not only convey meaning but also suggest the status and degree of familiarity between speaker and addressee. Hence, patterns of non-reciprocal address occur which are similar to those used in pronominal systems of address.

The system of address in Javanese is very complex and status plays a large part in when and how specific features of the language are used. For example, Geertz (1976, p 231) highlights a variety of words which are all used to express the pronoun 'you' each ascending in value from lower to higher based on formality and status; *kowé* (very informal), *sampéjan* (informal) *padjenengan* (formal), *pandjenengan dalem* (very formal). Geertz states that: "status meanings are communicated in speech not only

[18] A 'styleme' is the term used by Geertz which is based on a suggestion by Rufus Hendon.

intentionally in terms of word selection within the speaker's dialect but unintentionally in terms of the dialect he uses as a whole" (see appendix 1). For example, the phrase 'Where are you coming from?' can be expressed in different forms depending on the status held by the speaker and addressee. When addressing someone lower than oneself or someone with whom one is close the follow phrase is used (see example 39).

39. *Kowé* *seka* *endi?*
You coming where
'Where are you coming from?' (Geertz 1976, p 231)

Yet, when addressing a superior or someone unfamiliar, the following phase is used (see example 40).

40. *Pandjenegan* *saking* *tindak* *pundi?*
You coming from where?
Where are you coming from? (Geertz 1976, p 231)

As a result, exchanges between members of different classes are non-reciprocal. For example, Geertz (1976, p 253) maintains that in an exchange between an upper class official and a middle class educated individual, the upper class official will use the very informal dialect, *Ngoko biasa,* when addressing the middle class individual but will receive the very formal, polite dialect, *Karma inggil.* Equally, a low class peasant speaking to someone of higher status will use the formal dialect, *Karma madya,* and receive the very informal dialect, *Ngoko biasa.*

4.5.4 Wolof

Wolof, the language spoken by the Wolof tribe in Senegal, uses a system of lowering and elevating expressions when addressing someone. Wolof society is divided based on hierarchically ranked status groups, or castes, and an individual must always place himself in an unequal ranking in an exchange, such as a greeting. The Wolof greeting is divided into two distinct roles, the role of initiator –questioner (I-Q), which is considered to be associated with the lower ranking members of society, or respondent (R), associated with the higher ranking members of society. In an exchange, the lower ranking individual will speak first asking questions about the higher ranking

individual's welfare. Irvine (1975, p 173) states that, "A noble does not go to greet a *nyenyo* (person of low caste); it is the *nyenyo* who must come to greet him". This pattern is also true in relation to age and gender, younger family members will speak first when greeting older family members and women will speak first when greeting men.

In the Wolof culture, to visit someone's compound is to show respect and the person who enters or moves towards the other speaks first asking questions about the other's welfare out of respect. As a result, a set of associations are followed which recall the cultural stereotypes of the upper class noble and the lower class *griot*. Figure 5 demonstrates this set of associations. The lower class *griot* is the initiator in the greeting so will speak first. This set of associations is based on the Wolof idea that lower ranking persons travel more. Therefore, the *griot* will move and the upper class noble will remain stationary.

Initiator	*Speaker*	*Moving*	*Low Status*	*Griot*
Respondent	*Non-Speaker*	*Stationary*	*High Status*	*Noble*

Figure 5 Associations which recall cultural stereotypes (Irvine 1975, p 173)

Irvine states that when the greeting takes place there is a general pattern which is followed. Figure 6 illustrates a typical Wolof greeting. Person A is the *griot*, who is the initiator and person B is the noble who is the respondent (see fig 5 p 117).

Salutation	A *Salaam alikum* Peace be with you	B *Malikum salaam* With you be Peace
Question 1	A *Mbaa dyamm ngg'am?* Don't you have peace?	B *Dyamm rek, naam.* Peace only, yes
Question 2	A *Ana waa kïr gi?* Where/How are the people of the household?	B *Nyu-ngga fa.* They are there
Praising God	A *H'mdillay* Thanks be to God	B *H'mdillay Tubarkalla* Thanks be to God Blessed be God

Figure 6 A typical Wolof greeting (1975, p 173)

Based on the above status associations of greeting, anyone engaging in an encounter must place themselves in an unequal ranking. Therefore, when interlocutors are equal they must come to some agreement on who will take the higher-ranking role and who will take the low-ranking one. The role assumed by speaker and addressee will then determine the language used by each to address the other. Irvine (1975, p 460 n 9 p 175) quotes a Wolof proverb which summarizes the principle of social inequality inherent in the greeting: "*Sawaa dyi, sawaa dyi, gatyangga tya, ndamangga, ca*[19]"

In Wolof, as an individual must place him or herself in an unequal ranking in exchanges, status strategies are used for self-lowering or self-elevating. This is not the same kind of behaviour as politeness or rudeness. It is important to bear in mind that a person's social rank does not dictate the rank they assume in the exchange. Higher status as well as implying prestige, respect and political power, also implies the obligation to contribute to the support of lower-status persons. Therefore, high rank means a financial burden, whereas, low rank has financial compensations. By taking the lower status in an exchange the speaker implies that at some stage in the future they expect to call on the addressee for financial assistance. Hence, a noble talking to a low-caste griot may take the lower status in order to prevent the griot from doing so and therefore forestall the griot's request for gifts. However, Irvine (1975) claims that this may also be done to single the griot out as someone worthy of respect and friendship.

The use of the various terms of address mentioned in this section is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and addressee. As a result, the terms of address used in any particular situation reveal information about the individuals involved in an exchange in relation to one another. Therefore, it can be said that terms of address encode relationships.

4.6 Power and Solidarity in IE languages

Brown and Gilman (1960) investigated the use of second person pronouns as address forms in a range of European languages and based on the findings of this research proposed a theory which claims that choice of second person pronoun is influenced by the level of power and solidarity in a relationship. In relation to the role of power Brown and Gilman (1960, p 255) claim that one person may be said to control the behaviour of the other. In addition, Brown and Gilman state that: "Power is a

[19] 'When two persons greet each other, one has shame, the other has glory.'

relationship between at least two people, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour." Therefore, within a power-based dyad one member of the dyad is seen as superior to the other in terms of their age, strength, wealth, or social status i.e. older than, stronger than, richer than, or socially higher than. As power is non-reciprocal, patterns of pronoun use based on power are also nonreciprocal. The superior, the person with more power, addresses the inferior, the person with less power, using informal *T* and the inferior responds using formal *V*. Brown and Gilman (1960) propose that in IE languages choice of *T/V* is based on differences in age, gender and socio-economic level. This is illustrated in figure 7. In dyad (a) the employer holds a position of employment which is superior to that of the employee and therefore, has more power in this dyad. In dyad (b) the parent is superior to the child in age and also holds a greater position of authority in the family. Furthermore, power may be ascribed to a particular role due to stereotypes or beliefs within a particular society. For example, in male dominated societies more power is ascribed to male roles than female roles. Therefore, in this type of society the role of husband has more power than the role of wife and the husband is superior in dyad (c).

Superior -	(a) employer	(b) parent	(c) husband
	T ↓ ↑V	T ↓ ↑ V	T ↓ ↑ V
Inferior -	employee	child	wife

Figure 7 Power-based dyads (adapted from Brown and Gillman 1960, p 260)

In a dyad where there is no division of power patterns of pronoun use is reciprocal. Nevertheless, the speaker and addressee's social status determines which pronoun, *T* or *V,* is used reciprocally. In Medieval Europe the use of *V* in the singular was a mark of elegance. As mentioned in section 4.3.1, in Roman times, the Latin second person plural pronoun, *vos,* was only used in the singular to address the emperor. However, by the early fifteenth century the use of a SPPP towards a single addressee was adopted by members of the upper class, who then began exchanging mutual *V*. This habit of exchanging mutual *V* eventually resulted in the use of V in the singular becoming an indicator of high status. Brown and Gilman (1960, p 257) claim that as a result of the reciprocal use of *V* by the upper class a distinction developed where "differences of power caused *V* to emerge in one direction of address and differences

not concerned with power caused *V* to emerge in both directions". By the seventeenth century, among the French nobility and bourgeoisie the practice of exchanging mutual *V* had extended to husbands and wives, lovers, and parents and children. At the same time, members of the lower class, such as servants and peasants, began exchanging mutual *T*.

Brown and Gilman (1960, p 258) claim that the use of reciprocal *V* by the upper classes and reciprocal *T* by the lower class developed from a sense of like-mindedness or shared political membership and defined this type of shared group membership as solidarity. Furthermore, the use of *T* became more likely the closer the relationship and use of *V* became more probable as solidarity among interlocutors declined. As a result, *T* became associated with closeness or intimacy and *V* became associated with the expression of deference. Brown and Gilman (1960, p 269) claim that towards the end of the eighteenth century, the increase of an equalitarian ideology throughout Europe created distaste for face-to-face expressions of differential power. For example, during the French revolution (1789-99) the Committee for Public Safety, spurred by a desire to express the equalitarian ideal in opposition to the upper class preference for *V*, condemned the use of *V* and ordered a universal use of *T*. As a result, there was a general animus against *V* and *T* became the pronoun of the revolution. However, this was not true across all of Europe. Kantorovich (1966) states that in Russia, revolutionaries declared that they wanted respect more than solidarity and chose to shun the use of *T* in favour of *V*.

The influence of solidarity on patterns of address added another dimension to Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory. Relationships based on power were analysed in relation to differences in age, gender and socio-economic level between speaker and addressee and patterns of address were either non-reciprocal (*T*-*V*) where the speaker or addressee was superior, or reciprocal (mutual *T* or *V*) when speaker and addressee were on an equal footing in relation to age, gender or socio-economic level. However, the introduction of solidarity as a factor influencing choice of address form meant that relationships which were not on an equal footing in relation to age, gender or socio-economic level could be solidary, on an equal footing in relation to solidarity. In the same way relationships which were on an equal footing in relation to age, gender and socio-economic level could be not solidary, on an unequal footing in relation to solidarity. Hence, there were four possible situations in a dyad. The speaker and addressee could be: i) on an equal footing in relation to age, gender and socio-economic level and solidary, ii) on an unequal footing in relation to age, gender and socio-

economic level and solidary, iii) on an equal footing in relation to age, gender and socio-economic level and not solidary, or iv) on an unequal footing in relation to age, gender and socio-economic level and not solidary.

Brown and Gilman (1960, p 258) found that the speaker's attitude also influences patterns of pronoun use and therefore, the use of *T* as a marker of intimacy and *V* as a marker of deference could be perceived from alternative standpoint depending on how and when it is used. That is to say, a speaker could use *T,* the pronoun of solidarity, to expressing condescension by creating a distance between himself and an inferior addressee. In addition, *V,* the pronoun of deference, could be used to acknowledge the formality of a situation or show respect for the social distance between speaker and addressee. This two-dimensional system is illustrated in figure 8.

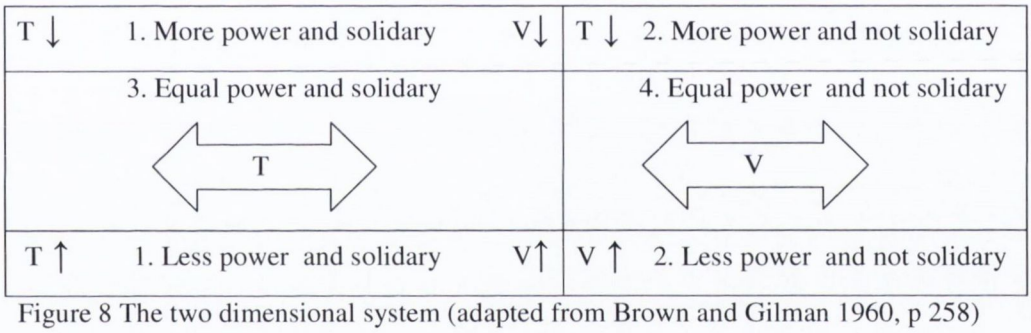


Figure 8 The two dimensional system (adapted from Brown and Gilman 1960, p 258)

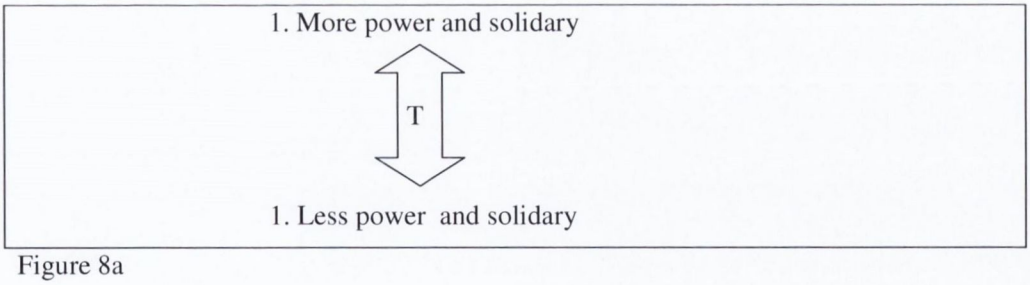


Figure 8a

In dyad 1 (see figure 8a) the speaker and addressee are solidary yet differ in relation to levels of power (age, gender or socio-economic level). If the speaker is superior and refers to the addressee using *T*, this may be perceived as an expression of closeness as the use of *T* lowers the status of the speaker so that speaker and addressee are on an equal footing and emphasises the solidarity of the relationship rather than the inequality of power.

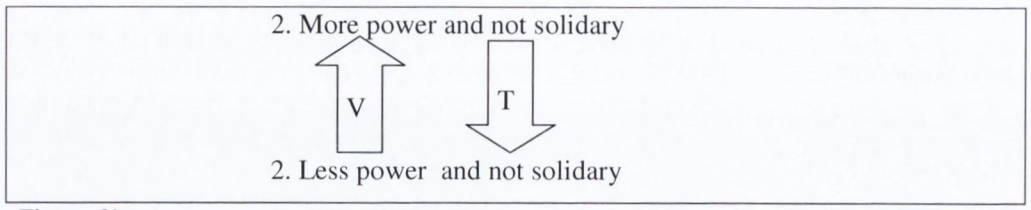


Figure 8b

However, if the speaker in dyad 2 (see figure 8b), which is unequal in power and not solidary, refers to the addressee as *T,* this may be perceived as an expression of condescension as the superior speaker knows the addressee will respond using *V.* Therefore, the use of *T* highlights the addressee's inferior status. Furthermore, in dyad 2 the inferior addressee will respond with *V* to acknowledge the difference in power between speaker and addressee, and to acknowledge the formality of the exchange. However, whether or not this use of *V* is an expression of deference for the speaker depends on the relationship between speaker and addressee. If the addressee admires the speaker, *V* may be used to express deference. Nevertheless, if the addressee does not know the speaker well the speaker *V* may be used to express formality.

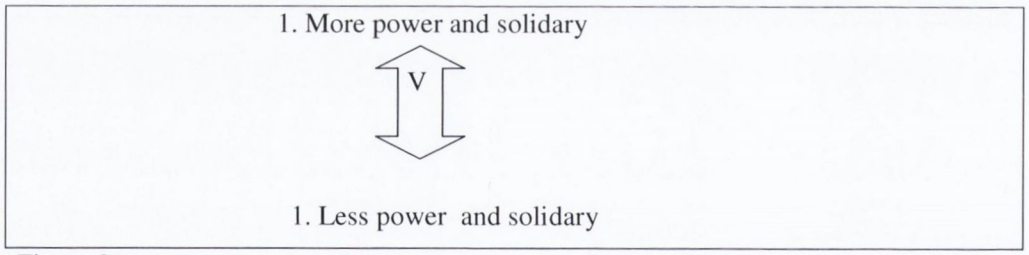


Figure 8c

On the other hand, in dyad 1(see figure 8c) if the speaker with more power refers to the addressee using *V,* the formal term of address conveys respect by raising the addressee's status to equal that of the speaker. In this dyad there is solidarity between speaker and addressee and the addressee uses *V* to express respect for the superior speaker. In addition, the use of *V* by the speaker, who knows the addressee will respond using *V,* also conveys the solidarity of the relationship.

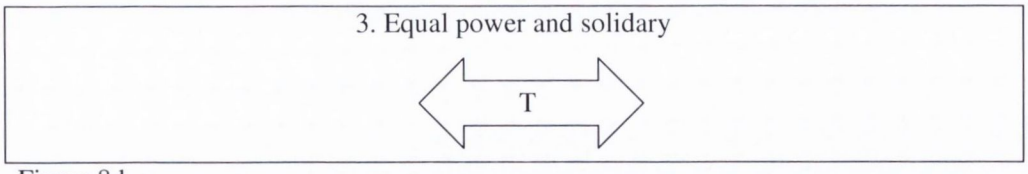


Figure 8d

In dyad 3 (see figure 8d) the speaker and addressee are on an equal footing in relation to status and the relationship is solidary. Therefore, mutual *T* may be used regardless of the status of the interlocutors. For example, upper class interlocutors may use mutual *T* to indicate a solidary relationship. At the same time, lower class interlocutors may use mutual *T* to indicate equal social status and solidarity.

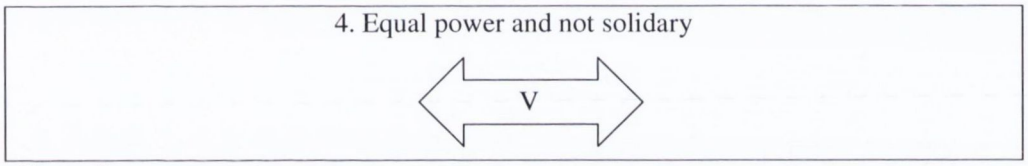


Figure 8e

Finally, in dyad 4 (see figure 8e) the social status of the interlocutors is equal, yet, the relationship is not solidary. Hence, interlocutors may use mutual *V* to create a distance between speaker and addressee and stress the lack of solidarity regardless of socio-economic level. Brown and Gilman's (1960) findings reveal that patterns of pronoun use are not only influenced by age, gender and socio-economic level of speaker and addressee, but also by the relationship between speaker and addressee.

Hill and Hill (1978, p 142) claim that the 3rd person verb conjugation used with *V* creates maximal social distance using a metaphor of *compadrazgo* 'the kinship relationship between the parent and godparents of a child or between the godparents of the same child' where the speaker in a sense pretends not to be speaking to his addressee at all. In modern Nahuatl the most formal level of direct address is known as *compadrazgo*; at this level *compadres*[20] address each other in the third person.

Brown and Gilman's (1960) findings were based on a series of general observations, and focused primarily on the use and the grammatical structure of second person pronouns in IE languages and the social structure of European society. As a result, second person pronouns were analysed in relation to the social status of the

[20] The parent and godparents of a child or the godparents of the same child

interlocutors. The interlocutors' social status was then used to determine the meaning conveyed by the second person pronouns based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) two dimensional theory. This theory proposes that *V* is used by upper class interlocutors to convey mutual respect and *T* is used by lower class interlocutors to convey closeness. However, when *V* is used by a lower class speaker or *T* is used by an upper class speaker it is the status level of the interlocutors which determines the meaning conveyed (figure 8). For instance, *V* is used by lower class speakers to convey formality to a socially superior addressee in formal situations or to convey respect. Hill and Hill (1978) maintain that in the case where people know each other well the same linguistic features which express social distance may be an expression of regard for the addressee. At the same time, *T* is used by upper class speakers to express closeness with someone who is socially equal or condescension to a socially inferior addressee. Nevertheless, *T* may also be used as an attempt to express closeness to an inferior addressee depending on the relationship between the interlocutors. Therefore, pronoun shifting is often an effort to stress or adjust the social hierarchy of the dyad. However, the right to initiate use of *T* belongs to the superior interlocutor. As a result, an upper class speaker may use *T* to stress the social distance between him and a lower class addressee, or to remove the social distance. In addition, an upper class speaker may use *V* to a lower class addressee in order to raise the addressee's social level and express respect.

Brown and Gilman (1960) refer to an example of pronoun shifting given to them by various French mountaineers who claimed that mountaineers above a certain critical altitude automatically shift to mutual *T*. This altitude happens to be the point at which the mountaineers' lives are hanging by a single thread. This example of pronoun use was analysed by Brown and Gilman (1960) in relation to level of power and solidarity between the mountaineers. As a result, Brown and Gilman (1960, p 262) claim that mutual *T* was used by the mountaineers as the result of a sense of camaraderie resulting from a common task or a common fate. However, this example of pronoun shifting may also be used to demonstrate how pronouns can be used to encode relationships. In this example, the characteristics of speaker and addressee´s age, gender and socio-economic level have not changed and therefore, the power balance within the dyad has not shifted. However, the precariousness of the situation has resulted in a need for the mountaineers to depend on one another. As a result, the relationships become momentarily closer and the shift to mutual *T* expresses solidarity.

Haverkate (1984) refers to an example, given by Beinhauer (1958, p 22 cited in Haverkate 1984, p 54), of pronoun shifting in Spanish where the speaker exercises power over the hearer to create interpersonal distance. In this example a mother asks a child to sit down using *tú* (see example 41). However, when the child does not cooperate the mother switches to *usted* in order to emphatically order the child to sit down (see example 42).

41. *¡Sienta -te!*
    Sit down yourself (2nd person)
    Sit down!

42. *¡Ahora se sienta usted!*
    Now yourself sit you
    Now sit down!

Another example of this was found during the data collection for this study. Participant 6, Sara Maria Pelayo, mentioned that when she speaks to her boss she usually addresses him as *usted* out of respect for his seniority. However, Sara stated that if her boss switches to *tú* during the conversation she sees this as an invitation for her to switch to *tú* and she does so.

Ervin-Tripp (1972) investigated the sociolinguistic rules of address in a variety of languages. One aspect of this research was an investigation of the practice of pronoun shifting. Ervin-Tripp (1972, p 237-8) refers to examples of shifting found by Friedrich (1966) and Kantorovich (1966) in Russian and claims that in Russian use of *T* by the speaker gives the addressee the "right to use *T*" but not the obligation to use it. Friedrich (1966) maintains that in Russian momentary shifts from *T* to *V* are made in times of personal crisis. For example, *T* is used among friends when talking about personal topics, yet friends may switch to *V* in public settings to mask intimacy. In addition, Kantorovich (1966) claims that businessmen who usually exchange *T* will switch to *V* and full name (FN) and patronymic, a name derived from the father's name, when requesting help or advice. As a result, Ervin-Tripp (1972, p 236) proposes that such changes in patterns of address are signals about the meaning being conveyed and states that: "When there is agreement about the normal address form to alters of specified statuses, then any deviation is a message." However, Ervin-Tripp (1972) maintains that

other signals, such as tone of voice, other address features and ambiguities of the relationship, need to be known to be able to fully interpret the message being conveyed.

Haverkate (1984) makes reference to a similar pattern of address used in Spanish which functions as a type of intermediate level formality between informal and formal. Where the level of equality between speaker and addressee oscillates between solidary and non-solidary the speaker may use *usted* in combination with the addressee´s first name (FN), thus creating an intermediate level of formality (see example 43). Haverkate concludes from this that Spanish has three levels of second person reference: i) informal *tú*, ii) formal *usted* and iii) semi-formal *usted* + FN.

43. *No* *se* *preocupe* *usted,* *Carmen.*
No yourself worry you, Carmen
Do not worry, Carmen.

Carrasco Santana (2002) also refers to this pattern of address in Spanish. Carrasco Santana states that when the level of solidarity between the interlocutors is low, the speaker may include *usted* with the FN to compensate for any over familiarity which may be interpreted by the use of the FN (see example 44).

44. *Pedro,* *¿Usted* *qué* *piensa?*
Pedro you what think
What do you think Pedro?

At the time that Brown and Gilman (1960) conducted their research, there were no mechanisms in place to analyse language at the level of individual speech acts. Therefore, although Brown and Gilman (1960) were aware that speaker's attitude may influence pronoun choice and that pronouns may be used to convey a particular meaning, the role of pronoun shifting in the encoding of relationships is an aspect of pronominal address which was not explored. Furthermore, the study of terms of address as an independent area of research practically came to a standstill after Brown and Gilman's (1960) findings were published. From this point on, until the publication of Brown and Levinson's (1987) study of politeness strategies and FTAs, research into terms of address tended to focus on the address forms used in specific languages or focus on politeness theory.

4.7 Politeness Theory

Another study which made a substantial impact on the analysis of terms of address was Brown and Levinson´s (1978) research into the role of terms of address in expressing politeness across a number of IE and non-IE languages. This research revived the study of terms of address and provided a new approach to this area of research. In their work Brown and Levinson used politeness theory to analyse the meaning conveyed by terms of address in a variety of languages in order to determine the universal strategies of politeness in use. Based on the findings of this research Brown and Levinson propose that a set of politeness strategies underpin the use of terms of address. However, the findings of this research, which were published in Goody (1978) did not initially make a great linguistic impact and it was not until Brown and Levinson's (1987) research was published as a complete book that the findings made a substantial impression on the world of linguistics. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 2) propose that: "precise parallels in language usage in many different languages can be shown to derive from certain assumptions about 'face' – individuals' self-esteem". As a result, a new perspective was introduced to the study of terms of address and Brown and Levinson's practice of 'practical reasoning' provided the mechanisms to analyse the meaning conveyed by terms of address, which Brown and Gilman (1960) had been lacking.

Brown and Levinson's findings in relation to politeness theory were based on three main strategies of politeness: i) 'positive politeness' (the expression of solidarity), ii) 'negative politeness' (the expression of restraint) and iii) 'off-record (politeness)' (the avoidance of unequivocal impositions) and how the use of each is related to social determinants, such as the relationship between speaker and addressee and the potential offensiveness of the message content. The purpose of this research was to investigate the use of terms of address at an individual level. Brown and Levinson claim that speaker and addressee want to maintain each other's face and therefore will engage in a process of 'practical reasoning' when involved in an exchange. As a result, they will employ a set of strategies designed to avoid or minimise the affect of FTAs (see fig 3).

The notion of 'face' which is a key concept in Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory derives from Goffman (1967) and from the English folk terms 'losing face' and 'saving face'. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that when involved in an situation

which is a possible FTA, the agent, the speaker or addressee, must decide whether or not to commit the FTA (see figure 9).

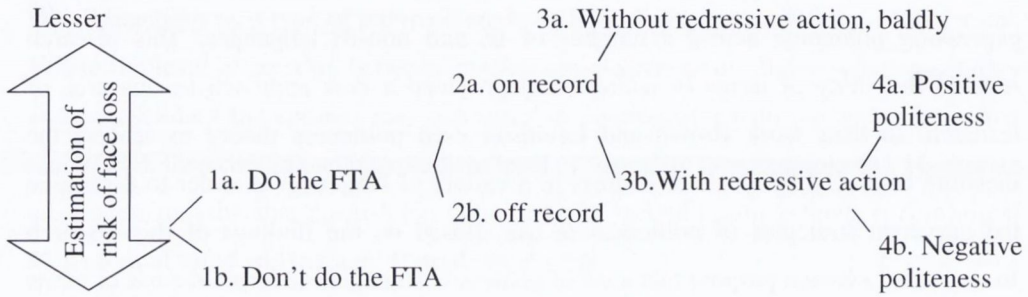


Fig.9 Circumstances determining choice of strategy (Brown and Levinson (1987, p 60)

If the agent decides to 'do the FTA' (1a) then he can choose to go 'on record' (2a) and clearly communicate the intention, or go 'off record' (2b) and indirectly imply the intention without having to commit himself to the intent. Then, if the agent chooses to go 'on record' there are two options; he can go 'on record' baldly, without redressive action (3a) or with redressive action (3b). When a FTA is done without redressive action it is done in the clearest most direct way. This tends to occur when the speaker and addressee agree due to urgency or efficiency, when the threat to the addressee's face is minimal, or when the speaker is greatly superior to the addressee. When a FTA is done with redressive action it is done in a way which will offset any potential damage.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p 70) claim that redressive action can take one of two forms: i) positive-politeness or ii) negative politeness, depending on which aspect of face, positive or negative, is being stressed. Positive-politeness is approach-based and focuses on the positive 'face' of the addressee; the addressee's wish that his wants be desirable. Positive politeness redress (4a) aims to satisfy the addressee's need by demonstrating that the speaker's wants are similar to the addressee's wants. This type of redressive action takes in the addressee's wants in general. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 101) state that: "the linguistic realizations of positive politeness are in many respects simply representative of the normal linguistic behaviour between intimates, where interest and approval of each other's personality, presuppositions indicating shared wants and shared knowledge, implicit claims to reciprocity of obligations or to reflexivity of wants, etc. are routinely exchanged." Therefore, positive politeness is used

as a type of extension of intimacy to imply common ground or shared wants between speaker and addressee. Furthermore, positive politeness strategies can be used as: "a social accelerator, where S [the speaker], in using them, indicates that he wants to 'come closer' to H [the addressee]."

Conversely, Brown and Levinson (1987, p 129) propose that negative-politeness (4b) is avoidance based and focuses on the addressee's negative face: "his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded". Brown and Levinson claim that negative politeness is the core of respectful behaviour and aims to minimize the imposition of the FTA. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 130) propose that politeness in Western cultures is actually negative politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987, p 130) state that: "the linguistic realizations – conventional indirectness, hedges on illocutionary force, polite pessimism and the emphasis on H's relative power are the most elaborate and conventionalised set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress." That is to say that, negative politeness strategies may be used to distance speaker and addressee. Nevertheless, Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005, p 171) claim that: "The view that Peninsular Spanish is orientated towards the positive end of politeness has been generally accepted."

Brown and Levinson propose that negative face is weightier than positive face; showing respect for the freedom of action of the hearer is seen as more important than showing appreciation and approval of the hearer. However, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory has been criticized as having an anglocentric bias. This can be illustrated by this proposal which is culturally-bound in the Anglophile desire for freedom of action. Furthermore, Placencia (1996) criticizes this theory of negative politeness as it focuses on the individual. Placencia claims that this does not account for deferential behaviour in South America. For example, Ecuadorians, particularly in Quito, are more concerned with their position within a group than their freedom of action. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that in complex societies all over the world the upper and middle classes are superior in terms of power, wealth and status and therefore dominate the lower classes. As a result, in complex societies the dominated, lower class groups have positive-politeness cultures and the upper class; dominating groups have negative-politeness cultures. Hence, in the case of positive- and negative-politeness cultures in society, the dominated, lower class groups, which are built on social closeness, symmetrical solidarity and reciprocity, have a positive-politeness ethos, yet the loosely knit networks of the upper and middle class are constructed on a stern and cold

architecture of social distance, asymmetry, and resentment of impositions and have a negative-politeness ethos.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p 245) refer to the findings of Brown and Gilman (1960) in relation to the T/V system of pronominal address and state that: "*T/V* pronominal address in many Western societies [*V* usage at the top and *T* usage at the bottom], provides an index for upper-class negative-politeness ethos and lower-class positive politeness ethos." Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that the preference of the upper class for reciprocal *V is* due to a higher degree of social distance in the upper class. The habit of exchanging mutual *V*, which was adopted by the upper class in Medieval Europe, introduces a level of formality to the exchange. Therefore, even though speaker and addressee are on an equal level the language used is formal and maintains an element of restraint or distance. As a result, a speaker will use *V* as a form of negative politeness to redress a FTA and express distance between himself and his addressee. On the other hand, the use of mutual *T* by the lower class is based on like-mindedness and solidarity. This use of *T* to express solidarity creates a relaxed environment and also implies that speaker and addressee share the same wants. Therefore, by using *T* as a form of positive politeness to redress an FTA the speaker expresses closeness to the addressee.

Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) suggest that Brown and Levinson's theory has been criticized in relation to the principle of rationality, the rigidity of the social variables involved in the politeness scale, the neglect of discourse and context and the universality of face and of their politeness strategies. In relation to rationality, Ide (1989) claims that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory does not account for linguistic politeness behaviour in non-Western cultures such as Japanese culture where social conventions motivate the use of honorifics and speech used for rituals.

4.8 Other Approaches to Politeness Theory

The publication of Brown and Levinson's (1987) research findings resulted in a new focus for the study of terms of address. As a result, politeness theory was used to investigate terms of address and make observations about the meanings they convey. Kinginger (2000 p 21 & 27) referred to Brown and Gilman's (1960) ideas regarding the use of *T* to express closeness or condescension and the use of *V* to express respect or formality, and stated that "[s]ocio-pragmatic ambiguity arises because two maxims

guide the speaker to make the same linguistic choice." The same linguistic behaviour may be interpreted as following from either of the preceding maxims; i) a desire for increased hierarchal status difference or, ii) a desire for increased solidarity and intimacy. That is, a change from *V* to *T* by speaker may be interpreted as indicating increased solidarity, or as a change to a hierarchal face system to lower the speaker's social status, as in dyad 1 in figures 8 & 8a-e. Continued use of *V* by the addressee indicates an acceptance of the unequal status or a desire to distance himself from the speaker.

Dewaele (2004) also refers to the use of politeness theory in his research and claimed that pronominal use in French is inextricably linked to politeness, particularly in the presentation of self in communication and negotiation of face. In addition, Dewaele (2004) refers to ideas expressed by Kinginger (2000) which state that the meaning conveyed by use of a particular pronoun depends on the relationship between speaker and addressee as well as the realization of face systems. For example, the French second person plural pronoun, *vous*, may be used as a form of positive-politeness to show deference for a higher-status addressee or as a form of negative-politeness, to highlight the social distance between speaker and addressee. The speaker's use of formal *V* to acknowledge the addressee's superiority is done out of social obligation rather than respect, and is therefore, expressing formality as opposed to deference. Likewise, a speaker may use *T* as a form of positive-politeness to express solidarity with his addressee or as a form of negative-politeness to indicate the addressee's inferiority by creating a distance between himself and the addressee. Dewaele (2004) illustrates this claim via an example from Marianne Schoch's (1978, p 64) study of Francophone Swiss speaker's use of pronominal forms of address, which demonstrates that speakers from different classes attribute different meanings to *vous*. The highly educated speakers use *vous* to show reserve or to highlight the social distance between speaker and addressee. However, the blue collar workers use *vous* to show deference to a higher-status addressee. In addition, Dewaele (2004, p 385) maintains that Schoch´s (1978) findings reveal that attitudes to pronoun choice differ between socio-professional categories. Schoch (1978, p 63) found that university graduates reported that although they felt *vous* was the most appropriate term of address in formal situations, *tu* was often used between superiors and subordinates, yet, blue collar workers stated that they felt *vous* must be used with superiors. Therefore, these findings imply that although the university students were aware of the general linguistic

patterns, these patterns were viewed as flexible. However, the blue collar workers viewed these patterns as rules which must be adhered to. As the use of terms of address is viewed in different ways by members of different levels of society, choice of address form encodes information about the speaker's view of society and his attitude towards the addressee at the time of speaking.

Werkhofer (1992) claims that the act of behaving (im)politely is based on a social model or standard that dictates whether the performed act can be deemed polite or impolite. In addition, Márquez-Reiter (2000) states that polite behaviour is seen as a way of maintaining the equilibrium of interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005, p 143) refer to a definition of politeness in The Oxford English Dictionary of Etymology, which states that: "politeness / a polite person is someone who is of refined courteous manners, and claim that this definition highlights the connection with the expected social conduct of the upper classes in the 17^{th} century.

Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) refer to two other politeness models: a) the emotive communication view (Arndt and Janney 1985) and the rapport management view (Spencer-Oatey 2002) and suggest that these approaches are better adapted to the study of Spanish than the 'face-saving' view proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005, p 144) claim that the emotive communication view attempts to account for the affective signals that are involved in the speaker's expressions of politeness and so can be seen as the perspective on politeness which best captures the individual needs of the participants at any given moment in an encounter.

The rapport management view interprets linguistic politeness as a way of managing relationships and combines aspects of Lakoff (1973) and Leech's (1983) conversational maxim view and Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-saving view. Leech's (1983) work complemented Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) and Maxims of Conversation with a politeness principle (PP). Grice (1989, p 28) states that CP and Maxims of Conversation are based on the assumption that the main purpose of conversation is the effective exchange of information. Leech's (1983) PP works by minimizing the expressions of polite beliefs. Marquee-Reiter and Placencia (2005) claim that, in Leech´s work, politeness is defined as "the expression of polite beliefs that are favourable to the hearer" and impoliteness is "the expression of impolite beliefs that are unfavourable to the hearer." Leech (1983) proposes that politeness is the key pragmatic phenomenon which triggers the use of indirectness and one of the reasons

why speakers deviate from CP. Therefore, Leech´s PP can be seen as an attempt to explain the motivation behind the use of indirectness through use of a pragmatic scale. However, Leech´s maxims have been criticized as being culture-dependant. In addition, Fraser (1990) criticized this view as certain acts are said to be *ipso facto* polite or impolite irrespective of culture or the context in which they take place. Aspects of Leech's model were used as the departure point for Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) model of politeness. Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2002) breaks the motivational force behind the management of relationships into two separate concepts: a) the management of face, the desire to be acknowledged in our social identity roles, and b) the management of sociality rights, the desire to be evaluated positively in terms of personal qualities.

Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) suggest that Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1997) has offered the most detailed modifications to Brown and Levinsons´s theory. Kerbrat-Orecchioni argues that some speech acts are intrinsically polite or impolite and based on this distinguishes between negative and positive face and negative and positive politeness. Furthermore, Kerbrat-Orecchioni claims that speakers follow 'other-orientated' principles, which are favourable to the hearer and could be realised with tact or enhanced according to positive politeness, or 'self-orientated' principles, which are favourable to 'self' and could belong in the realm of negative or positive politeness.

Stewart (2003) proposes that in pro-drop languages the use of personal pronouns carries out a specific function and personal pronouns have a 'pragmatic weight'. Stewart referred to Davidson's (1996, p 551) ideas which claim that when a speaker chooses to express a pronoun where it could be omitted, this is done in order to carry out a particular function. For example, it is done to increase their 'stake' in what they are saying or equally to signal an attempt to take-over or hand-over the floor. Stewart's (2003) proposal that personal pronouns have a 'pragmatic weight' is based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on politeness theory and the ideas that pronouns can be used in the negotiation of 'face'. The use of personal pronouns with a morphologically unambiguous verbal form in a pro-drop language 'flouts' the Gricean maxim of quantity, which states that a speaker's contribution should be as informative as required, not more or less so, and invites the hearer to deduce unexpressed meaning. As a result, Stewart (2003, p 193) proposes that the pronoun functions as a 'hedge'[21] on the

[21] "A 'hedge' is a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership that of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is *partial*, or true only in certain respects, or that it is *more* true and complete than perhaps might be expected" (Brown and Levinson 1987, p 145).

propositional content encoded by the verb. This idea that personal pronouns are used to carry out a specific function and have a 'pragmatic weight' can be applied to the use of personal pronouns in general.

Stewart (2003, p 195) refers to Brown and Levinson´s (1987) work on positive- and negative-politeness, and illustrates examples of how Spanish second person pronouns are used by a speaker in an attempt to claim common ground and create solidarity with the addressee before going on to threaten the addressee's 'face' by expressing disagreement (see example 45)

45. *Fíjate* *que* *es* *que....ahí* *se* *plantea*
You focus that it is that there it plants
una *cuestión* *que* *a* *mí* *me*
a question that to me to me
parece *importante...* *la* *que* *dices* *tú* *la* *de*
seems important it that you say you the of
la *inercia .....* *Yo* *no* *sé* *si*
the inertia I no I know if
tú *lo* *habrás* *apreciado....* *Yo* *a*
you it you have appreciated I at
-l *menos* *sí* *lo* *he* *visto*
the least yes it I have seen
en general.
in general.

'Look it is that....there an issue is raised which to me it appears important ... the one that you talk about ...that of inertia .... I do not know if you will have appreciated it.... I at least have generally seen it ....´

(Adapted from an example in Stewart 2003, p 195)

Haverkate (1984) claims that the use of subject personal pronouns in Spanish is determined by the thematic structure of the sentence. If non-clitic first and second person pronouns represent a non-emphatic topic the subject is not realised and the corresponding reference is expressed by verb inflection only. In addition, Haverkate maintains that pronominal reference to the speaker is more common that pronominal reference to the hearer. However, an exception was found with the use of *usted*, which

is realised at surface level if it represents a non-emphatic topic. Haverkate suggests two possible reasons for the high frequency of occurrences of *usted*: i) expressions of politeness, ii) avoidance of ambiguity, due to the homonymy with third person verb inflection. Haverkate states that from a diachronic point of view the social distance create by use of *usted* in Spanish is reflected by the fact that *usted* derived from the honorific phrase *vuestra merced* 'your grace'.

A large variety of terms are used as address forms in Colombian Spanish. These terms are used in conjunction with personal pronouns or may be used in place of personal pronouns (see example 46 & 47).

46. No sé quien es *usted*,
I do not know who is you
joven pero me lo imagino.
young manbut me it I imagine
'I don't know who you are young man, but I can imagine.'
(Gamboa 1997, p 35)

47. ¿Qué le provoca a- -l señor?
What it provoke to the gentleman
'What would the gentleman like? (Gamboa 1997, p 121)

A predicted outcome from this research is that a speaker´s motivation will influence choice of address forms to such an extent that the grammatical rules governing use of address forms will be bent. Therefore, grammatical structure will remain the same but the meaning conveyed by a particular term of address may vary depending on the speaker´s motivation. That is to say, formal terms of address may be used to express contempt as well as create distance between speaker and addressee and express respect or formality. In the same way, informal terms of address may be used to express admiration or an element of respect.

