

THE SOCIAL INDEXICALITY OF FORMS OF ADDRESS *TÚ* AND *USTED*  
IN BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

by

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## ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study examines the indexical meanings of forms of address *tú* and *usted* in the speech of Bogotá, Colombia; the social and linguistic factors that influence their meaning and use; the preferences in address of different social groups found in this city; and the implications of using either form in conversation. 78 individuals from different socioeconomic and generational groups participated in this study through a sociolinguistic interview, a questionnaire, and more than 40 hours of video recording of spontaneous conversations mostly in the home context. Findings of this study were analyzed from the perspective of the concepts of indexicality, language and social identity, language attitudes and language ideologies, and the precepts of the Communication Accommodation Theory.

Among other aspects, findings of this study indicate that in Bogota *tú* and *usted* have a multiplicity of social meanings which in great part depend on the characteristics that make up the social identity of interlocutors and the context at hand. The findings also indicate that a variety of social and linguistic/situational factors influence the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*, and that using either form in conversation can have meaningful effects in the development of dialogue. Consequently, individuals use *tú* and *usted* in strategic ways, indexing their agency and intentionality. The current study highlights the fact that in Bogotá the meaning and use of *tú* and *usted* can be co-constructed and negotiated in dialogue; and most important, that through their use individuals depict a series of social perspectives and affiliations. The current investigation advocates for the inclusion of a more comprehensive address in the classroom in which not only the form *tú* is presented given the benefits that more variation can represent in real-life situations.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

DIM	diminutive
FORM	formal
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
INFR	informal
INT	interrogative
IOP	indirect object pronoun
PL	plural
POSS	Possessive
PRS	present
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
T	<i>tú</i> form
V	<i>usted</i> form
+	plus sign

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Rationale

Traditionally, Spanish forms of address *tú* and *usted* have been assigned fixed meanings and uses that many times people consider applicable to all Spanish varieties. *Tú* has been regarded as informal and intimate while *usted* as formal and distant. From this perspective, individuals use *tú* to address those with whom they have closeness and familiarity such as family members, friends, classmates, colleagues from work in informal situations, and children. On the other hand, *usted* is used to address those to whom we need to show deference or distance such as strangers, one's boss, colleagues in formal situations, police officers and judges. However, speakers from some Spanish varieties may not follow these rules in a strict way. Fitch (1998) affirms that "The personal address that exists, and the patterns and meanings of their uses are culture specific: they reflect communal understandings of the aspects of personhood that are important enough to draw attention in a particular social structure" (p. 34). In fact, forms of address *tú* and *usted* seem to be used somewhat differently in Bogotá in comparison to other Spanish varieties (Pagel, 1990; Uber, 2011). In this city, a greater variety of linguistic and social aspects clearly seem to influence the use of these forms, so applying the previously described "rule of thumb" when analyzing and/or using *tú* and *usted* in the context of Bogotá could result in misunderstanding or discomfort. This problematic situation has motivated me to investigate the meaning and actual use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* by individuals from this South American city.

## **1.2 Purpose of the Study**

This investigation is an ethnographic study that combines elements from the areas of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and dialectology. It looks in detail at how individuals from Bogotá, Colombia use Spanish forms of address *tú* and *usted* in oral interactions occurring mainly in the home context of several families from different socioeconomic backgrounds. The home context is a setting in which different types of topics are discussed and in which formality and intimacy can play a role in the conversations. Specifically, this project aims at determining the indexical (social) meanings that these forms have in the Spanish spoken in Bogotá, the linguistic and social aspects that influence their use, the preferences in address among individuals in this city, and the implications of their use in dialogue.

## **1.3. Research Questions**

The following questions guided the current investigation:

1. What indexical meanings do individuals in Bogotá associate with the forms of address *tú* and *usted*?
2. What are the social and linguistic factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted* in conversation?
3. What is the preferred form of address of each participating social group?
4. What implications can the use of one form over another have in the development of dialogue?

## **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This study contributes to the current literature on forms of address of the Spanish language and more specifically of the Spanish variety spoken in Bogotá, Colombia. Its significance lies in the fact that few studies about the address system of Bogotá are current and

most of them gathered their data only from questionnaires and interviews, in this way ignoring what can be considered the most crucial aspect when studying the linguistic behavior of a speech community: observing its members engaged in actual language use. Also, no investigation has focused on the family context, one which greatly influences language development and socialization (Hoff, 2006; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). In addition, in most studies on forms of address in Bogotá, individuals from the lower classes have been excluded or have been underrepresented. Instead of just focusing on middle-class individuals (as most studies do), this investigation includes a heterogeneous sample population that is representative of most socio-economic groups found in this city.

In addition to providing an update of prior research on forms of address as used in Bogotá, this study also informs broader fields such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology about the cultural and social perspectives that are embedded in certain uses of forms of address by individuals from Bogotá. By analyzing the participants' use of *tú* and *usted* as well as by determining and discussing in detail the linguistic and social aspects that condition the use of such forms, this study reports on broader current social and cultural perspectives of Colombian society, and more specifically, on those of individuals living in Bogotá. Hammel, Kluge, and Vasquez Laslop (2010) state that among all linguistic signs, forms of address are the most closely related to the cultural behavior of a society and to the attitudes toward others. In addition, "address practices are shown to be an index of one's connections to relevant others as much as, or more than, a marker of individual identity" (Fitch, 1998, p. 10).

## **1.5. Chapter Overview**

Following this chapter, Chapter 2 presents the literature that represents the foundations of this study. It starts with a detailed description of the historical development of Spanish forms of

address with an emphasis on the second person singular and plural forms. This description begins to demonstrate the influence of people's attitudes toward the meaning, use and development of forms of address. Following that section, we find the modern address system of Spanish through Fontanella de Weinberg's (1999) pronominal system division, which clearly shows that Spanish does not have a unitary pronominal system for the second person. Being aware of the existence of a variety of systems is crucial to understand the multiplicity of social meanings that forms of address can have in the different dialects of Spanish. The next section describes the variety of dialects found in Colombian Spanish along with the corresponding forms of address used in each of them. This section points out the encounter of different dialectal varieties in the city of Bogotá, a crucial factor to understand the use given to forms *tú* and *usted* by the participants of this study.

After a general description of the address system in modern Spanish in the different dialectal zones of both the Spanish world and Colombia in particular, this chapter discusses the theoretical precepts of the Theory of Power and Solidarity proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960). This theory has been the most used one to describe the meanings and uses of *tú* and *usted* in Spanish in general, but the current investigation finds it unsuitable for the descriptions of the address of Bogotá because of the rigid characterization that it provides to forms *tú* and *usted*. The next section discusses previous studies on the forms of address *tú* and *usted* carried out in Bogotá or in other locations that included individuals from this city. This section discusses the aspects that have traditionally conditioned the use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá. Both positive and problematic aspects of these studies were taken into consideration in the elaboration of the current investigation.

The next section of Chapter 2 discusses speaker intentionality, an aspect of influence which has been ignored or superficially addressed in previous studies. This section describes the different types of speech acts, which later on will be associated with specific uses of forms of address. Next, we find the non-prototypical uses of forms of address as well as the parameters that individuals use to avoid their use. Finally, Chapter 2 discusses the theories and concepts through which the data in the current investigation were analyzed: indexicality, Communication Accommodation Theory, language and social identity, language attitudes and language ideologies.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used for data collection and analysis. This chapter explains each of the research questions as well as provides a complete rationale for each of them. It then reports on the participants, the contexts in which data were collected, and the instruments used. The first instrument presented is the interview with its different sections and their purpose in the current investigation. The chapter also explains how the interview was carried out and how it contributed to answering the research questions. This chapter then describes the questionnaire, linking it with the appropriate research questions. The last data source described in this chapter is the video and/or audio-taped spontaneous conversations. The description includes how, when, how often, and how much naturalistic data was collected, as well as how this data helped with answering the research questions. The next section of this chapter describes how the data gathered through each instrument were analyzed. It explains the codification and process of analysis and provides an example of how the naturalistic data was coded for the aspect of affect. This chapter also explains in detail the steps taken to answering the research questions, the contribution of each of the instruments in answering these questions and how the conceptual framework contributed to explaining these answers. Finally, Chapter 3, briefly discusses the

methodology, conceptual framework, and results of a pilot study, which influenced and guided the development of the present investigation.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of this ethnographic investigation. It starts with the results obtained with the interview, then it continues with the questionnaire, and finally it presents the results obtained through the analysis of the naturalistic data (video and/or audio-recorded situations). The findings of the first two instruments are presented in the following manner:

1. results with respect to all participants
2. results with respect to men and women
3. results with respect to the different socioeconomic groups
4. results with respect to the different generational groups.

Results obtained with the naturalistic data (video/audio situations) are presented differently. First, the findings of the naturalistic data are presented by socioeconomic groups (social classes), highlighting the most characteristic behavior with respect to the address given and received by participants. Here, the address of men and women as well as that of the different generational groups are discussed. This section also presents the social and linguistic factors that seem to have exerted any influence on how these individuals address one another.

In the next section, Chapter 4 presents a series of common features of the address of participants from all social classes that were observed in the spontaneous conversations. It starts with a comparison of the address of children and young people with the address of most adults. A part of this comparison is the use of *sumercé*, an address that is typical of some adults but apparently rejected by the youngest participants given their reactions to it. The next feature discussed is the influence that affect has on a person's address. Through several examples, this section describes how people in Bogotá alternate their form of address in order to show a series

of attitudinal reactions to others' words or actions. This section demonstrates that the address in Bogotá far from being static changes with people's feelings and attitudes. This section also presents a series of linguistic features of most participants that fill in the absence of the form *tú* and aid in the expression of closeness, affection and familiarity. The next part of this section presents several non-prototypical uses of forms of address observed in this study, which are central to this investigation given the fact that they are not taken into in consideration previous investigations. The next part presents the address that people from different social groups give to members of certain occupations and includes an example of the use of address forms by a participant as she interacts with a taxi driver.

The next section illustrates the address that a lower-middle-class family had at their sewing and alterations shop. This section exemplifies not only the way members of the family address each other, but also demonstrates the address used in prayer. Finally, Chapter 4 presents the intricacies of the address of a group of adult friends through a detailed situation that highlights the alternation of address forms and the reasons behind such alternation.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of this investigation. It starts with the answers to the research questions, integrating the main results of the interview, questionnaire, and video situations. These general findings as well as other important social and linguistic aspects reflected in the use of address forms by the participants are analyzed with the theoretical precepts of indexicality, the Communication Accommodation Theory, the Language and Social Identity Theory, and with the literature related to the concepts of language attitudes and language ideologies. This chapter also compares its findings with those of previous investigations, in this way contributing to the understanding of forms of address of the Spanish language in general,

and more specific with the meaning and use of these linguistic signs in the Spanish spoken in the city of Bogotá.

Chapter 6 concludes the present investigation by presenting and discussing the main claims of this study, its pedagogical implications, its limitations, and the possible topics for future investigations related to the use of address forms in the context of Bogotá.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Historical Development of Spanish Forms of Address

To discuss the historical development of Spanish forms of address, it is necessary to start at the time in which Latin was spoken in the Iberian Peninsula and started to shape what is now called the Spanish language. As detailed by Núñez-Méndez (2012), Latin only had pronouns for the first and second person: EGŌ which later became the Spanish *yo* ‘I’; TŪ, which originated *tú* ‘you (singular)’; NŌS, which later transformed into the Spanish *nosotros* ‘we’; and VOS, which later became *vosotros* ‘you (plural)’. The Latin demonstratives IS, HIC, ISTE, ILLE were used to refer to the third person singular, from which ILLE prevailed and derived in the Spanish third person. In their development, personal pronouns lost their stress when they were not the subject or were not followed by a preposition. The presence or loss of the accentuation classified the pronouns as tonic or atonic. Table 1 shows this classification.

Table 1

*The Latin Origen of Pronouns (Núñez-Méndez, 2012)*

Tonic forms		Atonic forms	
Subject	After preposition	Direct object	Indirect object
EGŌ > yo	MIHĪ > mí	MĒ > me	MĒ > me
TŪ > tú	TIBĪ > ti	TE > te	TĒ > te
ĪLLE > él	ĪLLE > él	ĪLLUM > lo	ĪLLĪ > le
ĪLLA > ella	ĪLLA > ella	ĪLLAM > la	ĪLLĪ > le
ĪLLUD > ello	ĪLLUD > ello	ĪLLUD > lo	ĪLLĪ > le
NŌS > nos(otros)	NŌS > nos(otros)	NŌS > nos	NŌS > nos
VŌS > vos(otros)	VŌS > vos(otros)	VŌS > (v)os	VŌS > (v)os
ĪLLŌS > ellos	ĪLLŌS > ellos	ĪLLŌS > los	ĪLLĪS > les
ĪLLĀS > ellas	ĪLLĀS > ellas	ĪLLĀS > las	ĪLLĪS > les
-	SIBĪ > sí	SĒ > se	SĒ > se

For the second person, Latin used TŪ in the singular, VŌS in the plural, and there was no specific pronoun to express deference. However, during late Latin, VOS started to be used to express deference in the singular without losing its plural value (Núñez-Méndez, 2012). Penny (2006) affirms that VOS started to be used to address the emperor, and later on, this form of address was extended to other public officials to whom people needed to show deference. These two forms were preserved in Medieval Spanish accentuating their distinction: *tú* to denote solidarity and closeness while *vos* was used to express deference and also to express plural. In tables 2 and 3, we can see the pronouns found in Latin and in Medieval Spanish respectively.

Table 2

*Latin Pronouns for the Second Person Singular and Plural*

	Solidarity/Closeness	Deference/Respect
Singular		∅
Plural	VŌS	∅

Table 3

*Medieval Spanish Pronouns for the Second Person Singular and Plural*

	Solidarity/Closeness	Deference/Respect
Singular	Tú	Vos
Plural	Vos	Vos

The use of *vos* in the singular increased among people to a point at which it lost its value of deference (Núñez-Méndez, 2012). *Vos* lost this value as it started to be associated with the address of lower social classes. In the 15th century, *Vos* was acceptable in top-down address, but when it was bottom-up, it could be taken as an insult. This change of value created the need to originate a new form of address to denote deference/respect. It is then, according to Núñez-Méndez, that the form *vuestra merced* appears and later on derives into the forms *vuesa merced*

> *vuesarced* > *voacé* > *vucé* > *vusted*, and finally *usted*. The plural *vos*, influenced by the appearance of *vuestra merced*, added *otros* in order to become *vosotros*, and finally, by analogy *nos* became *nosotros*. Table 4 shows the forms of address used in the early 16th century.

Tabla 4

*Forms of Address Used in the Early 16th Century*

	Solidarity/Closeness	Deference/Respect
Singular	Tú, Vos	Vuestra Merced
Plural	Vosotros	Vuestras Mercedes

According to Resnick and Hammond (2011), the appearance of *usted* in the 17th century and the stigmatization of *vos* eradicated this last form from Spain in the 18th century. However, *vos* had a totally different fate in the New World, where it became the unmarked form for many social contexts. There, *vos* was used to address family members, individuals with a lower power hierarchy in the rural areas and was also the form used among soldiers. *Vos* was also used by conquistadors to address the indigenous people whom Spaniards considered inferior. Fernández (2003) also discusses the preservation of *vos* in Spanish America, not with the connotations with which it was associated at the beginning of the colonization, but as a pronoun that denotes familiarity and solidarity and as more or less equivalent to the *tú* form. In the Spanish America, add Resnick and Hammond, forms of address *tú* and *vos* were simplified favoring one form or the other depending on the geographical location. In the Viceroyalty of New Spain and other areas that had a strong link with Spain, *tú* prevailed. Nowadays only three countries portray an almost exclusive use of the address with *tú*: The Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Cuba. In more distant areas where the contact with Spain was less intense *vos* was favored (Penny, 2006).

*Vos* prevailed in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, as well as in most Central American nations. There are also several countries where both forms (*tú* and *vos*) remained, but with a complex sociolinguistic distribution. Examples of such countries include Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, and Bolivia (Resnick & Hammond, 2011).

## 2.2. Second Person Forms of Address of Modern Spanish

Modern Spanish has a variety of address forms both for the second person singular and the second person plural. The forms used in the second person singular include *tú*, *vos*, and *usted*. Lipski (1994) reported on the existence of a fourth form, *su merced*, which is used in the central highlands of Colombia and in some sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic. On the other hand, the forms used for the second person plural are *ustedes* and *vosotros*. However, it is important to note that not all forms of address are used in all Spanish-speaking countries, as different dialects of Spanish have their own inventory of these forms. In addition, the social meanings associated with each form as well as its use change according to the region of reference. Following Fontanella de Weinberg (1999), we speak not of one common address system, but of four pronominal systems that are found in the Spanish language. System I, found in Peninsular Spanish, is made of four forms distributed symmetrically. This pronominal system is the only one that retains the difference in respect and politeness in the plural. System I is represented in Table 5.

Table 5

*Pronominal System I. Peninsular Spanish (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999)*

	Solidarity/ Familiarity / Intimacy/Closeness	Formality/Politeness/Power/Social distance
Singular	Tú	Usted
Plural	Vosotros (as)	Ustedes

Table 5 shows that *tú* is the preferred form in most of Spain to denote solidarity and or familiarity. *Tú* is also used in situations or relations marked by intimacy or closeness such as when addressing family and friends. In this system, *vosotros* is the equivalent of *tú* in the plural. On the other hand, *usted* is the form used in the singular to express formality, politeness or social distance. It can be used to address those to whom one needs to show deference such as older individuals and supervisors. The equivalent of *usted* in the plural is *ustedes*. System I is common in most of Spain, except for some parts of Andalusia and the Canary Islands, where System II is more common.

System II is used in the *América tuteante*, which corresponds to those territories of Spanish America where *tú* is the only form used to express solidarity or closeness, or where it has great preponderance over the form *vos*. System II is present in those areas of America that were most linked to Spain during the colony such as the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, most of Mexico and the center and north of Peru, especially in the coastal areas which are greatly influenced by the capital. This system is also found in Peninsular Spanish in some parts of Andalusia, Córdoba, Jaén and Granada, and it is generalized in the Canary Islands. System II differs from system I in that the former uses only *ustedes* in the plural. In fact, one of the most distinct differentiating features between Peninsular and Latin American Spanish is the presence and/or absence of the form *vosotros*. Table 6 shows the pronouns of address used in system II.

Table 6

*Pronominal System II. América Tuteante (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999)*

	Solidarity/ familiarity / intimacy/closeness	Formality/Politeness/Power/Social distance
Singular	Tú	Usted
Plural	Ustedes	Ustedes

System III, states Fontanella de Weinberg (1999), is the most widespread in the American regions in which both *tú* and *vos* co-exist; however, there is a general preference for the form *tú* in the higher social classes and for *vos* in the lower classes and in informal styles. This system includes Chile, a great part of Bolivia, southern Peru, part of Ecuador and Colombia, western Venezuela, the border region between Panama and Costa Rica, and the Mexican state of Chiapas. Also, in Uruguay, states Fontanella de Weinberg, one can find three levels of formality: *vos* used in intimate contexts, *tú* used to express certain closeness and solidarity and *usted* to express formality.

The competition between *tú* and *vos*, which according to Fernández (2003) is being won by *vos*, generates *voseo mixto* ‘mixed voseo’. In this type of *voseo*, the pronoun *tú* is used with the verbal form of *vos* (e.g., *tú tenés* ‘you have’), which can be found in Uruguay, or the verbal form of *tú* with the pronoun *vos* (e.g., *vos tienes* ‘you have’), found in different Andean areas such as Bolivia and northwest Argentina. Regarding the social value of *vos*, Lipski (1994) states that with the clear exception of Argentina, in most nations where *vos* is present, it suffers sociolinguistic stratification; therefore, generating attitudes in areas such as education in which this form is discouraged while *tú* and *usted* are favored. Table 7 shows pronominal System III.

Table 7

*Pronominal System III. América Voseante/Tuteante (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999)*

	Solidarity/ Familiarity / Intimacy/Closeness	Formality/Politeness/Power/Social distance
Singular	Tú ~Vos	Usted
Plural	Ustedes	Ustedes

System IV is the system used in Argentina, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Paraguay. It is also highly used in El Salvador and Honduras, but individuals from the higher

social classes in these countries can alternate between *vos* and *tú*. Table 8 illustrates pronominal system IV.

Table 8

*Pronominal System IV. América Voseante (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999)*

	Solidarity/ familiarity / intimacy/closeness	Formality/politeness/power/social distance
Singular	Vos	Usted
Plural	Ustedes	Ustedes

In addition to the forms *tú*, *vos* and *usted*, Lipski (1994) mentioned the presence of the form of address *su merced* (literally translated as ‘your grace’) in certain areas of Colombia and the Dominican Republic. This form of address, which is considered an archaic form in most Spanish varieties, has undergone major changes in its social meaning in the areas where it still exists. In Colombia, *su merced* is apocopated and used as *sumercé*. It is used in the Eastern Andean region in the provinces of Cundinamarca and Boyacá. In Bogotá, reported Lipski, *sumercé* coexists with *tú*, *vos* and *usted*. In these regions of Colombia, *sumercé* denotes endearment and solidarity at the family level, but it can also be used by vendors at the market place who in return get the *usted* form. In the Dominican Republic, adds Lipski, *su merced* is used in rural regions, especially in sugar plantations called ‘bateyes’ to denote a combination of respect and affection.

It is crucial to highlight that the generalized description of *tú* as a form that denotes solidarity or intimacy and of *usted* as a form that denotes formality, power or social distance can be problematic in certain Spanish varieties of Spanish. Fernández (2003) refers to the existence of an *usted* that has the value of familiarity and/or intimacy. This *usted* to express intimacy or

familiarity among family and friends is found, according to Fernández, in Colombia, some areas of Venezuela, Costa Rica and Honduras.

Lastly, another system of its own is the one found in the Spanish of the U.S. The meaning and use of address form in this country are influenced by an interplay of aspects such as the variety of dialects that come into contact and the diverse levels of proficiency of its speakers, particularly of those referred as heritage speakers.<sup>1</sup> Also, according to Hummel (2010), English favors an already existent explicit use of the pronoun of address (characteristic of the Spanish Antilles) and at the same time reinforces what he considers a tendency of Spanish to have a unitary system in which the form of solidarity (*tú* or *vos*) prevails and in which *usted* is delimited to specific settings such as the church context, as evidenced by Sigüenza-Ortiz (1996); or the address among *compadres* ‘buddies’, as exposed by Jaramillo (1990). In fact, Fairclough (2016) highlights the fact that many heritage speakers only have a receptive knowledge of the form *usted*, and therefore, they use *tú* even in contexts in which speakers of other varieties would use *usted*. Another reason for the preponderance of *tú* in U.S. Spanish, according to Hernández (2002), is the greater number of immigrants from places where this form is dominant (e.g. Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico). As a consequence of this contact between dialects, the address system of the majority ends up influencing the system of other immigrants such as those who come from nations characterized by the frequent use of *vos*.

In summary, Spanish speakers have a variety of address forms for the second person at their disposal. However, it is important to keep in mind that each Spanish dialect includes its own number of these forms and that their uses and meanings depend on the dialect of reference.

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<sup>1</sup> Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinski (2013) define heritage speakers as “asymmetrical bilinguals who learned language X – the ‘heritage language’ – as an L1 in childhood, but who, as adults, are dominant in a different language” (p. 260).

### 2.3. Colombian Spanish

Colombian Spanish is characterized by its rich dialectal variation. Montes Giraldo's (1982) dialectal classification indicates that in Colombia there are two macro-dialects: *Costeño* and *Andino* or *Central*. The *Costeño* dialect is divided into *Costeño-Caribe* and *Costeño-Pacífico*. These two are differentiated by the preference for *tú* in the Caribe dialect and *vos* in the Pacific dialect. The *Andino*-macro dialect is divided into *Oriental* (Eastern) and *Occidental* (Western) dialects. A further division into subdialects follows:

*Costeño-Caribe: Cartagenero, Samario, Guajiro, Caribe interior.*

*Costeño-Pacífico: Septentrional and Meridional.*

*Andino Oriental: Tolimense-Huilense, Cundiboyacense and Santandereano.*

*Andino-Occidental: Antioqueño-Caldense and Nariño-Caucano.*

This division can be summarized in table 9.

Table 9

*Colombian Dialectal Division According to Montes Giraldo (1982)*

Super Dialects	Dialects	Subdialects
Costeño	Costeño-Caribe	Cartagenero Samario Guajiro Caribe interior
	Costeño-Pacífico	Septentrional Meridional
Andino or Central	Andino-Oriental	Tolimense-Huilense Cundiboyacense Santandereano
	Andino-Occidental	Antioqueño-Caldense Nariñense-Caucano

**2.3.1. Forms of address of Colombian Spanish.** According to Lipski (1994), the most noticeable variable of Colombian Spanish is the selection of personal pronouns and their corresponding verb endings. In addition to *tú*, *vos* and *usted*, Colombian Spanish includes the form of address *sumercé*. Lipski reports how Colombians in the central regions prefer the use of *usted* to address others even when their interlocutors are individuals with whom they have intimate relationships. Therefore, a mutual use of *usted* is common in these regions in interactions between spouses, parents and children, and among friends. The same happens in provinces of the eastern regions where people use *usted* almost exclusively, especially in the rural areas. The Pacific area, located in the western territory of the country, is characterized by a variation between *tú*, *vos* and *usted*. *Vos* is also found in the provinces of Antioquia and Caldas as well as in the southwest of the country in the provinces of Cauca, Valle and Nariño. As reported by Lipski, it is the Caribbean region where the *tú* form has a marked presence. In fact, in some metropolitan areas of the Caribbean region, *tú* is used almost exclusively. In the provinces of Boyacá and Cundinamarca, which are located in the Central Highlands of Colombia, the form *sumercé* (apocopated form of *su merced*) is found. In these areas, *sumercé* does not index the formality and deference it denoted in the past, but it now conveys a high degree of respect as well as solidarity among very intimate individuals such as among family members. Table 10 shows the dialectal division of Colombian Spanish suggested by Lipski as well as the inventory of forms of address for the second person singular used in each of the dialects.