The idea of group membership is fundamental to choice of address forms in many non-IE languages. For example, in Japanese and Korean group membership is expressed in terms of 'in-groupness' or 'out-groupness'. Martin (1964, p 409) refers to the distinction between in-groups and out-groups in Korean stating that: "We see that Korean has a rich variety within these two groups; there is leeway to show intimacy or

familiarity within the in-group and to show authority or special deference within the out-group".

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that 'in-group' membership may also be conveyed by a speaker's use of terms of address to claim common ground between speaker and addressee and to soften FTAs. Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 108-9) recorded examples of use of kinship terms *tampi* 'younger brother' in Tamil which was used to soften the threat of a request for money to the addressee's 'face' (see example 48).

48. *Periya visaysham! Kaacu veeNum. tampi*
Big news cash I need younger brother
naan veLLakovilukku pookaNum. naaLekeki
go to Vellakovil I've got to tomorrow
taareen
I'll give it back
'Big news! I need cash. Younger brother, I've got to go to Vellakovil. I'll give it back tomorrow.'

Similar identity markers may be found in other languages. For example, in Colombian Spanish, the terms *mijito* which comes from *mi hijo* 'my son' is used as a term of endearment. In addition, *mijito* may be used to mitigate a criticism as in example 49 below. This example is taken from one of the face to face recordings collected for this study.

49. *No mijito. ¿Cómo voy a*
No my son how am I going to
to *quitar los enfermitos que usted*
remove the little illnesses that you
trae?
bring.
No my son. How am I going to remove the illnesses that you bring into the house?'

Furthermore, the influence of 'in-group' and 'out-group' membership can also be observed in relation to the use of *tú* in Colombian Spanish. In Colombian society, the use of *tú* with strangers or people one does not know well is discouraged. Therefore, it could be said that *tú* is reserved for those within the speakers 'in-group'.

Márquez and Placencia (2005) claim that positive politeness is related to the expression of approval and appreciation of the addressee by making him or her feel part of an in-group. While, negative politeness is related to the need to not be imposed upon and is characterized by self-effacement and formality. Faut (1989, p 253) claims that for Spaniards group membership cannot be taken for granted but has to be established by the individual in his or her search to establish a network of personal relations.

Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) reviewed the speech acts which have received attention so far in Spanish and examined the relationship between the linguistic realisation of these acts and the encoding in terms of the participants orientation towards positive or negative politeness. They found that in Spanish requests show more of an orientation towards positive politeness, particularly where there is little social distance between speaker and addressee. This may be illustrated by an example from García (1993, 2000) who investigated the use of politeness on Peruvian Spanish. García found that Peruvians showed a preference for deference politeness strategies which are mainly realised by preparatory head acts, which is the minimal unit that can realise a request (see example 50).

50.	*Querida*	*vecina,*	*quiero*		*pedir*	*-le*		*un*	
	Dear	neighbour	I want		to ask	you for		a	
	servicio,	*quiero*	*que*	*me,*	*si*	*es*	*posible,*		
	service	I want	that	me	if	it is	possible		
	si	*usted*	*puede*	*dar*	*-le*	*clases*		*de*	
	if	you	can	give	him	clases		of	
	inglés	*a*	*mi*		*hermano*		*que*	*tiene*	
	English	to	my		brother		that	has	
	once	*añitos,*	*no*	*se?*					
	eleven	years	no	I know.					

'Dear neighbour, I want to ask you for a favour, I want you to, if it is possible, if you can give English classes to my brother who is eleven years old, I do not know.'

In addition, Peruvians construct requests using want statements which focus on the addressee's wants (see example 51). Both types of request reflect a desire not to impose.

51. *Quisiera*		*que*	*le*	*dieras*		*unas*	*clases*
I would like		that	him	you would give		some	classes
a	*ver*	*qué*		*días*	*puedes*		
to	see	what		days	you can		

I would like you to give him some classes, let´s see what days you can

García organises politeness strategies into "deference politeness strategies" and "solidarity politeness strategies". The "deference politeness strategies express formality and respect and include Brown and Levinson´s (1987) negative politeness off record and 'do nothing' strategies. The "solidarity politeness strategies" convey camaraderie and in-group membership and include Brown and Levinson's bald on-record and positive politeness strategies. Cordella (1990), Márquez-Reiter (2000, 2001) and Ruzickova (1998) investigated the politeness strategies used when apologising by Chileans, Uruguayans and Cubans respectively. Cordella and Márquez-Reiter found that Chileans and Uruguayans tend to use non-intensified hearer-orientated apologies to express positive-politeness. Cubans were also shown to express positive politeness and all three nationalities were group orientated.

Márquez-Reiter (2000) found a negative correlation between social distance and indirectness with requests in Spanish. For example, the less familiar the relationship between interlocutors the greater the possibility that the request will be indirect. However, Márquez-Reiter suggests that the same is not true for apologies, where the seriousness of the offense together with relative power determine the amount of apologizing offered by the speaker.

Other speech acts were examined, such as compliments, reprimands, offers and invitations. In each case it was found that the Spanish speaking subjects, who were Spanish, Argentineans, Peruvian and Venezuelan, all showed positive politeness by employing 'solidarity politeness strategies'. In addition, with regard to invitations, it was found that when refusing an invitation or request Peruvians and Venezuelans tend to use 'deferential politeness strategies' and therefore veer towards negative politeness. Furthermore, politeness strategies used when addressing government officials were also

observed. Placencia (2001) found that Ecuadorians prefer to use negative politeness to keep social distance. However, Ferrer (2003) found that in Argentina treatment of government officials was less deferential. Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005, p 190) suggest that "where there is social distance Spanish speakers use negative politeness or express deference and when there is little or no social distance Spanish speakers prefer positive politeness or expressions of solidarity and affiliation. Nevertheless, variation within the positive politeness strategies used by different Spanish speaking nations was found. Márquez-Reiter and Placencia graded Spanish speaking nationalities on the politeness strategies they used and whether they were focused towards positive or negative politeness. On this scale, Argentineans, Venezuelans and Spanish are shown to focus towards positive politeness and Mexicans, Peruvians and Ecuadorians even though they use positive politeness their strategies focus a little more towards the negative politeness end of the scale.

Colombia is not referred to in Márquez-Reiter and Placencia´s (2005) review of speech acts or on their scale of politeness. One of the aims of this study is to review speech acts used in Colombian Spanish and analyse the strategies used in relation to positive and negative politeness. Part of the post-interview process during the data collection for this study was an informal chat with participants regarding the use of terms of address in Bogotá. From these chats information about the participants' attitude towards how terms of address are and should be used in Bogotá was obtained. One aspect which was common to all participants regardless of age or sex was attitudes regarding *tú* and *confianza* ´familiarity´. There is a general feeling in Colombia that *tú* should not be used to address people one does not know. When *tú* is used where it is considered to be inappropriate, such as when a shopkeeper who does not know the customer addresses the customer as *tú,* the shopkeeper is said to be *un confianzudo* ´an over familiar person´ or someone who is taking liberties

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter shows the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee on terms of address. The first sections (sections 4.2 to 4.5) of the chapter provide details of the type of linguistic features which are used as terms of address in a range of IE and non-IE languages. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how second person pronouns and non-pronominal terms of address are used to encode relationships.

This section highlights the fact that characteristics such as age, gender and status of the speaker and addressee in relation to one another influence which terms of address are used in an exchange. For example, in Romance languages informal *T* is used to address close friends and family members and in Hindi, Urdu and Tamil an informal SPSP is used to address close friends and family as well as younger non-family members. Furthermore, in Japanese women tend to choose formal terms of address when speaking to men in order to place themselves lower that the male addressee. By discussing the way terms of address are used in different languages it was illustrated that terms of address encode information regarding the age, gender and socio-economic level of the speaker and the addressee in similar ways in many languages. For example, in Japanese and Korean, the speech levels and verb endings used to address someone depend on their age and social status in relation to that of the speaker. In addition, in Hindi and Urdu, younger family members and younger non-family members are addressed using a different second person pronoun. Therefore, choice of term of address reveals information about relationship between the speaker and addressee. In addition, this section will illustrate how the relationship between speaker and addressee influences the terms of address used in an exchange.

Depending on the language the terms of address in use may be bound to the grammar of the languages as is the case with second person pronouns in IE languages. Therefore, in the case of these personal pronouns the use of pronouns is governed by the grammatical structure of the languages. However, there is flexibility within this structure. For example, in Romance languages, where two SPSP are used the relationship between speaker and address will determine the choice of SPSP. Furthermore, where there is no choice of SPSP non-pronominal terms of address are used to qualify the statement. For instance, in English the use of title +LN when addressing someone older or not well known to the speaker adds a level of formality to the statement.

The next section of this chapter (section 4.6) discusses Brown and Gilman´s (1960) theory regarding the influence of power and solidarity on choice of terms of address. This theory introduces another element which influences choice of term of address. That is, speaker intent or speaker motivation. Brown and Gilman (1960) highlight the dual function of *T* and *V* (see figures 8 & 8a-e). The informal *T* may be used to express closeness or condescension and the formal *V* may be used to express deference or distance. The relationship between speaker and addressee will determine

the message conveyed to some extent. However, speaker's motivation also influences pronoun choice. In this way a change in pronoun may indicate a change in speaker's attitude towards the addressee. Ervin-Tripp (1972) suggests that in the use of terms of address any deviation from the norm is a message. Furthermore, Lambert and Tucker (1976) claim that messages are transmitted by use of address forms. Analysis of second person pronouns and terms of address at a discourse level provided a new dimension to the study of these address forms and a means of determining how terms of address are used to encode relationships. An example of pronoun shifting is shown (see example 41) in this section, where a mother changed from *tú* to *usted* when addressing her child as the child would not listen to her. As the mother became more exasperated with the child she changed to the formal SPSP to express dominance in order to get the child to do what she wanted, in this case to sit down. In this example, the mother´s attitude towards the child changes momentarily and results in a pronoun shift.

This dual function of SPSP is not found in the same way in non-IE languages, such as Japanese or Korean, because, as was shown in section 4.2, in these languages subject personal pronouns are categorised in relation to formality and gender. In addition, the use of subject personal pronouns in these languages is governed by speech levels. One of the main criticisms of Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory is that it does not take into account the use of pronouns in non-IE languages. In addition, the research methods used meant that their findings were based on general observations as they lacked the means to analyse language functions on an individual level. Therefore, although the pronominal systems are not parallel and the factors governing their use vary, the function of pronouns across IE and non-IE languages is similar. What is lacking in Brown and Gilman's theory is a means of analyzing language at speech act level.

The next section of this chapter (section 4.7) discusses Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory in relation to terms of address and politeness. This theory provided the aspect which was missing in Brown and Gilman's (1960) work, the analysis of language at speech act level. In this theory language is analysed in relation to the meaning conveyed. Brown and Levinson's theory introduced a new perspective to this area of research. In this work the principles of politeness theory was applied to the study of terms of address and made it possible to analyse how terms of address are used to express politeness in distinct language functions. Brown and Levinson investigated language as speech acts rather than basing the analysis on general observations. This

research method influenced the study of terms of address and provided a mechanism for interpreting the meaning conveyed by terms of address in a specific context. However, Brown and Levinson's theory is seen as being too culturally bound and too anglocentric as the principles are based on British ideas of politeness. Therefore, when this theory is applied to varieties of Spanish it falls short as Spanish speakers tend to show orientation towards positive politeness.

Carrasco Santana (1997, 1999) argues that Spanish society favours egalitarianism and proximity: social distance and social power asymmetries tend to be minimized. Therefore, when there is little or no social distance between interlocutors, the degree of interpersonal familiarity allows the speaker to encroach upon the personal territory of the addressee without necessarily imposing on him or her. In addition, Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005, p190) claim that when there is social distance Spanish speakers use negative politeness or express deference. However, when there is little or no social distance Spanish speakers prefer positive politeness or expressions of solidarity or affiliation. As a result, Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) propose alternative approaches, such as Leech's (1983) the emotive communication view which attempts to account for the affective signals that are involved in the speaker's expressions of politeness and Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) rapport management view which divides the desire to be acknowledged in one's social identity and the desire to be evaluated positively in terms of personal qualities complement Brown and Levinson's theory. Such an approach is more applicable to languages with a positive-politeness ethos such as Spanish.

This chapter shows how terms of address are influenced by the relationship between speaker and addressee and as such how choice of terms of address can reveal information about this relationship. In the same way the patterns of address used within a society can reveal information about that society. Furthermore, the cultural approach to politeness also influences the way in which language is used and interpreted. Therefore, analysis of the terms of address used in Colombian society, in particular in the society of Bogotá may be a means of understanding how personal relationships are encoded in Bogotá. In addition, it may provide an insight into the attitudes held by each sector of society towards the other in a post-colonial society.

Based on the findings discussed in this chapter it may be concluded that the relationship between the speaker and addressee influences the speaker´s choice of address term. In addition, this relationship may also influence the meaning conveyed by

use of a particular term of address. In order to test this hypothesis examples of terms of address used in context were gathered and analysed. Chapter five describes the sources of data and methods of analysis and chapter six presents and discusses the results found. From the findings of previous studies and the information gathered from the theories discussed in the previous chapters it is predicted that the results will reveal that although the use of terms of address are influenced by characteristics such as the speaker's and address's gender, age and social class the intention of the speaker at the moment of speaking and his or her attitude towards the addressee can supersede this and result in an unpredicted use of terms of address in a particular context.

CHAPTER 5 RESEARCHING TERMS OF ADDRESS IN COLOMBIAN SPANISH

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five of this study presents the hypothesis being tested and the rationale behind the methods of data collection, data analysis and the sources of data chosen. A pragmatic approach has been taken to the investigation of terms of address in context, the sociolinguistic variable under investigation in this study. The hypothesis of this study proposes that when terms of address are viewed pragmatically the influence of speaker motivation and intention supersedes the influence of speaker´s and addressee's age, gender and socio-economic level.

In chapter one of this study Brown and Gilman's (1960) research findings are discussed. The findings of this research claim that the use of T/V second person pronouns is influenced by personal characteristics, such as age, gender and socio-economic level of the speaker and addressee involved in an exchange as well as the relationship between the speaker and addressee. However, Brown and Gilman's (1960) findings are based on general observations of pronoun use. This research does not analyse the specific meaning conveyed by second person pronouns at an individual level. Therefore, although Brown and Gilman's findings provide some insight into the meanings which may be conveyed by formal and informal second person pronouns, they do not provide a means of analysing the meaning conveyed by the use of second person pronoun in a particular context.

Levinson (1983, p 374) maintains that sociolinguists tend to ignore conversational motivation for the use of location of address forms. As a result, Levinson's work with Penelope Brown (1987) provided a new approach to the study of terms of address by using Politeness Theory to determine the meaning conveyed by terms of address. Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on Politeness Theory investigates how terms of address are used to avoid or redress FTAs. In this research, terms of address are analysed as individual lexical items or lexical chunks and in relation to the meaning they convey. Stubbs (1983) states that in discourse people adapt their speech according to the person they are speaking to and the point behind the conversation and claims that these are social, rather than purely linguistic, constraints. In this respect, Brown and Levinson (1987) undertook type a discourse analysis in their study of terms

of address. As a result, terms of address are analysed in relation to how they are used in an exchange, which provides a means of determining the meaning they conveyed in specific situations. Applying this model of analysis to terms of address in an extra-territorial language, such as Colombian Spanish, facilitates an investigation of the meaning conveyed by these terms in a specific context. Furthermore, determining the meaning conveyed by terms of address in an exchange provides an insight into how these terms of address are used to encode relationships.

5.2 Variationist Sociolinguistics

Levinson (1983) proposes that the variationist paradigm associated with Labov (1972) would benefit greatly from the systematic application of Labov's own observations that socio-linguistic variables are in part discourse-conditioned. In this study, terms of address are analysed as sociolinguistic variables. Although different types of linguistic features may be used as terms of address, the fact that they are all used to address someone directly indicates that they are multiple forms which are used to carry out the same function and as such can each be used as sociolinguistic variables in variationist analysis. chapter one, the general introduction of this study, outlines the relevance of terms of address as a sociolinguistic variable as it states that second person pronouns and honorifics, in particular, demonstrate internal coherence, yet also allow for variation as there are possibilities for choice.

Tagliamonte (2006, p 5) describes variationist sociolinguistics as: "the branch of linguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other – linguistic structure and social structure; grammatical meaning and social meaning- those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation." Furthermore, Tagliamonte (2006, p 5-6) maintains that: "the essence of variationist Sociolinguistics depends on three factors about language that are often ignored in the field of linguistics." These three factors are: i) the notion of 'orderly heterogeneity' (Weinreich et al. 1968, p 100), ii) the fact that language changes continuously, and iii) the fact that language conveys more than simply the meaning of its words.

Firstly, the notion of 'orderly heterogeneity', put forward by Weinreich *et al* (1968), proposes that language varies, yet this variation occurs in patterns which reflect order and structure within the grammar. Therefore, in relation to terms of address the

structure may be determined by the grammar as is the case with second person pronouns. Informal second person pronouns are used with second person verb forms and formal second person pronouns are used with third person verb forms. In addition, in pro-drop languages the notion of the second person pronoun is conveyed by the verb form. However, the use of specific second person pronouns may vary.

Secondly, language is continuously changing and although the grammatical structure of a language may not change the word order and linguistic patterns may vary. As a result, linguistic structures or patterns which were widely accepted and used a few hundred years ago may now be stigmatized. Thirdly, language conveys more than simply the meaning of its words, it also sends out messages. Therefore, a speaker's linguistic choices may convey information about the speaker, such as age, sex, and socio-economic level in relation to that of the addressee, as well as the speaker´s social identity, relationship with addressee / hearer, and opinion of addressee, referee as well as the addressee. In this way terms of address both reflect and determine features about the interlocutors and their relationship.

5.3 Data collection

The methods of data collection and data analysis in variationist sociolinguistics rely on the researcher accessing the vernacular. Labov (1972, p208) defines the vernacular as "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech." Furthermore, Labov (1972, p 208) states that the vernacular provides the "fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution". Tagliamonte (2006) maintains that access to the vernacular is essential because it is the variety which was first acquired, most free of hypercorrection and style-shifting and from which other styles are calibrated. Labov *et al* (1968), Trudgill (1974), Milroy (1987), Poplack (1993) all agree that in order to access the vernacular the investigator must enter the speech community as an observer and a participant, as this allows the researcher to record language use in its natural setting. Sankoff (1988) claims that a variationist methodology conquers many of the analytical difficulties associated with intuitive judgements and anecdotal reporting.

The fieldwork for this study was carried out within the speech community of Bogotá, Colombia in 2009. Four sources of data were collected and analysed for this study: i) correspondence from 1800-1900; ii) examples taken from Colombian literature

based in Bogotá (novels), iii) recorded material for public broadcast based in Bogotá (*telenovelas*) and iv) live recordings (face to face conversations).

5.3.1 Correspondence from 1800-1900.

Historical data in the form of correspondence from the nineteenth century were accessed and collected via *El Archivo General de la Nación (Colombia)* (AGN) 'The National Archive of Colombia' in Bogotá. The AGN holds documents dating from 1572 to the present day. The majority of the documents in the AGN are kept on microfilm. However, some original documents are stored in a hard copy format in books and folders. A directory of the contents of the AGN can be accessed via the computers in the main reading area of the AGN. All of the documents stored in the AGN are coded according to their contents and date. The details of contents and date for each document as well as the codes allocated are listed in the directory. Therefore, researchers may browse the directory and locate documents related to a specific date or topic. In order to view any one particular document a researcher must locate the document's code on the directory. Then the book or microfilm roll in which the document is stored must be requested from one of the archival assistants using a request form. The request form must be completed using the document's specific code. A maximum of three rolls or books can be requested at one time. Documents must be viewed within the confines of the AGN. However, those documents stored on microfilm may be scanned onto a laptop to allow for analysis outside the AGN.

The analysis of archives within the AGN and the accumulation of scanned documents for this study were carried out over a period of two months between May and June 2009. In all, twenty nine examples of formal and informal correspondence dating from 1800 to 1888 were analysed for the purpose of this study. The formal correspondence is made up predominantly of letters between chiefs of arms, governors, military leaders, and local administrators, and the Viceroy. The informal correspondence is made up of personal letters between friends and family members. The average length of the letters is three hundred and twenty words. However, letters range in length from one hundred and seventy-four words to two thousand five hundred words. The letters were transcribed and examples of use of terms of address were extracted for analysis. Personal information about the various correspondents was limited to name and rank for the formal correspondence, and in the case of the personal correspondence was limited to name. In some cases further information was obtained

from the contents of the letters or, where the correspondent held an important rank, from historical documents. However, in general little information was attained about the age, level of education, or social status of the correspondents.

Lynch (1987) states that Colombia gained independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, between 1810 and 1819. Therefore, the rationale behind investigating correspondence from the nineteenth century was to find examples of how the language was used at the initial stages of the post-colonial state. In addition, the examples taken from nineteenth century correspondence can then be compared with examples taken from contemporary sources to investigate for similarities or signs of variation and detect any patterns or changes which have occurred over the years.

Colonial lag is highlighted in chapter two, section 2.2.1., as being one of the predicted outcomes associated with language transplantation and the development of extra-territorial varieties of language. Evidence of colonial lag found by Montes Giraldo (1967) and Quesada Pacheco (2000) in the address system of Colombian Spanish is outlined in section 3.5.3 of chapter three. Montes Giraldo proposes that the retention of *vos* in NWS is an example of colonial lag as the innovation which replaced the use of *vos* with *tú* in the Peninsula did not occur to the same extent in the Spanish colonies. At the same time, Quesada Pacheco (2000) proposes that as *vuestra merced* was shortened to *usted* in the later sixteenth century, a dual function of *usted*, referred to by Uber (1985), developed from the use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* to express solidarity and intimacy as much as distance and respect which was observed in colonial times. Furthermore, this use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* is an example of colonial lag as it had fallen out of use in Peninsular Spanish by the seventeenth century. The aim of the analysis of these historical documents is to investigate for evidence of this dual function of *vos* and *usted.*

5.3.2 Novels based in Bogotá

The second stage of data collection was carried out via a selection of Colombian novels. Novels were chosen as a source of data as the language used in non-fiction literature, such as novels, is based on the norms of casual speech used on an everyday basis. Therefore, by analysing novels based in Bogotá the investigator was given an insight into the perceived norms of language use across the sectors of Bogotá society represented within the novels. In general, information about the gender, age and class for the main characters in the novels and short story were provided by the author. The

personal details, such as age, level of education and socio-economic level were not complete for some of the minor characters as the investigator only had access to the characteristics provided by the author. Therefore, exchanges involving these characters were excluded from the analysis.

Three contemporary novels: *Perder es cuestión de método* (Gamboa 1997), *Su casa es mi casa* (García Ángel 2001), *Satanás*, (Mendoza 2002), and one short story *Necesitaba un historia de amor* (Rubiano Vargas 2006) were chosen for analysis for this study. The criteria for choosing the novels were that: i) the story contain dialogue, ii) the story be based in Bogotá, and ii) the author be a native of Bogotá. The three novels and one short story chosen for this study were recommended to the investigator by experts in the field of literature as well written, well respected examples of non-fiction literature containing stories based in Bogotá written by Bogotano authors. Examples of exchanges between two interlocutors were extracted from the novels and short story. The average length of exchange in the novels was one hundred and thirty eight words. However, the exchanges ranged in length from twenty words to five hundred and fifty-four words.

The first novel, *Perder es cuestión de método* (1997) was written by Santiago Gamboa and published in 1997. Gamboa was born in Bogotá in 1965 and is currently working with the *Servicio América Latina* 'Latin America Service' of Radio France International. He has worked as a correspondent for the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo* since 1993. *Perder es cuestión de método* follows the story of Víctor Silanpa, a journalist working for *El Espectador*, a national Colombian newspaper, who covers the story of an unidentified body which was found impaled on a stick in a local park. Silanpa is intrigued by the case and takes the investigation into his own hands. His investigation leads Silanpa to various locations within the city of Bogotá as well as to the outskirts and neighbouring departments. In the course of the story Silanpa befriends a prostitute and finds himself involved with lawyers, gangsters and local hit men before the investigation and story come to a conclusion.

The second novel, *Su casa es mi casa* (2001) was written by Antonio García Ángel and published in 2001. García Ángel was born in Cali in 1972, and moved to Bogotá when he was eighteen. After completing a degree in social communication at the Javeriana University, García Ángel took up a teaching position in the University in 1997 and remains there today both as a lecturer and doctoral student completing a PhD in literature.

Su casa es mi casa follows the story of Martín Garrido and his three friends, four students who accidentally become involved with a corrupt politician. Not long after Martín moves into a new apartment he begins to receive phone calls for Alejandro Villabona in relation to a mysterious package awaiting collection. This package leads Martín and his three friends to discover much more than they would have liked about the previous tenant of Martin's new apartment, Alejandro Villabona. The four students end up involved in the cover up of a murder and as a result become the target of a local politician and his thugs, as well as a corrupt police chief. The story takes the four students through various parts of the city and outskirts of Bogotá. The students find themselves involved with individuals from the lowest to the highest sectors of Bogotá society; a corrupt politician, a dishonest police chief, an ex-model, gangsters and local hit men, before the story reaches its conclusion.

The third novel *Satanás* (2002) was written by Mario Mendoza, who was born in Bogotá in 1964. After completing his degree Mendoza worked as a teacher. In 1980 he decided to begin a career in literature and initially combined writing with teaching literature. Mendoza's first novel *La ciudad de los umbrales* was published in 1992. In 1994 Mendoza was awarded the *Premio Nacional de Literatura de Colombia* 'National award for Colombian literature' for his second novel *La travesía del vidente*. In addition, Mendoza was the first Colombian author to receive the *Premio Biblioteca Breve* 'Biblioteca Breve award', awarded by Seix Barral publishing house for this novel *Satanás* in 2002.

Satanás follows the stories of four individuals, a poor girl who is recruited to rob from wealthy executives, a young painter with psychic powers, a priest struggling with a crisis of faith and a disturbed Vietnam veteran. Initially, the stories are unrelated but as the novel unfolds the connections between the characters are revealed and the stories are finally all brought together by the Vietnam veteran, Campo Elias. Different sectors of Bogotá society are represented in the novel by the characters who originate from various sections of the city. In addition, in the story the characters move in many different circles within Bogotá society and this is also representative of how individuals from different sectors of the city interact with one another.

The fourth literary work chosen for this study *Necesitaba una historia de amor* (2006) is a short story taken from a collection of short stories *Necesitaba una historia de amor: y otros cuentos de Bogotá* (2006), written by Roberto Rubiano Vargas. Rubiano Vargas was born in Bogotá in 1952. As well as an author Rubiano Vargas is a

narrator, documentarian and photographer. He has published many books and was awarded the *Premio Nacional de Cuento* 'National short story award' in 1981 and the *Premio Nacional de cuento Ciudad Bogotá,* 'City of Bogotá National short story award' by the Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo (IDCT) in 1993.

Necesitaba una historia de amor follows the story of Juan, a photographer whose wife of seven years has recently divorced him. He meets and falls for the beautiful and exotic Andrea and quickly becomes entwined in her complicated life. Juan helps Andrea to pick up an artist friend's sculpture which has been delivered back from an exhibition in New York. The unusual sculpture raises many questions for Juan and soon Andréa's behaviour becomes even more mysterious as she disappears for days on end with no explanation and moves from one apartment to another. A picture of Andréa's artist friend and the unusual sculpture, which had been split open by the police revealing thousands of dollars, and an article describing his violent death which appear in the local newspaper eventually seem to answer some of Juan's questions. The characters in the story come from different walks of life and from various sectors of Bogotá society.

5.3.3 Telenovelas

The third stage of data collection was carried out via a selection of Colombian *telenovelas*. The *telenovela* was chosen as a source of data for this study as it is a unique dramatisation which tends to be base on contemporary society. The Colombian *telenovela* often focuses on specific norms which identify or are associated with a particular sector of society. Ana Cecilia Cervantes's (2005, p 281) observations about Colombian *telenovelas* claim that: "*la telenovela colombiana siempre se ha presentado como un fenómeno distinto en Latinoamérica, exponiendo desde su inicios historias y personajes que reconstruyen los rostros y los conflictos de la clase trabajadora del país*[22]. Furthermore, these norms are exaggerated for dramatic effect. Cervantes (2005) proposes that in the 1950s the melodrama of the telenovelas recaptured the Latin American reality in order to bring it to television screens. This portrayal of Latin American reality in the *telenovela* is what Peter Brooks (1995, cited in Cervantes 2005, p 282) referred to as "the drama of recognition", that apart from the melodrama many of

[22] The Colombian soap opera has always appeared as a different kind of soap opera in Latin America. Since the beginning, it [the Colombian soap opera] has exhibited stories and characters which represent the faces and conflicts of the working class of the country [Colombia]' (Cervantes 2005, p 281).

the artistic expressions stand out as being based on reality. Brooks (1995) proposes that it is the pursuit of this recognition which attracts the general public to the stories and characters of the *telenovelas*. For instance, groups marginalized by Colombian society find their own image in the telenovela: a group excluded from society due to their socio-economic conditions, ethnicity or class. In addition, Martinez (2001) states that "the colourful Spanish of the telenovelas is a reflection of the living language and the *telenovelas* produced in various countries represent the rich and varied dialectological landscape of the language." Furthermore, the Colombian soap opera as well as being based on contemporary Colombian society also aims to represent the interaction between different levels of this society within the dramatisation.

As the stories and characters in Colombian *telenovelas* are based on everyday themes, the language used is often a reflection of that used in Colombian society on a regular basis. Furthermore, as different characters, such as family members, friends, neighbours and members of the local community, are incorporated into the story the *telenovelas* represent the everyday activity of a Bogotá community. Therefore, as with the novels, observation of the language used in *telenovelas* provided the investigator with an idea of how language is used within various sectors of Colombian society. Furthermore, as the norms associated with specific sectors or members of society are often exaggerated for dramatic effect in Colombian *telenovelas*, this highlighted for the investigator how the use of terms of address differs from one level of society to another.

Episodes from four Colombian telenovelas were analysed for the purpose of this study: "Yo soy Betty la fea" (1999), "Amores de mercado" (2006), "Dora la Celadora" (2004), and "Vecinos" (2008). The criteria for selection of telenovelas were that they be based in Bogotá and represent members of both the higher and lower socio-economic levels of Colombian society. Examples of exchanges between two interlocutors were extracted from the *telenovelas* and transcribed for analysis. The average length of an exchange in the telenovelas was one hundred and six words. However, a total of forty-two exchanges were analysed, which range in length from thirty words to three hundred and ninety words. Details of the gender, age and class of the speaker and addressee in each exchange were gathered from the telenovela and from the characters descriptions provided by the television network which broadcasts the telenovela.

The first telenovela, "Yo soy Betty la fea", (1999) was produced and broadcasted by RCN *(Radio Cadena Nacional* 'National Radio Channel'). RCN is one of Colombia's two private national television networks. RCN began as a production

company in 1967 and acquired a private licence in 1997. RCN reaches 97% of the Colombian viewership through 13 regional networks. RCN's main competitor is Canal Caracol; Colombia's other private national television network.

"Yo soy Betty la fea" (1999) follows the story of Beatriz (Betty) Solano Pinzon, an unattractive business graduate from a humble background. Betty is hired as a secretary in a large fashion company, Ecomoda which is situated in strata six, the glamorous and affluent part of Bogotá. In "Yo soy Betty la fea" a clear comparison is drawn between the humble, unglamorous home life of Betty and that of the more glamorous, upper class staff members and owners of Ecomoda. In addition, the language used by the various characters is representative of the real language used in the differing sections of Bogotá society. Nevertheless, the features which are associated with one sector or another in particular are exaggerated for dramatic effect.

The second telenovela "Dora la Celadora" (2004) was produced by Caracol Television (*Cadena Radial Colombiana – Televisión* 'Colombian National Broadcast – Television') and broadcasted by Canal Caracol. Caracol Televisión is one of Colombia's two private national television networks. Caracol Television was started in 1954 by the *Organización de Radiodifusora Caracol* 'Caracol organisation of radio stations' and acquired a private licence in 1997. The results of a study carried out in 2009 showed Canal Caracol to be the most watched television network in Colombia. RCN, Colombian's other private national network, is Canal Caracol´s main competitor.

"Dora la Celadora" (2004) follows the story of Dora Lara, a security guard. Dora is hired by Alejandro Urdaneta after a controversial article which featured in the magazine published by the Urdaneta family puts his family in danger. The Urdaneta family business is run by Doña Antonia and her three children: Alejandro; a widower with three teenage children, Jimena and Juan. Dora and Juan fall in love despite the many obstacles in their way; such as difference of class and the fact that Juan is engaged to someone else. In "Dora la Celadora" Dora, her family and her living environment represent that of the lower sectors of Bogotá society and the Urdaneta family represent the higher sectors of society. Dora's interaction with the members of the Urdaneta family and most importantly her relationship with Juan, represent the interaction between different levels of society which occur in everyday life in Bogotá.

The third telenovela "Amores de mercado" (2006) was produced by RTI Colombia in conjunction with the United States-based production company Telemundo, and broadcast by Canal Caracol. RTI Productions was founded in 1963 as RTI (*Radio*

Televisión Interamericana 'Inter-American Radio and Television') and soon became the number one programme producer in Latin-American. Initially, RTI worked with many of the Colombian national and regional networks but in 1999 RTI began working exclusively with Caracol Television. In 2001, the agreement between RTI and Caracol Television was extended to form a strategic alliance with Telemundo. Telemundo was originally launched with a television station in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1954 and is now the second largest Spanish language content producer in the world. In 2005, RTI terminated their exclusive contract with Caracol Television and began working simultaneously with the local Bogotá network Citytv.

"Amores de mercado" (2006) follows the stories of Fernando Leyra, an ambitious businessman, his wife Lucia, and her lover Diego 'El Rayo' Valdez, a successful footballer who is down on his luck. Fernando Leyra is driven by greed and lives a double life. Lucia and Diego fall in love and overcome all the obstacles in their way. Once again various levels of society are represented in "Amores de mercado". Fernando's boss Nestor Savater is a wealthy businessman. Nestor and his family represent the upper class society of Bogotá. Lucía, who is Nestor's daughter, but who lives with her mother represents the middle-classes.

The fourth and final telenovela "Vecinos" (2008) was produced by Caracol Televisión and broadcast by Canal Caracol, one of the two private national television networks in Colombia. Canal Caracol was found to be the Colombian television network with most viewers in 2009. "Vecinos" (2008) follows the story of Oscar a taxi driver, who is besotted with his neighbour Jessica. However, Jessica has no interest in Oscar as she is only interested in money. Oscar then falls in love with Tatiana. Tatiana is engaged to Rodolfo, a wealth aristocrat who runs his own real estate company. However, Rodolfo is cheating on Tatiana with Jessica. Tatiana is attracted to Oscar but the difference in class keeps her at a distance. Nonetheless, everything changes when Oscar wins the lottery.

In "Vecinos" the different classes and interaction between the classes is clearly observed. Oscar and Jessica represent the lower classes and Tatiana and Rodolfo represent the upper classes. The relationships between Oscar and Jessica, Oscar and Tatiana and Rodolfo and Jessica and their interaction with one another are based on the interaction between the different levels of society occurring on an everyday basis in Bogotá society. The average dialogue was one hundred and six words, and they ranged from twenty-five to four hundred words.

5.3.4 Face to face conversations

The third stage of data collection was to gather samples of the vernacular in use. Labov (1972, p 86) claims that the one style of primary interest to the linguist, the vernacular, is not used when an outside observer is present and defines this goal of the sociolinguistic interview, to observe how people speak when they are not being observed, as the "Observer's Paradox". According to Labov (1966, p 59) "The formal interview itself defines a speech context in which only one speaking style normally occurs, what we may call *careful speech*. The bulk of the informants' speech production at other times may be quite different. They may use *careful speech* in many other contexts, but on most occasions they will be paying much less attention to their own speech, and employ a more relaxed style which we may call *casual speech*". Therefore, the aim of the face-to-face conversations was to gather live samples of *casual speech* used by participants in an informal exchange. Due to the nature of terms of address they are employed in a conversation to speak directly to the other person or persons in the conversation. However, terms of address might not occur naturally in an interview between the investigator and research subject. Therefore, informal face to face conversations between two or more participants were observed and recorded; the fact that the investigator was present during the recordings might have influenced the language used by the participants. As a result, measures were taken by the investigator before the recording took place, to minimise the potential formality of the recording, and try to overcome this problem of the "Observer's Paradox".

Firstly, written permission was not requested from participants. The political turbulence and civil unrest which has gripped Colombia for over forty years has resulted in a strong element of distrust within Colombian society for officialdom. Moreover, in a political climate such as that of Colombia, there might be a level of danger involved in signing one's name to official documents. Therefore, requests for written consent might have resulted in the project being met with scepticism and potential participants being scared away by the formality of the consent form, fearing that involvement in this project could put them or their family in a compromising situation politically. This is particularly relevant for members of lower socio-economic groups, who may have originated from, or have family living in rural areas outside the city of Bogotá. It is these rural communities which have been affected most severely by Colombia's civil unrest. For that reason, the participants´ permission was requested verbally before the recording took place. Where possible this was done at a previous meeting in the

presence of a mutual friend, and a later time and date were then set for the recording to take place.

Secondly, as the investigator was not a Colombian national this added further reason for scepticism from potential participants. Therefore, Milroy's (1976) use of Boissevain´s (1974) ´friends of friends´ method in the Belfast study was emulated and used by the investigator to source participants. According to Boissevain, every individual is embedded in a social network, the people connected directly to this individual being their first order or primary network zone. The people in an individual's primary network zone are also connect to others whom the individual may not know, yet, he could come into contact with these others via members of his primary network zone. Boissevain (1974, p 24) states that: "[t]his process can be carried out at still further removes so that we can theoretically speak not only of a person's second, but also of his third, fourth and nth order zones." The investigator employed her social networks and asked friends and acquaintances to discuss the study with members of their primary network in order to obtain volunteers to take part in the study. These participants were then introduced or referred to the investigator by the mutual friend. As was the case for Milroy (1976), this connection afforded various advantages to the investigator. Firstly, having the mutual friend present at the initial meeting or using the friend's name guaranteed the investigator's good faith. Secondly, the participants felt a type of obligation to take part in the study in order to help this friend of their friend. Finally, the formality of the situation was reduced to some extent, as the investigator was received as a friend of the participant's friend rather than a researcher or suspicious *gringa* 'foreigner'.

Another potential problem with the recording was that the presence of the investigator might have resulted in participants treating the face to face conversation as a face to face interview and viewing their partner/s as interviewers. This could have then influenced the linguistic choices and limited the grammatical structures used in the exchanges. Sankoff (1974, p 23) refers to this situation and states that when people are interviewed they tend to: "exhibit only a partial segment of their linguistic repertoire" and "are not likely to use many interrogatives." In order to avoid this situation occurring the investigator gave the participants a brief explanation of what the purpose of the recording was, i.e. to gather examples of live speech between two or more residents of Bogotá, when the investigator and participants met to begin the recording, before observation and recording of the conversations took place. In addition, the investigator

explained that in order to gather these examples of live speech the participants needed to engage in a conversation.

The investigator then endeavoured to encourage participants to come up with conversational topics by suggesting they ask each other about common interests or future plans. However, where possible, the investigator avoided suggesting actual topics so as not to influence the conversation. Although the investigator was present during the recording, she was not involved in the conversation. Therefore, once the participants were clear about what was involved, the tape recorder was put in place and the investigator made an effort to observe in as unobtrusive a manner as possible. At this stage, the focus of the study, terms of address, was not mentioned to the participants so as not to influence their use of language. Once a minimum of ten to fifteen minutes of conversation had been recorded and the conversation had come to a natural pause or end, the investigator gave the participants more detailed information about the main focus of the study. The investigator then asked the participants to discuss their opinions about the way in which terms of address are used in Colombian society in general and about their own use of terms of address.

Finally, in order to make participants feel comfortable, the recording of conversations took place in a familiar setting such as their home, place of work or study, or the home of the mutual friend. Where this was not possible, a neutral location was chosen such as a local café. In general, the recordings which took place in a participant's work place involved participants from lower socio-economic groups. As detailed in chapter three, Bogotá is divided into six strata and very often the housekeepers, cleaners and porters who work in the higher strata (strata 5 and 6) in the north, live in the lower strata in the south of the city (strata 1 and 2) and travel to the north to work. Unfortunately, recording these participants in their place of work might have intensified the problem of the observer's paradox as these participants were recorded out of the context of the social networks within which they usually interact. The neutral setting, the cafe, was also potentially problematic due to background noise. The investigator tried to arrange meetings for times when the cafe would be quiet. The tape recorder was placed on the table in order to allow the investigator to observe the conversation unobtrusively. However, Sankoff (1974, p 23), claims that: "the more informal (natural) the situation, the more difficult it is to record, as background noise seems to increase exponentially with informality".

A total of thirty two conversations were observed, recorded and transcribed. In each conversation there was a minimum of two turn takers. In total 42 participants (18 male and 24 female) took part in the study. The participants were all residents of Bogotá, and those who were not natives of Bogotá had lived in the city for a minimum of 10 years. These participants were selected according to age, level of education and socio-economic background. Age was categorised according to three generations: i) generation 1; 16– 35 years, ii) generation 2; 36 – 55 years, iii) generation 3; 56 years and above. Level of education was categorised according to three levels: i) primary, ii) secondary, iii) university and above, and socio-economic level was also categorised into three class levels according to the strata in which the participant lives: i) lower class; strata 1-2, ii) middle class; strata 3-4, iii) Upper class; strata 5-6. The city of Bogotá is divided into six stratas. As described in section 3.4 of chapter three, these stratas are based on per capita income and quality of urban infrastructure, with strata 1 being the poorest and strata 6 the best located and best served.