Table 10

*Dialects of Colombian Spanish and Their Forms of Address According to Lipski (1994)*

Super Dialects	Dialects	Forms of address used
Costeño	Costeño-Caribe	tú usted
	Costeño-Pacífico	tú usted vos
Andino o Central	Andino-Oriental	tú usted vos sumercé
	Andino-Occidental	tú vos usted

**2.3.2. The Spanish of Bogotá and its forms of address.** The address system of Bogotá, capital city of Colombia, is expected to be a complex one given the heterogeneity of its population. As explained by Montes Giraldo et al. (1998), a virtual civil war at the end of the 1940s and during the 1950s produced a huge increase in the population of Bogotá. Families from rural areas all over Colombia were forced to take refuge in urban centers like Bogotá. This wave of immigration continued for many years due to the difficult economic situation in the rural regions as well as to the ongoing violence and displacement created by different armed groups. By 1985, according to Montes Giraldo et al., only half of the population of Bogotá was native to the city. This situation as well as the importance of Bogotá as a cultural and administrative center, made this city the destination of many individuals who come from different parts of the country. Given this reality, Bogotá has not only a notorious ethnic diversity, but also linguistic plurality, which in fact can be observed in its diverse address system. *Tú*, *vos*, *sumercé* and *usted* are the forms of address one can hear in this city, and it is possible for an educated individual

from Bogotá to use these forms in the same conversation (Flórez, 1980). This investigation will focus on the *tú* (or *tuteo*) and *usted* (or *ustedeo*) dichotomy due to the fact that, as reported by previous studies, these are the two most common forms of address people use in most social spheres. However, as stated by Uber (2011), the use given to these forms of address in Bogotá “differs from the one given in the remainder of the Spanish-speaking world” (p. 245). Among other aspects, the address system in Bogotá has been marked by a preference for the form *usted* by many individuals in different types of contexts including informal ones as well as by a classist and sexist characterization of the form *tú* (Uber, 1984; Fitch, 1998). Many more aspects that condition the use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá will be discussed in the sections 2.5. and 2.6.

#### **2.4. Brown and Gilman’s (1960) Theory of Power and Solidarity: A Traditional Approach to the Analysis of Forms of Address**

Before discussing the studies that have investigated the use of forms of address in the context of Bogotá, it is important to highlight a point of reference for the description and interpretation of these forms. Hummel, Kluge and Vázquez Laslop (2010) affirm that most investigations on this topic after 1990 have followed the precepts of the theory proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960). This theory postulates two variables that condition the use of second person personal pronouns (forms of address) in different Indo-European languages including French, Italian, German and Spanish.

This theoretical approach to the interpretation of the meanings and use of forms of address claims that these forms operate under two variables. Under the *power* variable, those with more power use the form *tú* but receive *usted* from their interlocutor. In interactions in which interlocutors share an equal amount of power, *tú* or *usted* can be used depending on the degree of solidarity. Under the variable *solidarity*, people use *usted* to address individuals with

whom they have little in common or do not know well. On the other hand, people use *tú* with those they are acquainted, familiarized, or share some common social characteristic such as same social status or same political affiliation. One of the claims postulated by Brown and Gilman (1960) is the current prevalence of the solidarity variable in the address system of languages with a morphosyntactic T/V distinction, which for the Spanish language implies a symmetrical use of the *tú* form.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of its importance in the analysis of forms of address, Brown and Gilman's theory has recently received some disapproval. Medina Morales (2010) discusses how since the 1990s, a series of studies have put Brown and Gilman's approach into question. According to Medina Morales, the newer studies show how aspects such as stylistic variation, situational aspects or linguistic attitudes toward the forms of address can influence their use thereof. In addition, Blas Arroyo (1994) argues that *tú* and *usted* can no longer be associated with some inherent values of familiarity and formality respectively because the meanings of these forms depend on contextual factors that need to be analyzed in each communicative situation. In the same way, Fernández (2003) expressed criticism toward Brown and Gilman's theory of Power and Solidarity. For Fernández, it is difficult to assign to each form of address a unique value without having an excess of counter examples (e.g. *tú* as a form to insult a referee even if he is the one that has power, or *usted* to express affection among Colombian speakers). Fernández explains that sometimes it is hard to place *usted* in one of the categories suggested by Brown and Gilman given the way *usted* is used in countries such as Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Colombia. In this last country, states Fernández, *usted* occupies both spaces of power and solidarity, has a

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<sup>2</sup> The T/V distinction proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) refers to the contrast between various forms of address that can be used with one's conversation partner depending on aspects such as politeness, social distance or familiarity.

value of local identity, and therefore is situated outside of the power and solidarity contrast. Thus, for Fernández there is not a unique address system but several ones in which what matters is that each of these forms expresses the social deixis of the participants in a communicative exchange. Levinson (1979) ascribes the notion of social deixis to “the aspects of language structure that are anchored to the social identities of participants in the speech event, or to relations between them and other referents” (p. 206). In this way, *tú* and *usted* can be indexical of different social characteristics of the participants in a speech event including age, gender, and social status.

## **2.5. Previous Studies on Forms of Address *Tú* and *Usted* as Used by Individuals From Bogotá**

The following studies have analyzed the meanings and uses of *tú* and *usted* from different perspectives and in different contexts. However, a common aspect found in several studies is a partial or total orientation toward Brown and Gilman’s Theory of Power and Solidarity. Except for the first two studies, the following review does not follow a chronological order in terms of date of publication, but rather, they are grouped according to some commonality such as similar theoretical orientation, context of analysis, participants, and so on.

First of all, with the purpose of contributing material for the then first linguistic-ethnographic atlas of Colombia, Rimgaila and Cristina (1966) provided important information about the way of thinking of *bogotanos* ‘individuals from Bogotá’, their beliefs, traditions and ways of expressing themselves. In their work, Rimgaila and Cristina offered one of the first descriptions of the use of *tú* and *usted* in this city. The researchers gathered their data in different areas of Bogotá through interviews given to 19 female participants from ages 20 to 44 who represented different social classes.

Results of this study showed that *usted* was the most common form of address found among participants. The use of *tú* was very reduced among individuals from the lower and middle classes, who in fact, did not know how to use this form correctly. The lack of command of the form *tú* is evident in examples offered by the authors, such as in (1):

- (1) *Te invito a mi casa a que vayas a comerse...*  
 You-2SG.T invite-PRS.1SG to my house to go-2SG.T EAT-REFL.2PL.V<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘I invite you to my house to eat...’

In (1) we can see how the speaker starts addressing his interlocutor with the form *tú*, as evidenced by the direct object pronoun *te* ‘you’. However, later in that same sentence, he addresses his interlocutor with the *usted* form of the verb *comerse* ‘eat up’ and not with the corresponding *tú* form, *comerte* ‘eat up’.

In addition, almost all the informants from the lower and middle classes highlighted their perception of *tú* as a form used by the upper class. At the same time, some informants from the upper class described the address with *tú* as more distinguished even though some used *usted* almost exclusively. An interesting finding of this study is the presence of the form *su merced* (used in Colombia as *sumercé*), which according to the findings of the study is used by some members of all social classes as a way to convey respect to parents, family members, and other individuals with whom people are familiarized. According to Rimgaila and Cristina (1966), only some members of the upper class found this form of address provincial and in poor taste.

Rimgalia and Cristina’s (1966) description of *tú* and *usted* provides two major aspects to the study of forms of address as used in Bogotá. One is the influence of social class of interlocutors and the other is the existence of *sumercé*. The influence of social class is much less

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<sup>3</sup> T and V stand for *tú* and *usted* respectively. A complete list of abbreviations used in glossing is provided on page iii



pets, intimate friends, or a person that one is dating. For Uber, *tú* falls somewhere in between the *usted* of no solidarity and the *usted* of solidarity. It may denote some familiarity or confidence, but still with certain distance. It may be used by young people with their dates and other friends, with one's peers at school or work, or with a person one has met recently and who has not become an intimate friend yet. Uber states that a person can change from the *usted* of no solidarity to *tú* in order to become more familiar with his interlocutor. Similarly, a person can change from *tú* to the *usted* of solidarity if the two individuals develop a more intimate relationship. Moving to the right of the continuum is possible for Uber. However, moving to the left can be indicative of negative aspects such as anger or distance. Another important claim Uber makes is the apparent expansion of *tú* to both sides of the continuum. Also, the preference for a symmetrical address system that Uber found in her study in Bogotá supports Brown and Gilman's claim that the variable *solidarity* is becoming more common and prevalent than the *power* variable.

Uber's (1985) analysis of forms of address represents an important contribution to the study of the address used not only in the Colombian context but also in other Spanish dialects in which *usted* also expresses solidarity, which according to Fernández (2003) are several. However, regardless of the important contributions to the analysis of Spanish forms of address, Uber's number of informants is small, and the participants represent only the middle-class. The current investigation includes individuals not only from the middle class but also from the working class, so it can be regarded as representative of the population of this city. Also, the current project addresses the reported expansion of *tú* that Uber mentioned and determines whether the meanings and perceptions associated with this form by members of the different socio-economic classes have changed or not.

Pagel (1990) analyzed the use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogota with the intention to determine whether the address system of Bogotá was operating under Brown and Gilman's (1960) variable of solidarity and to delimit the factors that mark the boundaries of solidarity and nonsolidarity. The data for this study, which came from three different sources, included the collection of observational data. For this type of data, Pagel recorded individuals from Bogotá during conversations held in public places, such as the bus, the shopping center, school, and also out on the street. A second set of data came from role-play situations performed by a group of students at a private university in Bogotá, two office workers, and a couple of maids. The age range of the participants varied, and the group included individuals from the upper, upper middle, lower middle, and working classes. A third source of data included an interview given to 31 informants.

Overall results of this study revealed that a reciprocal address is preferred in Bogotá and that the choice of pronoun of address is influenced by the socio-economic status of the addresser as well as the gender and age of the addressee. However, this reciprocal address presented variation across groups with regards to the actual form of address used in the role plays. In the observational data, reciprocal *tú* was significantly higher than reciprocal *usted*. However, the two other sets of data showed a reverse picture, which means that *tú* dominates the public domain while *usted* the private one. Pagel (1990) notes that the prevalence of *tú* in the observational data could be a reflection of preferences marked by social class rather than an overall tendency of the speech community of Bogotá since he recorded his conversations in places and contexts frequented by members of the upper class. The analysis of the interview data showed that the informants who were classified as upper and middle class favored the use of *tú* while the lower-middle and the working classes had a clear preference for the form *usted*. Also, members of the

lower-middle and the working class considered an insult to use *tú* to address individuals from the working class, who in fact were reported as not capable of using this form correctly. Other significant factors found in the analysis of this set of data were the gender and age of the participants. In regard to the gender aspect, females favored the use of *tú* more than males. Regarding the age factor, younger individuals preferred to use *tú* more than older informants. Pagel characterizes this behavior as a possible reflection of upward social mobility by the younger generation.

Pagel's (1990) results confirm Brown and Gilman's claim that pronominal address systems are shifting to a solidarity-based system, which is marked by reciprocity. However, in Bogotá solidarity can be expressed by both *tú* and *usted*. Reciprocal *usted* was used across the lower socio-economic classes while reciprocal *tú* was used among the upper classes. Reciprocal *tú*, indicates Pagel, would only be initiated after a trust has been developed between two interlocutors from different socio-economic classes, although it is more likely that the interlocutors will later continue using reciprocal *usted*. Pagel's study provides an interesting analysis of the use of *tú* and *usted*. However, most of his participants belonged to the upper class. The current investigation includes a similar number of respondents from all socio-economic groups in order to provide a more complete explanation of the way *bogotanos* address each other.

Uber (2011) further described and analyzed the data she had collected for her previous studies, but this time she linked the uses given to forms of address to the concepts of positive and negative politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). From this perspective, *usted* (formal address) could be characterized as more polite than *tú* or *vos* (informal address). Thus, *usted* would convey deference and respect, and would correspond to negative politeness, whereas *tú* or *vos*

would show solidarity, and would correspond to positive politeness. This line of reasoning can be applicable to many Spanish varieties but would have to be adjusted when describing Bogotá use of *usted*. Uber herself had previously found that *usted* is the form used to express solidarity by most individuals in Bogotá. Also, regarding Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory, Uber states that the traditional rules that have described the use of *tú* and *usted* cannot be applicable in different situations. In fact, the dimension of solidarity is potentially applicable to persons that traditionally were supposed to be addressed with a form that expressed deference. Cases such as a stranger who is a child, an older person who lives next door or a professor who is a close friend are all cases in which the solidarity dimension may have more validity than the power semantic. For Uber, there could be a conflict in Bogotá between deference and solidarity politeness because in this city *usted* has assumed both roles at the same time that there is an increase of the use of *tú*.

Colenso-Semple (2008) analyzed the address of Colombians in a dialect contact situation. He looked into the adaptation of Colombian immigrants to the address used in the city of Madrid, the motivations for such adaptation, and the perceptions these Colombians had of the Spaniards' use of *tú* and *usted*. 20 Colombian immigrants (the majority from Bogotá) composed the group of participants. This group included 8 females and 12 males ranging from ages 18 to 42. Despite the new context in which use of *tú* is prevalent, two of the Colombian males indicated an increase in their use of *usted*, and several of the female informants admitted using *tú* less often in certain situations and more *usted* in others in comparison to Colombia. In regard to Colombians' perceptions of the address system of Spaniards, the majority of participants thought that Spaniards use *tú* with basically everybody and use *usted* only to address older interlocutors, show distance and talk to strangers. Most participants also indicated not to have noticed social

status as a motivating factor for selecting between *tú* or *usted*, something that contrasts with the Colombian address system.