As mentioned earlier, Boissevain´s (1974) ´friends of friends´ method was used to obtain participants and potential participants were introduced or referred to the investigator by friends, acquaintances and work colleagues. However, as many of the investigator's contacts were teachers in local language schools and tutors at third level institutions, there tended to be a higher representation in certain categories. For example, there was a greater representation of male and female participants with a primary level of education in generation 3 than in the other generations. In addition, there was a higher representation of females with a secondary level of education in generation 1, and of both males and females with a secondary level of education in generations 2 and 3. However, in all cases, the investigator aimed to have a minimum of one male and one female informant in each category (see table 6).

Initially, the investigator had planned to organise the recording session in such a way as to encourage the informants to engage in discourse with a variety of speakers. For example, participants would be placed in groups with a variety of conversationalists, such as someone who is unknown to them, an older person of lower status and a younger person of lower status. In addition, where possible, participants would be placed in cross-generational family groups. A possible setting for this type of grouping is a family meal or gathering of family and friends. This type of organisation would have provided examples of the same speaker engaged in conversations with people of different genders, ages and social class and would have allowed the

investigator to observe how this speaker´s use of terms of address changes depending on who he/she is addressing. Furthermore, this type of organisation would have provided a variety of exchanges with the same characteristics, e.g. G2, lower class male addressing G1 middle class female, which would have facilitated a comparison of results.

However, the initial sourcing of participants proved to be challenging. As the investigator was forced to rely on local contacts in Bogotá as a means of sourcing participants, she had to ensure that the members of her own social network (friends and acquaintances) understood and believed in this study before they were willing to encourage members of their own social networks to get involved in the project. Therefore, initially participants were slow to volunteer to take part. Nevertheless, as the message was passed through the investigator´s social networks and the networks of her contacts the number of participants increased rapidly. In practise the organisation of a group conversation, as described above, proved to be too difficult logistically and the most efficient method of achieving the necessary face to face recordings was to organise participants in pairs or small groups. However, this process of organisation meant that the characteristics of speaker and addressee were more random that the investigator had initially hoped.

Table 6 The Participants' Profile

	Generation 1 15-34 years		**Generation 2 35-54 years**		**Generation 3 55 yrs & above**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Primary	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**5**
Secondary	**1**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**4**
University	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**

Participant conversations

Conversation 1

Mario German Carbajal Sevilla, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 4 (Speaker 1) and Aurelio León Vélez, male generation 2, university graduate, strata 1 (Speaker 2) were involved in conversation 1. The recording took place in the country house of Aurelio León Vélez where Mario German and Aurelio were spending the weekend. The setting for the recording was informal and the recording took place

during a game of charades. As well as the investigator, Mario German's girlfriend and Aurelio's wife were also present at the time of recording. However, as neither the girlfriend and wife nor are Colombian any contributions made by them were disregarded. The two men are acquainted because their respective girlfriend and wife work together, but they do not know each other well. The investigator has been a friend of Aurelio León Vélez and his wife for many years, but met Mario German Carbajal Sevilla for the first time that weekend.

Conversation 2

This conversation took place between Aurelio León Vélez, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 1 (speaker 2) and Leo Francisco Cervantes, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 1 (speaker 3) in Aurelio León Velez's home as they were preparing for a party. The setting was informal. At the time of the recording only the investigator and the participants were present. Leo and Aurelio are acquaintances as Leo is a work colleague of Aurelio's wife. The investigator had met Leo many years previous but they were re-introduced the night of the recording by Aurelio's wife.

Conversation 3

This conversation involved Aurelio León Vélez, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 1 (speaker 2) and Belen Carisa Pérez Fonseca, female, generation 2, primary level education, strata 1 (speaker 4). Belen is Aurelio's housekeeper. The recording took place in Aurelio's home, which is Belen's place of work. The setting was informal, it was the evening and Belen had finished work for the day. No-one, other than Aurelio, Belen and the investigator were present for the recording. Belen has worked as a housekeeper and nanny for Aurelio and his wife for many years. As the investigator has been a friend of Aurelio's and his wife for many years, she had meet Belen on many occasions prior to the recording.

Conversation 4

This conversation took place between Sara Maria Pelayo, female, generation 2, university graduate, strata 6 (speaker 6) and Simón Muro Navarro, male, generation 1, secondary student, strata 4 (Speaker 7) in the language school where both participants study English. The setting for the recording was informal, and took place in a classroom before their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and

participants were present for the recording. Sara Maria and Simón are classmates in an intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a previous class earlier in the week.

Conversation 5

This conversation took place between Maria Ocampo, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 4 (speaker 5) and her three year old son. The recording took place in Aurelio León Vélez's (speaker 2) home. The children were playing upstairs while there was a party going on downstairs. The setting of the recording was informal, the children were playing in the bedroom and Maria Ocampo was preparing to leave. As well as the investigator, Aurelio León Velez's wife and children and the investigator's son were present for the recording. However, as Aurelio's wife is not Colombian and the children are all under the age of 16 any contributions made by them were disregarded. The investigator is an acquaintance of Maria Ocampo as both their sons attended the same playschool. In addition, Maria's boyfriend is an ex-work colleague of the investigator and a work colleague of Aurelio's wife who is a friend of the investigator.

Conversation 6

This conversation took place between Maricel, female, generation 2, primary level education, strata 2 (speaker 8) and her son Felix, male, generation 1, secondary level education, strata 2 (speaker 9). The recording was made in their home and the setting for the recording was an informal Sunday afternoon, after lunch. The investigator was not present for the recording but did meet with Maricel at a later date to gather personal details about her and her son. The conversation was recorded by a mutual friend of the participants and the investigator who had been invited to Sunday lunch.

Conversation 7

This conversation took place between Alma Montero, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 10), Ivan Fabio Moya Villegas, male, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 11) in the language school where they study English. The setting for the recording was informal and took place in a classroom before

their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. Alma and Ivan are classmates in an upper-intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a class earlier the previous week.

Conversation 8

This conversation took place between Alma Montero, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 10) and Aida Calderón Castañeda, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 12) in the language school where they study English. The setting for the recording was informal and took place in a classroom before their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. Alma and Aida are classmates in an upper-intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a class earlier the previous week.

Conversation 9

This conversation took place between Ivan Fabio Moya Villegas, male, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 11) and Aida Calderón Castañeda, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 12) in the language school where they study English. The setting for the recording was informal and took place in a classroom before their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. Ivan and Aida are classmates in an upper-intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a class earlier the previous week.

Conversation 10

This conversation took place between Telma Estela Montero, female, generation 2, primary education, strata 1 (speaker 13) and Eron Delacrúz Martínez, male, generation 2, secondary level education, strata 2 (speaker 14). Telma and Eron are co-workers. The recording took place in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable.

In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. The quality of the recording was quite poor due to the echo in the reception area. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Telma and Eron work together on a daily basis. The investigator is a friend of one of the residents in the building and was introduced to both participants the week before the recording took place.

Conversation 11

This conversation took place between Paz Delfina Soto, female, generation 3, secondary level education, strata 2 (speaker 15) and Betty Ivette Arroyo Romero, female, generation 2, university graduate, strata 4 (speaker 16). Paz is a cleaner for Betty's company. The recording took place in Betty Ivette's office. The setting of the recording was informal as both participants had taken a break from their work. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. However, other colleagues were present in the next room. Paz and Betty Ivette work in the same office space on a daily basis, yet Betty Ivette holds a more superior position than Paz. The investigator is a friend of a work colleague of Betty Ivette and was introduced to both participants the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 12

This conversation took place between Dora Jaime, female, generation 2, university graduate, strata 4 (speaker 18) and a waitress, female, generation 1, strata 2 in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. The waitress was working and Dora was a customer. The English teacher on Dora's master degree course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week. The investigator met the waitress that evening in the cafe.

Conversation 13

This conversation took place between Johnny Chapa, male, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 17) and Dora Jaime, female, generation 2, university graduate, strata 4 (speaker 18) in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the

investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. However, waiting staff and other customers were present in the café. Johnny and Dora are classmates on a master degree course at La Cancillería, School of Diplomats. The English teacher on their master degree course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week.

Conversation 14

This conversation took place between Isabela de Alva Cepeda, female, generation 3, secondary level education, strata 4 (speaker 22) and her husband Carlos Ernesto Alva Colón, male, generation 3, secondary level education (speaker 23). The recording was made in the participants´ home and the setting was informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. The investigator is a friend of Carlos and Isabela's daughter-in-law, who referred her to Carlos and Isabela. The investigator spoke to Isabela on the phone to make arrangements before the recording took place.

Conversation 15

This conversation took place between Daniela Burgos Ceja, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 1 (speaker 19) and Patricia Rivas, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 3 (speaker 20) in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. However, waiting staff and other customers were present in the café. Daniela and Patricia are classmates on a master degree course at La Cancillería, School of Diplomats. The English teacher on their course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week.

Conversation 16

This conversation took place between Daniela Burgos Ceja, female, generation 1, university graduate, strata 1 (speaker 19) and Enzo Armando Delgado Lucero, male, generation 1, university graduate, strata 2 (speaker 21) in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. However, waiting staff and other customers were present in the café. Daniela and Enzo

are classmates on a master degree course at La Cancillería, School of Diplomats. The English teacher on their course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week.

Conversation 17

This conversation took place between Lola Ramírez, female, generation 2, secondary level education, strata 3 (speaker 24) and one of her customers, female, generation 2. The recording was made at the market stall run by Lola Ramírez. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Lola was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Lola placed the recording device in the pocket of her apron and went about her business as usual. Lola's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Lola knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Lola's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Lola's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 18

This conversation took place between Luis Adelio Pinzon, male, generation 2, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 25) and one of his customers, female, generation 2. The recording was made at the market stall run by Luis. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Luis was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Luis placed the recording device in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Luis's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Luis knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Luis's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Luis's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 19

This conversation took place between Luis Adelio Pinzon, male, generation 2, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 25) and one of his customers, female, generation 2. The recording was made at the market stall run by Luis. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Luis was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Luis placed the recording device in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Luis's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Luis knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Luis's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Luis's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 20

This conversation took place between Luis Adelio Pinzon, male, generation 2, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 25) and one of his customers, female, generation 1. The recording was made at the market stall run by Luis. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Luis was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Luis placed the recording device in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Luis's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Luis knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Luis's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Luis's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 21

This conversation took place between Luis Adelio Pinzon, male, generation 2, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 25) and one of his customers, female, generation 1. The recording was made at the market stall run by Luis. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Luis was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers

were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Luis placed the recording device in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Luis's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Luis knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Luis's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Luis's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 22

This conversation took place between Luis Adelio Pinzon, male, generation 2, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 25) and one of his customers, male, generation 1. The recording was made at the market stall run by Luis. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as Luis was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible Luis placed the recording device in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Luis's vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who Luis knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to Luis's stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Luis's permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Conversation 23

This conversation took place between Ana-Rosamar Santana, female, generation 3, university graduate, strata 5 (speaker 26) and Flor Camarillo, female, generation 3, university graduate, strata 5 (speaker 27) in Ana-Rosamar's home. The setting was informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Ana-Rosamar and Flor have been friends for many years. A friend of the investigator's is an ex-tenant of Flor's and referred Flor to the investigator. The investigator spoke to Flor on the phone to make arrangements before the recording took place and Flor arranged for Ana-Rosamar to take part in the recording.

Conversation 24

This conversation took place between Manuel Benavides, male, generation 3, primary level education, strata 1 (speaker 28) and his wife Telma Estela Montero, female, generation 2, primary level education, strata 1 (speaker 13). The recording was made outside the building where Manuel works as a porter. The setting was informal and as no residents arrived during the recording the informality was not compromised to any great extent. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present during the recording. The investigator had initially been introduced to Telma by a friend and Telma then introduced the investigator to her husband Manuel.

Conversation 25

This conversation took place between Paloma Flores, female, generation 3, university graduate, strata 6 (speakers 29) and Paulita Elena Preciado Gaitán, female, generation 2, primary education, strata 2 (speaker 30). The recording was made in Paloma's sister's home, which is Paulita's work place. The setting was informal however, the fact that the recording took place Paulita's place of work and that Paloma was her employee's sister, increased the level of formality of the conversation. As well as the investigator and the participants, Paloma's sister, who is also Paulita's employer, was also present. Paloma and Paulita are acquaintances as Paulita works as a housekeeper in the home of Paloma's sister. Paloma was one of the teachers at the investigator's son's playschool and Paloma introduced the investigator to Paulita.

Conversation 26

This conversation took place between Jorge Niño, male, generation 2, secondary level education, strata 2 (speaker 31) and Aurora Carranza Páez, female, generation 2, secondary level education, strata 3 (speaker 32) in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Jorge and Aurora are co-workers. A friend of the investigator's is an employee in the building. In addition, Betty Ivette Arroyo Romero (speaker 16) is an acquaintance of both Jorge and Aurora. Betty Ivette discussed the recording with the

participants and requested their permission before it took place. In addition, the investigator also requested the participants´ permission before the recording took place.

Conversation 27

This conversation took place between Elisa Quiroz Solórzano, female, generation 1, primary education, strata 1 (speaker 33) and Ruben Carrion Velázquez, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 6 (speaker 34). The recording took place in Ruben's home, which is the work place of Elisa. The setting was informal as it was late in the evening and Elisa had finished work for the day. Elisa has worked as a housekeeper for Ruben and his wife Ester for many years and she lives in their home. Ruben has been a friend of the investigator's for many years and introduced Elisa to the investigator. Elisa's permission was requested earlier in the evening before the recording took place.

Conversation 28

This conversation took place between Elisa Quiroz Solórzano, female, generation 1, primary education, strata 1 (speaker 33) and Ester, female, generation 2, university graduate, strata 6 (speaker 35). Elisa is Ester's housekeeper. The recording took place in Ester's home, which is the work place of Elisa. The setting was informal as it was late in the evening and Elisa had finished work for the day. Elisa has worked as a housekeeper for Ester for many years and she lives in their home. Ester's husband, Ruben, has been a friend of the investigator's for many years and introduced Elisa and Ester to the investigator. Elisa's and Ester's permission was requested earlier in the evening before the recording took place.

Conversation 29

This conversation took place between Katia Raimunda Villagómez, female, generation 1, secondary level education, strata 1 (speaker 36) and Joaquin Alvaro Enríquez, male, generation 2, secondary level education, strata 2 (speaker 37) in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. However, the reception is large with

various porters working at the same time. Therefore, while the recording was taking place other porters and residents were present at the other end of the reception desk. Katia and Joaquin work together on a daily basis. The investigator and Katia and Joaquin are acquainted by sight as the playschool attended by the investigator's son is situated on the ground floor of the building and the investigator regularly passes through the reception. The investigator requested the permission to do the recordings from the head administrator, who then referred the investigator to Joaquin. The investigator requested Katia and Joaquin´s permission directly before the recording began.

Conversation 30

This conversation took place between Rafa Dueñas, male, generation 1, secondary level education, strata 3 (speaker 38) and Aurelia Terrazas, female, generation 3, primary level education, strata 2 (speaker 39) in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. However, the reception is large with various porters working at the same time. Therefore, while the recording was taking place other porters and residents were present at the other end of the reception desk. Rafa and Aurelia work together on a daily basis. The investigator and Rafa and Aurelia are acquainted by sight as the playschool attended by the investigator's son is situated on the ground floor of the building and the investigator regularly passes through the reception. The investigator requested permission to do the recordings from the head administrator, who then referred the investigator to the head porter, Joaquin Alvaro Enríquez (speaker 37). Joaquin then introduced Rafa and Aurelia to the investigator. The investigator requested Rafa and Aurelia´s permission directly before the recording began.

Conversation 31

This conversation took place between Leya Gurule, female, generation 3, primary level education, strata 3 (speaker 39) and her daughter, Reina Castro, female, generation 1, secondary level education, strata 3 (speaker 40). The recording was made in their shop. The setting was informal despite being their place of work. The fact that no customers entered the shop while the recording was taking place helped to maintain

the informality of the recording. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recordings. The local hairdresser had recommended the investigator talk to the owners of the shop located in the local community where the investigator was staying. Therefore, the investigator introduced herself to the participants as a member of the local community and mentioned that the hairdresser had suggested she speak to Leya and Reina. In addition, the investigator requested their permission before the recording began.

Conversation 32

This conversation took place between Pablo Quintero, male, generation 2, university graduate, strata 4 (speaker 42) and his wife Grazia Portillo, female, generation 2, university graduates, strata 4 (speaker 41) and their two children, a girl aged 7 and a boy aged 5. The recording was made in their home. The setting of the recording was informal. The investigator was not present for the recording of this conversation. The participants agreed to record the conversation at home and return the recording to the investigator. No-one other than Pablo, Grazia and their children were present during the recording. As the children were under the age of 16 they contributions were disregarded. Grazia is a work colleague of the investigator's friend. This friend introduced the investigator to Grazia. The investigator explained the procedure and requested her permission to record her and her family.

Once these sources of data had been collected the dialogues in each exchange were analysed in relation to use of terms of address, and examples of use of terms of address were extracted.

5.4 Data analysis

The data analysis is carried out in three phases. The first phase investigates how terms of address are used in nineteenth century correspondence. In this phase of analysis the social position held by the sender and recipient of each letter, the relationship between the sender and recipient and context of the letter is analysed and this is used to determine the meaning conveyed by the terms of address used in the letter. The purpose of this analysis is to investigate for examples of *vos, vuestra merced* and *usted* and analyse how these terms of address are used and whether they are used to express solidarity, formality, distance or respect.

The second phase of data analysis investigates the use of terms of address in the novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations. This stage of analysis is carried out in four stages in which the influence of the gender, age and social class of speaker and addressee in relation to one another, and the relationship between speaker and addressee on choice of term of address is analysed. The analysis investigates the use of *usted, tú*, and shifts from *usted* to *tú* or *tú* to *usted* found in each exchange. Initially, the investigator had planned to include *vos* in this analysis. However, as no examples of *vos* were observed during the data collection *vos* was eliminated from the analysis. The lack of examples of *vos* in the data for this study indicates that *vos* is not used in Bogotá. A similar situation was observed by Uber (1985, p389) who states that she "never heard any form of *voseo* used" in Bogotá while carrying out her research. The third phase of analysis evaluates the speaker´s and addressee´s social status and the relative power between them and uses this to determine the meaning conveyed by the term of address found in each exchange.

The variable rule program is used in the second and third phases of analysis. Variable rules were originally introduced by Labov (1969) and were used to provide a linguistic research model which could be used to reach solutions to theoretical questions using data from within the speech community. Labov believes that: "this mode of work could provide the stability and sound empirical base" which was lacking in linguistic research at that time. Cedergren and Sankoff (1974, p 336) expand on Labov's discovery that language choice operates regularly across a range of external and internal contexts stating that: "the presence of a given feature or subcategory tends to affect the rule frequency in a probabilistically uniform way in all the environments containing it." Sankoff (1988 p 984, cited in Tagliamonte 2006 p 131) states that the prerequisites for variable rule analysis are: 1) choice, 2) unpredictability and 3) recurrence. Firstly, there must be a perceived "choice between two or more specified sounds, words or structures during performance." Secondly, the choice must appear to be random based on specific parameters, and thirdly, the choice must occur repeatedly in discourse.

In the case of this study all of these prerequisites are met. Firstly, choice, the speaker has two possible second person pronouns to choose from; *tú,* and *usted.* In addition, as Spanish is a pro drop language, the speaker can choose to use or omit the chosen pronoun. Secondly, unpredictability, pronoun choice is influenced by a variety of factors such as the relationship between the speaker and addressee, their social status in relation to one another, and the circumstances of the exchange. In addition, pronoun

choice is also influenced by the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee at the time of the exchange. As a result, it may be difficult to accurately predict which pronoun will be used in specific circumstances. Thirdly, recurrence, by their nature pronouns represent a vital component of any discourse and in a pro drop language, such as Spanish, pronoun choice is demonstrated by the verb conjugation even when the pronoun is omitted.

Tagliamonte (2006, pc9) states that in a variationist approach to language analysis: "the identification of 'variables' in language use rests on a fundamental view– the possibility of multiple forms for the same function." As stated in the introduction of this chapter, although different linguistic features may be used as terms of address the fact that they are all used to address someone directly indicates that they are multiple forms which are used to carried out the same function and as such a suitable sociolinguistic variable for variationist analysis. GOLDVARB, the series of programs designed to implement variable rule analysis was chosen as the statistics package to be used for the data analysis of this study. The vast quantity of data to be analysed meant that a statistics package was the most efficient method of analysing the data, and as Sali Tagliamonte points out below, GOLDVARB is the program best suited to linguistic analysis. The problem of using a standard statistical program for linguistic analysis is that with language data the distribution of contexts is not equally represented. Tagliamonte (2006, p 137) states that: "in real language data this uneven distribution of categories is typical. The number of occurrences of each context depends on its relative frequency in discourse. Hence, the number of cases per context is highly variable and many combinations of factors may not occur at all. This is why standard statistical procedures such as ANOVA, which assume even distribution, are not ideal for language in use. "

Using GOLDVARB (The Variable Rule Program) each exchange is coded in relation to the data source, exchange number, gender, age and social class of the speaker and addressee in the exchange, the relationship between the speaker and addressee and the term of address used in the exchange. A separate token file is then created for each source of data and a token is created for each exchange. This token file facilitates analysis of the influence of each of the personal characteristics of speaker and addressee on choice of term of address in an exchange. GOLDVARB produces a table which shows the number and percentage of exchanges which use each term of address.

In Colombian society there is a popular belief that gender governs the use of the SPSPs *tú* and *usted*. This belief is that male speakers use *usted* when addressing a male addressee and will only use *tú* with men when they are very close friends or family members. In addition, it is believed that a male speaker will use *tú* when addressing a female friend of the same age as themselves. However, when addressing an older woman, male speakers tend to use *usted*. On the other hand, female speakers use *tú* when address other women, but use *usted* when addressing close female friends or female family members. Nevertheless, as is the case with men, when addressing an older woman, female speakers use *usted*.

Previous studies of the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish, such as that carried on by Bartens (2004) find that females show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone familiar or close, yet tend to use *usted* when addressing someone older, in a superior occupational role or when addressing someone with whom they are unfamiliar. Bartens also finds that male speakers show a preference for *tú* when addressing females. However, when addressing males, regardless of whether the relationship is familiar or unfamiliar, male speakers are found to show a preference for *usted*. Based on this popular belief and Bartens´s findings, the first stage of the variable rule analysis investigates the data from the novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations for use of *usted* and *tú*, in relation to the gender of speaker and addressee.

Montes Giraldo *et al* (1998) found, in their work on the ALEC, that a higher percentage of males (51.3%) than females (43.7%) used *usted* when addressing someone familiar. When addressing someone older or socially superior a high percentage of both males (89.2%) and females (84.2%) were found to use *usted*. Nevertheless, a higher percentage of male usage than female usage was again recorded. Furthermore, studies carried out by Carrasco Santana (2002) and Bayona (2006) found that both *usted* and *tú* are used by speakers when addressing someone older, yet when addressing someone younger, the younger generation show a preference for *tú* and the older generation show a preference for *usted*. Based on the findings of these studies, the second and third stages of phase two investigate the influence of age and social class on terms of address and use GOLDVARB to calculate the percentage of use of *usted* and *tú* in relation to the age of speaker and addressee and in relation to the social class of speaker and addressee.

The relationship between a speaker and addressee naturally encodes information about the speaker and addressee in relation to one another. Depending on the

relationship, information about factors such as relative age and where the relative power lies in the relationship can be predicted. In addition, analysis of the influence exerted by the relationship between speaker and addressee on choice of terms of address adds another element to those analysed in the second stage of analysis, the level of solidarity within the relationship. Whether or not the interlocutors know each other, how they know each other and in what capacity they are connected influences the way in which they address one another. The fourth stage of the phase two analysis investigates the influence of the relationship between the speaker and addressee in each exchange on their use of terms of address.

Uber (1985) claims that in Colombian Spanish *usted* may be used to express closeness or solidarity as well as formality and respect. Based on Uber´s theory of the *usted* of solidarity and the *usted* of non-solidarity and the idea that terms of address can be used to express different feelings or intentions in different situations, the third phase of analysis investigates the meaning conveyed by terms of address within an exchange. In this phase of analysis the terms of address used by a speaker, which have been analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee involved in the exchange, are analysed in relation to the meaning they convey. In order to determine the message conveyed by use a particular term of address a pragmatic approach was taken to the analysis.

Stewart (2003, p 195) refers to Brown and Levinson´s (1987) work on positive- and negative-politeness, and illustrates examples of how Spanish second personal pronouns are used by a speaker in an attempt to claim common ground and create solidarity with the addressee before going on to threaten the addressee's 'face' by expressing disagreement (see example 45, p 132 of this study). A speaker may decide to go 'on record' by committing the FTA baldly, without redressive action and communicate the intention in the clearest most direct way. A predicted outcome from this research is that a speaker´s motivation will influence choice of address forms to such an extent that the grammatical rules governing use of address forms will be bent. Therefore, the grammatical structure will remain the same but the meaning conveyed by a particular term of address may vary depending on the speaker´s motivation. That is to say, terms which are traditionally considered "formal" terms of address may be used to express closeness or solidarity. Stewart's (2003) idea of taking a pragmatic approach to the analysis of pronouns was replicated here.

Nevertheless, if terms of address are analysed in relation to the meaning they express, rather than their status as a term of address they are no longer carrying out the same function but a variety of different functions. Therefore, in order to use a variationist approach in this phase of analysis, terms of address must be categorised based on the meaning they convey. In order to establish the meaning expressed by the terms of address, each instance of use was analysed in context and coded according to the meaning expressed. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004) stresses that 'politeness' is not the property of sentences, but rather of utterances. However, as stated in section 5.4, the unit of analysis in this is taken as the exchange rather the utterance in which the term of address appears. The use of terms of address in a conversation tends to be set in place at the beginning of the conversation and remain stable. As a result, the terms of address used in the rest of the conversation are predictable across the conversational exchange. Furthermore, the terms of address used in an exchange are often predictable based on the relationship of speaker and addressee. Therefore, when this use of terms of address varies this variation is a message.

Brown and Levinson's (1987, p 15) model of Politeness Theory proposes that there are three sociological factors determining the level of politeness a speaker will use with an addressee: i) the relative power of the addressee over the speaker, ii) the social distance between speaker and addressee and, in the case of a FTA, iii) the ranking of imposition involved in doing the FTA. However, as stated in chapter four, Brown and Levinson's approach needs some adapting when applied to Spanish, as the view of polite and impolite behaviour in Spanish tends to be based on a positive politeness ethos. Carrasco Santana (1999) claims that when there is little or no social distance between speaker and addressee, the degree of personal *confianza* 'trust' allows the speaker to encroach on the personal territory of the addressee without necessarily imposing on him. Furthermore, Carrasco Santana states that Spanish society favours egalitarianism and proximity. As a result, social distance and social power asymmetries tend to be minimized. Based on Brown and Levinson´s model and Carrasco Santana´s observations, analysis of the relationship between speaker and addressee was done by way of a three step process:

Step One:	Ascertain the social distance between speaker and addressee.
Step Two:	Establish where the relative power lies within the dyad.
Step Three:	Determine the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee.

Step One

The first step is to ascertain the social distance between speaker and addressee. This is done by firstly determining the status of speaker and addressee, and then using this to determine the social distance between them. In the exchanges extracted from the recorded conversations the speaker's and addressee's level of education and strata in which they live are used to establish their social status. In the novels, social class is less clearly defined. Therefore, a character's occupation is used to determine their level of education which is used in conjunction with the sector of the city in which they live to assess their social class. In the *telenovelas,* the main characters' social class is clearly defined and, as stated in section 5.3.3, Colombian *telenovelas* tend to depict high and low levels of society within the story of the *telenovela.* Carrasco Santana (2002) claims that social distance between individuals depends on three factors, proposed by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992, cited in Carrasco Santana 2002, p 37) i) how well they know one another, ii) the nature of the socio-emotional ties used and iii) the nature of the communicative situation, familiar or formal. Once the status of both speaker and addressee within a dyad was established these were then compared in order to ascertain the social distance between them.

Step Two

The next step is to determine where the relative power lies within the dyad. Relative power as discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987) may refer to age; father and son, authority; husband – wife, teacher –pupil, attacker – victim, or social status; lawyer – desk clerk. Within a dyad relative power is independent to social distance. Therefore, a father and son may have the same social status, so there is no social distance, yet the father has authority over the son due to their relationship and the father is older than the son. Therefore, in this example the father has relative power over the son.

Step Three

After establishing the social distance and relative power within the dyad, the next step is to examine the intimacy of the relationship between speaker and addressee and determine the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee in the exchange. Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) maintain that as Spanish is orientated towards positive politeness strategies, when there is social distance Spanish speakers express

deference, yet when there is little or no social distance between speaker and addressee Spanish speakers prefer expressions of solidarity or affiliation.

Slugoski (1985, p 96) proposes that Brown and Levinson´s (1978) idea of social distance should be broken down to distinguish between familiarity and affect. This proposal is based on the principle of ´liking´, the fact that intimacy in a relationship does not necessarily indicate closeness, and fondness encourages politeness which is opposite to unfamiliarity. Therefore, in a dyad which is symmetrical in relation to social distance and power, and where the relationship is considered intimate, a term of address may be used by the speaker to express closeness. However, in a similar dyad where animosity exists between speaker and addressee, a term of address may be used to create distance. Furthermore, in a dyad which is symmetrical in relation to social distance and power but not intimate, the speaker may use a term of address to express solidarity with the addressee.

In asymmetrical dyads the speaker's attitude towards the addressee is an important factor in determining what is expressed by a term of address. Brown and Gilman (1960, p 239) state, that: "within the limits of two dyadic address forms there is a formality or logically possible alternative pattern." In terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) ideas of positive- and negative–politeness a term may be used in an asymmetrical dyad by a superior speaker to express closeness or dominance, and by a subordinate speaker to express formality or deference. For instance, in a dyad where the speaker holds a higher social position or more relative power than the addressee, and likes the addressee, a term of address may be used to express closeness in order to minimise the distance between speaker and addressee. However, in a similar dyad, where the speaker does not know or like the addressee, a term of address may be used to highlight the difference in status or power and therefore express condescension or dominance. Furthermore, a term of address may be used as a form of negative-politeness, to highlight the social distance between speaker and addressee by marking the superiority of the addressee's role in the dyad or as a form of deference, marking the speaker's respect for the higher-status addressee.

Address forms which are traditionally used in a specific way, for example, as terms of intimacy or terms of reverence, may also be used to express something different depending on the circumstances of the exchange or the attitude of the speaker. For example, Gili y Gaya (1995, p 205) states that addressing someone as *usted*, who is normally addressed as *tú,* implies an expression of anger or resentment. A sign that this

person no longer has the speaker´s trust. Furthermore, the terms of address used by interlocutors may change as their relationship becomes closer. Uber (1985) refers to shifts along the continuum of solidarity (chapter 3 figure 2) and claims that as a relationship becomes closer the speaker and addressee will move along the continuum to the right shifting from use of *usted* for formality to *tú* and eventually, if the relationship becomes intimate, to *usted* of solidarity.

Brown and Gilman (1960, p 277) state that: " Sometimes the choice of a pronoun clearly violates a group norm and perhaps also the customary practises of the speaker and perhaps also the customary practice of the speaker. Then the meaning of the act will be sought in some attitude or emotion of the speaker." Slugoski (1985) reiterates this claim in his proposal for the importance of liking in interpreting the meaning of address forms. This can be illustrated in Colombian Spanish by the use of insults as terms of endearment amongst friends. For example, in conversation one of the face to face conversations Mario refers to Aurelio as *un güevón* ´a foolish person´, a term which is an insult. However, Mario and Aurelio are on the same team for a game of charades and in this exchange *un güevón* ´a foolish person´ is used to express solidarity.

The examples of terms of address are classified into four specific categories based on use: i) terms used to express closeness or solidarity, ii) terms used to express contempt for or aversion to the addressee and to distance oneself from the addressee, iii) terms used to express dominance or condescension and therefore distance the addressee from oneself, iv) terms used to express formality or respect based on addressee's social status, hierarchy or occupation, or admiration for the addressee, and (see table 7a-7d, pp 188-190).

The process of analysis chosen for this study examined each instance of use of the address forms independently. As a result some terms carried out various functions and are represented in more than one category. For example, *señor* 'sir' may be used to express contempt, and respect.

Table 7a Terms to express solidarity

Term of address	**Example**
Amigo	Bueno, adelántele esa parte al periodista, AMIGO Lotario. (Gamboa 1997).
Socio	No sé para dónde van, SOCIO (Gamboa 1997).
Patroncito	Un ayuda, PATRONCITO (Mendoza 2002).
Mijo / ito/a	Yo nunca lo he odiado, MIJO (Mendoza 2002).
Mijito	Qué conservador resultó usted, MIJITO (García Ángel 2001).
Mijita	La timidez, MIJITA, es la antesala del puterío interesado ¿apostamos? (Gamboa 1997).
Capitán Garfio	No, CAPITÁN GARFIO. Tengo que ir a resolver un problema y luego sí viajo, no te preocupes. (Gamboa 1997).
Churro	Tranquilo, CHURRO. Está en mi casa. Es temprano (Gamboa 1997).
Gordita	Me hace mejor lo otro GORDITA (Gamboa 1997).
Mi Reina	Usted era la única, MI REINA, ¿si ve el lío? (Gamboa 1997).
Reinita	Yo no conozco, REINITA, pero usted me ha hecho dar ganas.... (Gamboa 1997).
Mami / ta	Ay MAMITA, esa manía suya de andar sin calzones (Gamboa 1997).
Papi / ito	Vino antes de tiempo, PAPITO (Gamboa 1997).
Mi amor	No te acerques, MI AMOR (Mendoza 2002).
Viejo	VIEJO Víctor. Pensé que me había olvidado (Gamboa 1997).
Monita	Tengo el juguete que quiera, MONITA (Mendoza 2002).
Mona	Usted se lo pierde MONA (Mendoza 2002).
Bebé	¿Y quieres compañía, BEBÉ? (Mendoza 2002).
Marica	MARICA, ¿qué son estas horas de venir a joder un domingo? (García Ángel 2001).
Niña	Pero NIÑA, que pasa (García Ángel 2001).
Hija/o	Buenas, HIJA, siéntate (Mendoza 2002).
Hija mía	Dime en qué has pecado, HIJA MÍA (Mendoza 2002).
Hermano/a/lo	Come mierda, es mediodía, y vengo a salvar tu alma, HERMANO (García Ángel 2001).
Hombre	Milagro que no haces tú, HOMBRE (Mendoza 2002).
Muchacho	Tranquilízate, MUCHACHO (Mendoza 2002).
Pelao	¿Qué está buscando, PELAO? (García Ángel 2001).
Pollo de mierda	¿Por qué no me devuelves el control remoto, POLLO DE MIERDA? (García Ángel 2001).
Güevón	No me vas a negar una cosa, GUEVON: la Sanders está buenísima (García Ángel 2001).
Mi estimado	Le advierto con dolor, MI ESTIMADO, que su casa está hecha cisco (Gamboa 1997).
Mi querido	Al precio que haya que paga, MI QUERIDO (Gamboa 1997).
Mi querido + name	MI QUERIDO EMILIO, espero que no vengas a malgastar tus ahorros al casino (Gamboa 1997).
Linda	Nada, LINDA. No voy a poder ir con ustedes, pero lleva a los niños. Yo los alcanzo mañana en la casa de tu tía (Gamboa 1997).
señorita	Aquí tiene, SEÑORITA, una copia limpiecita. (Gamboa 1997).

Table 7b Terms to express formality / respect

Term of address	**Example**
Señor	Buenos días, SEÑOR (Mendoza 2002).
El señor	Pero EL SEÑOR tiene fortuna (Gamboa 1997).
Señora	Debo decirle, SEÑORA, que tendrá que abonar la cuota de alejamiento (Mendoza 2002).
Señor + name	Tranquilo, SEÑOR BARRAGÁN, nos manda el doctor Vargas Vicuña (Gamboa 1997).
Señor + title	SEÑOR PERIODISTA, ¿cómo me le va? Usted siempre llegando a tiempo a todas partes, ¿no? (Gamboa 1997).
Don + name	Claro, DON VÍCTOR, ¿Qué le pasa, guayabo? (Gamboa 1997).
Doctor	Lo estoy mirando, DOCTOR (Gamboa 1997).
Doctor + name	DOCTOR BARRAGÁN, pasó una cosa horrible (Gamboa 1997).
Detective	Es urgente, DETECTIVE. (Gamboa 1997).
Jefe	Listo, JEFE. Yo lo llamo (Gamboa 1997).
Mi estimado doctor	¿Cómo me le va MI ESTIMADO DOCTOR? (Gamboa 1997).
Estimado + title	Hace rato quería conocerlo, ESTIMADO PERIODISTA (Gamboa 1997).
Mi querido + name	¿Y usted, MI QUERIDO SILANPA, ha encontrado algo? (Gamboa 1997).
Mi querido + title	Vivo de eso, MI QUERIDO CONCEJAL. Ya te los iré mandando a medida que estén listos (Gamboa 1997).
Mi querido doctor	Pero usted sabe, MI QUERIDO DOCTOR, que el destino de las urnas es romperse (Gamboa 1997).
Señor	SEÑOR, entienda, no tengo monedas de esa denominación (Mendoza 2002).
Señora	De que somos muchos, SEÑORA, hay exceso de población, y lo mejor que puede pasar es que se mueran unos cuantos (Mendoza 2002).
Señor + name	Perdone que vengamos a molestarlo, SEÑOR OSASUNA pero hay unas cosas que no quedaron claras (Gamboa 1997).
Señor + title	Es que por ahí viene la cosa, SEÑOR CONCEJAL (Gamboa 1997).
Don + name	Seguramente que si, DON HELIODORO (Gamboa 1997).
Doña + name	Hay que sufrir, DOÑA MATILDE, la vida también es dolor y desdicha
Doctor	¿Sí....? Soy todo oídos, DOCTOR (Gamboa 1997).
Doctor + name	Le voy a contar un secreto, DOCTOR VARGAS (Gamboa 1997).
Jefe	Como mande JEFE. ¿Me permite que le diga JEFE?(Gamboa 1997).
Detective	Disculpe, DETECTIVE. Usted sabe que yo a todo le pongo humor. Y ahora sí dígame, ¿para qué soy bueno? (Gamboa 1997).
Periodista	Eso está bien raro, PERIODISTA (Gamboa 1997).

Table 7c Terms to express distance / contempt

Term of address	Example
Joven	Gracias JOVEN (Gamboa 1997).
Señor	Se lo tiene bien merecido, SEÑOR, por antipático y grosero (Mendoza 2002).
Menopáusica Hijueputa	Escúcheme bien, MENOPÁUSICA HIJUEPUTA: me importan un culo los desplazados, usted y sus aparentes obras de caridad (Mendoza 2002).
Marica	¿Usted es que no sabe decir otra cosa, gran MARICA? (Gamboa 1997).

Table 7d Terms to Express Dominance

Term of address	Example
Reinita	Ninguna equivocación, REINITA (Gamboa 1997).
Mami / ita	Ahorita cuando se calma, MAMI, nos cuenta quién es y qué vino a hacer aquí, ¿sí? (Gamboa 1997).
Mi amor	No pensé que estuvieras tan buena, MI AMOR (Mendoza 2002).
Muñeca	Tranquila, MUÑECA, no le va a pasar nada (Mendoza 2002).
Monita	Déjese de pendejadas, MONITA (Mendoza 2002).
Niña	¿NIÑA, me hace un favor? (recording 10).
Hermanita	Usted cree que puede dar órdenes. No, HERMANITA, se equivocó (Mendoza 2002).
Joven	No sé quién es usted, JOVEN, pero me lo imagino (Gamboa 1997).
Jovencito	Al que madruga Dios le ayuda, JOVENCITO (Mendoza 2002).
Señorita	SEÑORITA, quiero hablar con usted de un asunto relacionado con la oficina (Gamboa 1997).
Señor + name	Por fin nos conocemos SEÑOR GARRIDO(García Ángel 2001).

In the third phase of analysis the variables are run through the GOLDVARB Binomial step up/ step down analysis in order to assign each factor a 'factor weight' in relation to their likelihood to ´favour´ or ´disfavour´ each variable. The factor groups under analysis are age, gender and socio-economic level of speaker and addressee and the message conveyed by the speaker in the exchange. In order to run a Binomial 'step up/step down' analysis each factor has to first be coded according to a specifically designed coding scheme. Once the meaning conveyed by the non-pronominal terms of address used in the exchange is established these terms of address are used to determine the meaning expressed by the SPSPs used in the same exchange. Each pronoun is then coded based on the same criterion used to classify terms of address.

Binomial step up/step down analysis is a multiple regression procedure embodied in the variable rule program. Tagliamonte (2006, p 140) describes how the

procedure begins with the regression step up, in which each factor group is added one by one and then continues with the regression step down, in which each factor group is taken away one by one. The purpose of the step up/step down analysis is to find the factor group which makes the most significant change to the model. The log likelihood is a measure of the fit of the model to the data, the closer the log likelihood is to 0 the better fit the model is to the data. Therefore, each factor group is tested in order to establish which group increases the likelihood most significantly. The program saves the factor group which is most significant and tries to add a second group, which increases the likelihood as significantly as possible. This continues until no more additions result in statistically significant improvement. The factor groups selected in the step up regression are the significant factors and those eliminated in the step down regression are the non-significant factors. The run in the step up regression which results in the log likelihood closest to 0 is selected as the best run and it is from this run that the corrected mean, log likelihood and factor weights for each factor to be displayed in the tables are selected. The factor weights for the factor groups which are considered non-significant are selected from the first run of the step down analysis, where all the factor groups are forced into the regression.

5.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to put forward the hypothesis for this study which proposes that when terms of address are viewed pragmatically the influence of speaker motivation and intention supersedes the influence of speaker and addressee's age, gender and socio-economic level. In addition, this chapter aims to describe the process of data analysis used to test this hypothesis.

Firstly, data was collected from four sources: i) nineteenth century correspondence, ii) Colombian novels based in Bogotá, iii) Colombian *telenovelas* based in Bogotá and iv) face to face conversations recorded in Bogotá. The purpose of collecting data from the nineteenth century is to investigate for evidence of a dual function by *vos, vuestra merced* and *usted* and determine if examples of colonial lag, observed by Quesada Pacheco (2000) in the sixteenth century could still be found in use in the nineteenth century post colonial society of Colombia. The purpose of collecting data from novels and *telenovelas* is to observe the language used in these representations of everyday life as the language used in novels and *telenovelas* is based

on the norms of casual speech used on an everyday basis. Finally, the face to face conversations provide live examples of contemporary use of the terms of address in Colombian Spanish.

Each source of data is analysed for use of terms of address and the exchanges in which terms of address are used to address an individual directly are extracted for analysis. These exchanges are then analysed in relation to the influence of the gender, age and social class of the speaker and addressee engaged in the exchange as well as the relationship between the speaker and addressee on choice of address form. The variable rule program was used to analyse this data and to produce results which demonstrate the influence of each of the external variables on choice of terms of address. The results from this analysis are presented and discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER 6 RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six presents the results of the data analysis for this study. The process of data analysis is carried out in three stages. The first stage of analysis investigates the use of terms of address in examples of correspondence written by Colombians in the nineteenth century. The purpose of this analysis is to observe what terms of address are used in this correspondence, and the meaning conveyed by these terms of address. Another aim of this stage of analysis is to highlight examples of *vos, vuestra merced,* and *usted* which are used to express intimacy with friends or family and examples *tú* used with offspring to express solidarity, as evidence of colonial lag in the Colombian Spanish used in the nineteenth century. Section 6.2 presents and discusses the results of this first stage of analysis.

The second stage of analysis investigates the use of terms of address in conversations between two or more people taken from three sources of data: novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations. The purpose section of this analysis is to observe how personal characteristics such as; gender, age and social class of interlocutors influence the terms of address used in a conversation and the meanings conveyed by these terms of address. This second stage of analysis is executed in three parts. The first part investigates the influence of gender of speaker and addressee on use of SPSPs. The results from this part of stage two are presented and discussed in section 6.3.1. The purpose of this analysis is to establish which SPSP is used by men and women when addressing someone of the same gender and when addressing someone of the opposite gender in an exchange and observe the patterns of use which occur across the three sources of data.

Based on variations which occur in the results between the three sources in section 6.3.1 and the findings of previous research into the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish, the second part of stage two investigates the influence of age on use of SPSPs. In section 6.3.2 the data are analysed in relation to age of speaker and addressee and these results are presented and discussed. Based on variations occurring in these results between the three sources and the findings of previous research, the data are then analysed in relation to social class of speaker and addressee. The purpose of

this third part of the analysis is to determine how the social class of speaker and addressee in each conversation influences choice of SPSP and how this choice demonstrates patterns of use of terms of address in lower, middle and upper class sectors of Colombian society.

The fourth part of this stage of analysis investigates the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee in each conversation on choice of SPSP. The purpose of this part of the analysis is to observe how patterns of address are influenced by the relationship between the speaker and addressee. Furthermore, this analysis aims to determine the general patterns of address which occurs in Colombian Spanish within specific relationships, such as among friends or between parents and their offspring. Section 6.3.4 presents the results from this stage of analysis. The final stage of analysis is to determine and observe the meaning conveyed by choice of term of address in each exchange. The purpose of this stage of analysis is to investigate how the terms of address are used to convey different meanings and also to examine the data for evidence of *usted* to express solidarity, as was described by Uber (1985). Furthermore, this investigation aims to establish how relationships influence an individual's choice of term of address in an exchange.

Section 6.4 of this chapter presents raw data, examples of terms of address used in the exchanges under analysis. The presentation of raw data in section 6.4 aims to demonstrate how terms of address are used to express solidarity, formality, dominance or distance in an exchange. In addition, this section discusses examples of pronoun shifting in order to determine the meaning conveyed by a shift from one pronoun to another in an exchange.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to observe how personal characteristics of the speaker and addressee, as well as the relationship which exists between the speaker and addressee, influences choice of terms of address in an exchange. Furthermore, this chapter aims to investigate how terms of address encode relationships.

6.2 Historical data

As discussed in chapter three of this study, Quesada Pacheco (1988) found evidence in sixteenth century correspondence between the colony and the peninsula which shows that *vos* and *vuestra merced* were used to express solidarity and intimacy among friends and family members as much as they were used to express distance and

respect. On the other hand, the pronoun *tú* was reserved for use with offspring to express solidarity.

On analysis of historical documents from 1800-1900, which were accessed in the AGN, examples of the use of *usted* to express solidarity (see example 52) and to express respect and deference (see example 53 & 54) and the use of *tú* to express closeness or solidarity to offspring (see example 55) are found.

52. Taken from a letter written in 1820 by Enrique Somoya to an America friend (Republica, Historia, Roll 4 p 685 l. 1-3). In this example *usted* is being used to express solidarity with a friend.

He	*leído,*	*mi*	*querido*	*amigo*	*con*	*mucho*
I	have read,	my	dear	friend	with	much
gusto	*las*	*juiciosas*	*observaciones*	*de*	*-l*	
enthusiasm	the	wise	observations	of	the	
Señor A.	*en*	*su*	*articulo*	*venvenido*	*que*	
Mr. A.	in	his	article	welcome	that	
usted	*me*	*aconsejarías*	*con*	*el*	*diario de*	
you	me	would advise	with	the	daily	of
Cádiz	*de*	*10*	*de*	*-l*	*corriente.*	
Cadiz	the	10	of	the	current.	

I have read, my dear friend, with much enthusiasm the wise observations of Mr. A. in his welcome article which you would have advised me to in ´El Diario de Cadiz´ on the 10th of this month.

53. Taken from a letter written in Quito in 1807 by Felipe Fuentes Amar, nephew of the Virrey, to his uncle the Virrey Amar y Borbón (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 139 pp 1068 l. 6-7). In this example *usted* is used by Felipe Fuentes Amar to express respect to his uncle Virrey Amar y Borbón.

En	*su*	*vista*	*no*	*puedo*	*menos*	*a*
In	your	visit	not	I can	least	to
tributar	*á*	*VD (usted)*	*las*	*debidas*	*gracias*	
pay	to	you	the	deserved	thanks	

'On your visit I can do no less than give you the deserved thanks.'

54. Taken from a letter written in Maracaibo, Venezuela in 1807 by Francisco de la Guerra, an army captain and historian, to Manuel Martínez Mansilla, a lieutenant to the Governor (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 130 pp 1094 l. 7-10). In this example *usted* is being used to express deference for the lieutenant, Manuel Martínez Mansilla.

Es	*regular*	*que*	*refrigerado*	*V (usted)*	*con*	*estos*
It is	normal	that	refreshed	you	with	these
días	*de*	*la*	*vida*	*continúa*	*gozando*	*de*	*la*
days	of	the	life	you continue	enjoying	of	the
perfecta	*salud.*					
perfect	health.					

'It is normal that refreshed by these days, you continue enjoying in your life perfect health.´

55. Taken from a letter written in 1805 by Juana Mansilla to her son (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 116 p 99 l. 20-21). In this example *tú* is being used to express closeness.

Tu	*mismo*	*tú*	*conocerás*	*toda*	*la*	*extensión*
You	self	you	will know	all	the	extent
de	*tus*	*recursos,*	*sí*	*a*	*ti*	*mismo*	*te*
of	your	resources	if	to	your	-self	you
dices	*sin*	*dilación*				
you say	without	obstacle.				

You yourself will know the full extent of your resources, if you say to yourself there is no obstacle.

As stated in section 3.5.3 of chapter three, in the late sixteenth century *vuestra merced* was shortened to *usted.* As a result this use of *usted* to express formality and express intimacy developed from the use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* to express formality and express intimacy in colonial times, which is an example of colonial lag. The examples (52 -55) show that this use of *usted* was still in use in Colombian Spanish in the nineteenth century.

6.3 Novels, Telenovelas and Face to Face conversations

A popular belief held in the society of Bogotá is that the use of *tú* and *usted* is governed by gender. This view claims that men use *usted* when addressing men and will only use *tú* with men who are very close friends or family members. In addition, men will use *tú* when addressing women friends of the same age as themselves. However, when addressing older women, men tend to use *usted.* On the other hand, women use *tú* when addressing other women, but use *usted* when addressing close female friends or female family members. Nevertheless, as is the case with men, when addressing an older woman, women use *usted.* This view was expressed by the participants in the data collection interviews for this study. These participants stated that men do not use *tú* when addressing other men as it is regarded as effeminate.

Previous studies of the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish have found that patterns of terms of address used by men and women vary depending on the gender of the addressee. For example, Bartens (2004) found that males favour *tú* in the majority of contexts tested and particularly when addressing females. However, when addressing male friends, acquaintances, male co-workers, male classmates, male waiting staff in a restaurant, male strangers and people in superior occupational roles males speakers were shown to favour the use of *usted.* Bartens's findings support the popular belief held in Bogotá society. Based on this popular belief and Bartens´s findings, the first phase of analysis examines the patterns of use of terms of address in relation to the gender of the speaker and addressee.

The data from each of the three sources; novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations, are analysed separately and the results of this analysis are presented in tables 8a, 8b and 8c respectively. The first column **(1)** on the far left of table 8a lists the external variables in relation to which use of terms of address is being tested. In tables 8a, 8b and 8c the external variable is the gender of speaker and addressee in each exchange. Therefore, the first column **(1)** lists the combinations of gender of speaker and addressee found in the exchanges; male speaker and male addressee, male speaker and female addressee, female speaker and female addressee, female speaker and male addressee. The second column **(2)** is split into two and shows the number of exchanges of each type and the percentage they make up of the total number of exchanges observed in the source of data. The first row across the top of the table **(A)** shows the sociolinguistic variables being tested; *usted, tú,* shifts from *usted* to *tú* and from *tú* to

usted. The third **(3)**, fourth **(4)**, fifth **(5)** and sixth columns **(6)** are also split into two and these show the number and percentage of each sociolinguistic variable used in the exchange listed in the first column **(1)** of each row. For example, the second column **(2)** shows that 71 exchanges, which make up 70.3% of the total 101 exchanges observed in the novels, are between a male speaker and male addressee. The third column **(3)** shows that out of these 71 exchanges 54 exchanges, which make up 76.1% of the total number of male – male exchanges, use *usted* and 17 exchanges, which is 23.9% of the total number of male – male exchanges, use *tú.* The last column on the far right **(7)** presents the total number of exchanges listed in the first column **(1)** observed in the novels. The last row **(B)** shows the total number and percentage of exchanges which used each sociolinguistic variable.

6.3.1 Gender

Firstly, data from the three data sources are analysed in relation to the gender of the speaker and the addressee in order to investigate for similar patterns of choice which may occur across all the sources of data. Exchanges extracted from the novels were the first to be analysed (see table 8a).

Table 8a gender – Novels

Variable (1)↓ (A)→	Total (2)		Usted (3)		Tú (4)		Usted–Tú (5)↓		Tú-Usted (6)↓		Total (7)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
M* - M	71	70.3	**54**	**76.1**	17	23.9	0	0	0	0	71	100
M – F**	14	13.9	**10**	**71.4**	4	28.6	0	0	0	0	14	100
F - F	1	1.0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
F - M	15	14.9	**8**	**53.3**	7	46.7	0	0	0	0	15	100
Total (B)→	101	100	72	71.3	29	28.7	0	0	0	0	101	100

*Male **Female

Table 8a shows that males in the novel used *usted* when addressing a male in 76% of the exchanges recorded. A similar percentage of use is recorded in the case of exchanges between males and females. On the other hand, in the sole female – female exchange found in the novels, *tú* was used, yet, female speakers showed a slight preference for *usted* when addressing a male addressee.

Data from the telenovelas were analysed next (see table 8b, p 199).

Table 8b Gender of speaker and addressee – telenovelas

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted–Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
M* - M	9	13.1	3	33.3	**6**	**66.7**	0	0	0	0	9	100
M – F**	25	36.2	**19**	**76**	6	24	0	0	0	0	25	100
F - F	14	20.3	**8**	**57.1**	6	42.9	0	0	0	0	14	100
F - M	21	30.4	**11**	**52.4**	**10**	**47.6**	0	0	0	0	21	100
Total	69	100	41	59.4	28	40.6	0	0	0	0	69	100

*Male **Female

In table 8b the results found for male-female exchanges shows a similar preference for *usted* as was displayed in table 8a above. However, the percentage of use of *usted* by males to females in table 8a has risen to 76%. As mentioned in section 4.6 of chapter four, Ervin-Tripp (1972, p 236) maintains that a pronoun shift in an exchange is a signal about the meaning being conveyed and states that: "When there is agreement about the normal address form to alters of specified statuses, then any deviation is a message." Therefore, examples of pronoun shifting may indicate an effort on the part of the speaker or addressee to stress or adjust the social hierarchy within the exchange. Furthermore, Haverkate (1984, p 54) suggests that in Spanish pronoun shifting may be used to create interpersonal space momentarily in order to exercise power over the addressee. The results found for female-male exchanges in table 8a are also similar to those found in table 8b as *usted* is used in 52.4% of exchanges.

The results in table 8b for male-male and female-female conversations show a preference for *tú* and *usted* respectively. In table 8b only 33.3% of male-male exchanges use *usted*, yet, 66.7% use *tú*. At the same time, 57.1% of female-female exchanges use *usted,* yet, only 42.9% use *tú*. Nevertheless, the number of male-male exchanges in table 8b has decreased from seventy-one in table 8a to nine in table 8b, while the number of female-female exchanges has increased from one to fourteen. Therefore, this may have influenced the results show in table 8b.

Data from the face to face conversations were then analysed (see table 8c, p 200).

Table 8c Gender of speaker and addressee - face to face dialogue

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted–Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
M* - M	4	10.3	**3**	**75**	0	0	0	0	1	25	4	100
M – F**	13	33.3	**6**	**46.2**	**5**	**38.5**	1	7.7	0	0	13	100
F - F	9	23.1	**6**	**66.7**	3	33.3	0	0	0	0	9	100
F - M	13	33.3	3	23.1	**6**	**46.2**	1	7.7	**3**	**23.1**	13	100
Total	39	100	15	38.5	18	46.2	2	5.1	4	10.3	39	100

*Male **Female

The results in table 8c demonstrate that a preference for *usted* is shown in male-male and female-female exchanges. 75% of the male-male exchanges in the face to face conversations use *usted*. This preference is similar to that found in the table 8a (76%). However, the number of male-male conversations in the face to face conversations is very low, with only four male-male conversations recorded. The preference shown for *usted* in female-female exchanges corresponds to that found in table 8b. Furthermore, the percentage of use in table 8c is higher than in table 8b at 66.7%.

The results for male-female exchanges in table 8c demonstrate a slight preference for *usted* as 46.2% of exchanges use *usted* and only 38.5% use *tú*. In addition, evidence of pronoun shifting between *usted* and *tú* is found in the male-female exchanges. The combined percentage of use of *usted* at the beginning of a male-female conversation is 53.9%, which demonstrate a preference for *usted* shown in the male-female exchanges. This preference corresponds with that found in tables 8a and 8b. In spite of this, the percentage of use (53.9 %) is lower than that found in the other two tables. Finally, a preference for *tú* is shown in the female-male exchanges, with 46.2% of exchanges using *tú* and 23.1% using *usted*. In addition, evidence of pronoun shifting from *usted* to *tú* and also from *tú* to *usted* is found in the female-male exchanges. 23.1% of exchanges demonstrate a shift from *tú* to *usted* and 7.7 % demonstrate a shift from *usted* to *tú*. If these percentages are combined with the percentages of exchanges in which *usted* and *tú* are used with no shift, the total percentage of exchanges which began using *usted* is 30.8%, and which began with *tú* is 69.3%. This result shows a slight increase in the percentage of use of *tú* in females-male exchanges from that shown in tables 8a and 8b.

The results in tables 8a to 8c show that, in male-female exchanges, males consistently show a preference for *usted*. Even though the percentage of use fluctuates from table to table, the percentage of use in each table demonstrates that in more than

half of the male-female exchanges the male speaker uses *usted* to address a female addressee. If the popular view regarding use of *tú* and *usted* is applied to these results, then these results may indicate that in the majority of male – female exchanges recorded across the three sources of data the male speaker is addressing an older female addressee. However, on analysis of the age of the speaker and addressee in the male – female exchanges it is revealed that exchanges in which a male speaker is addressing an older female addressee are not in the majority.

Table 8d

Male –female exchanges	**Novels**		***Telenovelas***		**Face to face conversations**	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Male – younger female	**10**	**71.4**	4	16	5	38.5
Male – female of same age	4	28.6	**16**	**64**	**6**	**46.1**
Male – older female	0	0	5	20	2	15.4
Total	14	100	25	100	13	100

Table 8d shows that in the majority of male-female exchanges in the novels, presented in table 8a, the male speaker is addressing a younger female, in the *telenovelas,* presented in table 8b, and the face to face conversations, presented in table 8c; the male speaker is addressing a female of the same age.

Some previous studies carried out to investigate the use of terms of address in Colombian Spanish, such as Carrasco Santana (2002), and Bayona (2006), have found that patterns of terms of address used in an exchange are influenced by the age of the speaker and addressee. For example, Carrasco Santana (2002) found that participants use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone older, yet use *usted* when addressing someone younger. In addition, Bayona (2006) found that when addressing someone younger, younger participants show a preference for *tú;* yet, older participants show a preference for *usted.* Therefore, the differences in percentages of use and preference shown for either *usted* or *tú* in tables 8a, 8b and 8c may indicate that the age of speakers and addressees in an exchange is not consistent for the three sources of data.

The next stage of analysis focuses on the age of speaker and addressee.

6.3.2 Age

The data from the three sources are analysed in relation to speaker age in order to establish if there is a correlation between age and pronoun use. Once again data from the novels are analysed first (see table 9a).

Table 9a Age of speaker – age of addressee - Novels

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
G1 - child	0	0	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G1-G1	3	3.1	**2**	**66.7**	1	33.3	0	0	0	0	3	100
G1-G2	11	10.9	**8**	**72.7**	3	27.3	0	0	0	0	11	100
G1-G3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G2 - child	1	1.0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
G2-G1	16	15.8	**13**	**81.2**	3	18.8	0	0	0	0	16	100
G2-G2	39	38.6	**35**	**89.7**	4	10.3	0	0	0	0	39	100
G2-G3	14	13.9	**8**	**57.1**	6	42.9	0	0	0	0	14	100
G3-G1	2	2.0	**1**	**50**	**1**	**50**	0	0	0	0	2	100
G3-G2	12	11.9	4	33.3	**8**	**66.7**	0	0	0	0	12	100
G3-G3	2	2.0	**1**	**50**	**1**	**50**	0	0	0	0	2	100
G3-child	1	1.0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Total	101	100	72	71.3	29	28.7	0	0	0	0	101	100

Table 9a shows that 66.7% of exchanges between generation 1 (G1 from this point forward) speakers and addressees show a preference for *usted.* However, the total number of G1 to G1 exchanges is only three. Therefore these results are not reliable. Nevertheless, the results show that G1 speakers addressing someone in generation 2 (G2 from this point forward) demonstrate a preference for *usted* in 72% of exchanges. No G1- generation 3 (G3 from this point forward) exchanges were recorded in the novels.

The results for exchanges in which a G2 speaker is addressing someone in G1, G2 and G3 all show a preference for *usted.* 81.2% of G2 speakers use *usted* to address a G1 addressee, almost 90% of G2-G2 exchanges use *usted* and 57% of G2-G3 exchanges use *usted.* On the other hand, G3 speakers use *usted* and *tú* equally when in exchanges with G1 and G3 addressees. However, the number of G3-G1 and G3-G3 exchanges observed in the novels is very low, with only two exchanges of each type being recorded. Therefore, these results are not taken as reliable. Nonetheless, G3 speakers show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone in G2. 66.7% of G3-G1 exchanges use *tú.* Finally, speakers in G2 and G3 address children using *tú.*

The results shown in table 9a indicate that in the novels speakers tend to use *usted* more than *tú* when addressing someone older. In addition, G2 speakers are shown

to use *usted* more often than *tú* when addressing someone younger and when addressing someone of the same age. However, G3 speakers are shown to either use *usted* and *tú* equally or show a preference for *usted* with younger addressees.

Data from the telenovelas were analysed next (see table 9b).

Table 9b Age of speaker - age of addressee – Telenovelas

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
G1 - child	0	0	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G1-G1	33	47.8	**26**	**78.8**	7	21.2	0	0	0	0	33	100
G1-G2	8	11.6	**4**	**50**	**4**	**50**	0	0	0	0	8	100
G1-G3	7	10.1	3	42.9	**4**	**57.1**	0	0	0	0	7	100
G2 - child	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G2-G1	13	18.8	6	46.2	**7**	**53.8**	0	0	0	0	13	100
G2-G2	4	5.8	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0	4	100
G2-G3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G3-G1	4	5.8	1	25	**3**	**75**	0	0	0	0	4	100
G3-G2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G3-G3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Total	69	100	41	59.4	28	40.6	0	0	0	0	69	100

In table 9b G1-G1 exchanges show a preference for *usted* in almost 79% of exchanges. In G1-G2 and G2-G2 exchanges *tú* and *usted* are used equally. However, in G1-G3 exchanges a slight preference is shown for *tú* as 57% of speakers in G1 use *tú* when addressing a G3 addressee. G2-G1 exchanges show a slight preference for *tú*. 57.1% of exchanges use *tú*. A similar preference for *tú* is shown in G3-G1 exchanges. However, the percentage of use of *usted* is higher in these exchanges at 75%. Nevertheless, the number of G3-G1 exchanges is low as only four exchanges between G3 and G1 are found in the *telenovelas*. No examples of G2-G3, G3-G2 or G3-G3 exchanges are found in the *telenovelas*.

The results shown in table 9b indicate that in the *telenovelas* G1 speakers tend to use *usted* more than *tú* when addressing someone of the same age, yet tend to use both *usted* and *tú* or show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone older. In addition, these results indicate that in the *telenovelas* speakers tend to use *tú* more than *usted* when addressing someone younger.

Data from the face to face conversations were analysed then (see table 9c, p 204).

Table 9c Age of speaker - age of addressee – Face to face conversations

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
G1 - child	1	2.6	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
G1-G1	7	17.9	0	0	**7**	**100**	0	0	0	0	7	100
G1-G2	3	7.7	**1**	**33.3**	**1**	**33.3**	0	0	**1**	**33.3**	3	100
G1-G3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G2 - child	2	5.1	0	0	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	2	100
G2-G1	8	20.5	**6**	**75**	2	25	0	0	0	0	8	100
G2-G2	10	25.6	**4**	**40**	**4**	**40**	**1**	**10**	**1**	**10**	10	100
G2-G3	2	5.1	**1**	**50**	0	0	0	0	**1**	**50**	2	100
G3-G1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
G3-G2	3	7.7	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
G3-G3	3	7.7	0	0	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	3	100
Total	39	100	15	38.5	18	46.2	2	5.1	4	10.3	39	100

In table 9c exchanges between G1 speakers and addressee are shown to use *usted* in all cases. When addressing an older addressee in G2, G1 speakers tend to use *usted* and *tú*. Evidence of pronoun shifting from *tú* to *usted* by G1 speakers is shown in table 9c. By combining the percentage of G1-G2 exchanges using *tú* and those which begin the exchange using *tú*, the total percentage demonstrates a preference for *tú* shown by G1 speakers in G1-G2 exchanges. However, the number of G1-G2 exchanges recorded in the face to face conversations is limited to three. Therefore, these results are not reliable.

In table 9c, G2 speakers tend to show a preference for *usted* in 75% of exchanges when addressing younger addressees in G1. However, when addressing a G2 addressee, G2 speakers use *usted* and *tú* in equal proportions. Furthermore, two examples are found of pronoun shifting and these are also found in equal proportion with one example shifting from *usted* to *tú* and the other shifting from *tú* to *usted.*

The results in tables 9a, 9b and 9c show that speakers in G1 and G2 tend to either show a preference for *usted* or use both *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone of the same age. No preference for *tú* was shown in exchanges between G1-G1 and G2-G2. On the other hand, G3 speakers were shown to use both *usted* and *tú*, or to show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone of the same age. However, the number of G3-G3 exchanges observed in the novels and face to face conversations is low; two exchanges are found in the novels and three exchanges in the face to face conversations. No G3-G3 exchanges are found in the *telenovelas.* Therefore, these results are not reliable.

The results in relation to the influence of age on choice of term of address vary across the three sources of data. Table 9a (novels) shows that G1 and G2 speakers tend to use *usted* when addressing someone older. Yet, tables 9b (*telenovelas*) and 9c (face to face conversations) show that G1 and G2 speakers either use both *usted* and *tú* or show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone older. On the other hand, table 9a and 9c show that G2 speakers show a preference for *usted* when addressing someone younger. However, in table 9b G2 speakers show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone younger. In addition, tables 9a and 9b show that G3 speakers use both *usted* and *tú* or show a preference for *tú* when addressing someone younger. Yet, tables 9a and 9b show that G3 speakers demonstrate a preference for *usted.* Finally, table 9a shows that G1 and G2 speakers show a preference for *usted* or use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone of the same age. However, table 9c shows that G1 speakers use *tú* when addressing someone of the same age.

Bayona´s (2006) findings reveal that a male interviewer, who was under 25, was addressed using *usted* and *tú* in equal proportions by both male and female participants. Based on these finding Bayona (2006, p 10) proposes that "the speech community seems to have no particular preference for a specific pronoun towards young males." Furthermore, Bayona found that the second generation participants in this study use *usted* and *tú* almost equally. This corresponds to what had been found in the previous part of Bayona´s study. In addition, this confirmed for Bayona (2006, p 11) that "the population interviewed manifests certain ambivalence in the criteria regarding the semantics of the pronominal system."

This ambivalence observed by Bayona may account for some the results in tables 9a, 9b and 9c which show equal use of *usted* and *tú.* Therefore, that data are reanalysed in relation the gender and age of speaker and addressee in each exchanges. This analysis reveals that in the exchanges taken from the novels G3 speakers seem to show no particular preference for a specific pronoun when addressing a younger male. This result is consistent with Bayona's findings. However, the results for G1 and G2 speakers vary across the three sources of data. In the exchanges taken from the novels and *telenovelas* G1 speakers show a preference for *usted* when addressing a younger male, yet in the exchanges taken from the face to face conversations G1 speakers show a preference for *tú.* At the same time, in the exchanges taken from the novels and face to face conversations, G2 speakers show a preference for *usted* when addressing a younger male, yet in the exchanges taken from the *telenovelas* G2 and G3 speakers show a

preference for *tú*. However, the number of exchanges observed in the three sources of data is very low. Therefore, these results may not be reliable.

Social class is another factor which influences choice of terms of address in an exchange and as a result certain patterns of use may be common in lower, middle or upper levels of society. Furthermore, an individual's social class in relation to that of his/her addressee may influence the level of social distance between the two interlocutors. This in turn may influence the speaker's choice of term of address or the meaning conveyed by a particular term of address. For example, Montes Giraldo *et al's* (1998b) analysis of speech patterns in Bogotá found that when addressing someone of a superior social class or to whom the speaker wishes to show respect male speakers tend to use *usted* more than female speakers. In addition, younger speakers are found to use *usted* more than older speakers when addressing someone socially superior and speakers from the upper class use *usted* more than those from the middle or lower class. As a result, the difference found in tables 9a, 9b and 9c may indicate that the social level of speakers and addressees varies in the three sources of data. As a speaker may choose different address forms when addressing someone from a higher or lower socio-economic level this variation may be the cause of these differences.

The next stage of analysis investigates the influence of the social class of speaker and addressee on choice of term of address.

6.3.3 Social class

The data are analysed in relation to the social class held by the speaker and the addressee in each exchange.

Data from the novels were analysed first (see table 10a, p 207).

Table 10a Social class of speaker and addressee – Novels

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low –?	0	0	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Low-Low	5	5.0	**5**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	100
Low-Mid	7	6.9	**7**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100
Low-Up	12	11.9	**12**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	100
Mid-Low	8	7.9	**7**	**87.5**	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	8	100
Mid-Mid	24	23.8	**18**	**75**	6	25	0	0	0	0	25	100
Mid – Up	5	5.0	2	40	**3**	**60**	0	0	0	0	5	100
Up –Low	7	6.9	**6**	**85.7**	1	14.3	0	0	0	0	7	100
Up-Mid	4	4.0	**3**	**75**	1	25	0	0	0	0	4	100
Up - Up	29	28.7	12	41.4	**17**	**58.6**	0	0	0	0	29	100
Total	101	100	72	71.3	29	28.7	0	0	0	0	101	100

The results in table 10a show that lower class level speakers use *usted* when addressing someone of the same social class as themselves and when addressing someone from a higher social class. Speakers in the middle class are shown to favour *usted* over *tú* when addressing someone in a lower social class in 87.5% of exchanges. In addition, middle class speakers are also shown to favour *usted* when addressing someone on the same social level as themselves in 75% of middle class speaker – middle class addressee exchanges. However, in table 10a middle class speakers are shown to favour *tú* when addressing someone in a higher social class in 60% of exchanges. A similar pattern of results is found for upper class speakers. 85.7 % of upper class speakers use *usted* when addressing someone from the lower class and 75% use *usted* when addressing someone from the middle class. However a slight preference is shown for *tú* when addressing someone on an equal social level. 58.6% of upper class speakers use *tú* when addressing an upper class addressee.

Data from the telenovelas were analysed next (see table 10b, p 208).

Table 10b Social class of speaker and addressee – Telenovelas

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low-?	0	0	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Low-Low	17	26.6	**13**	**76.5**	4	23.5	0	0	0	0	17	100
Low-Mid	10	14.5	**8**	**80**	2	20	0	0	0	0	10	100
Low-Up	2	2.9	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Mid-Low	12	17.4	**10**	**83.3**	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	12	100
Mid-Mid	6	8.7	1	16.7	**5**	**83.3**	0	0	0	0	6	100
Mid – Up	3	4.3	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Up –Low	3	4.3	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Up-Mid	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Up - Up	15	21.7	1	6.7	**14**	**93.3**	0	0	0	0	15	100
Total	69	100	41	59.4	28	40.6	0	0	0	0	69	100

Table 10b shows a similar pattern of use for lower class speakers to that found in table 10a. In table 10b lower class speakers tend to show a preference for *usted* when addressing someone of the same social level in 76% of exchanges. Furthermore, a larger number of exchanges between lower class speakers and addressees are observed in the *telenovelas,* than was observed in the novels. *Usted* is used by lower class speakers when addressing a middle class addressee in 80% of exchanges, which is close to that shown in table 10a. The percentage of exchanges in which a lower class speakers shows a preference for *usted* when addressing an upper class addressee is the same as that found in table 10a (100%). However, the number of exchanges of this type observed in the *telenovelas* is very low, only two exchanges are recorded. Therefore, this result is not reliable.

The pattern of use for exchanges in which a middle class speaker addresses a lower class addressee in table 10b correspond to that found in table 10a with a similar percentage of exchanges (83%) showing preference for *usted.* However, the results for exchanges between middle class speakers and addressees in table 10b differ to those found in table 10a as in table 10b a preference is shown for *tú* rather than *usted* in 83% of exchanges. In addition, a difference was also found in relation to exchanges between a middle class speaker and upper class addressee. In table 10b these speakers are shown to use *usted* in all cases (100%). However, the number of exchanges between a middle class speaker and upper class addressee observed in the *telenovelas* is low, only three exchanges were recorded. Therefore, this result is not reliable.

The results found in table 10b in relation to upper class speakers correspond with those found in table 10a, as upper class speakers are shown to demonstrate a

preference for *usted* when addressing lower and middle class addressees, yet show a preference for *tú* when addressing an addressee on an equal social level. However, the number of exchanges between upper class speakers and lower class addressees, and upper class speakers and middle class addressees is low, only three exchanges and one exchange respectively are observed. However, the preference shown for *tú* by upper class speakers addressing someone on an equal social level is significant as 93.3% of exchanges use *tú*.

Data from the face to face conversations were then analysed (see table 10c).

Table 10c Social class of speaker and addressee – Face to face conversations

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted– Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low - ?	5	12.8	**3**	**60**	2	40	0	0	0	0	5	100
Low-Low	12	30.8	4	33.3	**5**	**41.7**	0	0	3	25	12	100
Low-Mid	4	10.3	1	25	**2**	**50**	1	25	0	0	4	100
Low-Up	1	2.6	**1**	**100**	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Mid-Low	3	7.7	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Mid-Mid	10	25.6	0	0	**8**	**80**	1	10	1	10	10	100
Mid – Up	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Up –Low	3	7.7	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Up-Mid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Up - Up	1	2.6	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Total	39	100	15	38.5	18	46.2	2	5.1	4	10.3	39	100

The patterns of use in table 10c correspond to those found in table 10b in almost all of the exchanges observed, and correspond to table 10a in many of the exchanges. In exchanges between a middle class speaker and someone from a lower class, a preference is shown for *usted* in all cases (100%). However, the number of exchanges of this kind observed in the face to face conversations is low, only three conversations are observed. Therefore, this result is not reliable. Nevertheless, the results shown for exchanges between a middle class speaker and addressee are consistent with those shown in table 10b, as 80% of exchanges use *tú*. Furthermore, one example of pronoun shifting from *usted* to *tú* is observed in exchanges between a middle class speaker and middle class addressee. Combining these two results reveals a use of *usted* at the beginning of a conversation by 90% of speakers in this type of exchange. No exchanges between middle class speakers and upper class addressees are observed in the face to face conversations.

The results shown in table 10c for upper class speakers addressing a lower class and upper class addressee are consistent with those found in tables 10a and 10b. However, the number of exchanges observed in each case is very low, only three exchanges between upper class speakers and lower class addressees are observed and only one exchange between an upper class speaker and addressee is observed. No exchanges between upper class speakers and middle class addressees are recorded in the face to face conversations.

Finally, the results found in table 10c for exchanges between a lower class speaker and addressee, and a lower class speaker and a middle class addressee differ to those found in table 10a and 10b. In table 10c, lower class speakers are shown to demonstrate a preference for *tú* when addressing someone on an equal or higher level. 41% of lower class speakers addressing someone on an equal level use *tú*. Furthermore, evidence of pronoun shifting from *tú* to *usted* is found in 25% of these exchanges. If this percentage is combined with those showing a preference for *tú*, a total of 66% of exchanges between lower class speakers and addressees are shown to begin by exchanging tú. In the case of lower class speakers addressing a middle class addressee 50% of exchanges are shown to use *tú*. However, evidence of pronoun shifting from *usted* to *tú* is found in these exchanges. If these percentages are combined the distribution of conversations which begin using *usted* and *tú* is shown to be equal. Nevertheless, the number of exchanges recorded is low, only four exchanges between a lower class speaker and middle class addressee are observed in the face to face conversations. Therefore, these results are not reliable.

6.3.4 The influence of interacting personal factors on choice of address form

The results presented in the tables in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, indicate that the gender, age and social class of the speaker and addressee, in relation to one another in an exchange, influence the speaker's choice of term of address.

Fought (1999) investigated the use of /u/-fronting in Chicano English in a Mexican-American community in California. It was found that among Latino young adults non-traditional social categories came up as a way of identifying themselves. The most intriguing of these was the category of gang member. Fought investigated where or not there was a correlation between use of /u/-fronting and gang membership. Initially, the data were analysed in relation to social class. The results revealed that some speakers contradicted the general pattern. Fought (1999), states that in order to

determine why this was occurring it was necessary to look at factors other than social class which figured prominently in the community, such as gang status. Therefore, Fought then analysed the data in relation to social class and gang status. This analysis again failed to answer the question of why these speakers contradicted the general pattern. In the next stage of analysis each group was analysed in relation to gender, looking at /u/-fronting for females by class and gang status and for males by class and gang status. By combining the factors and analysing for gender, class and gang status Fought produced results which reveal a clear pattern. This type of cross-referencing of factors carried out by Fought was emulated here. The results presented in tables 8a-8c, 9a-9c and 10a-10c tend to lack consistency across the three sources of data. Therefore, the results from tables a, b and c in for each category (gender, age and social class) are combined to reveal a summary of the results presented in tables 8a-8c, 9a-9c and 10a-10c. The summary focuses specifically on choice of *usted.* By focusing on one pronoun in particular the summary, which is presented below in figure 10 (p 199), shows how the factors of gender, age and social class influence choice of *usted* and this can then be used as a point of reference. Therefore, in figure 10 where *usted* is not shown as being used indicates a preference for *tú,* and where no preference is shown for *usted* indicates use of both *usted* and *tú.* As a result, figure 10 reveals a comprehensive summary of the results presented in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 of this chapter.

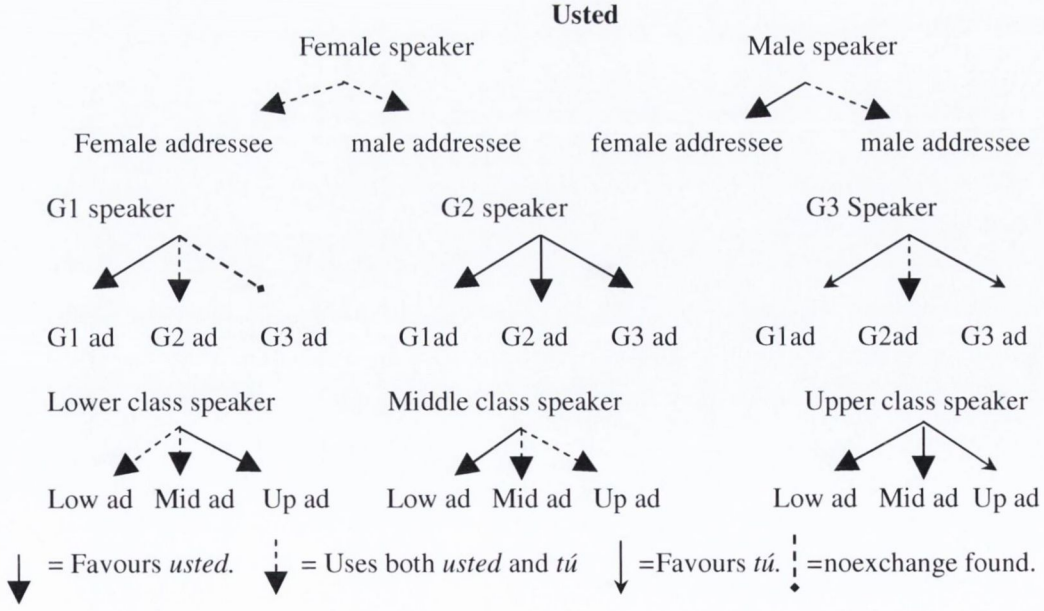


Figure 10 Summary of results for gender, age and class. (Adapted from Fought (1999, p 18).

From the analysis in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 it appears that male speakers favour *usted* when addressing a female. G1 and G2 speakers favour *usted* when addressing someone of the same age or older. G2 also favour *usted* when addressing someone older, yet G1 speakers use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone older. No exchanges were found for G1-G3 exchanges. G3 speakers use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone younger and favour *tú* when addressing someone of the same age. Lower class speakers favour *usted* when addressing when addressing someone in the upper class, but use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone in the lower or middle class. Middle class speakers and upper class speakers favour *usted* when addressing someone of a lower class, yet middle class speakers use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone of an equal or higher class and upper class speakers favour *tú* when addressing someone of the same class.

However, when the factors of gender, age and class are combined the results vary greatly as the combination of gender, age and class of speaker and gender, age and class of addressee is not consistent across the three sources of data. Furthermore, this variety of combinations results in low numbers of exchanges in some categories which makes reliable results difficult to achieve. However, where gender, age and class of speaker and addressee are consistent across all sources of data variation is observed in the results. These variations may indicate that there are other factors which influence choice of term of address. The next stage of analysis looks at the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee on choice of term of address.