Colenso-Semple (2008) analyzed his data based on the relationship between language and identity. He found that almost all participants were somewhere between maintaining their address system and converging to the Peninsular one. Only two participants had maintained their address system without any change at all and nobody had adapted to Spain's address system completely. The majority had adapted partially. For instance, many informants reported using *tú* more often in Spain than in Colombia but have not adopted the form *vosotros*. The reason for the participants' partial adaptation was their will not to lose their identity as Colombians. In short, for Colenso-Semple, the participants were conscious about the relation between language and identity and had made decisions in regard to the way they should address others in order to preserve their cultural and linguistic identity.

Colenso-Semple's (2008) study presents an interesting picture of how forms of address can be linked to a person's cultural and linguistic identity. However, Colenso-Semple admits that there are some inconsistencies in his data, perhaps due to the nature of a survey in that participants do not always report their actual use of language. Also, his sample population was rather homogenous in regard to their level of education. Most participants had high levels of education. In fact, this issue seems to be a common one found in many studies of forms of address with individuals from Bogotá. In order to overcome this problematic situation, the current study incorporated a variety of individuals with different educational backgrounds.

Similar to Colenso-Semple (2008), Lamanna (2012) also studied forms of address in a dialect contact situation. He analyzed the forms of address used by Colombians living in North Carolina based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) concepts of positive and negative politeness as

well as on the precepts of language contact. Lamanna examined the effect of dialect contact in the U.S. between Colombian Spanish (represented by the dialect of Bogotá) and Mexican Spanish by determining whether North Carolina Colombians accommodate to their Mexican interlocutors, and therefore use more *tú* and less *usted* than monolinguals in Colombia, or if they maintain patterns of pronominal address behavior typical of Bogotá.

Participants in this study included a focus group of 24 Colombians living in North Carolina, a corresponding group of twenty-five Colombians living in Bogotá (*bogotanos*), and twenty-four Mexicans living in North Carolina as well. The group of participants had similar numbers of males and females and ranged from ages 15 to 65. The instruments used in this study included closed role plays as well as a written questionnaire. Three variables were taken into consideration in the closed role plays and the questionnaire: relative age, relative status, and degree of acquaintance. For the analysis of the data, the researcher included a frequency count of the various forms and an examination of the linguistic and/or extra linguistic factors that were statistically significant in determining the use of forms of address.

The analysis of the closed role plays showed that *tú* was most frequently used by the North Carolina Mexicans, *usted* by the North Carolina Colombians, and the *bogotanos* fell in between these two groups. The results also showed that the difference between the two North Carolina groups was the only one that was significant, which provided evidence of no convergence in the use of *tú* between the two groups. Results of the questionnaire showed, among other things, that North Carolina Colombians use *usted* more frequently than their co-nationals in Bogotá probably in order to distinguish themselves from their Mexican counterparts who use *tú* more often. Lamanna (2012) explained this fact as a case of non-accommodation or divergence in linguistic behavior.

Lamanna's (2012) analysis of his data (closed role plays and questionnaire) suggested that there is no accommodation of North Carolina Colombians to the North Carolina Mexican group in regard to frequency of pronoun of address use. On the contrary, since the difference between the *bogotanos* and the North Carolina Mexicans was not statistically significant, while that between the two North Carolina groups was, North Carolina Colombians may actually be diverging from the North Carolina Mexicans in terms of their frequency of use of *tú* and *usted*. Lamanna suggests that the more frequent use of *usted* by the North Carolina Colombians could be due to three possible reasons: (1) a way for North Carolina Colombians to mark their identity, (2) the reported frequency of *usted* is a sign of the linguistic reality found in Bogotá when the North Carolina *bogotanos* left their city, and (3) the fact that North Carolina Colombians tend to interact with other Hispanics with whom they shared lower degrees of solidarity in comparison to the interlocutors with whom North Carolina Mexicans and *bogotanos* interact. However, the variable hierarchies provided some evidence that the North Carolina Colombians may be converging in terms of the relative influence of the variables that determine pronoun choice. Whereas in Bogotá, status has more influence in determining pronoun use than acquaintance, the opposite is true for the North Carolina Colombians. For this participating group as well as for the North Carolina Mexicans, acquaintance was ranked higher than status.

Lamanna's (2012) investigation provides meaningful information in terms of the frequency of use of forms *tú* and *usted* by Colombians from Bogotá. It also offers possible reasons for such behavior based on the environment where such behavior takes place. However, Lamanna's Colombian sample population in North Carolina is rather homogenous in terms of educational background, which is also a sign of homogeneity in the social status. Also, the fact that Lamanna does not offer any information about his group of informants living in Bogotá

makes it difficult to determine whether the two Colombian groups share many social aspects or if they differ in their social characteristics. As previously stated, the current investigation includes a sample population that represents the social spectrum of the city, including individuals from the lower social classes who are usually understudied in the previous investigations.

From a different perspective, Uber (1999) explored the use of Spanish forms of address in the work context. Uber gathered her data in five Latin American capitals that included Mexico City, Puerto Rico, Caracas, Santiago de Chile and Bogotá. Her 34.5 hours of recording in different settings which included travel agencies, employment agencies, factories, stores at airports, hotels, and restaurants provide a myriad of information about the use of address forms in formal and informal contexts. The following is a summary of the results and analysis made by Uber mainly in regard to Bogotá.

Uber (1999) found that the preferred form overall was *tú* with the exception of some places in Bogotá, where *usted* was more common. In fact, in Bogotá, she found that there was variation in the use of the forms of address. In situations in which participants were professionals (an indication of middle-class status) *tú* was common. *Tú* was used exclusively by a psychologist at an employment agency, by the owner of a marble company and her assistant who were related, and by a group of younger women during a ceramics arts and crafts class. *Usted* prevailed in individuals with a lower rank at some of the previously mentioned places. *Usted* was used by the workers of the marble company, among employees at a restaurant, and by the receptionist of the employment agency. In general, Uber states that the form of address to be used depends in great part on the level of familiarity among individuals. This statement supports Brown and Gilman's (1960) postulation that the solidarity variable is currently more important than the power semantic. However, in this study we can see that the power semantic is still in operation. We can

notice it in the interactions held by a receptionist with her supervisors and clients, which are characterized by an asymmetric address. Overall, this study provides meaningful information about the use of *tú* and *usted* in both informal and formal contexts. However, Uber's analysis describes only who uses what form, but does not look into the social and individual motivations for the uses of *tú* and *usted*. The present study describes such motivations within the family context while members are engaged in conversation.

Bayona (2006) aimed at describing the then current status of forms of address in the context of Bogotá. Bayona interviewed 150 pedestrians equally representing both genders. In addition to gender, Bayona controlled the variable age as she grouped participants and interviewers in different age groups. Inspired by Labov's (1966) methodology that looked into the morphophonological behavior of New Yorkers, Bayona designed her survey in a way that the interviewers could avoid the use of any pronoun of address at the moment of approaching their respondents, in that way, leaving the choice of pronoun opened to the interviewee. This would allow the recording of spontaneous reactions of the participants at the moment of addressing their interviewer. As a further step, and after giving consent, participants completed a questionnaire in which they expressed their preferences in use of forms of address in their social networks.

Bayona (2006) reported that at first glance the data indicated the participants' tendency to address strangers with a formal *usted*, independently of age and gender of addressee. In the questionnaire, answers shifted generationally with younger respondents preferring *tú* and older ones *usted*. Such shift, Bayona argues, is indicative of a possible change in the traditional criteria regarding the use of pronouns of address. Bayona's survey showed that in addition to the existence of *tú*, *usted* and *vos*, in the address system of Bogotá, *sumercé*, is also reported by a

small minority who reserve this form to address older individuals such as parents and grandparents. Bayona associates the survival of *sumercé* to convey respect to a specific type of population with Brown and Gilman's (1960) idea of the existence of vertical sociolinguistic parameters that acknowledge power. This power factor was also evidenced by participants in their preference for *tú* when addressing younger siblings and younger coworkers. In this way, Bayona's analysis acknowledges the existence of a nonreciprocal system in which both *tú* and *usted* can be used to convey superiority, as conceived by Brown and Gilman. In the same way, the reported participants' preference for *usted* at the time of addressing their coworkers and relatives of the same age indexes horizontal sociolinguistic parameters of solidarity. According to Bayona, the speech community she studied depicts an *usted* with an ample range of meanings: *usted* to convey familiarity or closeness (*ustedeo de confianza*), *usted* to convey respect (as used with parents and grandparents), and *usted* of solidarity (used with same age relatives and coworkers). In conclusion, Bayona's study presents meaningful information regarding the age and gender factors but does not look into any other influential aspect that may determine the use of *tú* and *usted*, including their influence in dialogue. Her study, which is based mainly on a questionnaire, does not take into consideration the social meanings that both forms can generate in conversation. Bayona's study focused mainly on determining what form is used with whom but not on knowing exactly why. The current study addresses these crucial issues as knowledge of the social and individual reasons for using forms of address *tú* and *usted* can provide a better picture of the actual use of these forms in conversation.

Bartens' (2003) analysis of forms of address has a wider source of data since it includes a survey given to a group of university students, the analysis of a couple of soap opera episodes, some observations on the use of forms of address in the press and in advertising as well as data

obtained from the analysis of four literary texts. The survey indicated, among other aspects, that the variable gender was important. Women admitted using *tú* to address most family members and friends, but *usted* to address strangers such as salespeople and waiters as well as individuals that have a higher hierarchical position such as a university professor, a doctor or a priest. Women also indicated using *tú* and *usted* in similar proportions when addressing potential colleagues. On the other hand, among men *tú* only prevailed when addressing parents and individuals with whom they have a romantic relationship. According to Bartens, men use *usted* to create an effect of solidarity with their male interlocutors (*ustedeo de confianza*) but use *tú* to create the same effect with their female interlocutors. For women, *usted* expresses distance and respect, but for men, *usted* is the form used to express solidarity toward other men. In short, solidarity is conveyed through *tú* by women but through *usted* by men. The survey also indicated a preference for reciprocal address and an effect of affectivity in the selection between *tú* and *usted*. Participants in this study indicated that *usted* was the form to be used in situations marked by anger or frustration while *tú* was used in the opposite situations such as when one reconciles with one's significant other.

The soap opera data of this study showed that when these programs were based in Bogotá, couples, friends of different genders, and female friends used a symmetrical address marked by the use of *tú*. However, in situations with a clear hierarchical distinction between the characters, *usted* was used. Also, there was much more use of *tú* when the characters portrayed in the soap operas belonged to the upper class. In the press, the preferred form was *usted*. This was the form used in an interview to a former Miss Universe, a drug lord and a former mayor of the city. However, in less formal magazines, reported Bartens (2003), it is common to find interviews in which the form *tú* is used. Also, both televised and printed advertisements use *tú*

and *usted* depending on the intended audience. Advertising that is aimed at convincing the audience of the quality of a product or professionalism of a service tended to use *usted*. On the other hand, if the ad aimed at obtaining a tone of familiarity closeness or solidarity, *tú* was used. Regarding the literary texts, only one of the four texts analyzed had been written by an author from Bogotá. Two of the other texts had been written by authors from *Antioquia* and *Valle*, Colombian provinces characterized by the frequent use of *vos*. The fourth literary text had been written by a writer from the Atlantic coast, a region characterized by the symmetrical use of *tú*. Given the place of origin of most authors of the literary texts, it is difficult to relate some of the findings of this section of the study to the speech of Bogotá. These texts may simply not portray the typical use given to forms of address by individuals from Bogotá. Nevertheless, a few things can be said about the text from the author from Bogota: there was an asymmetrical address in the interactions of a couple whose social conditions were very dissimilar. There was also use of *tú* among friends and among family members, as well as use of *usted* to address strangers. Bartens (2003) states that the address found in the texts is similar to the one found in the interview. However, the fact that she does not provide much information about the characters of the written texts does not let us make any important social comparisons between these characters and the university students that were interviewed.

Bartens' (2003) analysis of forms of address provides meaningful information about who uses which form and with whom. It also addresses the effect of affectivity. However, the variety of data sources does not seem to be connected or to support each other. Also, the university students included participants from different dialects with as little as four months of residence in Bogotá, something that was avoided in the current study. A similar issue can be found in the three of the four literary texts, which were written by authors from other cities.

In another study, Mestre de Caro (2011) also observed the use of forms of address in the media, and more specifically in radio and cinema. She collected 270 minutes of verbal interaction from Colombian films and 180 minutes of exchanges transmitted on the radio in Bogotá, Colombia. Among other aspects, she found more instances of *tú* and *usted* than of *vos* and *sumercé*. She also found that forms of address have a variety of pragmatic values that depend on the situational context and the communicative intention of the speaker. Regardless of the established social and pragmatic values of the different forms of address (*usted* to express respect, *tú* to express *confianza*, *vos* to denote familiarity or disdain, *sumercé* to express affection), for Mestre de Caro, the illocutionary value of such forms is not predetermined, but constructed in the communicative interaction. When interacting with a foreigner in Bogota, the radio data showed that speakers may use strategies of convergence in order to show empathy or connection (*empatía*) toward that person. This practice, according to Mestre de Caro, establishes a close relationship between the interlocutors.