6.3.5 Relationship between speaker and addressee

The data from each of the three sources are analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee. Exchanges between acquaintances, friends, co-workers, employers and employees, waiting staff (or sellers) and customers and parents addressing their offspring were represented in all three data sources. However, some types of relationships were not represented in all sources. For example, in the novels no exchanges are found in which an offspring addresses a parent, a mother addresses her offspring's friend, a husband addresses his wife, a teacher addresses a student or between siblings, or classmates. In the *telenovelas* no exchanges are found in which a waiter (or seller) addresses a customer, or between classmates or business associates. In the face to face conversations no exchanges are found in which a mother

addresses her offspring's friend, a teacher addresses a student or between business associates, younger and older relatives, strangers, or siblings. The types of relationships which are not represented in each source of data are excluded from the tables.

Data from the novels were analysed first (see table 11a).

Table 11a Relationship – Novels

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted–Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	14	13.9	**14**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	100
Employer – employee (E)	7	6.0	**7**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100
Employee – employer (H)	2	2.0	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Parent – offspring (M)	1	1.0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Co-workers (W)	7	6.9	**5**	**71.4**	2	28.6	0	0	0	0	7	100
Wife–husband (Q)	1	1.0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Friends (F)	22	21.8	**14**	**63.6**	8	36.4	0	0	0	0	22	100
Business associates (B)	13	12.9	**10**	**76.9**	3	23.1	0	0	0	0	13	100
Older-younger relative (J)	6	5.9	0	0	**6**	**100**	0	0	0	0	6	100
Younger-older relative (T)	6	5.9	0	0	**6**	**100**	0	0	0	0	6	100
Strangers (X)	17	16.8	**16**	**94.1**	1	5.9	0	0	0	0	17	100
Waiting staff – customer (R)	2	2.0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Customer– waiter (Y)	3	3.0	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Total	101	100	73	72.3	28	27.7	0	0	0	0	101	100

Table 11a shows that in the examples of exchanges taken from the novels *usted* is used in all cases (100%) between acquaintances, between employers to employees, and by customers to a waiter. On the other hand, *tú* is shown as being used in all cases by parents to offspring, between older and younger relatives and by a wife to her husband. However, only one examples of an exchange where a parent is addressing his/her offspring, a wife is addressing her husband and customer is addressing a waiter is observed in the novels. Therefore, the results for these exchanges are not reliable. The results in table 11a show that the speakers in almost all of the other relationships found in the novels favour *usted* to differing degrees. If *usted* is seen as a formal SPSP used to

express formality and respect, some of these results are predictable such as those for exchanges between strangers and between business partners. In exchanges between strangers, 95% of the exchanges use *usted* and in exchanges between business partners, 73.9% of exchanges use *usted.* In addition, in exchanges between co-workers a relatively high percentage of *usted* is also recorded as 71.6% of exchanges use *usted.* However, other results are surprising, such as the moderately high percentage of *usted* used in exchanges between friends. 63.6% of exchanges between friends use *usted.*

Data from the telenovelas were then analysed (see table 11b).

Table 11b Relationship – Telenovelas

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted–Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	2	2.9	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Employer – employee (E)	6	8.7	**6**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100
Employee – employer (H)	3	4.3	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Parent – offspring (M)	5	7.2	1	20	**4**	**80**	0	0	0	0	5	100
Offspring-parent (S)	6	8.7	0	0	6	100	0	0	0	0	6	100
Co-workers (W)	10	14.5	**9**	**90**	1	10	0	0	0	0	10	100
Wife–husband (Q)	1	1.4	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Husband-wife (P)	1	1.4	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Friends (F)	17	24.6	**11**	**64.7**	**4**	**23.5**	**2**	**11.8**	0	0	17	100
Older-younger relative (J)	1	1.4	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Younger-older relative (T)	1	1.4	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Strangers (X)	4	5.8	**4**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	100
friend's mother-friend (U)	3	4.3	0	0	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	3	100
friend–friend's mother (Z)	2	32.9	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Siblings (G)	6	8.7	**0**	**0**	6	100	0	0	0	0	6	100
Teacher – student (V)	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Total	69	100	39	56.5	28	40.6	2	2.9	0	0	69	100

The results in table 11b show that *usted* is used in all cases (100%) in exchanges between acquaintances, between employers and employees, between strangers, when addressing a friend´s mother and by a teacher to a student. At the same time, *tú* is shown

to be used in all cases in exchanges between a husband and wife, by an older relative to a younger relative, by offspring to their parents, by a mother addressing her offspring´s friend and between siblings. However, the number of some of these types of exchanges observed in the *telenovelas* is very low. Only one exchange between a husband and wife and one exchange in which a teacher addresses a student are observed. In addition, only two exchanges between acquaintances and two exchanges in which a mother addresses her offspring´s friend are observed. Finally, only three examples are observed of an exchange in which an employee addresses an employer, and in which the speaker is addressing a friend´s mother. Therefore, the results for these exchanges are not reliable. Nevertheless, the results shown for employers addressing employees is consistent with that found in table 11a.

Table 11b also shows that *usted* is used in 90% of exchanges between co-workers and in all cases (100%) between strangers. These results are also consistent with those shown in table 11a with a slightly higher percentage of use found in 11b for both types of exchange. The results shown for exchanges between friends in table 11a demonstrate a preference for *usted* in almost 65% of exchanges. In addition, evidence of pronoun shifting from *usted* to *tú* is found in almost 11% of exchanges between friends. This percentage combined with the percentage of exchanges in which *usted* is used reveals that almost 76% of exchanges between friends used *usted* at the beginning of the conversation. This result is consistent with that shown in table 11a, but a slightly higher percentage of exchanges use *usted.*

Data from the face to face conversations were then analysed (see table 11c, p 216).

Table 11c Relationships – Face to face conversations

Variable	Total		Usted		Tú		Usted–Tú		Tú - Usted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	3	7.7	**0**	**0**	**2**	**66.7**	0	0	1	33.3	3	100
Employer – employee (E)	5	12.8	**4**	**80**	1	20	0	0	0	0	5	100
Employee – employer (H)	3	7.7	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Parent – offspring (M)	4	10.3	**1**	**25**	**3**	**75**	0	0	0	0	4	100
Offspring-parent (S)	1	2.6	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Classmates (C)	8	20.5	0	0	**8**	**100**	0	0	0	0	8	0
Co-workers (W)	4	10.3	**2**	**50**	0	0	1	25	1	25	4	100
Waiting staff – customer (R)	5	12.8	**3**	**60**	2	40	0	0	0	0	5	0
Wife–husband (Q)	2	5.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100
Husband-wife (P)	2	5.1	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0	2	100
Friends (F)	1	2.6	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Customer– waiter (Y)	1	2.6	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Total	39	100	15	38.5	18	46.2	2	5.1	4	10.3	39	100

Table 11c shows some results which are consistent with those shown in tables 11a and 11b. For instance, *tú* is used most often by parents addressing their offspring and *usted* is used in all cases (100%) by employees addressing employers, by offspring addressing their parents and in a large percentage of exchanges in which an employer is addressing an employee. In addition, *usted* is used in 50% of exchanges between co-workers. Furthermore, evidence of pronoun shifting from *tú* to *usted* and from *usted* to *tú* is found in 25% of exchanges between co-workers. If the percentage of exchanges in which the speaker begins with *usted* and then shifts to *tú* is combined with those in which *usted* is used, this reveals that 75% of exchanges between co-workers begin using *usted.* However, some results which differ from those in the previous tables (11a and 11b) are also revealed. For example, in table 11c acquaintances tend to show a preference for *tú* and use *tú* in almost 67% of exchanges. Furthermore, friends and classmates also show a preference for *tú* and tend to use *tú* in all cases (100%).

As discussed in chapter three and mentioned again in chapter four, Uber (1985) proposes that the use of *usted* in Colombian Spanish has a dual function. *Usted* can be used to express closeness, *usted* of solidarity, and also to express formality or respect, *usted of* formality, and these two forms of *usted* can be found on either end of the

continuum of solidarity (see Chapter 3, p 101, figure 2). This may explain the unexpected results in tables 11a, 11b and 11bc in relation to the use of *usted* in relationship which would most commonly be associated with the use of informal terms of address. For example, in the exchanges between friends, shown in tables 11a and 11b and between parents and their offspring, shown in table 11bc, *usted* may be expressing closeness rather than formality. Therefore, the data are analysed once again in order to determine the meaning conveyed by the terms of address used in each exchange. In tables 12a, 12b and 12c the data are analysed in relation to the meaning conveyed. Tables 12a, 12b and 12c are then cross referenced with tables 11a, 11b and 11c to determine which pronoun or combination of pronoun is used in each exchange.

In order to determine the meaning conveyed by the speaker in an exchange, the terms of address used in the exchange, pronominal and non-pronominal, are analysed in context. Based on this analysis each exchange is then categorised in relation to the meaning conveyed (see tables 7a–7d, pp. 188-190). This categorisation is carried out via a three-step process. Firstly, the relationship between the speaker and addressee is established and the social distance between the interlocutors is assessed. Secondly, the division of power within the relationship is analsyed. The relationship between speaker and addressee and their status in relation to one another is used to establish if there is an equal division of power within the relationship or if one of the interlocutors is superior to the other, be it in terms of authority, age, social status, etc.

Thirdly, the speaker's attitude towards the addressee in the exchange is established. This is done by taking into account the relationship between the speaker and addressee, their status in relation to one another, where the power lies in the relationship, the context in which the exchange takes place and the terms of address used by the speaker towards the addressee. Taking into account Uber´s proposal that some second person pronouns have a dual function in Colombian Spanish, the non-pronominal terms of address in each exchange are used in conjunction with the second person pronouns to help establish the meaning expressed by the speaker. Even though the relationship between the interlocutors has an influence on choice of second person pronoun, it is the context of the exchange which indicates what is expressed by the second person pronoun within a particular exchange. The non-pronominal terms of address used in the exchange can be a further indicator of the mood of the exchange. For instance, in example 56 (p 227) the speaker uses realised *usted* to address his employee. In this exchange the employer is furious and refers to the employee as *gran*

marica ´big pansy´. The employer uses the insult and realised *usted* to momentarily distance himself from the employee.

Each exchange is analysed independently and categorised in one of four catergories; solidarity, formality, dominance or distance based on the meaning expressed by *tú* or *usted* in the exchange. The data are then coded accordingly. Where pronoun shifts occur in an exchange each shift is analysed seperately. Finally, the data are then analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee. The results of this analysis are presented in tables 12a – 12c. The numbers and percentages in each category in tables 12a – 12c represent the number of exchanges in which solidarity, formality, dominance and distance are expressed using either *tú* or *usted.* As a result, some categories in table 12a – 12c may include both pronoun forms. Therefore, these results are cross-referenced with tables 11a – 11c and illustrated using raw data examples (see section 6.5, pp. 227 - 237) in order to facilitate their interpretation.

Data from the novels were analysed first (see 12a, p 219).

Table 12a Relationship – Novels

Variable	Total		Solidarity		Formality		Dominance		Distance		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	14	13.9	0	0	14	100	0	0	0	0	14	100
Employer – employee (E)	7	6.9	**6**	**85.7**	0	0	0	0	**1**	**14.3**	7	100
Employee – employer (H)	2	2.0	**1**	**50**	**1**	**50**	0	0	0	0	2	100
Parent – offspring (M)	1	1.0	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Co-workers (W)	7	6.9	**7**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100
Waiting staff – customer (R)	2	2.0	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	100
Wife–husband (Q)	1	1.0	1	100	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	1	100
Friends (F)	22	21.8	22	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	100
Business associates (B)	13	12.9	3	**23.1**	10	76.9	0	0	0	0	13	100
Older-younger relative (J)	6	6.1	5	83.3	0	0	0	0	1	16.7	6	100
Younger-older relative (T)	6	6.1	5	83.3	0	0	0	0	1	16.7	6	100
Strangers (X)	17	16.8	1	5.9	16	94.1	0	0	0	0	17	100
Customer–waiter (Y)	3	1.0	0	0	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	3	100
Total	101	100	52	51.5	46	45.6	0	0	3	2.9	101	100

Cross referencing between tables 11a and 12a reveals that *usted* is used by acquaintances to express formality in all cases (100%). In addition, *usted* is used to express solidarity between friends and co-workers and by parents to their offspring in all cases (100%) and by employers to employees in most cases (85.7%). However, in one exchange in which an employer is addressing an employee *usted* is used to express distance (see example 56, p 227). Table 12a shows that *usted* is used to express formality in 94.1% of exchanges between strangers and in almost 77% of exchanges between business associates. However, Table 11a reveals that *tú* is used in one exchange between strangers. This use of *tú* accounts for the exchange in which solidarity is expressed (see example 58 and 59, p 228). Table 12a reveals that friends and co-workers express solidarity in all exchanges. This result indicates that *usted* is used by friends to express solidarity, which explains the high percentage of *usted* found

in exchanges between friends in table 11a. The results in table 12a show that in almost all exchanges *tú* is used to express solidarity, with the exception of one exchange between a nephew and uncle (see example 60 and 61, p 229). In this exchange, *tú* is used by both interlocuters in conjunction with an insult and serves to distance the speaker from the addressee.

Data from the telenovelas were analysed next (see table 12b).

Table 12b Relationship – Telenovelas

Variable	Total		Solidarity		Formality		Dominance		Distance		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	2	2.9	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	100
Employer – employee (E)	6	8.7	1	16.7	**3**	**50**	2	33.3	0	0	6	100
Employee – employer (H)	3	4.3	0	0	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	3	100
Parent – offspring (M)	5	7.2	**5**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	100
Offspring-parent (S)	6	8.7	**6**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100
Co-workers (W)	10	14.5	**9**	**90**	1	10	0	0	0	0	10	100
Wife–husband (Q)	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Husband-wife (P)	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Friends (F)	17	24.6	**15**	**88.2**	1	5.9	1	5.9	0	0	17	100
Older-younger relative (J)	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Younger-older relative (T)	1	1.4	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Strangers (X)	4	5.8	**2**	**50**	0	0	1	25	1	25	4	100
friend's mother-friend (U)	3	4.3	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
friend–friend's mother (Z)	2	2.9	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	100
Siblings (G)	6	8.7	**6**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100
Teacher – student (V)	1	1.4	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	100
Total	69	100	51	73.9	13	18.8	4	5.8	1	1.4	69	100

Table 12b shows that in the telenovelas *usted* is used by acquaintances and by a friend when addressing his/her friend´s mother to express formality. In addition, it is shown that employers addressing their employees tend to use *usted* to express formality

and also dominance. However, one example of *usted* being used by an employer to express solidarity to an employee was found (see examples 62, p 229). Nevertheless, employees addressing their employers tend to use *usted* to express respect in all cases (100%). The use of *usted* to express respect by employees and solidarity by employers corresponds to the results found in table 12a above. Furthermore, in exchanges between co-workers and between friends in the telenovelas (table 12b) *usted* is used to express solidarity in most cases (90% and 88.2%), but is also used by co-workers and friends to express formality (see example 63 and 64, p 230) and by friends to express dominance (see example 65, p 230). The use of *usted* to express formality and dominance amongst friends is an unexpected result.

In table 12b strangers are shown to use *usted* to express solidarity as well as formality. The expression of solidarity between strangers is unexpected as they do not know each other well and a level of social distance or formality is expected (see example 66, p 231). Bayona (2006) found that in her study strangers were addressed using *usted* regardless of the age or gender of the speaker with the exception, which was mentioned in section 6.3.2, of a male interviewer who was addressed as *usted* and *tú* in equal proportions by both male and female participants.

Table 11b shows that although parents and offspring exchange *tú* in most (80%) exchanges in one exchange *usted* is used between parents and offspring (see example 67, p 231). Nevertheless, in table 12b solidarity is expressed in all cases (100%). Furthermore, one example of an exchange between a teacher and pupil is observed in the *telenovelas*. In this exchange *usted* is used to express formality. Finally, cross referencing of tables 11b and 12b reveals that in exchanges between husbands and wives, older relatives and younger relatives, a mother addressing her offspring´s friend and siblings *tú* is used to express solidarity.

Data from the face to face conversations was then analysed (see table 12c, p 222).

Table 12c Relationship – Face to face dialogue

Variable	Total		Solidarity		Formality		Dominance		Distance		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acquaintances (A)	3	7.7	**3**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
Employer – employee (E)	5	12.8	**3**	**60**	2	40	0	0	0	0	5	100
Employee – employer (H)	3	7.7	1	33.3	**2**	**66.7**	0	0	0	0	3	100
Parent – offspring (M)	4	10.3	**4**	**100**	**0**	**0**	0	0	0	0	4	100
Offspring-parent (S)	1	2.6	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Classmates (C)	8	20.5	**8**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
Co-workers (W)	4	10.3	**4**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	100
Waiting staff – customer (R)	5	12.8	2	40	**3**	**60**	0	0	0	0	5	0
Wife–husband (Q)	2	5.1	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Husband-wife (P)	2	5.1	**2**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Friends (F)	1	2.6	**1**	**100**	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Customer–waiter (Y)	1	2.6	0	0	0	0	**1**	**100**	0	0	1	100
Total	39	100	31	79.5	7	17.9	1	2.6	0	0	39	100

Table 12c shows some results which are similar to those found in tables 12a and 12b above. For example, in the exchanges taken from the face to face conversations employers tend to express solidarity towards their employees in a large percentage of exchanges (60%). This is a result which is consistent with that found in table 12a. However, the percentage of use in table 12c is lower than in 12a (85.7%). In addition, tables 11a and 11b show that in the novels and telenovelas *usted* is used in all exchanges between employers and employees (100%). However, table 11c reveals one instance of pronoun shifting from *tú* to *usted* in exchanges between employers and employees (see example 68, p 218). Table 11c shows that *usted* is used by an employee to address his/her employer in all exchanges (100%). Table 12c shows that most of these exchanges (66.7%) use *usted* to express formality, but in one exchange *usted* is used to express solidarity (see example 69, p 232). Table 12c shows that parents use both *usted* and *tú* to express solidarity when addressing their offspring. Table 11c shows that both *usted* and *tú* are used by parents. Therefore, this reveals that parents use *usted* to express solidarity when addressing their offspring. This result is consistent with that

found in table 12b. Furthermore, in table 12c, acquaintances use *usted* to express solidarity. Table 11c shows that husbands and wives address one another using *usted*, or shift from *usted* to *tú*. The results in table 12c show that in exchanges betweem husbands and wives *usted* is used to express solidarity (see examples 72-81, pp 233-235). Table 11c shows that co-workers use *usted* in 50% of exchanges. The other 50% is divided equally between exchanges which shift from *usted* to *tú* (25%) and from *tú* to *usted* (25%). However, table 12c demonstrates that solidarity is expressed in all exchanges (100%) between co-workers.

6.4 Binomial Step up / Step down Analysis

The results of the GOLDVARB Binomial step up / step down analysis for the use of *usted* and *tú* across the three sources of data are illustrated in tables 13 a and 13b. Each table is labelled with a title **(1)** that describes the data being analysed and the application value e.g. [U] *usted.* The corrected mean **(2)**, log likelihood **(3)** and total number of contexts in the analysis **(4),** are listed in the table just below the title. The corrected mean **(2)**, also known as the input, is an indication of strength of the rule. Paolillo (2002, p79) states that the corrected mean is "an average frequency of occurrence of the application value of the dependent variable." This figure is extracted from the best stepping-up run in the Binomial step up/ step down analysis and is rounded to two decimal points e.g. the corrected mean in table 13a is .48. The log likelihood **(3)** is listed below the corrected mean e.g. in table 13a the log likelihood is 49.546. The total **(4)** number of contexts in the analysis are listed below the log likelihood e.g. in table 13a total number of examples of pronoun use being tested are 208.

The next section of the table shows the factor weights **(5)**, percentage of each factor in each factor group **(6)** and total number of contexts of each factor **(7)**. The first column, variables, lists the factors in each factor group **(8)**. The factor groups which were selected as significant are listed at the top of the tables in order of strength. The strongest factor group appears first and the other factor groups are then listed in decreasing order of strength. If any factor groups are selected as non-significant, these are listed below the significant factors and are enclosed in square brackets. Within each factor group, the factor which exerts the strongest conditioning effect appears first and the remaining factors are laid out in decreasing order of strength. The second column,

factor weights **(5)**, lists the weighting of each factor. The factor weight for each factor in the significant factor groups is extracted from the best run in the step up analysis and the factor weight for the factors selected as non-significant are extracted from the first run in the step down analysis. These weights are rounded up to two decimal points e.g. in table 13a the factor weight for male –male is .76. The third column shows the percentage of each factor **(6)** which influences the application value and the fourth column shows the total number of contexts **(7)** e.g. in table 13a [U] *usted* is used in 67.9% of the total number of male – male exchanges, the total number of examples is 57.

In table 13a (p 225) the factors which are shown as being most significant in the use of *usted* are the expression of dominance, male to male conversations, G2 to G2 conversations and low – low conversations. Therefore these results indicate that *usted* is the term of address most likely to be used by a male speaker to a male addressee. A G2 speaker is most likely to use *usted* when addressing someone of the same age and a lower class speaker addressing someone from the lower class is most likely to use *usted.*

Table 13a Binomial analysis of *usted*

(1) Analysis of the contribution of the external variables of speaker and addressee selected as significant to the probability of speaker using usted [U].			
(2) Corrected mean .48			
(3) Log likelihood 49.546			-
(4) Total 208			
Variables (8)	**Factor weight (5)**	**% (6)**	**N (7)**
Message conveyed by term of address			
Dominance	**.93**	75.0	6
Solidarity	.46	42.2	57
Formality	.00	100	63
Distance	.00	100	2
Range	*47*		
Gender of speaker and addressee			
Male – male	**.76**	67.9	57
Female – female	.44	58.3	14
Male – female	.40	67.3	35
Female – male	.19	45.8	22
Range	*57*		
Age of speaker and addressee			
G2 – G2	**.74**	77.4	41
G1 – G1	.51	65.1	28
G2 – G1	.68	67.6	25
G1 – G2	.53	61.9	13
G1 – G3	.38	28.6	2
G3 – G2	.15	46.7	7
G2 – G3	.14	56.2	9
G3 – G1	.08	33.3	2
G3 – G3	.05	20	2
Range	*69*		
Class of speaker and addressee			
Low – Low	**.90**	64.6	22
Mid – Low	.79	87.0	20
Low – Mid	.78	76.2	16
Up – Low	.37	92.3	12
Mid – Mid	.37	47.5	19
Up – Mid	.34	80	4
Mid – Up	.33	71.4	5
Up – Up	.12	26.7	12
Low – Up	.00	100	15
Range	*78*		

Table 13b Binomial analysis of *tú*

Analysis of the contribution of the external variables of speaker and addressee selected as significant to the probability of speaker using usted [T].			
Corrected mean .52			
Log likelihood 46.561			-
Total 208			
Variable	**Factor weight**	**%**	**N**
Age of speaker and addressee			
G3 – G1	.99	66.7	4
G3 – G2	.83	53.3	8
G1 – G3	.79	71.4	5
G1 – G1	.72	34.9	15
G1 – G2	.54	33.3	7
G2 – G1	.52	32.4	12
G2 – G3	.39	37.5	6
G2 - G2	.16	17	9
G3 – G3	.07	40	2
Range	*92*		
Class of speaker and addressee			
Up – Up	.96	73.3	33
Mid – Up	.82	28.6	2
Mid – Mid	.76	47.5	19
Mid – Low	.18	13	3
Low – Mid	.14	19	4
Up – Mid	.13	20	1
Low – Low	.08	23.5	8
Up – Low	.02	7.7	1
Low – Up	.00	0	0
Range	*94*		
Message conveyed by term of address			
Solidarity	.54	52.6	71
Dominance	.05	25	2
Formality	.00	0	0
Distance	.00	0	0
Range	*49*		
Gender of speaker and addressee			
Female – male	.76	45.8	22
Female – female	.69	41.7	10
Male – female	.50	28.8	15
Male – male	.29	31.0	26
Range	*47*		

In table 13b the factors which are shown as being most significant in the use of *tú* are G3 to G1 conversations and up – up conversations, the expression of solidarity, female to male conversations. Therefore these results indicate that *tú is* the term of address most likely to be used by a female speaker to a male addressee. A G3 speaker is most likely to use *usted* when addressing someone younger and an upper class speaker addressing someone from the upper class is most likely to use *tú.* These results correspond to those shown in tables 8a – 12a above in many cases. However, there is some variation in results. The next section uses raw data to present and discusses these variations as well as examples of pronoun shifting found in the exchanges highlighted in this section.

6.5 Raw Data

This section illustrates the results shown in the tables 11a - 11c and 12a – 12c via raw data examples.

In the novel *Perder es cuestión de método* (Gambao 1997, p 301), *usted* is used by a business man, Heliodoro, to express distance from his driver, Cameleón. Heliodoro is older than his driver and also from a higher social class. In example 56 Heliodoro has just received bad news and he loses his temper with Cameleón. In the exchange Heliodoro insults Cameleón by calling him *gran marica* 'big pansy'. As Heliodoro is angry with Cameleón he uses *usted* to momentarily create a distance between himself and Cameleón.

56	*¿Usted*	*es*	*que*	*no*	*sabe*	*decir*	*otra*	*cosa*,
	You	is	that	no	know	to say	other	thing
	gran	*marica*?						
	big	pansy?						

Don´t you know how to say anything else, you big pansy? (Gamboa 1997, p 301)

However, in the next line Heliodoro regrets his outburst and apologises for losing his temper and in example 57 *usted* is used to express solidarity.

57	*Fresco,*	*Camaleoncito,*			*fresco,*		*que*	*si*	
	Relax	Camaleoncito			relax		that	if	
	usted	*supiera*			*hablar*		*no*	*lo*	
	you	knew			to speak		no	you	
	tendría	*yo*	*de*		*chofer.*		*Ay*	*perdóneme*	
	I would have	I	as		driver.		Ah	forgive me	
	mijo,	*es*	*que*		*estoy*	*de*	*un*	*genio*	
	my son	it is	that		I am	of	a	mood	
	de	*perros*		*con*	*estas*	*malas*	*noticias*		
	of	dogs		with	these	bad	news.		

Relax, Cameleoncito, relax, if you knew how to speak I wouldn´t have you as a driver. Ah forgive me my son, I´m in a foul mood because of this bad news.

In the same novel (Gamboa 1997, p 55) *tú* is used in an exchange between strangers. The results from the novels (tables 11a) and *telenovelas* (table 11b) show that *usted* is used in other exchanges between strangers. The exchange is between Víctor Silanpa, a journalist, and Quica, a prostitute. Víctor is older than Quica and from a higher social class. When they first meet Víctor asks Quica her name and addresses her as *tú* (see example 58). However, later in the novel when they have gotten to know each other better Víctor addresses Quica using *usted* (see example 59). In this example *usted* is used to express solidarity. This demonstrates how the terms of address used in an exchange change as a relationship becomes closer.

58	*¿Cómo*	*te*	*llamas?*
	How	yourself	you call

What is your name?

59	*¿Usted*	*me*	*trajo*	*anoche?*
	You	me	bring	last night

Did you bring me (home) last night?

Two other example found in *Perder es cuestión de método* (Gambao 1997, p 207) shows how *tú* can be used in conjunction with insults to create distance between speaker and the addressee (see examples 60 and 61).

60 *Te* *digo* *que* *se* *nos* *puede* *caer* *el* *pelo,* *gran*
You I tell that it we could fall the hair big
Pendejo, ¿es *que* *no* *entiendes* *español?*
idiot is it that no you understande Spanish
I tell you our hair could fall out, big idiot. Is it that you do not understand Spanish?

61 *Pusiste* *en* *peligro* *me* *vida,* *so* *cínica.*
You put in danger my life very cynical
You put my life in danger you cynic.

In table 12b, *usted* is used to express formality in the majority of exchanges between employers and employees. However, one example is observed in which *usted* is used to express solidarity. This exchange is taken from the *telenovela* "Dora la Celadora" (2006). In the exchange Juan, one of the directors of a family business, addresses Dora, a new security guard in the building where this business has its offices. Juan and Dora are the same age, but Juan is from a higher social class than Dora and holds a position of authority over her. In this exchange Juan has identified himself as one of the directors. However, Dora is a new security guard and as she does not know Juan, she refuses to allow him enter the building without seeing proof that he is in fact a director of the company. In example 62, Juan compliments Dora and uses *usted* to express solidarity in an effort to convince Dora to allow him enter the building.

62 *Sigo* *pensando* *que* *tiene* *unos* *lindos*
I continue thinking that you have some beautiful
ojos *señorita.*
eyes miss.
I still think you have beautiful eyes miss.

In table 12b *usted* is used by co-workers and friends to express formality. In example 63, Dora, a security guard, addresses her co-worker, Obdulio. Obdulio is older than Dora and they are both from the lower class. In the exchange Obdulio has threatened to report her to their superior and Dora asks him why he is doing this to her.

As Dora is appealing to Obdulio, who is older than her, not to report her she uses *usted* to express formality.

63	*¿Ai*	*USTED*	*por*	*que*	*me*	*hace*	*esto?*
	Ah	you	for	what	me	you do	this

Ah, why are you doing this to me?

In table 12b *usted* is used to express dominance and formality in an exchange between friends. In this exchange between two friends, again taken from the "Dora the Celadora", the male speaker sneaks into the school's locker room and asks his friend, Catalina, to hide something for him in her school locker. Catalina is surprised to see him and tells him to leave before he is seen (see example 64). Catalina uses *usted* to express formality and stress the seriousness of her request for him to leave.

64	*¿OIGA,*	*que*	*hace*	*aquí?*	*¡Salgase*!
	Listen	what	you do	here?	Get out!

What are you doing here? Get out!

In the same exchange, the boy uses *usted,* to express dominance when forcing Catalina to hide the object against her will (see example 65 taken from *Dora la Celadora*).

65	*Lo*	*que*	*tiene*	*que*	*hacer*	*es*	*un*	*favor.*
	It	what	you have	that	to do	is	a	favour

What you have to do is a favour.

In an exchange taken from the *telenovela* "Yo soy Betty la Fea" (1999) strangers use *usted* to express solidarity. In this exchange the speaker, Bertha is older than Betty and they are both from the lower class. When this exchange takes place the women have just bumped into each other on the corridor and Bertha has dropped a basket of rubbish on the floor. Betty begins apologising and starts to clean up the mess. However, the owner of the company and his son, head of the company, are approaching so Bertha suggests that Betty help her to hide the mess. The use of *usted* in this exchange expresses solidarity. In addition, the term of endearment, *mijita,* by Bertha also expresses solidarity with Betty (see example 66).

66 *No* *mijita,* *mejor* *ayúdame* *a*
No my child better you help me to
tapar. *No* *se* *vayan* *a* *dar* *cuenta*
cover. No it they going to to give account
de *esto* *reguero.* *Y* *su* *jefe* *si* *usted*
of this *trail.* *And* *your* *boss* *if* *you*
se *pasa*
yourself pass.
No, my child it is better if you help me to cover. They are not going to notice
this trail. And your boss if you pass.

In another exchange taken from the *telenovela* "Yo soy Betty la fea" Betty's mother addresses Betty using *usted.* In this exchange *usted* is used to express solidarity. The use of the term of endearment *mi amor* 'my love' by Betty's mother in the exchange indicates that she is expressing solidarity (see example 67).

67 *Mira* *mi* *amor,* *la* *empresa* *donde* *se*
Look my love the company where yourself
fue *a* *buscar* *trabajo* *se* *llama* *Ecomoda?*
you went to look for work itself it call Ecomoda
Porque *leí* *un* *artículo* *que* *si* *usted* *va*
Because I read an article that if you go
trabajar *aquí* *le* *va* *servir,* *espérese.*
to work here it is going to serve wait.
Look, my love is the company where you went looking for work called Ecomoda? Because I read an article which, if you are going to work there will be useful, wait.

Some examples of pronoun shifting are found in the face to face conversations (table 11c). For example, in table 11c an example of pronoun shifting is found in an exchange between an employer and employee (see appendix 3, recording 3, p 279). The employer, Mauricio, is younger and from a higher social class than his housekeeper,

Belen. At the beginning of the exchange Mauricio addresses Belen using *tú* (see example 68).

68	*¿Qué*	*hiciste*	*de*	*almuerzo?*
	What	you make	of	lunch
	What did you make for lunch?			

As the conversation continues Mauricio uses a play on words and changes to *usted* when giving Belen a compliment. A compliment can be considered a FTA. Therefore, this use of *usted* expresses solidarity, indicating to Belen that the compliment is light hearted and no imposition is intended (see example 69).

69	*Usted*	*tiene*	*un*	*sazón,*	*pero*	*deliciosa*
	You	have	a	seasoning	but	delicious
	You have delicious seasoning.					

Mauricio then shifts back to *tú* for the rest of the conversation (see example 70).

70	*Sí,*	*¿cómo*	*viste*	*Atti*	*después*	*de*	*la*
	Yes,	how	you see	Atti	after	of	the
	terapia?						
	therapy?						
	Yes, how did you find Atti after the therapy?						

In the same exchange Belen, the housekeeper, uses *usted* to express solidarity when addressing Mauricio. In example 71 when Mauricio tells Belen that he has forgotten to buy washing powder, she jokes that she needs the washing powder to remove the germs that Mauricio brings into the house. The use of *usted* to express solidarity stresses that this is a joke. Belen also uses the term of endearment *mijito* ´my son´ in this example which is used to express solidarity.

71 *¿Con agüita no más? No, mijito. ¿Cómo voy*
With what no more? No my son how I am going
a quitar los enfermitos que usted trae?
to to remove the illnesses that you bring?
'With nothing more than water? No my son. How am I going to remove the illnesses that you bring into the house?'

Examples of pronoun shifting are also found in the face to face conversations between husbands and wives. The first husband and wife exchange takes place between Carlos and Isabela. Carlos begins the conversation by addressing his wife as *usted* (see Appendix 3 recording 11) (see example 72).

72 *Por eso estoy preguntando si ya terminó el*
For this I am asking if yet you finished the
libro.
book.
'That is why I am asking if you finished the book.'

Later in the conversation his wife, Isabela, addresses Carlos using *tú* (example 73) and Carlos shifts to *tú* when clarifying the question she has asked him (see example 74).

73 *¿Y dónde fuiste a reclamar lo de -*
And where you go to claim it of the
libro?
book?
'And where did you go to claim the book?'

74 *¿Tú dices el libro de Lalo?*
You you say the book of Lalo?
'You mean Lalo's book?'

Carlos´s shift from *usted* to *tú* is in response to Isabela´s use of *tú* when addressing him. Nevertheless, Isabela then shifts to *usted* later in the conversation (see example 75).

75	*Y*	*de*	*allí*	*salió*	*para*	*dónde*	*que*	*se*
	And	from	there	you go	for	where	that	you
	demoró.							
	took a long time.							
	'And from there where did you go that you took a long time.'							

This shift to *usted* by Isabela is an effort to mitigate the imposition of the request for information from Carlos about where he went.

The second husband and wife exchange took place between Telma and Manuel. Telma begins by addressing her husband with *tú* (see Appendix 3 dialogue 16) (see example 76).

76	*¿Qué*	*hiciste*	*para*	*la*	*comida?*
	What	you make	for	the	lunch?
	'What did you make for lunch?'				

Later in the conversation she shifts to *usted* (see example 77) and then shifts back to *tú* (example 78).

77	*Yo*	*vengo*	*de*	*allí*	*el*	*trabajo*	*de*
	I	come	from	over there	the	job	of
	un	*edificio.*	*¿Usted*	*no*	*lo*	*conoce?*	
	a	building.	You	not	it	you know?	
	'I´m coming from over there, the job in a building. Don´t you know it?'						

78	*Tú*	*eres*	*picaro.*
	You	you are	a rogue.
	'You are a rogue.'		

Telma´s shift to *usted* is an effort to mitigate the suggestion that her husband does not know something she thinks he should know. Throughout the conversation Telma seems to shift between *usted* and *tú.* However, her use of *usted* tends to correspond to request for information which could be considered an imposition, such as a question about what Manuel did on Sunday (see example 79), a question about his age (see example 80) and

a question about what he is going to do on his farm (example 81). Manuel does not engage in pronoun shifting and addresses Telma using *usted* exclusively throughout the exchange.

79	*¿Usted*	*que*	*hizo*	*el*	*domingo,*	*día*	*de -l*
	You	what	you do	the	Sunday	day	of the
	Padre?						
	Father?						
	'What did you do on Sunday, Father´s day?'						

80	*¿Cuántos*	*años*	*tiene*	*usted?*
	How many	years	you have	you
	How old are you?			

81	*¿Y*	*que*	*va*	*a*	*hacer*	*usted*	*en*	*la*
	And	what	are you going	to	do	you	in	the
	Finca.							
	farm.							
	And what are you going to do on the farm?							

In the example of an exchange between a husband and wife taken from the telenovelas the husband and wife address one another using *tú.* The couple in this exchange is younger than the couples in the exchanges found in the face to face conversations. In the example from the telenovelas both husband and wife are in G2. However, in the face to face dialogue the couples are older. In the first exchange Carlos and Isabela are both in G3 and in the second exchange Telma is in G2 and Manuel is in G3. In tables 9a, 9b and 9c above it is shown that G2 speakers tend to address G2 addressees using *usted* and *tú* in almost equal proportions, yet, G2 speakers tend to use *usted* when addressing G3 addressees and G3 speakers tend to address G3 addressees using *usted.*

The terms of address used in exchanges between acquaintances were shown to vary from tables 11a and 11b and table 11c. In tables 11a and 11b acquaintances are shown to address one another using *usted,* yet in table 11c they are shown to use *tú.* The number of exchanges in both cases is very small, which facilitates further analysis of

each situation. In the telenovelas there is one exchange between acquaintances, Oscar and Roberto. The two men are both vying for the attention of the same woman and in the scene from which this exchange has been taken they are arguing. Therefore, the use of *usted* here may be an effort to distance themselves from one another. Furthermore, they come from different sectors of society. Oscar comes from the lower class level of society and Roberto from the middle class level of society. Therefore, this also influences their choice of pronouns. In tables 10a, 10b and 10c lower class speakers addressing a middle class addressee and middle class speakers addressing a lower class addressee are shown to use *usted* most often.

In table 11a and 11b acquaintances are shown to use *usted* in all cases. However, in the examples of exchanges between acquaintances found, in the conversations *tú* is used. The first of these takes place in the company of other people who are friends. The speaker and addressee have just meet for the first time but the other people present all know each other. Furthermore, the example was taken during a game of charades. Therefore, the circumstances of the exchange are informal. The second exchange also occurs in an informal environment, at a party. In addition, the speaker in both exchanges, Aurelio, is the same but the addressees, Mario in the first and Luis in the second, are different. However, these results are unreliable. As Aurelio is the speaker in both exchanges and these are the only two exchanges found between acquaintances in the face to face conversations, these results indicate more about Aurelio´s use of terms of address with acquaintances than use of terms of address by acquaintances in general.

However, another example of pronoun shifting is found in the second exchange. In this exchange Aurelio begins the discussion by addressing Luis using *tú* (example 82). However, Luis begins by addressing Aurelio using *usted* and then shifts from *usted* (example 83) to *tú* (example 84) for the remainder of the exchange. Luis´s use of *tú* may be in response to Aurelio´s initial use of *tú.*

82 *La gripa, pero re- basta fue ¿entiendes?*
The flu but very rough it was you understand.
'The flu, but it was very rough, do you understand?'

83 *¿Está esperando alguien?*
Are you expecting anyone?
'Are you expecting anyone?'

84 *Ah* *que* *estas* *investigando.* *Estas*
Ah that you are investigating. You are
empapando *de* *que* *es* *y* *que* *no* *es*
absorbing of what it is and what not it is.
'Ah, what you are investigating. You are absorbing what it is and what it is not.'

Finally, in one of the exchanges observed in the *telenovela* 'Vecinos' a couple discuss a pronoun shift from *usted* to *tú*. The couple begins the conversation addressing one another as *usted,* but then Oscar asks Tatiana for permission *tutear* 'to address her using *tú'*. Although this is not an example of use of term of address, the conversation indicates that as a relationship becomes more intimate use of terms of address will change accordingly (see example 85).

85 *Te* *puedo* *tutear?*
To you I can address you using *tú?*
Can I address you using *tú?*

As mentioned, in chapter three, *usted* tends to be used to express formality, distance and respect and to express solidarity and intimacy among friends and family members. *Tú* is used to express solidarity or closeness between friends and acquaintances. In addition, Uber (1985) claims that on the continuum of solidarity *tú* is characterised as denoting some familiarity or trust, yet with a certain distance. Therefore, it may be expected that on analysis of Colombian Spanish *usted* would be found in relationships which are considered formal as well as those which are considered close, while *tú* is expected in relationships which are close but not intimate. Furthermore, a shift from *tú* to *usted* or *usted* to *tú* indicates a change in the relationship. That is a shift from *tú* to *usted* used to solidarity, as seen in examples 58 and 59, indicates that the relationship has become closer or more intimate.

6.6 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter highlights examples of *ustedeo* 'use of *usted*' found in correspondence from the nineteenth century. In these examples *usted* is used by Enrique Somoya to express solidarity with a friend, by a young man to express respect for his uncle and by an army captain to express deference to his superior, a lieutenant. This use of *usted* to express solidarity as well as formality developed from a feature of Peninsular Spanish which was initially brought to Colombia by the Spanish in the fifteenth century, the use of *vuestra merced* to express solidarity and formality. However, although this use of *vuestra merced* eventually fell out of use in Peninsular Spanish it remained in use in Colombian Spanish and in the sixteenth century when *vuestra merced* was shortened to *usted,* this use of *usted* to express solidarity as well as formality developed. Furthermore, the examples in section 6.2 of this chapter show that this use of *usted* was still found in use in nineteenth century Colombian Spanish.

The aim of the second section of analysis was to observe patterns of address across three sources of data in order to determine how these patterns correlate with the personal characteristics of speaker and addressee, such as gender, age and social class. The data were analysed in relation to the personal characteristics of speaker and addressee in each exchange. The results found in relation to social class of speakers and addressees were relatively consistent across all three sources of data. For example, lower class speakers were shown to use *usted* and *tú* with lower and middle class addressees and show a preference for *usted* when addressing someone from the upper class. Furthermore, upper class level speakers showed a preference for *usted* when addressing someone in an inferior class but used *usted* and *tú* to address someone who holds an equal or higher social level in all sources of data. Therefore, from these results it appears that lower class speakers favour *usted* when addressing someone from the upper class and upper class speakers favour *usted* when addressing some of a lower social class, yet favour *tú* when addressing someone from the same class.

Nevertheless, analysis of gender, age and class showed varying results across all three sources of data for gender and age. As a result, the data were analysed in relation to the relationship which exists between the speaker and addressee in each exchange. This analysis revealed results which were relatively consistent across all three sources of data. These results showed that in the majority of relationships where there is social distance between the speaker and addressee, such as employer and employee, strangers,

waiting staff and customers, *usted* is used most often. At the same time, in relationships which are considered to be close or familiar, such as between parent and offspring, between siblings and between friends both *usted* and *tú* is used.

It was considered that this use of *usted* in close relationships may be an indication that *usted* was being used in these contexts to express solidarity or closeness. The data were again analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee in order to determine the meaning expressed; solidarity, formality, dominance or distance, by the terms of address used in each exchange. The results from this stage of analysis revealed that in general when *usted* is used in a relationship which is considered close or familiar it is used to express closeness or solidarity, and when *usted* is used in relationships where there is greater social distance it is used to express respect or formality.

The results of this analysis revealed that *usted* is used to express solidarity by parents to their offspring, between co-workers, friends and between husbands and wives. In addition, *usted* was used to express solidarity and formality between employers and employees and between waiting staff or sellers and customers. Finally, *usted* was used by business associates and strangers to express formality. However, exceptions were also found in each of the sources of data. These exceptions, which are presented and discussed in section 6.4, demonstrate how a change in pronoun use with an exchange can indicate a change in the relationship between speaker and addressee. Therefore, these results reveal that the influence of the relationship between the speaker and addressee is greater than the personal characteristics of each in relation to one another.

All in all, the results from the analysis carried out in this chapter reveal that *usted* is used by all genders and ages and across all levels of Colombian society to express both solidarity as well as formality. However, as is shown by examples section 6.4 the influence of the relationship between the interlocutors in an exchange on the choice of address form and the meaning conveyed by a particular term of address may supersede the influence of the gender, age or social class of speaker and addressee. Nevertheless, social class was found to be the most influential of these personal characteristics. The preference shown in the exchanges taken from the novels and *telenovelas* by those from the lower level of society for *usted* when addressing someone of an equal social level may stem from a desire for solidarity within this level of society. The desire for a solidary united lower class may point back to colonial and post-colonial

times when the lower classes of society were dominated by the Spanish colonisers and post-colonial upper class elite, respectively. At the same time, the use of *usted* by those from the upper levels of society towards an addressee of lower social status may be an effort to acknowledge the social distance which exists between the two and to raise the level of the addressee. In addition, this use of *usted* points back to colonial times and may be a type of subconscious compensation for the previous domination of the lower classes by the upper classes. Furthermore, the use of *tú* by the upper class towards those of equal status, which was indicated in tables 11b and 10c, is used, as described by Uber (1985) to express a close yet not intimate relationship with the addressee. Therefore an element of social distance is maintained which satisfies the upper class desire for social distance and again points back to colonial times when Montes Girlado (1982, p 33) claims that conservatism was inherent in the language of the upper class colonial administrators.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This study investigates the use of terms of address in an extra-territorial language and determines how terms of address in general and second person pronouns in particular function in language to encode relationships. In addition, this study examines how the relationship between speaker and addressee influences choice of address forms used in an exchange in Colombian Spanish. Finally, the hypothesis put forward by this study proposes that the influence of the relationship between speaker and addressee supersedes the influence of the personal characteristics of speaker and addressee such as gender, age and social class.

The study begins by outlining three predicted outcomes for extra-territorial languages: i) colonial lag; the retention of linguistic features by the extra-territorial variety of language which have fallen out of use in the variety of language used in the metropolis, ii) dialect mixing due to contact with regional dialects in the ports of embarkation, during the journey to the new territory and in the new territory and iii) language variation due to contact with other languages in the new territory. In addition, this study discusses Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle and the influence of the Founder Population on the development of new varieties of language. Mufwene proposes that the first settlers in a new territory demonstrate the strongest influence on the new variety of language which emerges. This study proposes that Mufwene's (2001) Founder Population theory can be applied to the development of extra-territorial languages to account for variation from one extra-territorial variety of language to another.

In chapter two of this study a range of languages which were transplanted to a new location and developed as extra-territorial languages are examined for evidence of the three predicted outcomes, listed above, and Mufwene's Founder Population theory. The results of this investigation reveal that evidence of some or all of these outcomes are observed in each of the extra-territorial languages under investigation. Evidence of colonial lag is observed in the lexicon of American English, in the morphology of Acadian French and NWS. Evidence of dialect mixing is found in the pronunciation of Australian and New Zealand English, South African English and NWS. Furthermore, evidence of language contact is found in all of the extra-territorial varieties of language observed in this chapter in the form of lexical borrowing. In addition, in most of the

languages investigated in this study the dialect spoken by the first settlers in the new territory, the founder population, shows the strongest influence on the extra-territorial varieties of language which emerges. For example, Fischer (1989) describes how American English is mapped to British dialects. Bauer and Warren (2004) state that evidence of the influence of the dialects spoken by Scottish settlers can be found in the pronunciation of New Zealand English. In addition, Kloeke (1950) observes close a connection between Afrikaans and the dialects of the Western Netherlands, North and South Holland and Zeeland spoken by a portion of the first settlers in Cape Town. Fontanella de Weinberg (1993), Guitarte (1992) and Quesada Pacheco (2000) discuss the influence of the settlers with different origins in different regions of Central and South America on the linguistic features of these regions. A theory of extra-territorial language is proposed based on the findings of chapter two. This theory proposes that the development of an extra-territorial variety of language is dependent on three factors; i) the origins and dialects spoken by the founder population, the first settlers in a colony, ii) the regional dialects which were in contact and where contact occurred and iii) the other languages with which the language of the metropolis is in contact.

Chapter three of this study described the social and linguistic situation in colonial and post colonial Colombia. This chapter aims to provide the reader with information about the environment in which Colombian Spanish has developed. In addition, this chapter also aims to familiarise the reader with the society in which data were collected for analysis. The main purpose of this chapter was to apply the theory of extra-territorial languages, proposed in chapter two, to Colombian Spanish as an example of an extra-territorial language. Chapter three demonstrates evidence of colonial lag found in the lexicon and grammatical structure of Colombian Spanish. In addition, evidence of dialect mixing in Colombian Spanish demonstrates that dialect contact began in the Spanish port of Seville, where a *koiné* developed. It is this Andaluz influenced *koiné* which forms the basis for the extra-territorial variety of Spanish which emerged in Colombia. Furthermore, the evidence of the influence of the founder population on Colombian Spanish can be observed in the different regions of Colombia. The proportion of settlers from Andalusia was greatest on the northern coast and the proportion of immigrants from New and Old Castile was greatest in the highlands, during the colonial period. As a result, the dialects spoken in these regions demonstrate evidence of these dialects. For example, the influence of Andaluz has been observed in the linguistic and cultural features of the people from the coast, *los costeños.* On the

coast *tú* is used almost exclusively regardless of who is being addressed. This gives the speech of the coast an informality which is similar to the informality of speech found in Andalusia.

In addition, during the colonial period the majority of Spanish immigrants in the highlands came from New and Old Castile to take up official positions in Bogotá, the administrative capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada. During the colonial period, the viceroyalties maintained the speech of Toledo in the colonies. As a result, in colonial times the speech of the highlands was found to be more formal than that of the coast and linguistic features which were found in the speech of Toledo in Colonial times, such as *vos* and *su merced* can still be observed in the dialects used in highland regions. This formality was maintained in the post-colonial society by *Criollos,* who were part of the elite in the colonial society alongside the Spanish immigrants and administrators. When independence was achieved *Criollos* retained the linguistic practices of the Spanish in an effort to retain the hierarchal structure of the colonial society and their position as elites in the post-colonial Colombian society. As a result, a level of formality can be found in the contemporary speech of the highlands, as well as in the attitudes to politeness and social boundaries. This may be considered a type of cultural colonial lag. In Bogotá formality and social boundaries are valued greatly. In this society older generations considered addressing a stranger or someone with whom the speaker is not well acquainted using *tú* as impolite if this person has not invited the speaker to do so. For example, a shopkeeper who addresses his/her customers using *tú* is considered to be over familiar.

Other examples of colonial lag can be found in Colombian Spanish, such as the retention of *vos* as a term of address. Another example of colonial lag in the address system of Colombian Spanish is the use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* as formal address forms, expressing distance, and an informal address form, expressing intimacy which was observed by Quesada Pacheco (2000). In Colombian Spanish *usted* is used to express solidarity as well as respect and formality. This aspect which is unique to the address system in Colombian Spanish developed from the dual use of *vos* and *vuestra merced* mentioned above.

Chapter four of this study discusses the use of terms of address in a variety of IE and non-IE languages. In addition, this chapter reviews theories proposed by a number of linguists in relation to the use of terms of address and politeness. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight similarities in the way terms of address are used to express

solidarity and formality across a range of unrelated languages. Furthermore, this chapter aims to draw attention to the factors which influence choice of terms of address in these languages. The theories proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987) in relation to pronouns use and politeness theory are discussed in this chapter. The purpose of this discussion is to highlight how this research has contributed to the study of terms of address. However, this discussion also serves to highlight the shortcomings of these theories. Hispanists such as Haverkate (1984), Carrasco Santana (1999, 2002) and Márquez-Reiter and Placencia (2005) claim that Brown and Levinson´s approach to Politeness Theory is not applicable to Spanish and as a result put forward two alternative theories; Arndt and Janney´s (1985) 'Emotive' Communication View and Spencer-Oatey's (2000) Rapport Management View, which they consider more relevant to the study of politeness in Spanish. However, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004) claims that the only serious alternatives; Fraser´s (1990) Conversational Contract Approach and Spencer-Oatey´s (2000) Rapport Management Approach are over ambitious as they suggest an idea of politeness which is appealing at first but arguable on closer examination and maintains that to date there is no argument that truly rivals that of Brown and Levinson (1987).

Chapter four shows that the relationship between speaker and addressee influences the terms of address used in an exchange. Therefore, the terms of address used in an exchange can reveal information about the relationship between speaker and addressee, as well as about their attitudes to one another. Furthermore, the patterns of address used within a society can reveal information about attitudes held in that society. For example, the attitude held in Bogotá in relation to *tuteo* creates a level of formality in the speech of Bogotá which is does not exist on the coast. In addition, chapter four shows that the way in which politeness is approached in a culture also influences the way in which the language is used and interpreted. Finally, chapter four shows that analysis of the terms of address used in a particular society, such as the society of Bogotá, is a means of understanding how personal relationships are encoded in that society and provides an insight into the attitudes held by each sector of society towards the other in this type of post-colonial society.

Chapter five describes the methods of data collection and data analysis used in this study. The unit of analysis was an exchange between two people in which terms of address were used to speak to someone directly. Four sources of data were used to collect examples of exchanges for analysis: nineteenth century correspondence, novels

based in Bogotá, *telenovelas* based in Bogotá and face to face conversations between residents of Bogotá. The process of data analysis was carried out in three phases. The first phase was analysis of examples of formal and informal letters taken from the nineteenth century. The social status of the sender and recipient in each letter was established using their title or occupation. Their social status was then compared to determine the social distance which existed between them and where the relative power lay in the relationship. Based on the social status of sender and recipient, the social distance and relative power between them and the meanings conveyed by the terms of address used in the letter are assessed. The purpose of this assessment is to establish how the SPSPs *vos, vuestra merced* and *usted* were used in the nineteenth century and to determine if the dual function of these SPSPs, observed be Quesada Pacheco (2000) in sixteenth century correspondence, was still in use in nineteenth century Colombian Spanish.

The other three sources of data are novels, *telenovelas* and face to face conversations. Information about the gender, age, occupation or level of education and sector of the city in which they live for each of the main characters in the novels was extracted from the text. For the *telenovelas* this information was extracted from the character profiles available on the website of the network which is broadcasting the *telenovela*. For the face to face conversations a questionnaire was used to record details of gender, age, level of education and strata of Bogotá in which they live. The social class of characters in the novels and *telenovelas* and the participants in the face to face conversations is determined using the strata in which they live and their level of education.

The second phase of analysis is carried out in four stages. The purpose of this phase of analysis is to establish how the gender, age and social class of the speaker and addressee and the relationship between speaker and addressee in an exchange influence the speaker´s choice of term of address. In the first stage the terms of address used in the exchanges in these three sources of data are analysed in relation to the speaker´s and addressee´s gender. In the second they are analysed in relation to the speaker´s and addressee´s age. In the third stage they are analysed in relation to the speaker´s and addressee´s social class. In the fourth stage they are analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee

The third stage of analysis examines the meaning conveyed by terms of address used in an exchange. The social distance and relative power between speaker and

addressee in each exchange is assessed using their age, gender, social class and the relationship between them. In addition, their attitude to one another during the exchange is also determined using the context of the exchange. These factors are then used to establish the meaning conveyed by the terms of address used in each exchange. In the majority of exchanges, the pronoun used at the beginning of the conversation remained fixed for the entire conversation. However, examples of pronoun shifting from *usted* to *tú* and *tú* to *usted* were observed in some conversations. Where examples of pronoun shifting were found in an exchange, each shift was assessed separately to determine the meaning conveyed and the reason for the shift.

Chapter six of this study presents the results of the data analysis. The first phase of analysis, the analysis of historical documents, revealed that in nineteenth century *usted* was used by a young man to express respect to his uncle and a military lieutenant to express respect to the Viceroy. In addition, *usted* was used to express solidarity between friends. Finally, *tú* was used by a mother to her son to express solidarity. These results confirm that the dual function of *vos* and *vuestra merced* observed by Quesada Pacheco (2000) in sixteenth century was still evident in Colombian Spanish in the nineteenth century. Neither examples of *vos* nor *vuestra merced* were observed. However, as *usted* is the shortened form of *vuestra merced* the use of *usted* to express both solidarity and formality has developed from a similar dual function of *vuestra merced.*

The second phase of analysis investigates the influence of personal characteristics of speaker and addressee and the relationship between speaker and addressee on choice of term of address. Based on a popular belief in Bogotá which claims that the use of *usted* and *tú* is governed by gender, and previous research carried out by Carrasco Santana (2002) and Bartens (2004) terms of address were first analysed in relation to gender. The results from this analysis varied from source to source. However, in each table male speakers addressing female addressees showed consistent use of *usted.* Based on the variations found in the first stage of analysis and the findings of research carried out by Bayona (2006), which found that older and younger speakers used terms of address differently, the terms of address were next analysed in relation to speaker´s and addressee´s age. Again, variation was found in the results across the three sources of data. However, the youngest and middle-aged group of speakers were found to use *usted* when addressing someone of the same age. In addition, the middle aged group of speakers were also shown to use *usted* when addressing someone older and

someone younger. However, the oldest group of speakers were shown to use *usted* and *tú* when addressing someone from the middle-aged group, yet they were shown to use *tú* when addressing the youngest group and someone of the same age. These results indicate a correlation between age and pronoun use, with use of *usted* decreasing with age and use of *tú* increasing.

Based on previous research carried out by Montes Giraldo (1998b), Carrasco Santana (2002) and Bartens (2004) which found that the level of social class influences a speaker's choice of term of address, the data were analysed in relation to the social class of speaker and addressee. Variation was once again shown in the results from this stage of analysis. However, some consistency was shown as the upper and middle classes were shown to use *usted* when addressing someone from a lower class. As variation was found to occur in each stage of analysis the data was analysed in relation to the relationship between speaker and addressee. The results from this stage of analysis were found to be more consistent and more predictable as relationships which would be considered close, such as siblings, tended to use *tú* and relationships which would be considered formal, such as employer and employee, tended to use *usted.* However, some unexpected results were shown in relation to the use of *usted* in relationships which would be considered close. Nevertheless, the fourth stage of analysis, which investigated the meaning conveyed by use of terms of address in an exchange, revealed that in these relationships *usted* was usually used to express solidarity.

The results from the second phase of analysis reveal that *usted* tends to be used to express solidarity in intimate relationships, *tú* tends to be used to express closeness with friends and acquaintances and *usted* tends to be used to express formality, dominance and create distance. Nevertheless, some exceptions were found. Each of these exceptions were analysed individually to determine the context of the exchange. In addition, some examples of pronoun shifting were also found, these examples were also analysed individually and presented in section 6.5. of chapter six.

The results of this data analysis reveal that personal factors such as gender, age and social class of the speaker and addressee in an exchange influence the speaker´s choice of term of address. However, the relationship between the speaker and addressee exerts a stronger influence on this choice. Therefore, patterns of address will change as a relationship becomes closer. At the same time predicted patterns may change

momentarily depending on the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee in the exchange.

This study shows that extra-territorial languages reveal information about the languages which contributed to their development. Firstly, features of the language spoken in the metropolis are retained in the extra-territorial language as examples of colonial lag long after they have fallen out of use in the metropolis. Secondly, the dialects which come into contact at the early stages of the development of an extra-territorial languages influence the linguistic features which are used in the languages, and the evidence of this influence can be observed in the extra-territorial language which emerges. Thirdly, evidence of the languages with which the language brought from the metropolis comes into contact in the early stages of development can also be observed in the extra-territorial language which emerges. Finally, the dialect spoken by the founder population exerts a stronger influence on the development of the extra-territorial language than any dialect spoken by subsequent settlers. Furthermore, this study shows that the features of the colonial and post-colonial societies in which an extra-territorial language develops are evident in the extra-territorial languages. The evidence of colonial lag can still be found in contemporary Colombian Spanish, in the form of the dual function of *usted,* and in the formality of the culture of contemporary Colombian society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Javanese Dialects

Chart I Dialect of Non-*Prijaji,* Urbanized, somewhat educated Persons									
Level	Are	You	Going	To eat	Rice	And	Cassava	Now	Complete sentence
3a	Menapa	Pandjenengan	Badé	Dahar	Sekul	Kalijan	Kaspé	samenika	Menapa pamdjenenegan badé dahar sekul kalijan kaspé samenika?
3		Sampéjan		Neda					Menapa sampéjan badé neda sekul kalijan kaspé samenika?
2	Napa		Adjeng			Lan		Saniki	Napa sampéjan adjeng neda sekul lan kaspé saniki?
1a	Apa		Arep		Sega			saiki	Apa sampéjan arep neda sega lan kaspé saiki?
1		Kowé		Mangan					Apa kowé arep mangan sega lan kaspé saiki?

Chart II

Dialect of Peasants and Uneducated Townspeople

Level	Are	You	Going	To eat	Rice	And	Cassava	Now	Complete sentences
2	Napa	Sampéjan	Adjeng	neda	sekul	Lan	Kaspé	Saniki	Napa sampéjan adjeng neda sekul lan kaspé saniki?
1a	apa		arep		sega			Saiki	Apa sampéjan arep neda sega lan kaspé saiki?
1		kowé		mangan					Apa kowé arep mangan sega lan kaspé saiki?

Chart III Dialect of The *Prijaji*									
Level	Are	You	Going	To eat	Rice	And	Cassava	Now	Complete sentence
3a	Menapa	Pandjenengan	Badé	Dahar	Sekul	Kalijan	Kaspé	samenika	Menapa pamdjenenegan badé dahar sekul kalijan kaspé samenika?
3		Sampéjan		Neda					Menapa sampéjan badé neda sekul kalijan kaspé samenika?
1b	Apa	Pandjenengan	Arep	dahar	Sega	Lan	Kaspé	saiki	Apa pandjenengan arep dahar sega lan kaspe saiki?
1a		Sampéjan		Neda					Apa sampéjan arep neda sega lan kaspé saiki?
1		Kowé		Mangan					Apa kowé arep mangan sega lan kaspé saiki?

Appendix 2a Spanish Questionnaire

Sample no. ☐

NOMBRE: _____

_____

EDADE: ☐ **entre 16 y 36 años** ☐ **entre 37 y 57 años** ☐ **57 años o más**

ESTRATO: ☐ **1** ☐ **2** ☐ **3** ☐ **4** ☐ **5** ☐ **6**

NIVEL DE EDUCACIÓN:

☐ **Primaria completa**

☐ **Secundaria completa**

☐ **Universidad completa o más**

LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO:_____

LUGAR DE RESIDENCIA:_____

AÑOS DE RESIDENCIA EN EL LUGAR DE ARRIBA:_____

_____

Appendix 2b English translation of questionnaire

Sample no. ☐

NAME: _____

_____

AGE: ☐ **between 16 and 36 years** ☐ **between 37 and 57 years** ☐ **57 years or more**

STRATA: ☐ **1** ☐ **2** ☐ **3** ☐ **4** ☐ **5** ☐ **6**

LEVEL OF EDUCATION:

☐ **Completed primary**

☐ **Completed secondary**

☐ **Completed University or more**

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: _____

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN PLACE OF RESIDENCE:_____

Appendix 3 Description of face to face conversations

Recording 1

Speakers 1 and 2 were involved in conversation 1. The recording took place in the country house of speaker 2, where they were spending the weekend. The setting for the recording was informal and the recording took place during a game of charades. As well as the investigator, the girlfriend of speakers 1 and wife of speaker 2 were also present at the time of recording. However, as they are both non-Colombians any contributions made by them were disregarded. The two men know each other because their respective girlfriend and wife work together. The investigator has been a friend of speaker 2 and his wife for many years, but met speaker 1 for the first time that weekend.

Excerpt from recording 1
Speaker 1 (MGCS) and Speaker 2 (ALV)

	MGCS: *Ahora, me toca a mí. ¿No?*	(Now it´s my turn, isn´t it?)
	Wife: *¿Quién tiene la lápiz?*	(Who has the pencil?)
	ALV: *Ahora, te toca.* ***Ø Necisitas*** *un lapis*	(Yes, now it´s your turn. **You need** a pencil)
	MGCS: *Eh... sello, la cara.*	(Ah…heads or tails)
	Wife: *Substantivo, adjective.*	(Subject, adjective.)
	ALV: *¿* ***Ø Tienes*** *un lápiz allí mismo?*	(**Have you** a pencil over there?)
	MGCS: *No....Ah si, yo tengo un esfero acá.*	(No. Ah, yes I have a pen here)
	MGCS: *Entonces, ¿me toca que?*	(So, what did I get?)
10	ALV: *Te salio.....ais..mal.*	(You got…..aih…bad.)
	ALV: *Escoje el mejor, lo más facíl.*	(Pick the best one, the easiest.)
	Wife: *Un de cada un substantive y un adjectivo.*	(One of each, a subject and an adjective.)
	No, el rojo eso y tienes los dos dados para....	(No, this red one and you have two dice to..)
	MGCS: *Ya es cuarto y uno, cierto. Listo.*	(It´s four and one, right? Ok)
	ALV: *O uno y cuatro la que queda más suave.*	(Or one and four, which ever is easier)
	MGCS: *No, ya.*	(No, ok)
	ALV: *¿Cuatro y uno?*	(Four and one?)
20	ALV: *¿Y uno y cuatro que tal esta?*	(And one and four, how´s that?)
	MGCS: *No, ya tengo.*	(No, I´ve got it.)
	Wife: *Cuatro y uno, cuatro rojo y uno negro.*	(Four and one, four red and one black.)
	ALV: *¿Listo?*	(Ready?)
	ALV: *Listo.¿ Tocó la primera?*	(Ready. Is it the first one?)
	ALV: *eh..modelo? Modelo. Modelos? Modelos?*	(ehm? Model? Model, models? Models?)
	Hijo de puxa. Eh..moda? Tiene que ver con Modelos ¿no?Otra palabra para modelos,	(Son of a bitch. Ehm… fashion? It has something to do with models, doesn´t it?,)

30 *Pasarela? Modelos de pasarela? Hijo de puxa*
Como se dice eso? pasarela? Escpectador?Mili...

Un militar? Soldado? Actor? Actors?

MGCS: *Desfile,* ***güevon****!*
ALV: *Bueno, bueno estuvó buen actuación* ***Mario****, lo siento yo no la pilé.*

(catwalk? catwalk models? Son of a how you say that? Catwalk? Spectators?)
(Mili…..Someone from the military, a soldier? An actor? an actress?)
(Fashion show, **idiot**!)
(Ok, ok, it was a good performance. **Mario** I´m sorry I didn´t guess it.)

Recording 2

This conversation took place between speaker 2 and 3 in speaker 2´s home as they were preparing for a party. The setting was informal. At the time of the recording only the investigator and the participants were present. Speaker 3 is a work colleague of speaker 2´s wife. The investigator had met speaker 3 many years ago but they were re-introduced the night of the recording by speaker 2´s wife.

Excerpt from recording 2
Speaker 2 (ALV) and 3 (LFC)

	ALV: *Pues, aquí **hermano** comiendo medicina.*	(Well, here I am **brother** eating medicine.)
	Y hablando de medicina, estos días estuve re-preocupado con Atti y Ollie que le dio re-duro.	(And speaking of medicine, in the last few days I´ve been very worried about Atti and Ollie who got a very bad dose.)
	LFC: *¿La gripa?*	(The flu´?)
	ALV: *La gripa, pero re-basta fue **Ø entiendes**? En* **what** *esta época cuando .... Con la gripa por encina.*	(The flu´, but really bad, **you know** **I mean**? At this time of year with the flu really getting the better of you.)
	LFC: *Me imagino el susto.*	(I can imagine the fright you got.)
	ALV: *Nos tocó hospitalizarlos y ..ehm... y pues toda el tema de ...de los antibióticos...y..*	(We had to hospitalize them..ehm and, well, the whole thing of anitbiotics....and...)
	LFC: *¿Cuánto tiempo estuv...estuvieron hospitalizados?*	(How long were they hospitalizad?)
	ALV.: *Como una semana.*	(About a week.)
	LFC: *¿Una semana?*	(A week?)
	ALV.: *Con oxigeno...con... con medicina... con...*	(On oxygen....with medicine...with
20	*con antibióticos.*	Anitbiotics.)
	LFC: *Se llama eso ....*	(This is called....
	ALV : *Sal..... Esos puffs?*	(Sal..... the puffer?)
	LFC: *No, no, nebul.....*	(No, no, nebul...)
	ALV.: *Nebulizaciones? Y la medicina de puff es ....*	(Nebulization? And the medicine for the puffer..)
	LFC: *Ah, sí.*	(Ah, yes)
	ALV.: *Y nebulizaciones también. Pero el cuento ... el cuento va que, que como pa.., como la relación de pareja ....*	(And nebulization as well. But the. story is ..the story goes that as the relationship of the Couple...)
30	LFC: *Umhu.*	(Ehum.)
	ALV.: *que es un camello. Es una, una, ... la escuela principal de la vida para uno endulzar relaciones...para uno tener buenas relaciones con los otros, etc. Nos hizo pensar en, en ...en la...en... Nos hizo mirar para atrás,*	(Is difficult. It´s the principal school of life,which teaches one to relationships and how to have good relationships with others, etc. This made us think about... it made us look back and look

	como mirar en la necesidad de buscar medicinas alternativas para prevenir..eh.....el uso de	at the need to search out alternative.. medicines to prevent..ehm the use of.....)
	LFC: *¿de esas aparatas?*	(Of this apparatus?)
40	ALV.: *de esas medicinas y aparatos y el uso específicamente del antibiótico*	(of these medicines and apparatus and specifically the use of antibiotics.)
	LFC. *Si, porque esos .....*	(Yes, because this...)
	ALV.: *Pues, todo es nos hizo pensar....em... en la necesidad que tenemos de volver a la tierra para sembrar medicinas, para sembrar plantas medicinales y conocerlos y hacer remedios a partir de esos plantas*	(Well, all of this made us think...about how much we need to return to the Earth to grow medicinal plants and learn about them and make medicine from them in order to prevent illnesses in the future.)
	medicinales para prevenir ...enfermedades en	
50	*el futuro.*	
	LFC: *¿Medicina natural?*	(Natural medicine?)
	ALV.: Medicina *natural. Y todo ese...todo ese trabajo...¿Quien será? Carájo!!*	(Natural medicine. And all this work....*(the door bell begins to ring incessantly)* Who can that be? Damn it!)
	LFC: *Esta.....**Ø está esperando** alguien? No, será que llego alguien.*	(Are **you expecting** someone? Could it be that someone has arrived?)
	ALV.: *No, yo creo que es de, es de*	(No, I think it is for the ....)
	LFC: *de alli de....*	(for the...)
60	ALV.: *parche, la rumba...*	(get together, party)
	LFC: *Si, si ya es hora.*	(Yes, it´s that time.)
	ALV.: *Será que fue?*	(That´ll be it.)
	LFC: *Esta timbrando donde no es.*	(They are ringing the wrong bell.)
	ALV.: *No, esta timbrando en la casa.*	(They are ringing in the house.)
	ALV.: *Y en estos días tengo una cita lo más de linda en una finca en Sumapaz,*	(In the last few days I had a lovely meeting in a farm in Sumapaz.
	LFC: *¿Sí?*	(Really?)
	ALV.: *con unas abuelas, unas ancianas.*	(With some grannies, some elderly ladies)
70	LFC: *Ah, se.. que estas en...**Ø estas investigando**,*	(Ah, ...**you are investigating**.)
	ALV: *Sí, sí*	(Yes, yes.)
	LFC: *estas empapando de que es y que no es.*	(You are absorbing what it is and what it isn´t.)
	ALV: *De que es y que no es, y cómo se siembran y cómo se hace el trabajo desde lo espiritual, para, para, para, ten... com.. empezar a tener una relación más intima, más profunda con la tierra., ¿no? ¿Sí?*	(What it is and what it isn´t and how to sow seeds and how to do this work from a spiritual level, in order to begin to have a deeper, more intimate realtionship with the land. You know? Yah?)
80	ALV: *Ellas trabajan mucho en la medicina.. natural.*	(These ladies do a lot of work with natural medicine.)

LFC: *¿A base de hierbas?* (Based on herbs?)

ALV: *A base de hierbas, entonces tienen una conocimiento con todas las hierbas de páramo, de lo que usaba antiguamente.* (Based on herbs, therefore, they are familiar with all the herbs of the plateau which were used in ancient times.)

LFC: *Para que sirven,* (And what they are used for.)

ALV: *Para que sirvan y cómo se usan, cómo se hace mixturas. Eso es como volver otra vez a la alchemía, ¿no? Como empezar a trabajar con la naturaleza.* (What they are used for, how they are used and how you make mixtures. This is like returning to alchemy, isn´t it? Like beginning to work with nature.)

LFC: *De*l *elemental.* (From the basics)

ALV: *Del elemental. Entonces, me llamaron ayer para invitarme a.....a la finca. Y para hacer una alianza con lo que se va a...con lo que se va a hacer el jardín Colibrí. Entonces eso es extender toda esta sabiduría que ellas tienen y si tener buena onda con el jardín Colibrí, entonces quieren ir hacer un taller para que allá también aparezca las semillas, se siembra las semillas que ellas tienen y que se empieza hacer un banco de semillas y de plantas medicinales.* (From the basics. So, they called me the other day to invite me to the farm. To form an aliance with what they do there and what we´re going to do in. Jardín Colibrí. So, this is like extending all the knowledge that they have and if they get a good feeling from Jardín Colibrí, then they want to go and do a workshop there so that the same seeds are there, they sow the seeds which they have and begin to form a bank of seeds and medicinal plants.)

LFC: *¿En esta región?* (In this region?)

ALV.: *en esta región* (In this region.

LFC: *es adecuada* (It is suitable.)

ALV.: *Entonces, todo eso....sí como bonito..* (Therefore, everything is beautiful.)

LFC: *claro* (Of course.)

ALV.: *como no ha llegado una situación familiar a pensar en, en, en esta relación con la tierra.* (As we had this family situation, it made us think about this relationship with the land.)

LFC: *Y así surgió esta remedio que* ***te estas tomando.*** (And from that came this remedy which **you are taking** at the moment.)*(ALV was eating a combination of potatoes with garlic and red onion.)*

ALV: *Sí, esta remedio surgió de allí, pero bueno esto surgió ahoritica porque buscaba un sabor y* (Yes, this remedy emerged from that, but, well, it emerged right now because I had a craving for a flavour and.....)

Recording 3

This conversation involved speaker 2 and speaker 4. The recording took place in speaker 2´s home, which is the place of work of speaker 4. The setting was informal, it was the evening and speaker 3 had finished for the day. The investigator was in an adjoining room while the recording was taking place, so she could hear the conversation but was not present at the recording. No-one, other than speakers 2 and 4 were present for the recording. Speaker 4 has worked as a housekeeper and nanny for speaker 2 and his wife for many years. As the investigator has been a friend of speaker 2 and his wife for many years. She has meet speaker 4 on many occasions in speaker 2´s home and the home of other friends, where speaker 4 also works as a housekeeper.

Excerpt from recording 3
Speaker 2 (ALV) and 4 (BCPF)

ALV: *Cómo te fue hoy ?*	(How did you get on today?)
BCPF: *Bien, Muy bien.*	(Well, very well.)
ALV. : *Sí?*	(Really?)
BCPF: *Sí.*	(Yes.)
ALV: *¿Qué* ***Ø hiciste*** *de almuerzo?*	(What did **you make** for lunch?)
BCPF: *Hice sopa de auyama con alverjitas, papita, papita negra,* potoatoes, *papita criolla, alverjita, zanahoria y pollito.*	(I made butternut squash soup with, peas potoatoes Black pototoes, creole peas, carrots and chicken.
ALV: *Uh mama!*	(Oh mama!)
BCPF: *Pollito Criollo.*	(Creole Chicken)
ALV: ***Usted*** *tiene un sazón, pero deliciosa. Ahorita me apunto a esa sopita.*	(**You** have a way of seasoning, which is only delicious. Right now I´ll put my name in for some of that soup.)
BCPF: *Espero que la* ***Ø tome*** *por la noche.*	(I hope **you eat** it this evening.)
ALV: *Y los chinos bien?*	(And were the kids good?)
BCPF: *Bien, bien, bien. Todo fue uno A, uno A.*	(Good, good, good. Everything was A one, A one.)
ALV: *Hum? Sí, cómo* ***Ø viste*** *Atti después de la terapia?*	(Hum? How did **you think** Atti was after the therapy?)
BCPF: *Bien.*	(Good.)
ALV: *Mejor?*	(Better?)
BCPF: *Sí, claro que se vomitó, pero bueno.*	(Yes, of course she did vomit, but good.)
ALV: *Pero cuando?*	(But when?)
BCPF: *Después del almuerzo.*	(After lunch.)
ALV: *Mucho?*	(A lot?)
BCPF: *No, un pocito.*	(No, a little bit.)
ALV: *Pero fue por que tosió algún flemita o algo de eso que...*	(But, was it because she coughed up a little phlem or something like that?)

BCPF: *Si, tosió un pocito y la flema seguramente la hizo vomitar y vomitó en mi toda, me baño en todo.*

(Yes, she coughed a little and the phlem must have made her vomit. And she vomited all over me, she soaked me in it.)

ALV: *Y eso para que* ***Ø aprendas***

(There you go, that´s so that **you learn**.)

BCPF: *No, que tristeza, menos mal que tenía una camiseta.*

(No, what a disaster, it´s just as well I had a t-shirt on.)

ALV: *Oh bueno, yo veo mejor la nena. Yo con el Ollie my fue de paseo. Estuve donde la abuela. Allá….*

(Oh well, the little one seems better to me. I went for a drive with Ollie. I was at his granny´s house. There….)

BCPF: *No* ***Ø habrá*** *comparado jabón ¿no?*

(**You didn´t buy** the washing powder, did you?)

ALV: *Comí plantano… no, no compré el jabón, ni ¿que?.. y que más…ni el café*

(I ate plantain…. No, I didn´t buy the washing powder, nor the…what? What else? Nor the coffee.)

BCPF: *Pero que tristeza* ***Aurelio****.*

(But what a disaster **Aurelio**.)

ALV: *No, hay que quitarse este jabón, es que es….y el jabón también*

(No, we must get rid of this washing powder, it´s… and the soap also.)

BCPF: *¿Entonces que me voy a lavar la losa? Con agüita no más. No,* ***mijito****. Cómo voy a quitar los fermitos que* ***usted*** *trae?*

(Well then, how am I going to wash the dishes? With water and nothing, else. No **my son**. How am I going to get rid of the germs that **you** bring in?)

ALV: *Mañana lo traigo.*

(I´ll bring it tomorrow.)

BCPF: *Bueno.*

(Ok.)

ALV: *Prometido, carajo.*

(I promise, damn it)

BCPF: *Vale, vale que no me jodí yo, pobre de usted.*

(Ok, ok I didn´t mess up. Poor you.)

ALV: *Y es cuando fuimos con….., almorzó donde la abuela, estuvo con la abuela feliz, recariñosa*

(And when we went with…. we had lunch in granny´s house, he was with his granny, happy, loving.)

BCPF: Que **Ø comío** plantanó.

You ate plantain.

Recording 4

This conversation took place between speakers 6 and 7, in the language school where both participants study English. The setting for the recording was informal, and took place in a classroom before their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. Speaker 6 and 7 are classmates in an intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a previous class earlier in the week.

Recording 5

This conversation took place between speaker 5 and her three year old son. The recording took place in speaker 2´s home. The children were playing upstairs while there was a party going on downstairs. The setting of the recording was informal, the children were playing in the bedroom and speaker 5 was preparing to leave. As well as the investigator, speaker 2´s wife and children and the investigator's son were present for the recording. However, as speaker 2´s wife is non-Colombian and the children were all under the age of 16 any contributions made by them were disregarded. The investigator is an acquaintance of Speaker 5 as both their sons attended the same playschool. In addition, speaker 5´s boyfriend is an ex-work colleague of the investigator and currently works with a friend of the investigator (speaker 2´s wife).

Recording 6

This conversation took place between speakers 8 and 9, a mother and son. The recording was made in their home and the setting for the recording was an informal Sunday afternoon, after lunch. The investigator was not present for the recording but did meet with speaker 8 at a later date to gather personal details for her and her son.The conversation was recorded by a mutual friend of the participants and the investigator who had been invited to Sunday lunch.

Excerpt from recording 6
Speaker 8 (M) and speaker 9 (F)

M: *Que **le** dieron en la universidad ayer?*	(What did they tell **you** at the Univesity yesterday?)
F: *Ayer? Anteayer? Cuando fui?*	(Yesterday? The day before yesterday? When did I go?)
M: *Cuando **Ø entra**?*	(When do **you start**?)
F: *Pues, todo dependa por que me respondan por correo. En el correo me manda la respuesta y allí me dicen si pase el examen de admisión o no pase el examen de admisión.*	(Well, everything depends on how they respond to me by post. They´ll send me the answer by post and there they´ll tell me if I passed the entrance exam or not.)
M: *Y si no **Ø pasa** el examen que pasa?*	(And if **you don´t pass** the exam, what happens?)

F: *Pues, si no paso el examen de admisión que no paso a la universidad*
M: *Y* ***Ø va*** *a hacer después?*
F: *Pues no, toca esperar a los resultados y a mi yo creo que me puede ir a la univeridad*
M: *Pero y en el caso que no* ***Ø entre****?*

F: *Porque era un examen con la psicóloga. Si no entra, pues, tocara buscar en otro universidad*
M: *Y si hay tiempo?*
F: *Si, si hay tiempo por que las universidades no empiezan clases hasta como agosto, empiezan clases. Entonces, hay tiempo para empezar. Pues todo depende de que me digan el viernes. Pues lo que me manden por que el respuesta que mandan es por correo electrónico. Pues, me toca estar contactándome en estos días y si el viernes mirar a ver si me digan que si. Si, me digan pues me toca volver allí a la universidad y allí si me dicen los costos, los horarios, en los salones que me tocan las clases, además el programa de estudios. Y si, cuando empiezan…*
M: *Y que horario* ***Ø escogía****?*

F: *Es que me escogí por la mañana desde las siete de la mañana hasta las doce de la tarde. O sea, jornada diurna por que jornada nocturna queda muy pesada por que toca estudiar hasta las, como hasta las 10:30 y también estudiar los sábados entonces no se puede estudiar los sábados. (2:54 mins) la de la tarde pues, pues es que estar acá todo el día, todo el día estudiando en la universidad y no me dejaría tiempo ni para trabajar y para nada más por que el P1 es así entonces no me dejaría tiempo para nada*

(Well, if I don´t pass I don´t get into the university.)
(And what **are you going** to do then?)
(Well no, I have to wait for the results I think I´ll get in…..)