Mestre de Caro's (2011) main claim is the presence of an alternation in the use of forms of address *tú*, *vos* and *usted* in all social classes. This fluctuation, according to Mestre de Caro, is result of the contact among different dialects in Bogotá and of interactional factors such as changes in speakers' mood. For Mestre de Caro, a change in the form of address can modify the relation among individuals interacting with each other. However, changes in the form of address can happen depending on the communicative situation, the level of formality and the discursive content. Mestre de Caro believes that the alternation in the use of pronouns of address in Bogota can result in the leveling or even in the creation of a new dialectal variety in which the alternation of codes is due not only to the accommodation among interlocutors, but also due to the necessity to express the plural identity of the speakers that are in contact in this city.

Mestre de Caro's (2011) approach to the analysis of forms of address is an interesting one and was taken into consideration in the current study. For her, the address with *tú* and the address with *usted* in Bogotá can have inverse pragmatic values in comparison to the conventional uses described in the literature on Spanish forms of address. This situation described by Mestre de Caro departs from Brown and Gilman's (1960) axis of power and solidarity. However, one disadvantage that can be identified with Mestre de Caro's study is the lack of validity that the film data can have due to its stereotypical representation of society and its culture including language use. It is known that film scripts highlight and sometimes exaggerate the linguistic practices of individuals from certain social groups. This problematic situation was avoided in the current investigation because it is based on actual oral language use among family members.

Fitch's (1998) ethnographic study of several speaking practices of individuals from Bogotá, among them the use of address forms, is an excellent and inspiring work that describes how these linguistic elements are tied to the culture and identity of individuals from this city and how they help enact and maintain personal relationships. Her analysis of the use and meanings of address forms in Bogotá is based in the Hymesian tradition of ethnographies of speaking. This approach, states Fitch, views "culture as a system of symbols and meanings and focuses on how that system is expressed and enacted in ways of speaking" (p. 15). From this perspective, "conceptual resources are both constructed through talk practices and reflected in them, ... and the relationship of persons to a speech community is a matter that may be empirically established by familiarity with those ways of speaking" (Fitch, 1998, p.15).

Fitch (1998) collected her data through ethnographic observation, interviews and through analysis of written documents. She used a variety of settings that included schools, a printing plant, a free legal aid clinic, a family and couples counseling service, and several business

organizations. Her participants ranged from 10 to 70 years of age and belonged largely to the middle class. Among her results, there are very important indications about the meanings and uses of forms of address. First of all, her study found that address forms have no fixed inherent meaning. For Fitch, these meanings and uses of address forms are influenced by a variety of contextual factors that include: topic, setting, dialect, aspects of relationships between interlocutors (e.g. status, intimacy, and kinship), and pragmatic factors that include literal vs. figurative uses of language and conversational expectations. For instance, even though *usted* was usually associated with a form to show respect, anger, formality and distance (as used with titles such as Doctor), it can also be used in relationships marked by a great deal of *confianza* (closeness).

Fitch (1998) also highlights the influence of the aspects of gender and social status in the way *tú* and *usted* are used in Bogotá. In terms of the gender influence, she found that men use *tú* much less than women, especially when speaking to other men. In fact, adult males in her study indicated that the form *tú* was associated with a delicate manner of speaking that indexed tenderness and affection. For this reason, men associated *tú* with women and children and avoided it to address other men out of fear that they would be regarded as inadequately masculine or not masculine enough. In this way, men address other men with *usted* in order to show them respect as men. In regard to the social class effect, social status is pervasively important in this speech community, and thus encoded very often in address term use. Fitch found that the upper class uses *tú* more often than the middle and working classes. *Tutear* (speaking using the form *tú*) was characteristic of powerful and wealthy individuals who expected their socially-inferior interlocutors to address them with *usted*. Fitch found that individuals from the middle and working class avoid the use of *tú* so as to not run the risk of

being publicly humiliated for not using the right verb conjugations of this form. Also, as *tuteo* was associated with educated and high-status individuals, those from lower social classes that used this form were perceived as “arribistas” (pretenders or social climbers) or “confianzudos” (inappropriately chummy).

Fitch (1998) claims that rather than having an exclusive referential function, *tú* and *usted* invoke connections to social categories, so the act of choosing between these two forms of address create and display such connections. The analysis of forms of address made by Fitch provides important contributions to the study of these linguistic forms as well as to the understanding of the culture and social values of individuals from Bogotá. However, as with all other studies, the lower classes are underrepresented. This gap, which is found in most studies, was taken into consideration in the present investigation.

A recent study on forms of address as used by individuals from Bogotá focused on the way these forms are used in the context of online communication. López López (2016) analyzed how soccer fans of two teams from Bogotá used forms of address *tú* and *usted* in Facebook messages. This study specifically aimed at finding the preferred form of address used by this group of soccer fans, the linguistic and social aspects that condition the use of *tú* and *usted* in their messages, and also whether there was a significant difference in the choice for form of address between male and female soccer fans. In order to obtain his data, López López accessed the Facebook pages of two soccer teams and analyzed 52 Facebook messages sent by the soccer fans to the players, coaches and to other fans of the teams. These messages needed to contain either *tú* or *usted* or a verb ending that signaled one of the two forms of address.

López López (2016) found that *tú* was the most common form of addressed used by both male and female soccer fans. In addition, the preference in both groups was statistically similar.

This preference for *tú* by male fans in this study contrasted with the findings of several previous studies about the address system of Bogotá (Colenso-Semple, 2008; Fitch, 1998; and Uber, 1985 among others) and corroborated Uber's (1985) postulation that the use of *tú* is spreading in Bogotá. However, *usted*, which was used less by both genders, was still used more by male fans than by females. In regard to the aspects that conditioned the use of *tú* and *usted*, López López found that content and tone of interaction affected the choice of address form. In messages where fans expressed admiration for the players or coach, or in messages in which fans congratulated or supported these individuals, *tú* was more common. On the other hand, when the message contained criticism, disapproval or opposition to a previous message, *usted* was more common. Messages with a friendly and positive tone tended to be expressed with *tú* while those messages with a negative tone and that expressed opposition, confrontation or rejection tended to be phrased with *usted*. In addition, even though the author was not able to identify the age of his participants, he assumed them to be young individuals given the context of interaction. In such case, age could be an influential factor in the choice for address form. López López also found the context of interaction to be an influential factor. In this regard, the informality of Facebook influenced the type of language to be used. López López highlights the fact that fans addressed most individuals including the coaches of the teams with the form *tú*, which in his opinion makes the interaction a friendly one, one in which the observed individuals situated themselves as equals. Another important finding of this study was the fact that most messages that were intended to the players and coaches used the form *tú*. These type of messages, states López López, are usually not answered. In other words, they do not make part of a linguistic interaction. However, messages sent by fans and whose addressee was another fan used *usted* more often. One important difference between these messages and the ones sent to coaches and players is

that the latter messages can become part of a linguistic interaction. In fact, fans reacted to many of these messages sent by other fans.

López López (2016) provides important information regarding the linguistic preferences people have when interacting in Facebook. It shows that even in informal settings such as this one, the address of Bogotá is complex, and therefore it should not be approached only through conventional interpretations that give *tú* and *usted* fixed meanings. In fact, López López (2016) affirms that the function of *tú* and *usted* depends on a series of social and contextual aspects that interact within the illocutionary act itself.

The aforementioned studies on *tú* and *usted* in the context of Bogotá discuss a series of both social as well as linguistic and/or situational factors that influence the use of these forms of address. The social factors that the previous studies found to influence the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* are: social status, level of familiarity between interlocutors, their age, gender, and their level of hierarchy in relation with each other. On the other hand, the linguistic and/or situational factors that the previous studies found to affect the choice for *tú* or *usted* in the context of Bogotá are: the context (which can be divided into formal and informal and into public and private), the content of the communicative exchange, the communicative intention of the speaker, and the tone of interaction or affective aspect. Tables 11 and 12 summarize the previously discussed studies on *tú* and *usted*. Table 11 focuses on the studies that discuss the social factors that affect the use of *tú* and *usted* and Table 12 summarize the findings of previous investigations on *tú* and *usted* focusing on the linguistic and/or situational aspects.

Table 11

*Central Social Factors That Affect the Use of Tú and Usted in Bogotá*

Factor	Study	Evidence found
Social status	Rimgaila and Cristina (1966)	- <i>Tú</i> was not common in the lower and middle classes. - Lower and middle-class individuals associated <i>tú</i> with the upper class.
	Uber (1985, 2011)	- <i>Tú</i> was not common in the lower classes. - <i>Tú</i> was used by middle-class individuals, but not as much as by those from the upper class.
	Pagel (1990)	- Informants classified as upper and middle class favored the use of <i>tú</i> while the lower middle and lower classes had preference for <i>usted</i> . - Lower class individuals were reported as not capable of using <i>tú</i> correctly.
	Lamanna (2012)	Participants from Bogotá ranked social status as an influential factor in determining pronoun use.
	Uber (1999)	In situations in which the participants were professionals (an indication of middle-class status), the <i>tú</i> form was common. <i>Usted</i> was preferred by individuals with lower-rank jobs (lower social status)
	Bartens (2003)	- There was an asymmetrical address in literary texts between characters of very dissimilar social conditions. - <i>Tú</i> was used in soap opera situations portraying upper class characters.
	Mestre de Caro (2011)	Use of <i>usted</i> in films by characters from a low socioeconomic status. Use of <i>tú</i> by characters that belong to the upper class.
	Fitch (1998)	- <i>Tú</i> was characteristic of powerful and wealthy individuals who expected their socially-inferior interlocutors to address them with <i>usted</i> .

		- Participants associated <i>tuteo</i> (use of <i>tú</i> ) with educated, high status individuals.
Familiarity with the interlocutor	Uber (1985), Uber (1999), Uber (2011)	-The <i>usted</i> of no solidarity is generally used with people one does not know. -The <i>usted</i> of solidarity is used with spouses, family members, pets, intimate friends, or a person that one is dating. - <i>Tú</i> falls somewhere in between the <i>usted</i> of no solidarity and the <i>usted</i> of solidarity. It may denote some familiarity or confidence, but still with certain distance. - <i>Tú</i> may be used with peers at school or work, or with a person one has met recently and who has not become an intimate friend yet. - A person can change from <i>usted</i> of no solidarity to <i>tú</i> in order to become more familiar to his interlocutor. Similarly, a person can change from <i>tú</i> to <i>usted</i> of solidarity if the two individuals develop a more intimate relationship
	Pagel (1990)	Reciprocal <i>tú</i> would only be initiated after some trust has been developed between two interlocutors from different socio-economic classes.
	Bayona (2006), Bartens (2003)	Participants had the tendency of addressing strangers with <i>usted</i> .
	Bartens (2003)	- Advertising aimed at obtaining a tone of familiarity, closeness or solidarity, used <i>tú</i> . - Characters of a literary text used <i>usted</i> to address strangers, but <i>tú</i> to address friends and family members.
Age	Uber (1985, 2011)	<i>Tú</i> may be used by young people with their dates and other friends.
	Pagel (1990), Bayona (2006)	- <i>Tú</i> was more common among young individuals while <i>usted</i> among older informants.

Gender	Pagel (1990), Uber (2011), Bartens (2003)	Females favored the use of <i>tú</i> more than males.
	Bartens (2003)	- <i>Tú</i> only prevailed among males when addressing parents or individuals with whom they have a romantic relationship. - Men use <i>usted</i> with men to create an effect of solidarity but use <i>tú</i> with women to create the same effect.
	Fitch (1998)	- Men used <i>tú</i> much less than women, especially when speaking to other men. - Adult males associated <i>tú</i> with a delicate manner of speaking that indexes tenderness and affection. - Men associated <i>tú</i> with <i>women</i> and children and avoided it to address other men out of fear that they would be regarded as inadequately masculine or not masculine enough. - Men addressed other men with <i>usted</i> in order to show them respect as men.
	López López (2016)	In Facebook, males used <i>usted</i> more than females.
Hierarchy of interlocutors	Uber (2009, 2011)	<i>Usted</i> prevailed among employees to address their supervisors.
	Bayona (2006)	Existence of a nonreciprocal system in which both <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i> can be used to convey superiority.
	Bartens (2003)	-Participants addressed with <i>usted</i> those with a high hierarchical position such as a university professor, a doctor or a priest. -Characters with a clear hierarchical distinction in soap operas used <i>usted</i> .