(But in the event that **you don´t get in**?)
(..because it was an exam with a psychologist. If I don´t get in, I´ll have to look for another university.)
(And is there time?)
(Yes, yes there´s time because the universities don´t start classes until. August So, there is time to begin. Well, it all depends on what they tell me on Friday.Well, what they send me, because they´ll send me the answer by email. Well, I must get in contact with them in the next few days and on Friday I must check to see if they say yes. If they say yes well, I must go back to the university and there they´ll tell me about the fees, the timetable, in which rooms my classes will be held, and what is more, the study program, and when it begins.)

(And which timetable will **you choose**?)
(I´ve opted for the morning timetable, from 6am to 12pm. That is the day course because the evening course is very tough because I´d have to attend classes until about 10:30pm as well as on Saturdays, so I wouldn´t be able to study on Saturdays. And with the evening one I´d end up being here all all day studying in the university and *Y* that wouldn´t leave me time to work or or anything because the P1 is like this so it wouldn´t leave me time to do. anything)

M: *Y el cena,* ***Ø va*** *a seguir lo*
mismos los sábados?
F: *Si, en el cena sigo los sábados,*
los sábados hasta que se acaba el curso.
M: *Y cuando es*
F: *Ah no se, allí van diciendo*
a unos que depende del nivel que uno
tenga. Si no ya cumple todos los
niveles si uno ya sabe leer bien,
escribir bien y hablar bien pues
entonces una acaba rápido y también
depende En el cena pues toca esperar
´ a ver como...
M: *Pero cuanto es el semestre son?*
F: *No eso no es por semestres, eso es*
por niveles
M: ***Usted*** *esta en cual está entonces?*
F: *No me han dicho, porque no hemos*
hecho el primer examen de nivel, ***Ø sabes,***
desde que entremos el primer examen de
nivelación a ver en que nivel estamos.
Pues se toca esperar, lo hace después de
este fin de semana de este puente que viene.
No este sábado sino el próximo sábado
empieza. De pronto no hacen el examen o
si no dentro de....este sábado que viene en
quince salen el examen de pronto pero como
..... nos dan el puente.

M: *Y cuando hay lo de la ejercito, lo del*
la libreta?
F: *De la libreta toca conseguir la plata.*
Y eso de conseguir la plata pues de allí si .....

M: *Se demora cuanto*
F: *Cuanto que?*
M: *Cuanto tiempo demora en que le da la*
Libreta
F: *Ah, pues me dijeron que por allí entre*
una semana y dos meses
M: *Y porque dos meses?*
F: *por que como yo dejé a vencer la otra*
pues la plata de la otra libreta pues toca, toca
que o sea como una especia de multa la que
me pusieron. Entonces, lo mínimo es una semana
hasta los dos meses.

(And ´El Cena´ are **you going** to
stay on there on Saturdays?)
(Yes, in stay on in ´El Cena´ on
Saturdays until the course finishes.)
(And when is that?)
(Oh, I don´t know. They´ve been
saying to some students that it depends
on the level one has. If one fulfils all
the criteria already, if one knows how
to read and write and speak well, well
then they will finish the course quickly
and this also depends. I need to stay in
El cena´ and wait and see how...)
(But how many semesters is it?)
(It´s not by semestres, it´s by levels.)

(Which are **you** in then?)
(They haven´t told me yet, because I
haven´t the first level test, **you know**,
from when we enter the university we
do the first level test to see the level at
we which we are. Well we have to
wait, they´ll do it alter this weekend,
the long weekend. Not this Saturday,.
but next Saturday they begin They
might not hold the exam or if not
might then in the..... next Saturday
week they´ll hold the exam but as
.....they let us have the bank Holiday.)
(And when the thing for the army? The
booklet?)
(I need to get the money for the.
booklet and getting the money, well
.....)
(How long will it take?)
(How long will what take?)
(How long will it take for them to give
you the booklet?)
(Ah well, they told me it was between
one week and two months.)
(And why two weeks?)
(Because as I let the other one expire
the money from the other booklet, well
it´s like a type of fine which they have
given me. So,therefore, the minimum
is one week and up to two months.)

M*: y si no* ***Ø paga*** *esta vez lo llevan para el ejercito?*
F*: No, porque si no me llevan esta vez pues, no, tocaría esperar hasta los dieciocho años.*

M: *Le cogen rapidito*
F*: No, porque estoy estudiando. Apenas cumplo dieciocho años me voy y consigo la libreta militar. Es difícil pero toca hacer la vuelta. Toca irnos.*

M*: Hacer la vuelta, ja ja ja.*

F*: Bueno, toca hacer la diligencia, entonces.*

M*: Y hoy había reunión aquí en el conjunto y no fuimos*
F*: A que hora fue la reunión?*
M*: A las diez*
F*: A la diez de la mañana?*
M*: Si*
F*: Yo estaba durmiendo.*
M*: Yo pensaba que el catorce era el viernes*

F*: Pero* ***tu*** *me* ***dijiste*** *que había reunión a las ocho.*
M*: Pero no es el viernes.*
F*: Y* ***tu*** *no* ***puedes*** *venir ¿no?*
M*: No, a las 8 de la mañana estoy trabajando.*

F*: Y por qué no lo* ***Ø fuiste*** *ayer?****Ø Pudieras*** *ir es temprano*
M: *Me parecía de que hoy era 15*
F: *Y de que van a hablar*

M: *De la seguridad*
F: *Del conjunto y que más? De la reja y eso?*

M: *No, eso es en la otra, en la del viernes.*

F: *Solamente iban a hablarte de la seguridad? Por eso, entonces más bien vamanos alla. Vamos a la de las 8, no creo que hayan hablado de nada importante en este reunion.*

M: *Es en la 7 no 8.*

(Andi f **you don´t pay** it this time will they take you into the army?)
(No, because if they don´t take me this time, well no, they have to wait until I am eighteen.)
(They´ll get you soon.)
(No, because I´m studying. As soon as I am eighteen I´ll go and get the. military booklet. It´s difficult but the. errand needs to be run We´ll have to go.)
(The errand needs to be done. Ha ha ha)
(Ok, the buisness needs to be dealt with then.)
(And today there was a meeting her in the community and we didn´t go.)
(At what time was the meeting?)
(At ten o´clock.)
(At ten o´clock in the morning?)
(Yes)
(I was sleeping.)
(I thought that the fourteenth was Friday.)
(But **you told** me there was a meeting at eight.)
(But it´s not Friday.)
(And **you can´t** come?)
(No, at eight in the morning I´m working.)
(And why didn´t **you go** yesterday? **You could have gone**, it´s early.)
(I thought today was the fifteenth.)
(And what are they going to talk about?)
(The security.)
(Of the park and what else? About the railings and that?)
(No, that is in the other meeting, the one on Friday.)
(They were only going to talk about the security? Well then we´d better go. Let´s goto the meeting at eight, I don´t think they´ll have talked about anything important at this meeting.)
(It´s on at seven not eight.)

F: *Eso el viernes, es un viernes?*
(It´s this Friday or a Friday?)

M: *Si, viernes, este viernes que viene.*
(Yes, Friday, this Friday coming.)

F: *El viernes a las 8 voy. Y a mando no creo* way que *han dicho nada importante*
(I´ll go on Friday at eight. And by the (I don´t think they said anything important.)

M: *Si? Como **Ø sabe** si no **Ø fue**?*
(Yah? And how do **you know** if **you didn´t go**?)

F: *No, porque **tú** me **dijiste** que solamente era lo de la seguridad y eso lo pueden hablar en la reunion que viene en la del viernes. Allí luego van a hablar de la seguridad de la reja que van a poner, como es que se llama esto? El enceramiento del conjunto. Yo creo que de alli van a volver de hablar de eso, y además que hay mucha gente que no ha ido. Allí sematan dos pajaros de un solo tiro. Vamonos de una vez, voy de una vez porque **tú** no **puedes** ir. Y el niño?*
(No, because **you told** me that it was only about the security and this they can talk about at the meeting on Friday. There they are also going to talk about the railings that they are going to put up, what is this called?The enclosing of the park. I think that they are going to talk about that again. And what is more, there are lots of people x what is more, there are lots of people who didn´t **you can´t** go. And the child?)

M: *El niño me ha llamado diciendo que vaya por alli y lo recogiera.*
(The child rang to ask me to come And pick him up there.)

F: *Y porque no lo **Ø haces** y no lo **Ø recojes**?*
(And why don´t **you do** it and why don´t **you collect** him)

M: *Por que ha mucho trancon y porque le papa tiene que venir a traves*
(Because there are a lot of traffic jams and because his father has to come over with him.)

F: *Y cuando lo trae, justamente hoy o manana?*
(And when will he bring him, today or tomorrow?)

M: *Que no se le pregunté que estaba haciendo el papá y me dijo que estaba durmiendo.*
(I asked what his father was doing and he said he was sleeping.)

F: *Pues te toca llamar entonces a Alvarito y dicerle que te lo traiga hoy y así **Ø pases** el festivo con el niño, ¿no?*
(Well, **you** have to call Alvarito and tell him to bring him here to **you** and that way **you spend** the bank Holiday with the child, isn´t that right?)

M: *Pues es que estaba durmiendo*
(But he´s sleeping.)

F: *Alvarito o el niño?*
(Alvarito or the child?)

M: *El papá!*
(The father!)

F: *¿El papá esta durmiendo?*
(The father is sleeping?)

M: *Yo lo llamé y me dijo chao mamí. Y después el me llamó y me dijo que fuera y lo recojiera. Y le dí que donde estaba el papá y me dijó que estaba durmiendo.*
(I rang him and he said ´bye mummy! and then later he called me and asked me to go and pick him up. And I asked him where was his dad and he told me he was sleeping.)

F: *Pues eso que que **te** toca llamarle más tarde que no se haga ..y que traiga Diego Felipe.*
(Well **you** have to call him later and tell him he can´t do this and that he bring Diego Felipe home.)

Recording 7

This conversation took place between speakers 10, 11 and 12, in the language school where the participants study English. The setting for the recording was informal and took place in a classroom before their scheduled English class began. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. Speaker 10, 11 and 12 are classmates in an upper-intermediate class in the language school. The investigator has been a friend of their teacher for many years and was introduced to them in a class earlier the previous week.

Excerpt from recording 7
Speaker 10 (AM), speaker 11 (IFMV) and speaker 12 (ACC)

	AM: *Caballero, comienza*	(Gentlemen first)
	IFMV: *Ladies first*	(Ladies first)
	AM: *No, no, no en este momento* ***te*** *damos el paso. Vale*	(No, no, no in this instance we´ll give **you** a pass. Ok?)
	IFMV: *Bueno, mi nombre es* Ivan Fabio Moya Villegas. *Ehh me gradué de medico en le 2002.*	(Well, my name is Ivan Fabio Moya Villegas I graduated in medicine in 2002.
	Y hice me año rural, año de exercito en	I did my rural year, year of military services in Duetama over the course of
10	*Duetama. durante un año. Despues de eso, … desocupacionar y ahora estoy trabajando*	one year. After this, …. I …. And now I am working in Colsanx. What else
	can I tell *trabajando en colsanx. Que más les puedo contar?*	you?)
	ACC: *¿Cuando tiempo* ***Ø llevas*** *trabajando el Colsanx.?*	(How long **have you been** working in Colsanx?)
	IFMV: *Casí un año, antes estaba trabajando en ARP con positiva, RP el seguro. Trabajando allí pero como ……*	(Almost one year. Before this I was working in ARP con positiva, RP insurance. I was working but as…)
20	ACC: *La nueva RP positiva entonces ……*	(The new RP positiva then?)
	IFMV: *Exacto, se… se acabó el trabajo. Entonces, yo tengo un amigo trabajando en Colsanx. Lo llamé y me dijo ´No, vengase para acá.´*	(Exactly, the job finished. Then I had a friend working in Colsanx. I called him and he said, ´No, come work here.¨.)
	A: *Ah bueno, te cuento, yo tengo un enterquepo. Bueno,* ***Ø has vivido*** *todo el tiempo aquí en Bogotá?*	(Ah well, I´ll tell you I have a contact. Well, **have you** always **lived** here in Bogotá?)
	IFMV: *No, pues cuando estaba pequeño viví*	(No, when I was small I lived in LA
30	*durante dos años en LA, pero estaba muy pequeño.*	for two years, but I was very small.)
	AM: ***Ø Aprendiste*** *hablar*	(Did **you learn** to speak?)
	IFMV: *Nah, ni siquiera, muy poco. Que más les puedo contar de mi vida? Me casé*	(No, not even a little. What else can I y tell ou about my life? I got married in

en septiembre.
ACC & AM: *Uh,* ***Ø estas*** *todavía de luna de miel.*
IFMV: *Estoy en luna de miel. Mi esposa es medico también, es pediatra. Pues después de 6 años de noviazgo.*
ACC: *Es que era hora,* ***hombre.***
IFMV: *No, ya ya todazo justificado. Y ya nos casamos y ya... no se que contarles.* ***Tú****???*

ACC: *Yo. Mi nombre es MB Barragán, estudié comercio internacional en Ajorgete de lo sano. Terminé en el 2004, si no me equivoco. Nunca me llevo bien las historias. Antes de terminar empecé a trabajar en una empresa como manejando archivos y cosas así. Como conociendo. Era una, es una ONG y de allí mismo, me contrataron para trabajar como asistente administrativa y hoy en día soy coordinadora administrativa allí en esta fundación donde trabajo. El proceso que hacemos es certificación de fincas socio-ambientales con una norma internacional que es de Nueva York. Llevo creo que tengo que lleva como cinco años trabajando.*
AM: *no me acuerdo. 2007, 2002*

ACC: *Si, en el 2004 me gradué y digamos que comencé en el mismo 2004 a 2008. Cuatro o cinco año llevo trabajando por allí. No tengo hijos. Todavía vivo con mis papas sin ningún afán.*

IFMV: *No, pero eso está bien.*
AM*: Ni muchos hijos, ni marido propio. Entonces allí relajada en la casa. Tuve novio. Ya digamos que eso terminó.*
IFMV: ***Ø Tuvó, Ø tuviste***
AM*: Yo, tuvé novio, sí. Pero ya se acabo. Entonces, allí ando sola.*
AM: *A la orden*
ACC: *Sí, sí, digamos. Esperemos a ver que llega Sí, soltera total. ¿Qué más? Estoy yendo para endeudarme para comprar un apartamento. Esta dura y hay veces que pienso .....*

September.)
(Ah, **you´re** still in the honeymoon phase.)
(I´m in the honeymoon phase. My wife is also a doctor, she´s a pediatrician. After six years of courting.)
(It was time, **man**.)
(No, yes, totally justified. And we got married and ..... I don´t know what else to tell **you**. **You**??
(Me? My name is MB Barragán. I studied International Commerce in Ajorgete de lo Sano. I finished in 2004, if I´m not mistaken. I´ve never been. good with stories Before I finished studying I began working in a company doing filing and things like. getting to know the Business. It was, it is an NGO and from that the hired me to work as an administrative assistant and today I am the administrative coordinator of this foundation in which I work. What we do is certify Socio-envirionmental farms with an International certificaiton whichis from New York. I am there, I think I must be working there for about five years. I don´t remember 2007, 2002)
(Yes, I graduated in 2004 and let´s say I began in the company in 2004 to 2008.Four or five years I´ve working there. I don´t have children. I still live with my parents, and am in no rush to leave.)
(No, but that´s fine.)
(Neither children nor husband of my. own so, I´m relaxed at home. I had a. boyfriend let´s just say it finished.)
(**You....you had**.)
(I had a boyfriend yes. But it finished. So, I am single.)
(At your service.)
(Yes, yes, as we say. Let´s see what arrives. Yes, I´m totally single. What else? I am heading towards putting myself in debt to buy an apartment. It´s

IFMV: *Contenta con el trabajo*

ACC: *Como en todo, yo creo. Siempre hay momentos buenos, hay días en que uno dice yo quiero ya tirar la toalla acá.*

AM: *De pronto por el tiempo no* ***Ø quieres*** *hacer otra cosa*

ACC: *Si, no, la verdad tengo unas ganas, hay dias en que digo harto de eso tirado y viajar. Que eso es mi idea pero pues hay como todo*

IFMV:. *Posibilidades de crecer allí entre el trabajo?*

ACC: *No, ya hasta allí fue en nivel, si. Yo creo que hasta allí punto máximo.*

IFMV*: Tú puesto es el jefe ya.*

ACC: *Si, gerente, el director ejecutivo, no veo más allá.*

AM: *Te gustaría tener un negocio propio un montar algo para ti*

ACC: *Un negocio propio? Yo si soy muy negociante, pero no soy para quedarme pagado un lugar, no. Yo si me veo más bien moviéndome buscando gente, haciendo otras cosas, pero no tan como.... Yo soy buena para dar ideas, y eso es lo que daba a mis papas y de allí más o menos hemos ido haciéndole*

AM: *Y más para la posteridad*

ACC*: Nah, yo soy más bien de, a mi lo que me gusta mucho es invertir y lo que yo he hecho con lo que tengo, lo que me iba ganando es invirtiendo. Y allí lo que tengo es acciones y cosas así que de allí voy recibiendo mis dividendos poco a poco.*

difficult but there are times when I think....)

(Happy with work?)

(With everything, I think, There are always good moments and then days x always I just want to throw in the stowel here.)

(Wouldn´t **you like** to do something else perhaps for a while.)

(Yah, no, the truth is I´d like to, there are days when I say enough of this I . want to travel. This is my idea but like everyone...)

(Are there possiblities to advance in the company?)

(No, I don´t think so. I think this is the maximum leve.)

(Your position is the boss.)

(Yes, the manager, executive director. I don´t see more there.

(Would you like to have your own business for yourself?)

(My own Business? I am a good Business woman, but I´m not one to *en* stick in the same place. I see myself moving, looking for people, doing other things, but not so..I am good for giving ideas and this is what I gave my parents and from there we´ve been doing it.)

(And more for prosperity.)

(Nah, I´m more one for, I like to invest and what I have done with what I have what I earn I invest. And so what I have are equity securities and things like that from which I earn dividends little by little.)

Recording 8

This conversation took place between speakers 13 and 14 in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused and what is more the quality of the recording is quite poor due to the echo in the reception area. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Speakers 13 and 14 work together on a daily basis. The investigator is a friend of one of the residents in the building and was introduced to both participants the week before the recording took place.

Excerpt from recording 8
Speaker 13 (TEM) and 14 (EDM)

	TEM: ***Usted*** *que,* ***usted*** *que me cuenta. Cuéntame que me* ***Ø vas*** *a contar.*	(And what about **yourself**, what can **you** tell me? Tell me what **you** have to tell me.)
	EDM: *Bueno, que voy a contar a usted?* ***Usted*** *cuantos padres son?*	(Ok, what have I got to tell you? How many are there in your family?)
	TEM: *Oh, si como vente frenitos somos ... a ahora que le digo sobre eso?*	(Oh yes, well there are about twenty of us, and now in a minute I´ll tell **you** about this.)
	EDM: *Ah, claro que nosotoros..... ayer.*	(Ah, of course we..yesterday..)
	TEM:	
	EDM: *Oye, como sigue la mamí? Esta*	(Hey, how is the mammy? Is she sick?)
10	*enferma?*	
	TEM: *Esta enfermado y la llamé. Precisamente hoy la llamé, esta mañana la llamé y tiene la voz....*	(She sick and I called her. Precisely, today I called her, this morning I called her and her voice is.....)
	EDM: *Bueno, me* ***Ø ha contando*** *que su mamá se había enfermado y su papa que*	(Well, **you told** me that your mother had .....been sick and what about your dad...?)
	TEM:	
	EDM: *Bueno, y ustedes en total cuantos hermanos como 10 o 8, 10. Ustedes debían de reunirse*	(Ok, and how many brothers and sisters are you, ten or eight? Ten? You must all get together.)
20	TEM: *Lo que pasa es que a ella no les gusta no les gusta la cuidad.* ***Ø Sabe*** *porque? Por que ellos ya están acostumbrados por la vida en el campo., Pues entonces*	(What happens is that she doesn´t like, she doesn´t like the city. Do **you know** why? Because they are used to the life in the country. Well, then....
	TEM: *La charla ja ja ja.* ***Ø Ha visto****, usted le gusta que le acompaño aquí.*	The chat...ha ha ha. Have **you seen**, you like that I accompany you here.)
	EDM: *Estamos hablando de sus padres, y que su papá esta enfermo.*	(We´re talking about your parents, and that your dad is sick.)
	TEM: *La principal ...esta demasiado,*	(The priniple thing.... it´s too much...
30	*como* ***usted tiene****... Pero no tantos años tiene, por que tiene 74 años*	like the father **you have**... but he´s not as old because he´s seventy-four.)

EDM: *Esta cansado y viejo. Nunca ha tenido tiempo para…*
(He´s tirad and old. He has never had time to…)

TEM: ….

EDM: *Los papas y las mamás les pasan lo que pasa siempre a mis esposa*
(The fathers and the mothers go through the same thing that always happens my wife..)

TEM: *como? Como? Como es se*
(How? How? How is…)

EDM: *Ellos ….igual que usted no le …*
(They…. the same as you they don´t…..)

TEM: *Es que lo que pasa es que*
(What happens is that…..)

40 EDM:

TEM: *Chévere, para amargarme la vida*
(Great, to annoy me.)

Recording 9

This conversation took place between speakers 15 and 16 in speaker 16´s office. The setting of the recording was informal as both participants had taken a break from their work. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. However, other colleagues were present in the next room. Speaker 15 and 16 work in the same office space on a daily basis, yet speaker 16 holds a more superior position than speaker 15. The investigator is a friend of a work colleague of speaker 16 and was introduced to both participants the week before the recording was made.

Excerpt from recording 9
Speakers 15 (PDS), speaker 16 (BIAR) and speaker 41 (AM)

	BIAR: ***Señora Paz.*** *Buenos dias.*	(**Miss Paz**. good morning)
	PDS, ***Señora Betty*** *Buenos dias, como le va?*	(**Miss Betty** good morning, how are you?)
	BIAR: *Muy bien. Que tal estuvo su puente? Su fin de semana.*	(Very well. How was your bank holiday? Your weekend?)
	PDS:. *Bien gracias*	(Good, thank you.)
	BIAR: *Si?*	(Really?)
	PDS: *Si,* ***señora.***	(Yes, ma´am.)
	BIAR: *Que hizo* ***su merced****? Descansó?*	(What did you do? Did **you rest**?
10	PDS: *Descansé un poquito y otro poquito hacer oficios en la casa.*	(I rested a bit and did jobs around the house.)
	BIAR: *En la casa* ***trabajó****?*	(**You worked** in the house?)
	PDS: *Si* ***señora.***	(Yes, **ma´am**.)
	BIAR: *Y su familia y su niño como esta?*	(And your family and your child, how are they?)
	PDS: *Pues, bien* ***Señora Betty.*** *Gracias a Díos, salieron de vacaciones.*	(Well, they are well **Miss Betty.** Thank God. They went on holidays.)
	BIAR: *Y como le fue en el colegio?*	(And how are things going in school?)
	PDS: *Regular.*	(Only ok.)
20	BIAR: *Eh? Hay problemitas de notas o de que?*	(Oh? Are there problems with results or what?)
	PDS: *De notas,* ***señora.***	(With results **ma´am**.)
	BIAR: *Calefacciones*?	(grades?)
	PDS: *Si, eso. Y pues todo bien, todo bien.*	(Yes, that´s it. And well everything else is good, everything is good.)
	BIAR: *Y que va hacer en esto tiempo de vacaciones su niña.*	(And what is your daughter going to do for the holidays?)
	PDS: *Pues no se* ***Señora Betty,*** *porque pues, también la falta de plata, y también tengo*	(Well, I don´t know **Miss Betty** because well…the lack of money and
30	*que estar con ella para poder acompañarse.*	also, I need to be with her to keep her company.)
	BIAR: ¡*Que chévere!*	(Great!)

BIAR *Pero solamente hace...cuando no esta de vacaciones que hace, algún cursito de algo o está en la casita?*

(But does she only..... when she´s not on holidays does she do a course in something or is she at home?)

PDS: *En la casa* ***Señora Betty*** *porque de todas manera hay que hacer. Ahorrito tenemos un trabajo de recogida, como* ***usted*** *ya* ***sabe*** *que siempre ha mitad de año siempre no.....ella .....*

(At home **Miss Betty** because in any case there are things to do. At the moment, we have a sorting job, as **you know** in the **you know** always in the middle of the year there are .....)

BIAR: *Yo que le cuento. Se...mi gripa y en las casa especial descansando, nada más así como para compartir.*

(What can I tell you? My flu and at home especially resting. I don´t have anything elseto share.)

PDS: *Y cuidándose.* ***Ø Tiene*** *que cuidarse bastante.*

(And looking after yourself. **You** have to take good care of yourself.)

BIAR: *Cuando estuve la semana pasado por fuera que paso así en la oficina?*

(When I was out last week what happened here in the office?)

PDS: *Acá no, nada. Todo bien.*

(Here? Nothing. All was well.)

BIAR: *Más bien no había que movimiento, estaba super tranquilo.*

(Better that there was no movement, and all was very quiet.)

PDS: *Si estaba suavecito el trabajo no esta pesado. Organizar la oficina*

(Yes, it was quiet, there wasn´t alot of work. I organised the office.)

BIAR: *Ayer hubo aquí en frente un accidente, no? ¿****Su merced*** *no vi?No* ***usted*** *ya se había salido para su casa. La señora que .... muchacho en contra flujo.*

(Yesterday, there was a car accident (here in front of the building, wasn´t there? Did **you** see it? No, **you** had *un* already left to go home. The woman that..... a boy going against the traffic.)

PDS: *Pero fue el momento que me fui a mi casa yo me fui a las 4.30*

(But it was just as I was going home, I left at four thirty.)

Recording 10

This conversation took place between speakers 17 and a waitress in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. There was other waiting staff and customers present in the café. Speaker 17 and the waitress were strangers. The English teacher on speaker 17´s masters course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week. The waitress meet speaker 17 and the investigator that evening before the recording began.

Recording 11

This conversation took place between speakers 17 and 18 in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. However, there was waiting staff and other customers present in the café. Speaker 17 and 18 are classmates on a masters course. The English teacher on their masters course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week.

Excerpt from recording 11

Speakers 17 (JC) and speaker 18 (DJ)

	DJ: *A mi me cansada de curiosidad de que JC, después de un año de depresión. Cómo es tu día a día.*	(I´m dying of curiosity to know what JC, after a year of depression, how is your day to day life?)
	JC: *Pues bien, ehm....Es muy bueno tener la siete de la mañana para uno. No tener que andar corriendo. Disfruto mucho en este época, por ejemplo no tener que andar corriendo a la maestría, si no puedo gastar mi tiempo aquí. Y*	(Well, good. It´s great to have seven in the morning for oneself and not go running off somewhere. I´m really enjoying this period, for example I don´t have to run off to the masters course and I …..
10	*estoy tratando de no leer nada por estos dos semanas, esta y la otra voy a tratar de no leer pero no puedo...*	and I´m trying to not read anything during these two weeks, this one and the next one I´m going to try but I can´t.)
	DJ: *Por que?*	(Why?)
	JC: *No puedo, me gana.*	(I can´t, I feel the urge.)
	DJ: *Si? Se la* ***Ø tiras*** *cómicas o que?*	(Really? Are **you** flicking through comic books or what?
	JC: *no lo que sea. Voy allá a la biblioteca, y digo tengo que leer esto, esto y esto.*	(No, anything. I go to the library and say I have t oread this, this and
20		this.)
	DJ: *La biblioteca? Ahora...a tu casa*	(The library? Now, are you going home..)

JC: *Si, a lo que tengo que leer y tengo allí ... no estoy no voy a leer ahorita. Me dediqué de entere dos semanas no leer nada pero me cuesta. Entonces, cojo el libro menos interesante para demorarme el menos posible. Pues si, mucho más tranquil en el trabajo.*

(Yes, what I have to read and I have there.... I´m not going to read now. I have dedicated myself to not read anything in two weeks but it´s difficult. So, I get the least interesting book in order to linger the least amount of time possible. But yes I´m much more relaxed in work.)

DJ: ***Tú*** *que* ***haces*** *como trabajo? que no sabia que* ***Ø estabas*** *trabajando.*

(What do **you** work at? I didn´t know **you** were working.)

JC: *Sigo allí, sigo de ascensor de asuntos docentes en el departamento de ciencias políticas. Sigo haciendo esto. Es administrativo.*

(I´m still there, I am assessor of educational matters in the Department of Political Science. That´s what I´m doing, it´s administrative.)

DJ: *Es administrativo?*

(It´s administrative?)

JC: *Si, son artisimas cosas pero no me gusta. Pero, me dijeron hace pocito es lo que hay. Esta bien. Y no es un trabajo malo, no es para nada malo, ni es tan aburrido. Aunque trabajar con los profesores es cansón por que son pequenos Dios. Que....*

(Yes, there are many things to do but I don´t like it. However, they have told me a little while ago that it´s all that is there. It´s fine. And it´s not a bad job, it´s not at all bad, nor too boring. Even though, working with professors is a pain because the are little gods who.....)

DJ: .....

JC: *Si, cansones. Todo lo quiere para ya y es que yo soy tal y ....Entonces dicen su nombre y todos deben hacer ´uuuh´.*

(Yes, they are tiring. They want everything now and it´s all ´ I´m such and such ´ Then they say their name and everyone is expected to go ´ooooh!!´)

DJ: *Todos ser .....*

(Everyone....)

JC: *Si, eso es el peor de trabajar con esos. Se maneja mucho exagerar, no tanto por sus conocimientos ni por su status de profesor. Y..emh...A ver para descansar...Ah, al fin de semana estaba bailando y me emborraché.*

(Yes, that is the worst thing about working with proffesors. They have a lot of airs and graces, not so much for their knowledge but more for their position as professor. And ehm let´s see to relax.....ah on the weekend I went dancing and I got drunk.)

DJ: *Y a donde* ***Ø estuviste*** *bailando que nadie quiso salir de lo cansado que estábamos.*

(And where were you dancing? No-one wanted to go out as they were so tired.)

JC: *Yo estaba muy cansado y el viernes fui a tomarme unas cervezas y estaba cansado y llegue a dormir y dormí muy mal. Y la solución no es tomar cerveza. Pero el sábado salio a bailar y descansé mucho, bailar es la solución.*

(I was very tired and on Friday I went to have a few beers and I was tired and I got home and slept very badly. And the solucion is not to drink beer. But on Saturday I went

Bailar esta muy bien. Entonces el
domingo amanecí muy bien, muy descansado.

out to dance and I rested a lot, dancing is the solucion. Dancing is very good. So, on Sunday I woke up feeling very well, well rested.)

DJ: *Y donde* ***Ø fuiste*** *a bailar?*
(Where did you go dancing?)

JC: *Primero fui a ´..Pagano´*
(We went to ´Pagano´)

DJ: *allí? Y esta abierto?*
(There? And it´s open?)

JC: *Si estaba abierto y luego fuimos a esta cosa que se llama ´Scoarií.....´ sobre la tercera con Jimenez.*
(Yes, it was open and afterwards we went to this thing called ´Scoarií´ on third with Jimenez.)

DJ: *Si?*
(Really?)

JC: *Se llama ´Scoarií....´ y allí escuchemos música electrónica y era un poco canson pero luego nos pusimos alegre con mucho licor.*
(It´s called ´Scoarií´ and we listened to electronic music, it was a little bit tiresome but we made ourselves happy with lots of liquor.)

DJ: *Con que?*
(With what?)

JC: *mucho licor*
(Lots of liquor.)

DJ: *A ya arreglaron así.*
(Ah, you fixed it that way.)

JC: *Y después terminamos en una casa y bailando. Bailando...ponemos eso regatón y vallenatos.*
(And after that we ended up in a house dancing. Dancing,....we put on regaton and vallenatos.)

DJ: *Y* ***Ø estabas*** *con tus compañeros o amigos?*
(And **were you** with your classmates or your friends?)

JC: *Sim no, no fuimos con Carolina, y con Ruben y con Natalia y con Isabel*
(Yes, we went with Carolina and . with Ruben and with Natalia and Isabel.)

DJ: *No fue Janet?*
(Janet didn´t go?)

JC: *No*
(No.)

DJ: *Nosotros si queríamos hacer algo pero la verdad es que la gente estaba tan cansada que nadie se le apunto ni se le midió porque todo el mundo quería desconectarse y descansar.*
(We wanted to do something but the truth is that eveyone was so tired that nobody was intersted because everyone wanted to disconent and relax.)

JC: *Si, pero digamos aparte de mi experiencia el viernes en la que no descanse, eso no es, descansar beber algo y charlar y estar alegre. Pero no eso no una no descansa. Tiene que, bueno el no hacer no lo permite a uno descansar, lo que le permite descansar es el hacer ... algo, y bailar esta muy bien es que viernes están diciendo que nos encontremos.*
.
(Yes, but let´s say that apart from my experience on Friday when I didn´t relax, this isn´t rest, drink something, have a chat, be gipsy. But no this is not how one relaxes. One has to, well doing nothing does allow you to relax, you must do something in order to relax and dancing is very good They are saying that we´ll meet up on Friday.)

DJ: *No eso no lo he leido. En donde? En donde?*
(No, I haven´t read this. Where? Where?)

JC: *Diego mando uno que no encontremos y*
(Diego sent one saying that we

Andrés surgió un sitio por allá de la ochenta, Fever o algo así. Y...para encontrarnos el viernes y hacer el reunión

meet and A suggested a place there on eighties street, *gran* ´Fever´ or something like that. To meet on Friday and have a big gettogether.)

120 DJ: *Yo viajo, voy de puente.*

(I´m travelling, I´m going away for the bank holiday.)

DJ: *Que* ***Ø has hecho*** *para cambiar de trabajo? Has hecho algo?*

(What have **you done** to change jobs? Have you done anything?)

Recording 12

This conversation took place between speakers 23and 22, a husband and wife. The recording was made in the participants´ home and the setting was informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present for the recording. The investigator is a friend of speaker 22 and 23´s daughter-in-law, who referred her to speakers 22 and 23. The investigator spoke to speaker 22 on the phone to make arrangements before the recording took place.

Excerpt from recording 12
Speaker 22 (IVC) and speaker 23 (CEAC)

	CEAC: *Por eso estoy preguntando si ya*	(This is why I asked you if you
	***Ø terminó** el libro. ¿Comó le pareceío?*	(had finished it yet. What did you think?)
	IVC: *Muy bueno. Lo que no me gusto*	(Very good. What I did not like was the ending)
	fue el final. No era lo que yo esperaba	(It was not what I expected)
	que fuera.	(it would be.)
	CEAC: *Bueno, pero tenia que ser así. Porque*	(Well, put it had to be this way. Because,)
	están hablando de la guerrilla, un lio que	(they are talking about the guerillas, a problema)
10	*tiene aha en la guerrilla, sobre los paras*	(that they had there in the guerillas, about the paras)
	en un pueblo muy lejano donde se vea	(in a town very far from where the army are often seen)
	mucho el ejercito. Y entonces, se meten	(And so, they commit
	todos los delincuentes y luego ... a coger	(crimes and later .... to get)
	plata y estos barbaridades que hacen. Asi	(money and these atrocities which they commit.)
	que no puede esperar hasta	(They can not wait until)
20	IVC: *Y donde **Ø fuiste** a reclamar lo del*	(And where did **you go** to claim about the)
	libro, que paso? Del libro que...llamarla.	(book, what happened? The book which ...call her.)
	CEAC: ***Tú dices**, el libro de Lalo. Ah, pues,*	(**You mean** Lalo´s book, Ah,
	ese libro simplemente ellos ofrecieron un	(well, this book, they simply offered a discount)
	descuento. ....cuando llamó ella. Y en la	(..when I rang her. And at the time)
	hora no sabía fue ... y anoche Lalo me	(I did not know that ... and last night Lalo)
	dijo ....de reclamar el descuento. ...	(told me..... to claim the discount..)
	entonces fui, y la muchacha me dijo que	(so, I went and the girl told me said no, as
30	*no. Que como no hubiera facturado ayer*	(she had not given me a receipt yesterday)
	que no puede hacer nada. Pero fue mal	(she could not do anything. But it was badly done)
	hecha ella porque fue al misma ...para	(because she was the same girl....
	perdir el descuento.	(to ask for the discount)

	IVC: *Y ella misma lo atendió ayer?*	(And was it her who assisted you yesterday?)
	CEAC: *Ella me atendió ayer.*	(She assisted me yesterday.)
	IVC: *Ah.*	(Oh)
	CEAC: *Entonces en la hora de verla…..*	(So, the moment I saw her…)
	Creo que es un libro muy importante	(I believe it is a very important book)
40	*escrito por el Chileno este Roberto Bolanos*	(written by the Chilean Roberto Bolanos)
	IVC: *Bolaños.*	(Bolaños)
	CEAC: *Bolaños. Se llama 2666. Chileno.*	(Bolaños. It is called 2666. Chilean.)
	Ahora cuando ella lo traiga, Adriana	(Now, when she brings it, Adriana)
	debe triar lo luego que se lo preste.	(should bring it later, I will lend it to you.)
	IVC: *Que otra cosa iba preguntar.*	(What else was I was going to ask?)
	Y de allí ***Ø salió*** *para donde que se*	(And from there where did **you go**,)
	demoró.	(that **you took** a long time)
	CEAC: *Me fui hacer lo de la vuelta*	(I went to do the job)
50	*de Lalo. A …la señora a quien alquilaron*	(for Lalo. To …the woman from whom they are renting)
	la finca para la tradición de la boda.	(The country house to do the Redding traditions)

Recording 13

This conversation took place between speakers 19, 20 and 21 in a café. The recording was made in the early evening so that the café was quiet and the setting informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was directly present for the recording. However, there was waiting staff and other customers present in the café. Speaker 19, 20 and 21 are classmates on a masters course. The English teacher on their masters course is a friend of the investigator, and the investigator was first introduced to the participants by her the previous week.

Recording 14

This conversation took place between speaker 24 and her customers. The recording was made at the market stall run by speaker 24. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as speaker 24 was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible speaker 24 place the recorder in the pocket of her apron and went about her business as usual. Speaker 24´s vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who speaker 24 knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to speaker 24´s stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Speaker 24´s permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Recording 15 -18

This conversation took place between speaker 25 and his customers. The recording was made at the market stall run by speaker 25. The setting of the recording was as informal as possible but as speaker 25 was working a level of formality was inevitable. As well as the investigator and the participants, other sellers and customers were present during the recording. In an effort to make the recording as natural as possible speaker 25 place the recorder in the pocket of his white coat and went about his business as usual. Speaker 25´s vegetable stall is frequented by many regular customers who speaker 25 knows by name. The investigator was initially introduced to speaker 25´s stall in the market by a friend who is a regular customer and subsequently became a regular customer herself. Speaker 25´s permission to make the recording was requested earlier in the week before the recording was made.

Excerpt from recording 15
Speaker 25 (LAR) and customers

15

	LAR: *Buenas, que **Ø necesita**?*	(Good moring, what do **you** need?)
	Customer 1	
	LAR: *Buenos, listos 1, 500. Coja otra....*	(They´re good. Ok, one thousand five hundred pesos. Get another one.)
	Customer 1	
10	LAR: *Ya, yo te regalo una bolsita. Tres,*	(Here, I´ll give you a bag. Three,
	Customer 1	
	te valen 2, 500. Que más te doy? Bien pues.	They cost you two thousand five hundred. What else will I give you? Ok.)
	Customer 1	
	LAR: *Te voy a regalar 2 bananitos*	(I´m going to give you two little bananas free of charge.)

16

	LAR: *Buenas, cuéntame que le damos*?	(Good morning, tell me what can I get
20		you?)
	Customer 2	
	LAR: *No **Ø tiene** los cuatrocientos*?	(Do **you have** the four hundred?)
	Customer 2	

17

	LAR: *Muy buenas, como le va? Milagro*	(A very good morning, how are you?
	What a *a verla.*	miracle to see you.)
	Customer 3	
	LAR: *Ya le coloco el precio o no?*	(I´ve calculated the price for you,
30	haven´t I?	
	Ya le echan el frijol.	Have they given you the beans?)
	Customer 3	
	LAR: *A cuanto **tiene** la cuenta **usted**?*	(How much do **you count** the bill as?)
	Customer 3	
	LAR: *Vaya coja las,*	(Go, get them) (*to assistant*)
	ya le muestra los más grandes	(Now, I´ll show you the biggest ones.)
	[customer 3: *Hasta luego Don Paco*	[Good bye Don Paco. Take care.]
	que esté muy bien.]	
40	LAR: *Bueno, si **señor** muchas gracias*	(Ok, yes **sir**, Thanks a lot **man**.)
	***hombre**.*	

18

	LAR: A *ver **mamita linda**, como es*	(Let´s see **pretty lady**, what do you want?
	quieres? No hay más grandes. Le dieron	No, there aren´t any bigger ones. They

mil más. Y se lleva otra pequeñita.

Customer 4: *Que más Pacito.*
LAR: *Bien, como le ha ido*?

gave you a thousand more. And will you take another small one?)
(How´s it going Pacito?)
(Good, how have you been?)

Recording 19

This conversation took place between speakers 26 and 27 in speaker 26´s home. The setting was informal. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Speaker 26 and 27 have been friends for many years. A friend of the investigator's is an ex-tenant of speaker 27 and referred speaker 27 to the investigator. The investigator spoke to speaker 27 on the phone to make arrangements before the recording took place and speaker 27 arranged for speaker 26 to be present.