Table 12

*Central Linguistic and Situational Factors That Affect the Use of Tú and Usted in Bogotá*

Factor	Study	Evidence
Publicness of context	Pagel (1990)	<i>Tú</i> dominated the public domain while <i>usted</i> the private one.
Formality of context	Uber (2011)	- Employees tended to use <i>usted</i> with supervisors and clients.
	Bartens (2003)	<i>Usted</i> was used in formal interviews on the press. However, in less formal magazines, it was common to find interviews with <i>tú</i> .
	Mestre de Caro (2011)	<i>Usted</i> prevailed in formal interviews on the radio. There was fluctuation between <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i> in informal interviews.
	López López (2016)	<i>Tú</i> prevailed in informal interactions in Facebook.
Speaker intentionality	Mestre de Caro (2011)	- When interacting with individuals from other dialects, individuals may converge in their use of forms of address to show empathy or connection with that person.
	Bartens (2003)	- Advertising aimed at obtaining a tone of familiarity, closeness or solidarity, used <i>tú</i> .
Content of interaction	López López (2016)	- <i>Tú</i> was used to express messages with positive content such as admiration, congratulation or support. - <i>Usted</i> was used in messages that contained criticism, disapproval or opposition to a previous message.
Tone/Affect	Uber (1985, 2011)	Individuals from Bogotá use <i>usted</i> to indicate momentary anger or distance.
	Bartens (2003)	<i>Usted</i> was used in situations marked by anger or frustration while <i>tú</i> was used in the opposite situations such as when one reconciles with one's significant other.

Mestre de Caro (2011)	-There was fluctuation in the use of forms of address due to changes in speakers' mood. - Use of <i>usted</i> to express threat in films.
López López (2016)	- Facebook messages with a friendly and positive tone tended to use <i>tú</i> while those with a negative or unfriendly tone tended to use <i>usted</i> .

The previously mentioned studies about forms of address *tú* and *usted* demonstrate that the address of Bogotá, rather than simple and established, is complex and changing. Among other factors, this complexity is due to the interaction between different dialects in this city (Fitch, 1998). Tables 11 and 12 summarize the main aspects found to be influencing the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá. We can see that, among the social aspects, social status is the most recurrent in most studies, followed by familiarity between interlocutors, gender, hierarchy of interlocutors, and age. This order is important because in many other Spanish dialects, including Peninsular Spanish, social status and gender of the speakers do not have the same importance it has in Colombian Spanish or may actually have none at all (Fernández, 2003). The recurrence of some of the previously mentioned influential aspects may signal their importance in the address of Bogotá, which in general terms could be described as classist (given the social stratification of *tú* and *usted*) and sexist (given the restricted use of *tú* among men) when compared with other Spanish varieties. However, rather than focusing on a fixed order of importance of the influential factors, the current study aims at determining the social and linguistic/situational factors that currently influence the meaning and use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá as well as the variation of this influence among the different participating social groups.

## 2.6. Speaker Intentionality

Speakers have communicative intentions in their production of utterances (Yule, 1996), and this perspective to language is taken into consideration in the present investigation. In his discussion on pragmatics, Yule signals how people, in their attempts to express themselves, not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words but also actions (and intentions) via those utterances. From this perspective, a speaker in an interaction with their interlocutor may say *It's cold* not necessarily to talk about the weather, but to indirectly ask this person who is nearer the window to close it. This performativity of utterances was originally proposed by Austin (1962), who introduced the concept of speech act. Austin proposed that any speech act consists of three related acts. First, we have the *locutionary act*, or the simple act of utterance or production of a linguistic expression; second, we have the *illocutionary act*, which is performed through the communicative force of the utterance (intended significance); and third, we have the *perlocutionary act*, which is related to the actual effect of the utterance, whether intended or not. From this perspective, a parent's question *Isn't it late for school?* is not exactly a question to be answered but an indirect way of telling his son *Go to school* (illocutionary act or intended meaning). Austin in his development of a theory of speech acts highlighted the performativity of sentences, perspective that can be applied to the use of address forms. This performativity can be exemplified with the intentional use of the form *tú* by one of the participants of this investigation's pilot study. In an interview, a female participant highlighted her intentional use of *tú* whenever she needed her interlocutor to do her a favor, especially if her interlocutor was a male. Apparently, using the address with *tú* translates into getting more attention and getting things done by her male interlocutors as with this form she creates a closer link with this person.

Following Searle (1975), Table 13 presents a general classification of speech acts with their corresponding explanation and more specific paradigm cases in which these speech acts take place.

Table 13

*Searle's (1975) General Classification of Speech Acts*

Type of speech act	Explanation/Definition	Paradigm cases
Declarations	Speech acts that change the world via their utterance. The speaker needs to have a special role to be able to perform such declarations.	Declaring, baptizing, resigning, firing from employment, hiring, arresting.
Representatives	Speech acts that state what the speaker believes to be the case or not. They commit the speaker to the truth of an expressed proposition.	Asserting, stating, concluding, boasting, describing, suggesting.
Expressives	Express some type of psychological state (what the speaker feels)	Greeting, thanking, apologizing, complaining, congratulating.
Directives	Speech acts used by a speaker in their attempt to get the addressee to carry out an action.	Requesting, advising, commanding, challenging, inviting, daring, entreating.
Commissives	Commit the speaker to some future action.	Promising, pledging, threatening, vowing, offering.

Even though the influence of speaker intentionality is overtly recognized only by Mestre de Caro (2011), in fact, it can be found in several of the previous investigations. For instance, Colenso-Semple (2008) reported how some of his participants intentionally kept using *usted* in Madrid the way they did in Colombia and did not want to adapt to the address used in their new city, which can be understood as a way of maintaining their identity as speakers of Colombian Spanish. The same can be said about Lamanna's (2012) group of Colombians in North Carolina who were not influenced by the dominant use of *tú* by their Mexican counterparts in that area. As expressed by Lamanna, these individuals purposefully kept their use of *usted* as a sign of social

identity that differentiates them from other Spanish speakers, in this case Mexicans.

Additionally, Fitch (1998) found that most men in Bogotá intentionally avoid using *tú* with each other so as to avoid being regarded as not masculine enough. Also, both televised and printed advertisements, as evidenced by Bartens (2003), use *tú* and *usted* intentionally depending on its aimed audience and message. According to Bartens, advertising aimed at convincing the audience of the quality of a product or professionalism of a service tended to use *usted* while if the ad aimed at obtaining a tone of familiarity closeness or solidarity, the form *tú* was used. Also, López López's (2016) study showed that speakers use *tú* and *usted* depending on the type of content (positive or negative) they expressed. In this way, we can say that López López's participants used *tú* to congratulate, praise and support but *usted* to argue, express opposition or to express other negative aspects. In short, it is evident that speaker intentionality is an influential factor in the selection for form of address, and therefore, it was taken into consideration in the current investigation. In addition, an analysis of the findings of these previously mentioned studies lets us suggest that in some situations *tú* or *usted* could be linked to specific types of speech acts.

## **2.7. Other Factors to Take into Consideration: Negotiation, Avoidance and Non-Prototypical Uses of Forms of Address**

The current investigation is also in alignment with the idea that there are situations in which the choice for the appropriate form of address is the result of a negotiation or adaptation between interlocutors. In fact, the pilot study of this investigation, which will be later discussed, presented evidence of such negotiation. One common aspect found in the video recordings was the tendency of participants to align with each other in dialogue by portraying a symmetrical use of address forms. Some participants who had manifested a preference for the form *usted* in most

items of the interview, ended up addressing others mainly with *tú* in the video recordings. This address was motivated by the participants' willingness or intention to align themselves with their interlocutors in dialogue. In fact, several participants stated in the interview that they would change their form of address if their interlocutor felt uncomfortable with the form of address being used. In addition, one female participant indicated that in some occasions choosing the right form of address means "reaching a common agreement" between the two persons. The most important aspect for this female participant was to use a form of address with which both persons feel comfortable. Regarding this negotiated way of interaction, Pickering and Garrod (2004) maintain that successful communication is reached through alignment in discourse. In this interactive alignment, people model their linguistic behavior to the occurring conversation by repeating elements of each other's linguistic choices. Through interactive alignment, individuals build a common understanding of the situation at hand, enabling them to successfully communicate without keeping track of each other's linguistic and social idiosyncrasies. In interactive alignment, people tailor their utterances to match the needs of the situation. Interactive alignment can have significant effects in the conversation such as conveying agreement with or respect for the interlocutor. We can state that the alignment in the use of forms of address among participants in the pilot study was the result of a negotiation of the way they were to address each other.

Another important aspect to consider when analyzing the meaning and uses of forms of address *tú* and *usted* are those cases in which the grammatical referent of the pronoun of address deviates from its typical one. Helmbrecht (2015) calls such cases "non-prototypical uses" and they include:

- The use of first-person plural (we) to address a single or a group of interlocutors, as in (2)

(2) *¿Ganamos?*  
 win-1PL.INT  
 ‘Did we win?’

- The use of the second person singular (*tú/usted*) to refer not to the interlocutor but to a generalized group of people, as in (3)

(3) *Cuando no tenías que comer en el descanso,*  
 When no have-IMPF.2SG.T what eat in the recess,  
  
*sólo jugabas fútbol con tus amigos.*  
 just play-PRS.2SG.T soccer with your-2PL.POSS friends

‘When you did not have anything to eat during recess, you just played soccer with your friends.’

- The use of *uno* ‘one’ to generalize the experiences of both speaker and addressee or some other individual with whom the speaker empathizes, as in (4)

(4) *En el aeropuerto, uno tiene que pasar por una serie de requisas incómodas.*  
 In the airport, one has to go through a series of inspections uncomfortable.  
 ‘In the airport, one has to go through a series of uncomfortable inspections.’

- The use of the third person singular (*él/ella*) to refer to the interlocutor, as in (5)

(5) A waiter: *¿Qué va a tomar el señor?*  
 What go-PRS.3SG to drink the gentleman?  
 ‘What is the gentleman going to drink?’

Such uses of pronouns of address, states Helmbrecht (2015), are delimited to certain communicative situations and have additional pragmatic effects such as the expression of politeness, camaraderie, sarcasm, or the mitigation of an imposition as in the case of directives. Also, in communicative situations in which this use of language is portrayed, successful reference may be tied to the effect of collaboration between interlocutors (Yule, 1996). In order to have successful reference, states Yule, an intention must be recognized and there must be some kind of shared knowledge and hence social connection. In (1), even though the speaker

does not belong to his interlocutors' team, in an act of "camaraderie", the speaker shows identification or support for the activity practiced by his interlocutors by addressing them with the third person singular (*ganamos*) instead of the second person plural (*ganaron* or *ganásteis*). In regard to English, Posio (2012) affirms that the referent of the first person singular (we) may include any human beings from the addressee to a third person or persons, an institution, or even all humankind. The same can be said about the Spanish form *nosotros*. From a discursive perspective, first person plural can be further specified as being either inclusive or exclusive with respect to the hearer.

In (2), the use of the form *tú* (*tenías*) does not refer to the speaker's interlocutor but to the students at this person's school including himself. In this sentence, the speaker, in another act of camaraderie, is trying to indicate a close or intimate relationship with the addressee of that utterance, who in turn is expected to share the same perspective of the speaker. Malamud (2012) characterizes this impersonal use of the pronoun as a non-direct-deictic. In (4), *el señor*, does not refer to a third person, but to the interlocutor that is interacting with this waiter. This use of the third person, rarely mentioned in the literature, can have an effect of extreme politeness (as in our example). However, addressing someone in the third person can also index sarcasm toward that person.

Chen (2010) states that the use of indirect language (as previously exemplified) can be regarded as a "lubricant" for the linguistic situation that maintains the face of both parties involved in the conversation and establishes a pleasant interpersonal relationship. Face, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978), refers to the self-image individuals want to claim for themselves. In her discussion on linguistic etiquette, Kasper (1997) characterizes face as a public

rather than a personal property and asserts that with the purpose of attending to face, speakers violate important conversational rules such as the maxims of quantity or manner.<sup>4</sup>

It is understood in this investigation that pronouns have non-prototypical uses. In these cases, the grammatical referent of the form of address does not coincide with the referent the speaker has in mind. These indirect or impersonal uses of pronouns of address respond to a series of discursive or pragmatic intentions that include the expression of politeness, camaraderie, support, the identification of the speaker with the interlocutor, or the mitigation of an imposition. Avoidance of direct language forms (intended forms of address) can also be used to express sarcasm, as in some cases in which the third person singular is used to refer to the interlocutor. The avoidance of direct language, and in our case, the avoidance of using the grammatically corresponding form of address in certain situations may emerge in the current investigation just as it happened in its pilot study.

In sum, this investigation considers that in addition to linguistic and social factors, speakers use forms of address in intentional ways, negotiate them in the communicative act and sometimes use them in ways that may not be conventional. All previously mentioned aspects involved in the choice of address form were considered while designing the data collection instruments (see Appendices A-C), the coding, and the analysis of the naturally-occurring conversations of the current investigation. By incorporating the aspects of speaker intentionality, negotiation of address forms as well as their indirect and impersonal uses (avoidance of direct

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<sup>4</sup> Grice's (1975) Conversational Maxims:

1. The maxim of quantity: Be as informative as possible, give as much information as is needed, and no more.
2. The maxim of quality: Be truthful and do not give information that is false or is not supported by evidence.
3. The maxim of relation: Be relevant and say things that are related to the discussion.
4. The maxim of manner: Be clear, brief, and as orderly. Avoid obscurity and ambiguity.

address forms), this study gains a broader perspective which takes into account not only aspects of the speaker' social identity but also the process of communication itself.