Recording 20

This conversation took place between speaker 28 and speaker 8, a husband and wife. The recording was made outside the building where speaker 28 works as a porter. The setting was informal and as no residents arrived during the recording the informality was not compromised to any great extent. No-one other than the investigator and participants were present during the recording. The investigator had initially been introduced to speaker 8 by a friend and speaker 8 then introduced the investigator to her husband speaker 28.

Excerpt from recording 20
Speaker 13 (TEM) and speaker 28 (MB)

	TEM: *Que* ***Ø hiciste*** *la comida?*	(Did **you** make the lunch?)
	MB: **Usted** por que me *buscaba a mi?*	(Why did **you** go after me?)
	TEM: *Ai por que me gusta tu forma de ser* ***tú eres*** *picaro.*	(Oh because I liked the way you are. **You are** a rogue.)
	MB: *De dondé* ***Ø viene****?*	(Where are **you coming** from now?)
	TEM: *Yo vengo de allí el trabajo, de un edificio...****usted*** *no lo* ***concoce****?*	(I´m coming from work, from a building over there...don´t **you know**?)
10	MB: *Quien esta allí?*	(Who´s there?)
	TEM: *Allí esta J..... y esta...*	(J.... is there and .....)
	MB: *ya más ropa?*	(Are there more clothes?)
	TEM: *Oiga, verdad es que no lo he llamado. Me toca llamar.. De verdad que hoy no he llamado que me ha por completo. Ayer tampoco llamé por la noche.*	(Oh that´s right, I haven´t phoned them. I must phone. The truth is I haven´t phoned today because I *pasado* completely forgot. I didn´t phone last night either.)
	MB: *llamaba Fabian*?	(Did you phone Fabian?)
20	TEM: *Si, ha Fabian lo he llamado .*	(Yes, I phoned Fabian.)
	MB: *Si? Que dijó?*	(Really? What did he say?)
	TEM: *Que saludos al papíto.*	(Greetings to Daddy.)
	MB: *Miriam no le ha llamado*?	(Have you spoken to Miriam?)
	TEM: *No, Miriam tampoco me ha llamado. No, el que me llamó fue Fabian*	(No, I haven´t phoned Miriam either. It was Fabian who phoned me.)

MB: *Pues eso le llamó usted.* (There you go, he phoned you.)
TEM: *William* (William)
MB: *Ah William ha llamado? Que dijó?* (You´ve phoned William? What did he say?)

TEM: *Que ha hecho el domingo.* ***Usted*** *que* What ***hizo*** *el domingo Día del Padre, cuenta me.* ***Tú*** *eres….* (He told me what he did on Sunday. did **you do** on Sunday. Father´s day, tell me. **You are**….)
MB: *Tomar trago* (I went for a drink.)
TEM: *Ah con razón que* ***Ø llegó*** *tarde a la casa. No, no pero no estoy preguntando. Le estoy preguntando de su borrachera. Cuanto* ***Ø tomó****?* (Ah, that´s why **you** got home late. No but I´m not asking about that. I´m asking about your drunkeness. How many did **you** have?)

MB: *Una docena.* (A dozen.)
TEM: *Una docena? Uh tan…. Si se* ***da*** *cuenta. Toca cuidarlo.* ***Tú*** *no ya le gusta que yo lo cuida.* (A dozen? Uh so ma…. Yes, **you** can see that. **You** have to be taken care of. **You** don´t like me to take care of you.)

MB: *Que dijo William?* (What did William say?)
TEM: *Que ya le ……* (That he….)
TEM: *Trae regalos. Le adivina quien. Pues pregúntame.* (He brought presents. Guess for who. Well ask me.)
MB: *Pues, las niñas.* (Sure, for the girls.)
TEM: *Cuales niñas?* (Which girls?)
MB: *De Fabian, …de William. Las niñas.* (Fabian´s …William´s girls. The girls.)
TEM: *Pero era eso como son las niñas? Si,* ***usted*** *se le olvida… me toca* (But this is it. What are the girls like? If **you** have forgotten, I´ll have to….)
MB: *No me acuerdo* (I don´t remember.)
TEM: *Oiga, ya bueno supuestamente* ***es*** *abuelo y no* ***se*** *acuerda los nombres de las nietas.* (Hey, oh yah supposedly **you** are a Grandfather and you don´t remember the names of your granddaughters.)

MB: *Si, si me acuerdo como se llama.* (Yes, yes, I remember their names.)
TEM: *Como se llama la pequeña? La que parece a* ***usted****.* (What is the little one called? The one that is supposed to look like you?)
MB: *Ya lo se. Nada que como pusieron del menor y no nos preguntaron nada.* (Yah I know. Nothing, since they named the youngest and didn´t ask us anything.)

TEM: *Cuantos años tiene* ***usted****?* (How old are **you**?)
MB: *casi 120* ***hermana****.* (Almost one hundred and twenty, sister.)

TEM: *El primero ser human que llega a 120* (The first human to get to one hundred and twenty.)

MB: q*ue más? No, los años no* ***Ø va*** *a* ***preguntar****.* (What else? No, **you´re** not going **to ask** about age.)

TEM: *No, como que no. Para saber el abuelito que ya esta olvidando todo.* (No, what do you mean, no? To know why the grandfather is forgetting everything.)

MB: *Nada los platanitos. No ha más.* (No little bananas. There aren´t any more.)

TEM: *Y mango no hay?* (And are there any mangos?)

MB: *Pero poquiticas Por lo de ya vio no hay frutas* (Very few. From what I saw there is no fruit.)

TEM: *y ahorita que va a ver? Mandarina o naranja o que* (And now what are we going to see? Mandarins or oranges or what?)

MB: *No, por allí mandarina por si acaso. Pero muy poquito.* (No, perhaps mandarins over there but very few.)

80 TEM: *Y que **va** a hacer **usted** en la finca*? (And what do **you** do on the farm?)

MB: *No pero que es eso?* (No, but what´s this?)

Recording 21

This conversation took place between speakers 29 and 30. The recording was made in speaker 29´s sister's home, which is speaker 30´s work place. The setting was informal however, the fact that the recording took place speaker 30´s place of work and that speaker 29 was her employee's sister, increased the level of formality of the conversation. As well as the investigator and the participants, speaker 29´s sister, who is also speaker 30´s employer was also present. Speaker 29 and speaker 30 are acquaintances as speaker 30 works as a housekeeper in the home of speaker 29´s sister. Speaker 29 was one of the teachers at the investigator's son's playschool and speaker 30 introduced the investigator to speaker 29.

Recording 22

This conversation took place between speakers 31 and 32 in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. Speakers 31 and 32 work together on a daily basis. A friend of the investigator's is an employee in the building and a colleague of speaker 16. Speaker 16 is an acquaintance of both speakers 31 and 32 and she discussed the recording with the participants and requested their permission before it took place. The investigator also requested the participants´ permission before the recording took place.

Recording 23

This conversation took place between speakers 33 and 34 in speaker 34´s home, which is the work place of speaker 33. The setting was informal as it was late in the evening and speaker 33 had finished work for the day. As well as the investigator and the participants, speaker 34´s wife was also present during the recording. Speaker 33 has worked as a housekeeper for speaker 34 and his wife for many years and lives in their home. Speaker 34 has been a friend of the investigator's for many years and introduced speaker 33 to the investigator. Speaker 33´s permission was requested earlier in the evening before the recording took place.

Recording 24

This conversation took place between speakers 35 and 36 in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. However, the reception is large with various porters working at the same time. Therefore, while the recording was taking place other porters and residents were present at the other end of the reception desk.

Speakers 35 and 36 work together on a daily basis. The playschool attended by the investigator's son is situated on the ground floor of the building. As a result the investigator passes through the reception twice a day and would be known by sight to the reception staff. The investigator requested the permission to do the recordings from the head administrator, who then referred speaker 36 to the investigator. The investigator directly requested Speaker 35 and 36´s permission before the recording began.

Recording 25

This conversation took place between speakers 37 and 38 in the reception area of the building in which they both work. The investigator strived to make the setting of the recording as informal as possible. However, as both participants were at work a level of formality was inevitable. In addition, whenever a resident of the building arrived the recording had to be paused. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recording. However, the reception is large with various porters working at the same time. Therefore, while the recording was taking place other porters and residents were present at the other end of the reception desk.
Speakers 37 and 38 work together on a daily basis. The playschool attended by the investigator's son is situated on the ground floor of the building. As a result the investigator passes through the reception twice a day and would be known by sight to the reception staff. The investigator requested the permission to do the recordings from the head administrator, who then referred speaker 36 to the investigator. The investigator directly requested Speaker 37 and 38´s permission before the recording began

Recording 26

This conversation took place between speakers 39 and 40, a mother and daughter.The recording was made in their shop. The setting was informal despite being their place of work. The fact that no customers entered the shop while the recording was taking place was beneficial. No-one other than the investigator and participants was present during the recordings.The local hairdresser had recommended the investigator talk to the owners of the shop located in the local community where the investigator was staying. Therefore, the investigator introduced herself to the participants as a member of the local community and mentioned that the hairdresser had suggested speaking to speakers 39 and 40. In addition, the investigator requested their permission before the recording began.

Recording 27

This conversation took place between speakers 42 and 41 a husband and wife and their two children, a girl aged 7 and a boy aged 5. The recording was made in their home. The setting of the recording was informal. The investigator was not present for the recording of this conversation. The participants agreed to record the conversation at home and return the recording to the investigator. No-one other than speakers 41, 42 and their children were present during the recording. Speaker 41 is a work colleague of the investigator's friend. This friend introduced the investigator to speaker 41. The investigator explained the procedure and requested her permission to record her and her family.

Excerpt from recording 27
Speaker 41 (GP) and speaker 42 (PQ)

PQ: (to the kids) *De que* ***Ø quieres*** *hablar Sal...? Listo, San...? Bueno, vamos hablar de que? que quieren hablar muchachos?*
(What would **you** like to talk about Sal..... Ready San...? Ok, what are we going to talk about? What do you want to talk about *De* kids?)

GP: *...con tu prima. Ah verdad, jugo con todos los primos. El fin de semana, y San..... que* ***Ø pensas****?*
(With your cousin. Ah that´s true she placed with all the cousins at the Weekend. And San...what do you think?)

PQ: Que cosas ***Ø hiciste*** luego?
San.....

PQ**:** *Y que* ***Ø jugaste****?*
(What did **you** play?)

GP: *...termino allí o jugaron otro partido.*
(Did you finish there or did you play another game?)

PB: *Pues es como eliminación sencilla, hay por sorteos escogen quienes juegan*
(Well, it´s simple elimination, there is a toss to pick who plays and who doesn´t.)

y no.

GP: *Ah, sabes lo que pasa. ...partido y si se han empatados se hacen encima de acá tiene que salir un ganador. Y este ganador va con el otro ya, finalmente después de los tres partidos hay un campeón, cierto?*
(Ah you what happens... the game and if there is a draw they do it ontop of *y* here and one has to come out the winner. And this winner goes with the other one, isn´t that right?)

PQ*: Pues tiene Buenos....de campeones..... Porque en dos horas eso suele ser como complicado*
(Well you have good..... champions... Because in two hours this tends to be kind of complicated.)

Kids .....

PQ*: En dos horas tiene que hacer los dos partidos, tres partidos. Claro, porque si es un domingo tiene solamente de 7 a 9.*
(In two hours you have to play two, games, three games. Of course, because if it´s a Sunday you only have from seven to nine.)

Kids.....

GP: *Y por que mas cortico?....eliminación?*
(And why shorter? ...elimination?)

PQ: *Si, porque, es que tiene partidos pendientes. Terminaron inscribiendo mas equipo de los que podia jugar realmente. Esto va a ser hoy hasta la..... Por que creo que los otros no han terminado.*
(Yes, because they have games. waiting More teams ended up signing up than could actually play. It´s going to be today until..... Because I don´t think the others haven´t finished.)

GP: *Y hoy cuantos jugaban*?
(And how many are playing today?)

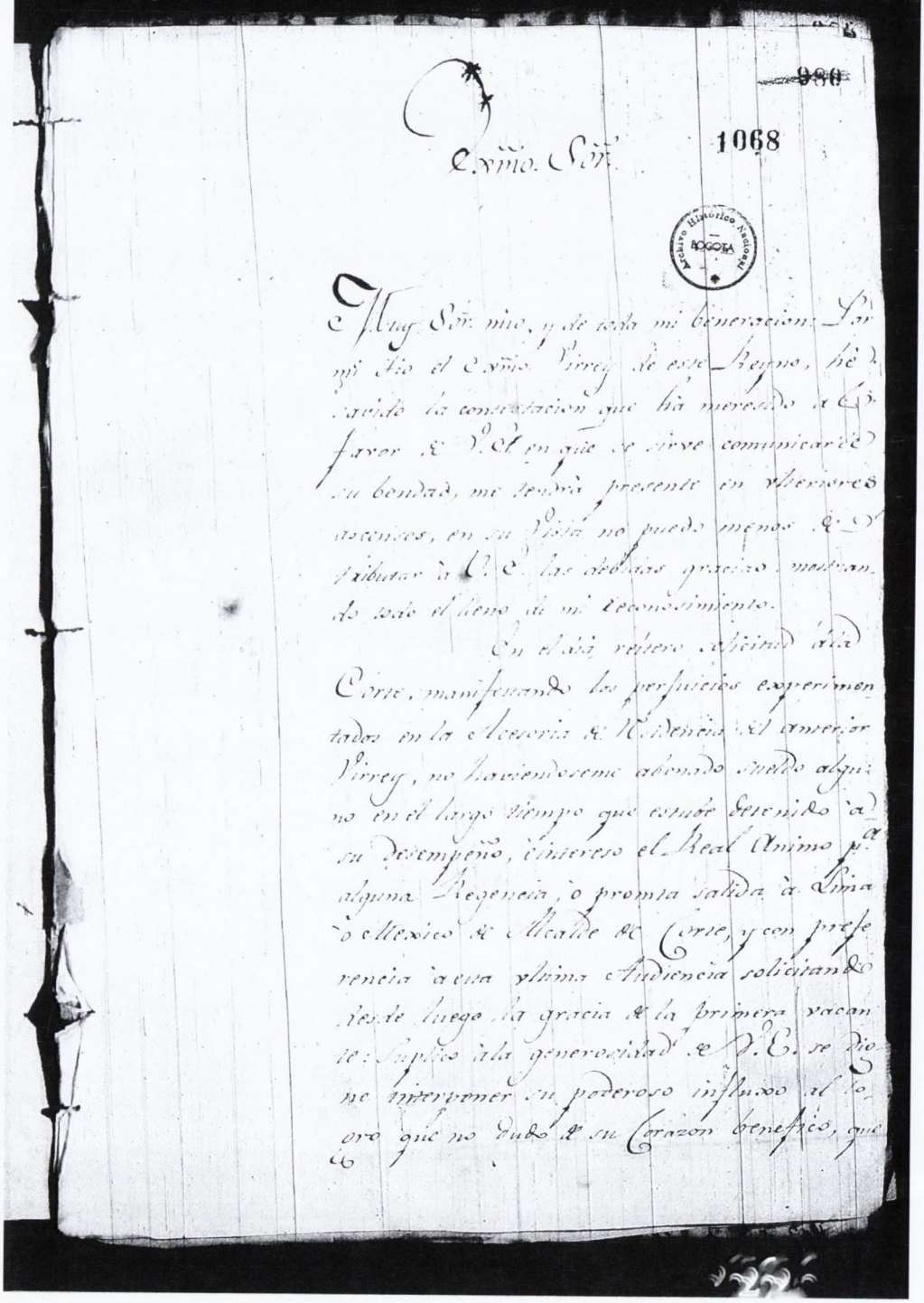
Kids.....

PQ: *Nueve....supongo que hizo tres. Allí dan como cuatro partidos.*
(Nine, I guess they´ll do it in threes. That makes four games.)

Kids.....

PQ: *Y vi uno de ....van a jugar nueve*	(And I saw one of .... They are going to play nine.)
GP: *.....de mani?*	(Of peanuts?)
PQ: *Eso venia en una ...en esto patita de tapas*	(This came in a ..... in this .....
Kids.....	
PQ: *Y que te gusto?*	(And what do you like?)
Kids.....	
PQ: *Allí que te pareció chistoso?*	(What do you think is funny there?)
Kids.....	
PQ: *El niño quito las gafas al viejito y eso te pareció chistoso*	(The child took the glasses of the old man and you thought this was funny?)
GP: *Ai Sal...., ai Sal....*	(Ah Sal....., ah Sal.....
PQ: *ya no me acuerdo el nombre del señor.*	(At the moment I don´t remember the man´s name.)
Kids	
PQ: *Carl*?	(Carl?)
PQ: *Pero del niño no me acuerdo el nombre.*	(But I don´t remember the child´s name.)
Kids.....	
PQ: *Russell? Ah. Y como llamó el pájaro.*	(Russell? Ah, and what was the bird called?)
GP: *Simpática la cosa*	(It´s a cute thing.)
PQ: *Por lo menos mejor que se van a ...de papa que el destino de un nación ...estaba como un poco creido*	(At least it´s better that they go to.... of
GP: Vale, *cual es plan ahorita entonces.*	(Ok, what is the plan now then?)
PQ: *Ahorita? Vamos a termina organizar el apartamento, vamos a salir un ratico a dar una vuelta.*	(Now? We are going to finish tidying the apartement and then we are going to go out for a while to have a walk.)
PQ:....*y allí organizamos algo de almuerzo*	(And from there we´ll organise something for lunch.)

Appendix 4a (Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 139 pp 1068 l. 6-7).



Exmo. Sor. 1068

Archivo Historico Nacional Bogotá

Mug. Sor. mio, y de toda mi Generacion. Lar
gò Sio el Exmo Virrey de este Reyno, he
cabido la consolacion que hà merecido a V.E.
favor. E. V.E. en que se sirve comunicarle
su bondad, me tendrà presente en ulteriores
ascensos, en su Vista no puedo menos. q. V.E.
tributar à V.E. las debidas gracias mostran
do todo el Empeño de mi Reconocimiento.

En el Año retuve Orden
Corte, manifestando los perjuicios experimen
tados en la Tesoreria de Cartagena el anterior
Virrey, no haviendoseme abonado cosa algu
no en el largo tiempo que estuve detenido a
su desempeño, ynteresso el Real Animo p.a
alguna Regencia, ò pronta salida à Lima
ò Mexico de Alcalde de Corte, y con pref
rencia à esa ultima Audiencia solicitando
desde luego la gracia de la primera vacan
te: Suplico à la generosidad de V.E. se dig
ne interponer su poderoso influxo al lo
ro que no dudo de su Corazon benefico, que

Appendix 4b

Transcription of Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 139 pp 1068 l. 6-7

Estimado Señor

Muy señor mío y de todas mis beneraciones Por mi tío el estimado Virrey de este Reyno he savido la contestación que ha merecido al favor de V.D. en que se sirve comunicarle su bondad, me tendrá presente en inferiores ascensos en su vista no puedo menos que tributar a V.D. las debidas gracias mostrando todo el lleno de mi reconocimiento.

En el dia retiero solicitud a la Corte manifestando los perjuicios exprimen todos e la Acesoría y ...del anterior Virrey, no haviéndoseme abondado suelto alguno en el largo tiempo que estuve devenido s su desempeño intereso el Real Animo y a alguna Regenera o promesa salida a Lima o México el Alcalde el Corte y con preferencia a essa misma Audiencia solicitando desde luego la gracia de la primera vacante: Suplico á la generosidad de V.E. se dígase interponer su poderoso influxo a logro que no dudo de su corazón benefico que me manifiestan interesarse en mi carrera por cuya favorable disposición me como la Liberad y intimarle mi mecanas y protector.

Esteemed Sir

My dear sir and all my devotion for my uncle the esteemed Viceroy of this Kingdom I have known the answer that has deserved in favor of V.D. which is served to communicate your kindness, you will have me present in inferior ascents in your view I can do no less than to give to V.D. the deserved thanks showing all the full of my recognition.

In the day I reiterate the request to the Court declaring the damages squeeze all and the Advisor and ...of the previous Virrey, not having credited loose some in the long time that was occurred s its performance I interest the Royal one I Encourage and to some Regenerates or promise exit to File or Mexico the Mayor of the court and with preference to that same Audience requesting of course the grace of the first vacancy: I entreat á the generosity of V.D. is been told to interpose their powerful influence to achievement that do not doubt of their beneficial heart that declare me to be interested in my career by whose favorable disposition me as you Free it and to suggest him my Meccan and protective one.

Appendix5a Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 130 pp 1094 l. 7-10). 282

Appendix 5b

Transcription of Colonia, Miscelánea, Roll 130 pp 1094 l. 7-10

Maracaibo 22 de febrero 1807

Sr Manuel Martínez Mansilla

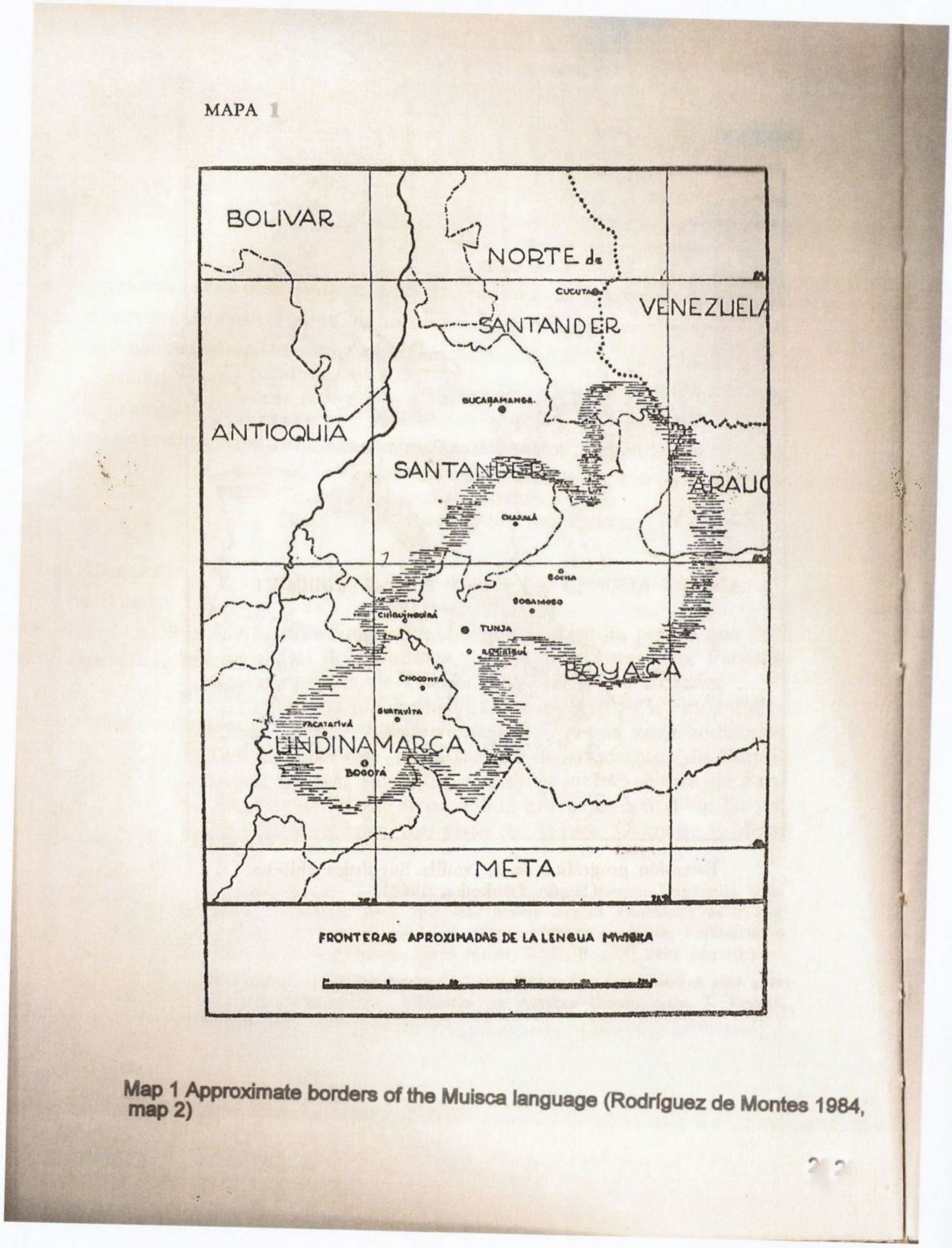
Mi muy estimado compadre:

Con la de V de 22 del ...he tengo el gusto que ya .... de saber de su regreso a esa Captial y pues le ha sido tan satisfactorio este paseo según me comunica en su citada, lo he celebrado muy mucho es regular que refrigerado V con estos de la vida continúa gozando de la perfecta salud que le aprecio, en compañía de mi señora Doña Juana y mi querida Manuelita a quienes saludan afectuosamente mi mujer y sus hijas que por lo que no podre acaso saber cosa alguna de los amigos Correa y Gómez, los quales ... impondrán a VM de las que ocurren de hallarse los ingleses haciendo de Gente ... invadan ir a la Costa Firme.

My very esteemed compatriot:

With you on 22 of... I have the pleasure of already... of knowing of your return to this capital and according to the communication in your citation, this trip was very satisfactory for you, I have celebrate very much. It is normal refreshed with this life you continue enjoying perfect health with you appreciate. In the company of my wife Mrs Juana and my darling Manuelita who lovingly send their best wishes, my wife and her daughters who can not know anything about from the friends Correa and Gómez,, who... impose on Your Majesty about that which occured after leaving the English Hacienda of the People. They invaded to get to la Costa Firme.

MAPS



Map 1 Approximate borders of the Muisca language (Rodríguez de Montes 1984, map 2)

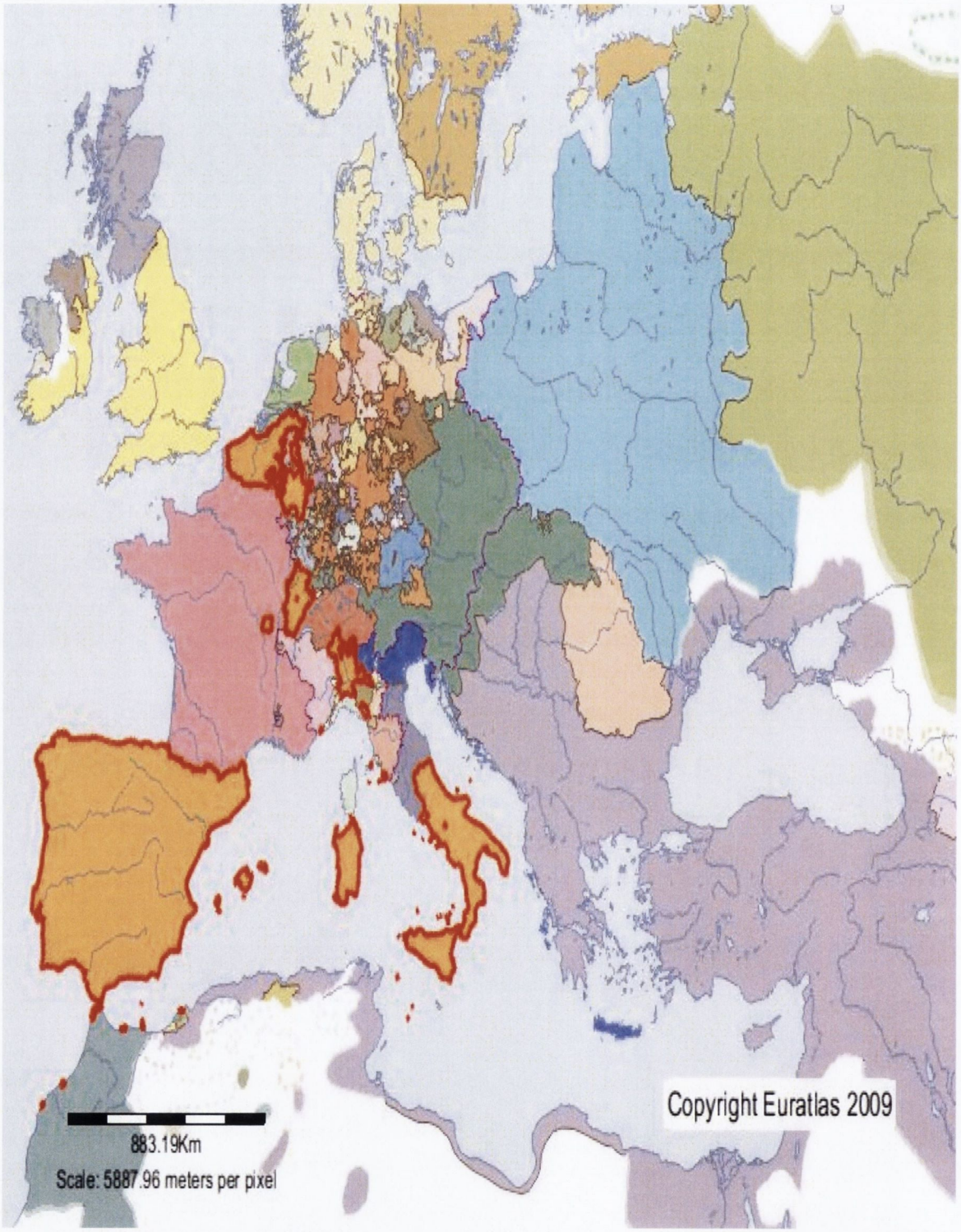
MAPA 2



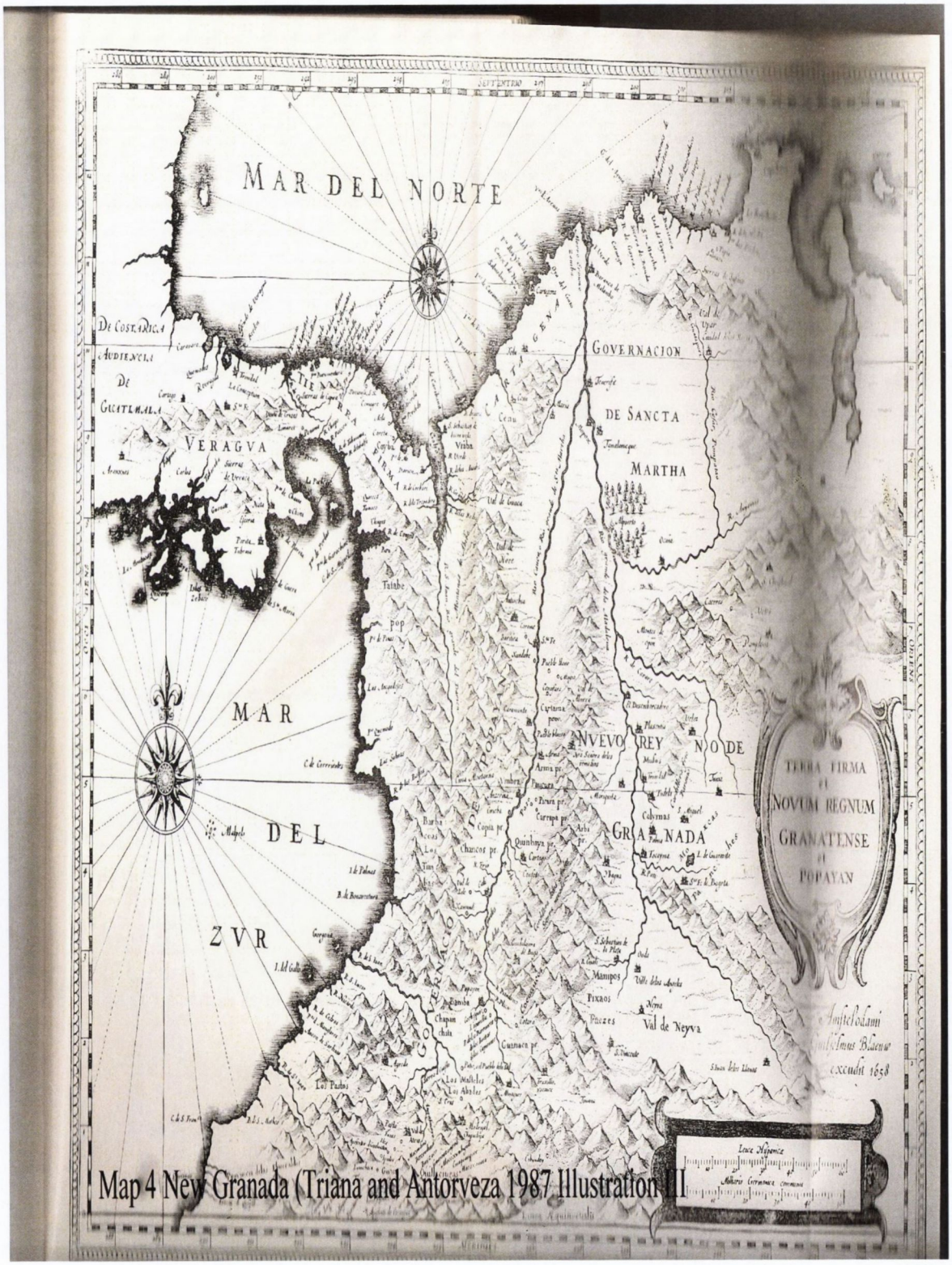
Extensión geográfica de la familia lingüística chibcha.
(Según Loukotka, 1968).

Map 2 Geographical extension of the Chibcha linguistic family (according to Loukotak 1968 cited in Rodríguez de Montes 1984, Map1).

2



Map 3 Spanish territories in Europe in 1600



Map 4 New Granada (Triana and Antorveza 1987 Illustration II



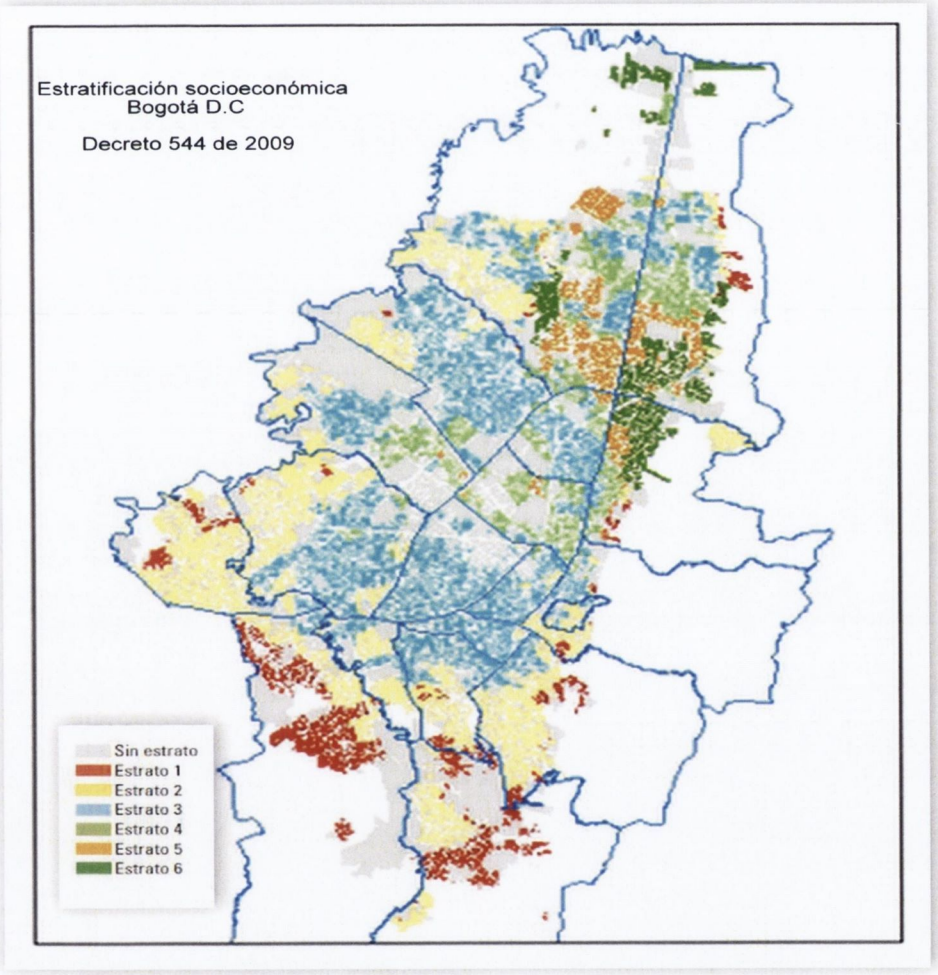
Map 5 Regions of Spain in 1600



Map: Map of Departments of Colombia (http://www.colombiantravelservices.com/maps.php)

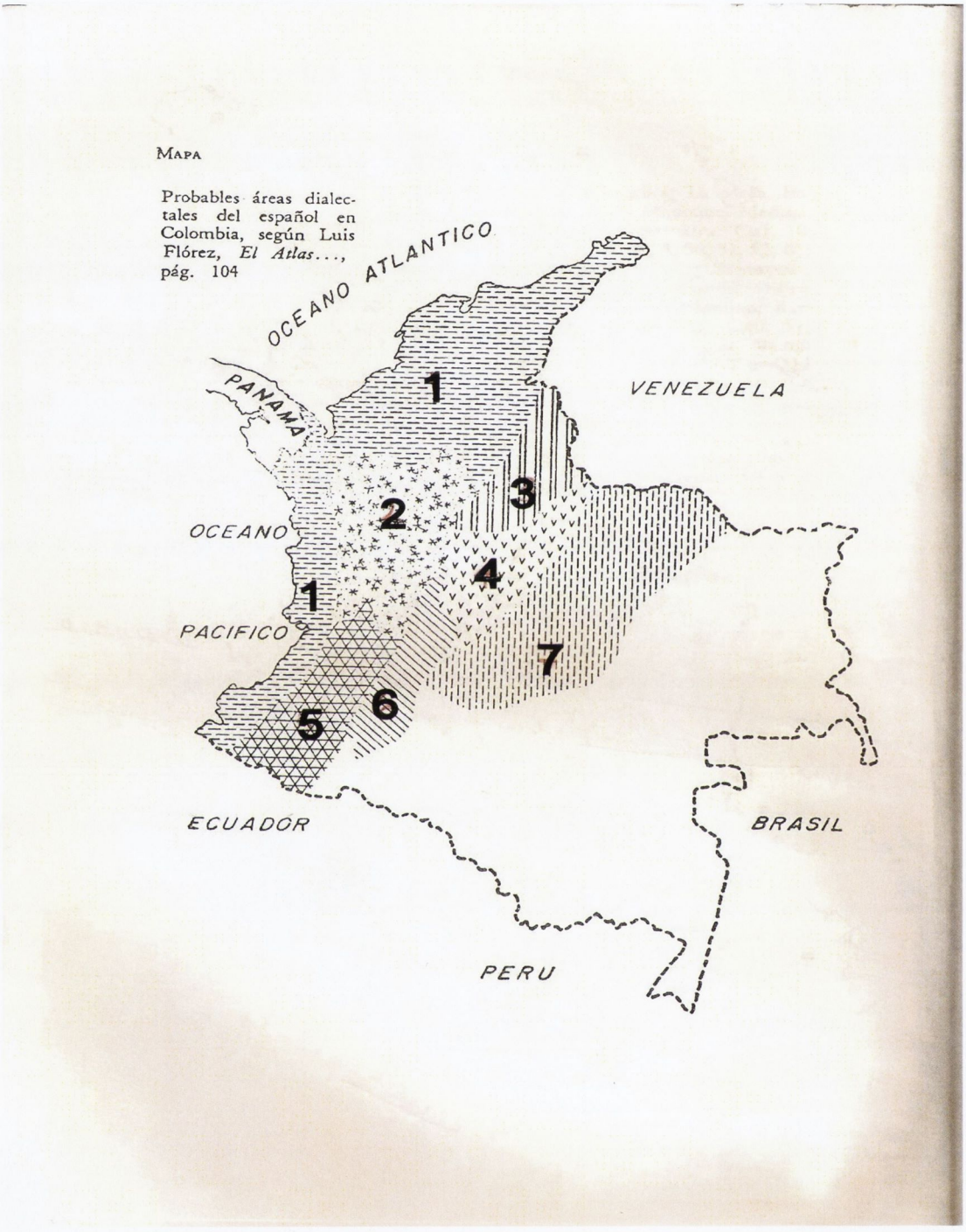

78°
74°
70°
12°
8°
4°
0°
N
Caribbean Sea
Santa Marta
Ríohacha
Barranquilla
Cartagena
Valledupar
Caracas
Magdalena R
Panama
Sincelejo
Panama City
Montería
Venezuela
Cúcuta
Arauca R
Atrato R
Bucaramanga
Arauca
Cauca R
Orinoco R
Medellín
Puerto Carreño
Pacific Ocean
Quibdó
Tunja
Meta R
Manizales
Yopal
Pereira
Armenia
Bogotá
Ibagué
Villavicencio
Guaviare R
Cali
Magdalena R
Neiva
Popayán
San José del Guaviare
San Felipe
Florencia
Vaupés R
Mitú
Guainía R
Pasto
Mocoa
Colombia
Negro R
Quito
Caquetá R
Brazil
Ecuador
Putumayo R
0 200 km
0 100 mi
Amazon R
Amazon R
Peru
Leticia
Javari R
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Map 7 Map of Colombia
(http://www.colombiantravelservices.com/images/maps_colombia.gif)



Map 8 Stratification of Bogotá

http://www.sdp.gov.co/portal/page/portal/PortalSDP/Informaci%F3nTomaDecisiones/Estratificaci%F3n%20Socioecon%F3mica/Mapas



Map 9 Dialectal groups of Colombia