## **2.8. Conceptual Framework**

The current investigation on forms of address *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá-Colombia, employs the following theories or concepts in the analysis of the results.

**2.8.1. Indexicality.** Linguistic signs have two types of meaning: one that is referential and one that is indexical. The latter meaning is context-dependent and “brings into consciousness a realm of contextually relevant meanings, including the situated self” (Ochs, 2012, p.142). Indexicality, as defined by Bucholtz and Hall (2006), is “the semiotic process of juxtaposition, whereby one entity or event points to another” (p. 378). Indexicality, states Ochs (1990), not only contributes to the denotational or referential meaning of a sentence, but also indexes its communicative context (e.g. social status of the speaker or social relationship between speaker and addressee). Forms of address are characterized by their referential as well as by their social indexicality. Native speakers of a language, according to Morford (1997), are well aware of the indexical values of these forms, and therefore, they use them in strategic ways in socially mediated and significant contexts. In this way, *tú* and *usted* are capable of generating multiple meanings depending on the contexts in which they occur and in which agency and intentionality play important roles. The indexicality value of forms of address is so significant that, as stated by Morford, it is through these forms that individuals mediate their social relations and identities.

We speak of social indexicality “when the contextual features indexed by speech and accompanying signs are understood as attributes of, or relationships between social persons” (Agha, 2007, p. 14). Agha states that pronouns as well as other forms are regarded cross-linguistically as social indexicals, and through their use we can make palpable relationships to

persons spoken to or to the representation of self as belonging to certain identifiable social group, social class, occupation, etc. It has been documented in previous studies (Mestre de Caro, 2011; Uber, 1985) that the use of a specific form of address can situate a speaker and/or addressee voluntarily or involuntarily in certain social categories. For Agha, utterances are social, and the present study adopts this perspective to personal pronouns or forms of address, because they are signs that mediate social relations between persons who interact with each other through them.

In addition, forms of address *tú* and *usted*, like honorifics, have core underlying meanings known as direct indices. According to Brown (2015), “these direct indexical meanings are enriched into specific social meanings when used in context. The direct indexical meaning interacts with the context and is mediated by co-occurring linguistic and non-linguistic features to produce situational meanings or indirect indices” (p. 43). Therefore, indexical signs can communicate a variety of social meanings because part of their meaning depends on context. Indexicality can also help us understand the effects of speech. Agha (2007) maintains that the social effects produced by speech are highly contextual or indexical in character. For Agha, an utterance can be appropriate to a situation or it can alter the context in a way that a totally different situation could arise. This perspective can be taken when analyzing the effects of using either *tú* or *usted* in specific situations. *Tú* and *usted* can have specific situational meanings that can ease or hinder the development of dialogue in a given situation. In short, this investigation on Spanish forms of address *tú* and *usted* is based on the concept of indexicality because of its capability to point out and explain the indirect (social and contextual) meanings of language forms (Research Question 1), the reasons why speakers choose these forms in conversation (Research Question 2) and the social and linguistic consequences of such options (Research Question 4).

**2.8.2. Communication Accommodation Theory.** A further perspective on the analysis of the use of *tú* and *usted* by speakers from Bogotá is based on the theoretical framework of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). According to Gasiorek, Giles and Soliz (2015), their choice of languages, accents, and dialects. This theory states that people use communication to manage their social relations and that they show affiliation or disaffiliation with others not only through what they say, but also how they say it. CAT explains that people regulate their communicative behavior based on their evaluations of their interlocutors' communicative characteristics as well as on their own will to maintain a positive personal and social identity. In this process of accommodation, people adjust their language to diminish or enhance social and/or communicative differences. This theory is particularly interested in people's motivations for converging or diverging in interaction and in the social consequences of such linguistic choices.

Gasiorek et al. (2015) explain that convergence, motivated by a desire to show affiliation with or decrease social distance to a fellow interlocutor, takes place when interlocutors' styles of communication become more similar to one another. In such situations, convergence can signal things such as attraction, respect, approval, or empathy. Divergence, on the other hand, happens when the communication styles of interlocutors become different or deviant from each other. Divergence is motivated by a will to increase or maintain social distance with an interlocutor. However, it can also be used to influence the nature or quality of an interaction.

Gasiorek et al. (2015) argue that both accommodation and non-accommodation are influenced by relational, identity, and attitudinal factors. Accommodation eases the flow of interaction as it shortens the social distance of interlocutors. On the other hand, in situations marked by perceived non-accommodation, there is an increase of social distance, a decrease of

interactional satisfaction and even of the positive attributes of interlocutors. Non-accommodation can also hinder mutual understanding.

CAT has been characterized as a theory that can be applied to any situation where people from different groups or cultures come into contact with one another. This theoretical approach, which draws from Social Identity Theory, is beneficial in this study in the analysis of the consequences of choosing between *tú* and *usted* (Research Question 4) and in explaining situations in which participants converge (maintain a symmetrical address) or diverge (maintain an asymmetrical address).

**2.8.3. Language and social identity.** Another theoretical framework that can also contribute to the analysis of the social meanings of *tú* and *usted* (Research Question 1) and of the reasons and consequences of their use (Research Questions 2 and 4 respectively) is the Language and Social Identity Theory. Based on the premise that in addition to the referential function, language serves a social purpose, several authors highlight the intrinsic relationship between language and social identity. Language is in fact regarded as the most flexible and prevalent resource available for the cultural production of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006). Furthermore, linguistic constructions are crucial indicators of social identity just as social identity is a crucial dimension of the social meaning of particular linguistic structures (Ochs, 1993). In this way, *tú* and *usted* can generate a series of social meanings which are indexical of the cultural and linguistic identity of the users of these forms. However, individuals can be identified with multiple and simultaneous identities, that in turn can shift and recombine to meet new situations that develop during social interaction (Ochs, 1993). Previous literature on forms of address in Bogotá has highlighted a general preference for the form *usted* among individuals from this city. These studies have also shown how the younger generations are inclined to addressing others

(especially those of similar age and social circle) with *tú*. From the language and social identity perspective, individuals from Bogotá can be affiliated to different social groups, and therefore, to simultaneous social identities: one associated with the traditional values of formality and respect (use of *usted*), and the other with a post-modern way of being in the world, in which equality and solidarity are the bases for the address among individuals (use of *tú*).

Bucholtz and Hall (2006) consider four processes directly related to the understanding of language and identity. First of all, in line with Bourdieu (1977), Bucholtz and Hall consider language a practice rather than an abstract system of rules. For them, “language along with other social practices, shapes the social actors’ way of being in the world” (p. 377). However, the specific practices in which a person engages can differ from the practices of others due to dissimilarities in age, gender and social status, among other aspects. A second process, indexicality, is one in which linguistic structures are linked with specific social categories indirectly through a series of semiotic associations. A third process, ideology, organizes and allows cultural beliefs and practices as well as the power relations that are derived from them. Fourth, through linguistic performances, individuals display their social identities. In short, for Bucholtz and Hall, identity is not the source of culture but its outcome, and since language is a main resource for cultural production, it is also a main resource for identity production. Previous studies on forms of address have shown how individuals from Bogotá do not always follow pre-established rules. Instead, they use these forms in ways that are indexical of their identities and social values.

**2.8.4. Language attitudes and language ideologies.** People have affective reactions to the use of certain linguistic forms. Knowing about the attitudes that language forms generate (in our case *tú* and *usted*) contributes to deciphering their social meaning (Díaz-Campos, 2014).

From this perspective, being aware of the opinions and perceptions that the forms of address *tú* and *usted* generate in individuals from Bogotá allows us to determine the true conceptualization that these individuals have of such forms. Following Edwards (2009), an attitude is a psychological position towards something that generates an emotional reaction and that motivates the adoption of certain actions. This psychological disposition, according to Edwards, is composed of three elements: (1) the affective element, which in our case has to do with the feelings provoked by the use of *tú* or *usted*; (2) the cognitive element, which is related to the knowledge that speakers have of these forms; and (3) the behavioral element, which motivates individuals to act in certain ways (e.g. use or avoid a particular forms of address).

Preston (2004) states that by studying the attitudes generated by certain linguistic forms, we are able to know about a specific way of speaking, a dialect, and at the same time about the individuals who use these forms. It is important to note, however, that many times these opinions or reactions are the result of stereotypical conceptions that people have of others and of their communities. From the language attitudes perspective, the linguistic forms that we use (in our case forms of address *tú* and *usted*) are not neutral. They have emotional values that reflect the experience that individuals have had with these forms as well as with the individuals who use them. Holme (2009) states that speakers of a language conceptualize the meaning of the linguistic forms they use based on the experience they have had with these forms. Therefore, if we want to determine the social meanings of forms of address *tú* and *usted* in a specific context, we must know the speaker's conceptualizations of these forms. The experiences that individuals in Bogota have had with forms *tú* and *usted*, as well as their opinions about these forms and about the people who use them help with deciphering the true meaning of these forms in a social context. In addition, by studying the language attitudes that generate the use of *tú* and *usted* we

can also determine the reasons why in certain specific contexts individuals choose one form and not the other as well as can know about the implications of their use. In addition, language attitudes function as *input* and *output* of social action (Garret, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). It is because of the language attitudes generated by language forms that people modify their speech or adapt to new ways of speaking that do not necessarily make part of their linguistic identity.

The language attitudes of individuals may reflect a certain language ideology held by a social group. Kroskrity (2006) characterizes language ideologies as “beliefs, or feelings, about language as used in their social worlds” (p. 498). These ideologies are constructed from specific political and economic perspectives, which influence “the cultural ideas about language” (p. 497). From this perspective, it is expected that individuals from a certain social group or groups of the current study (e.g. the upper-middle class) may hold ideas that indicate their perceived superiority in regard to their use of address forms and how they relate to others through these forms.

In his explanation of the concept of language ideologies, Kroskrity (2006) discusses what he considers five layers of significance:

- (1) Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.
- (2) Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple (given the plurality of meaningful social divisions).
- (3) Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.
- (4) Members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk.
- (5) Language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity).

In short, both language attitudes and language ideologies are extremely important in exposing and explaining people's linguistic awareness of language and/or language use. They can aid in the description of the non-referential or social meanings of *tú* and *usted* (Research question 1), the reasons why individuals engage in the use of one form or the other (Research question 2) and the implications of their use (Research question 4).

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. Research Method

Following Denzin and Lincoln (2003), the current study consists of a qualitative study given that forms of address *tú* and *usted* were studied in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of their use in terms of the meanings that participants bring to them. Furthermore, while touching upon the frequency of use of these forms, the current study emphasizes mainly the socially constructed nature of their use and meaning.

### 3.2. Research Questions

The current study was guided by the following questions:

1. What indexical meanings do individuals in Bogotá associate with forms of address *tú* and *usted*?
2. What are the social and linguistic factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted* in conversation?
3. What is the preferred form of address of each participating social group?
4. What implications can the use of one form over another have in the development of dialogue?

Research Question 1, *What indexical meanings do individuals in Bogotá associate with forms of address tú and usted?*, is included in the study because this study was not concerned with the referential meaning of these forms but with the indirect meanings contained in them. Ochs (1990) states that there are structures that vary across contexts and hence index something about the social identities of the

participants, the activities taking place, or about the feelings or knowledge of the speaker. This is true of forms of address, which not only have referential but also contextually-derived meaning that informs us about the social affiliation of speakers. In addition, the referential meaning of words not always corresponds to the meaning speakers have in mind (Hualde, Olarrea, Escobar & Travis, 2010). Therefore, having Research Question 1 in this study provides information about the participants' own conceptualizations of forms *tú* and *usted*.

Research Question 2, *What are the social and the linguistic factors that influence the use of tú and usted in conversation?*, is an important question in this study because it explored the individuals' social features (e.g. age, gender, occupation, etc.) as well as the contextual aspects of the interaction (e.g. formality, topic and tone of the conversation) that can influence the use of *tú* and *usted*. Norton's (2010) conceptualization of identity informs us that "every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world" (p. 350). This negotiation implicates aspects of the speaker such as gender, race, class, and ethnicity. From this perspective, we can say that people's language choices are shaped by the ways they identify themselves linguistically, socially and culturally. Being able to determine the social and linguistic factors that affect the use of *tú* and *usted* was helpful in determining the reasons why individuals use *tú* and *usted* in some specific situations.

One of the central goals of this study was to determine the preference in address among individuals from Bogotá. However, as the social identity of speakers situates these individuals in certain groups (e.g. working-class vs. upper class) which have particular ways of speaking or of using language forms (in this case forms of address), it was necessary to find out the tendencies in address among the different social groups. It is for this reason that Research Question 3, *What is the preferred form of address of each participating social group?* is included in the current

study. This investigation is intended to confirm and/or challenge previous findings on this matter but, most importantly, it is aimed at contributing new information that arises from the nature of the study. This investigation incorporates previously unaddressed aspects in the literature such as actual language use, the family context and the inclusion of participants from all social classes.

Research Question 4, *What implications can the use of one form over another have in the development of dialogue*, is important in this study because it provides information not only about the consequences of choosing one form over the other, but also about participants' motivations for their selection. This question was devised as a result of the pilot study, in which *vos*, *tú* and *usted* users addressed each other with the form *tú* only. This behavior was associated with the participants' desire to align themselves socially and linguistically in the interaction. Some of them stated in the interview that they would "negotiate" the form to be used in conversation so they all would be on the same "level". However, in a video recorded conversation of the pilot study in which participants were addressing each other with the form *tú*, there was a situation marked by disagreement and opposition. This situation provoked one of the participants to suddenly change to the form *usted*, something that was acknowledged by the others as a sign of this person's anger. This sudden change to the use of *usted* by one of the participants not only indexed this person's change in mood but also affected the rest of the conversation as participants appeared somewhat tense and saw the need to change the topic of discussion. Furthermore, the conversations of my pilot study that had a symmetrical address brought interlocutors closer to each other. On the other hand, in the conversation with an asymmetrical address, individuals seemed to keep track of each other's linguistic and social idiosyncrasies, which had a negative effect in the development of the dialogue taking place. To be able to investigate the positive as well as negative consequences that a specific type of address

brings into a conversation was important for the current project. Also, by finding out the consequences of a certain type of address I was also able to determine a speaker's motivation for its use.

### **3.3. The Participants**

The current study included a total of 78 participants ranging in age from 6 months to 81 years. There were 37 men and 41 women from different socio-economic backgrounds. The participants in this project were individuals from the researcher's social network (family, friends, and acquaintances), as well as some were individuals not previously known by the researcher (friend of a friend). All participants in this study had lived in Bogotá for at least 5 years at the time of data collection. Two of them were residing in the U.S. but at the time of data collection were visiting their families in Bogotá. They were included in this study as well as their children in order to make some comparisons between their address and the address portrayed by those participants residing in Bogotá.

The participants were directly contacted by the researcher who met with them to explain the project and asked them to participate. This socialization was done orally. Once The potential participants had agreed to participate, they were given a consent form to know more details about the study and to indicate their will to participate by signing the consent form. Parents with underaged children (minors) were also a given a consent for each underaged child that they had. Minors were also read an assent form. Only those individuals who expressed their will to participate by signing their consent form and/or assent form took part in the study. Also, in order to protect their identity, participants were assigned a pseudonym, which was used to identified them throughout the presentation and discussion of the data. Table 14 provides further information about the participants of this study.

Table 14

*Classification of Participants by Social Factors*

Gender	Male participants	37
	Female participants	41
Social Class	Working-class participants	30
	Lower-middle-class participants	33
	Upper-middle-class participants	15
Age	2 to 12 years of age	10
	13-19	10
	20-29	10
	30-39	12
	40-41	13
	50-59	13
	60-81	10
Total of participants		78

*Note.* The official social stratification of the participants' residence (neighborhood) indicated their socioeconomic status. See section 3.4.1 for more details.

The family was selected as the focus population because it is a group that had not been studied in detail in any study about forms of address in Bogotá. The family, traditionally known as the nucleus of society, not only influences language development and socialization (Hoff, 2006; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011) but also depicts many of the interactional characteristics of any other social group including authority, compliance, contestation, independence, or cooperation. In addition, the traditional concept of the Latin family still operates in Colombia. Children live with their parents usually until they get married, and in some cases of economic hardship, couples can be seen living at their parents' house. The numerous members in a Colombian family provide opportunities for frequent visitors and interactions that resemble socialization in other contexts. In addition to the family context, this study also included the analysis of the

address used among a group of friends and the address given to people representing some specific occupations which include the taxi driver and the house maid.

### **3.4. Data Sources and Data Collection**

Data for this study were collected in Bogotá over a period of two months during the summer of 2017. Data sources included a semi-structured sociolinguistic interview, a questionnaire and the videotaping of naturally-occurring conversations. The instruments used in this investigation were designed based on the instruments used in a prior pilot study, which will be discussed in section 3.6., and on data collection instruments from other studies. Most data collection instruments used in interviews in previous studies included a somewhat varied list of individuals with whom participants normally interact and whom participants are supposed to address with either form of address *tú* or *usted*. They also include a series of questions either open-ended or in yes/no format that require participants to express their understanding of the use of forms *tú* and *usted*. Examples of such studies and this type of instruments include Bartens (2003), Colenso-Semple (2008), Lamanna, (2011) and Pagel (1990). In the same way, Michnowicz and Place (2010) designed a set of interesting questions about the perceptions and attitudes individuals can have towards forms of address *tú*, *usted* and *vos* in El Salvador. One more observed set of instruments to collect data was the one developed by the *Proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y de América (PRESSEA)*, a coordinated project of several research teams from universities in Latin America and Spain. PRESEEA coordinates sociolinguistic research both in Spain and the Hispanic America, and as part of its work, a team of researchers from Bogotá developed a series of questionnaires to study forms of address. This is an interesting instrument that includes a series of lists of possible interlocutors with whom participants interact grouped by the type of relation they have with the participant and a series of

open-ended questions that seek to investigate the social and attitudinal aspects. Both positive and negative aspects of the aforementioned studies guided the designing of the data collection instruments for the current project which include an interview and a questionnaire.

**3.4.1. The interview.** The interview investigated participants' understanding of forms of address *tú* and *usted* as well as the ideology behind participants' use of these forms. A mostly open-ended question format was chosen to not force participants to select between only two options. In cases in which there was a yes/no question, it served the purpose of introducing the subsequent question(s), which further explored the participants' point of view being discussed. The questions were written in very simple language, so participants would not have difficulty understanding the questions; however, in some cases some paraphrasing or clarification of the question by the interviewer was necessary. The copy of the interview given and read to adult participants was written using the form *usted* while the copy of the interview given and read to minors was worded with the form *tú*. The interview starts with a series of questions to gather demographic information about the participants. This section asks participants to provide their name, gender, occupation, educational level, place of residence in the city (neighborhood), and length of residence in Bogotá as well as in other previous locations. This section also asks participants to share the geographical origin of their parents. The information in this section was extremely important in determining some crucial social aspects of the participants. For example, the participants' place of residence helped with determining their socio-economic status. Regarding this social aspect, the municipal government of Bogotá through its *Secretaría Distrital de Hacienda* assigns a social stratification to the neighborhoods. This classification goes from *estrato 1* (lowest) to *estrato 6* (highest). On the other hand, the length of residence in Bogotá as well as in other cities let the researcher determine the influence of other dialects in the

participants' use of *tú* and *usted*. Similarly, the place of origin of the participants' parents also indicated any possible dialectal influence in the home.

As previously stated, the central part of the interview focused on participants' own understanding of the address with *tú* or *usted* and on the ideology that influences participants' use of these forms. The first section (Question 1) asked participants to enunciate their own rules for using these forms of address. The next section of the interview (Questions 2 to 6) explored in more detail the social factors influencing the use of *tú* and *usted*. This set of questions asked participants to state whether and to what extent some specific social aspects influence their use of *tú* and *usted*. These aspects include interlocutor's age, gender, degree of familiarity with interlocutor, as well as interlocutors' social class and degree of hierarchy. The questions about the social aspects were important as they had been the most recurrent factors of influence in previous studies. The next set of questions (Questions 7 and 8) explored participants' own conceptualization of forms of address *tú* and *usted*. These questions were important because through them it was possible to determine the indexical meanings (including social and contextual meanings) of forms of address. The next section (Questions 9 to 16) asked participants to state their preferences in address and the reasons for such preferences. Regarding this section, the participants' rationale for their preferences shed light on the perceptions and attitudes that individuals from Bogotá have toward *tú* and *usted*. Also, these questions contributed with further information on the indexical meanings of these forms, a central aspect of this investigation. The next series of questions (Questions 17 to 19) asked participants to discuss their awareness and motivations to use *tú* or *usted*, aspects suspected of being influential when using forms of address. The next questions (Questions 20 and 21) explored the influence of affectivity and of topic of discussion in the selection of form of address, aspects found to be

influential in the pilot study as well as in López López' (2016) study about the use of forms of address in Facebook. Questions 22 to 25 focused on the negotiation and the effects of choosing between *tú* and *usted* in conversation. These questions elicited the consequences of using *tú* and *usted* and people's motivations for using either form. The questions on negotiation of form of address were aimed at finding out whether participants understand the address system as something fixed or if individuals have agency to manipulate the address system and use it in ways that are indicative of their own linguistic and social identity as well as of their own intentionality. The last question of the interview (Question 26) asked participants what they do in situations in which they do not know or are not sure what form of address to use. This question elicited possible ways to avoid addressing others directly as well as the rationale for the negotiation of the form of address to be used in such situations. Table 15 illustrates the different sections of the interview. The complete interview can be found in Appendix A.

Table 15

*The Interview: Sections/ Types of Questions*

Section / Type of Question	Question #
Demographic information	Introductory section
Participants' internalized rules for using <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>	1
Social factors that condition the use of <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>	2-6
Participants conceptualizations of <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>	7-8
Preferences in address and perceptions of <i>tú</i> , <i>usted</i> and the users	9-16
Participants' awareness and intentionality when using <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>	17-19
Influence of the affective factor	20
Influence of topic of conversation	21
Implications of using <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>	22-23
Negotiation of the form of address	24-25
Uncertainty regarding which form of address to use	26

When administering the interview, a copy was given to the participants, so they could follow the reading of the questions which in fact was done by the interviewer (the researcher). Answers given by the participants were recorded in writing by the interviewer and were also recorded in audio format. A few interviews were also video-recorded. Given the nature of most questions (open-ended), the interview allowed for asking follow-up questions. Also, the researcher conducted the interview in a way that it resembled a pleasant conversation by providing a relaxed atmosphere in which participants felt comfortable to share their views about the address they use. When the interview taking place included a minor (13-18 years of age), the presence of an adult family member was required. The researcher interviewed participants mostly individually; however, in a few cases, the interviewed was given to two individuals simultaneously, such as in the case of some couples. Interviews lasted an average of 45 minutes. All interviews took place in the homes of the participants, except for one family that was interviewed in their place of work (a tailoring and alterations shop).

**3.4.2. The questionnaire.** The questionnaire aimed at determining the specific address participants use with a series of individuals grouped by the type of relation participants have with these individuals as well as the reason(s) for their choice. The reasons for such choices pointed out important aspects that described the ideology behind participants' use of forms of address. In this way, the questionnaire complemented the interview by helping describe the logic behind participants' choices for address at the same time that it explored participants' specific preferences, which would be later validated with the data collected in the video recorded conversations. The first category of the questionnaire is the family, followed by the extended family, the in-laws, the participants' close social network, individuals from work and school, and those individuals who are unknown to the participants. The questionnaire also asked participants

to provide the specific form of address they usually employ to address a series of individuals from different occupations. Table 16 illustrates the different sections of the questionnaire.

Table 16

*The Questionnaire: The Different Sections*

Type of relation / Group	Members of the group
Immediate family	Mother, father, brother, brother, sister, son, daughter, spouse, pet.
Extended family	Uncle, aunt, male cousin, female cousin, niece, nephew, grandfather, grandmother, grandchild.
In-Laws	Father in-law, mother in-law, brother in-law, sister in-law.
Close social network	Boyfriend/girlfriend, best male friend, best female friend, other friends.
Work / School	Boss, younger employee, older employee, male co-worker, female co-worker, younger co-worker, older co-worker, male classmate, female classmate, professor/teacher.
Unfamiliar individuals	Male stranger, female stranger, younger stranger, homeless person.
Certain occupations	Police officer, security guard, maid, medical doctor, taxi driver, younger waiter/waitress, older waiter/waitress, priest/pastor, God.

In addition to investigating the specific address used with the previous individuals, some items of the questionnaire were aimed at finding the effect of the affective factor. From this perspective, participants were also asked how they address their significant others when they are mad at these individuals as well as how they address their children when they are reprimanding

them. Also, the version of the questionnaire given to minors was slightly modified so it could relate to the type of individuals with whom they usually interact. In this way, the questionnaire given to minors did not include the section of the in-laws or work, but it included more individuals from the school context such as the school principal, the bus driver, the school janitor, and the cafeteria staff. Both the questionnaire given to adults and questionnaire given to minors can be found in Appendices B and C respectively.

The questionnaire was administered in the home of the participants right after the interview; however, participants were asked if they wanted to take a break in between the two parts. In the cases in which the participant was a minor, a break of a few minutes was given to the minor. Even though participants were given a hard copy of the questionnaire, the interviewer (researcher) read the form out loud to the participant. Also, the interviewer wrote down the answers provided by the participants. This was done to avoid participants rushing and not completing the questionnaire appropriately. In addition, the answers given by the participants during the interview were audio recorded.

Note that even though the observational data (videotaped spontaneous conversations) included participants of all ages (see section 5.3), the interview and questionnaire were given only to those participants 13 years of age and above. Also, the instruments intended for the adult population make use of the form *usted* when asking and/or directing participants while the instrument for the minor population was worded using the form *tú*. As previously stated, some items of the questionnaire were modified to match the minor population. Appendices A to G include the data collection instruments (both Spanish and English versions) for both types of participants, adults and minors.

**3.4.3. The naturally-occurring conversations.** A third source of data was an approximate of 40 hours of video and/or audio recording of naturally-occurring (or spontaneous) conversations. The purpose of collecting this observational data was to observe participants' use of forms of address in real oral communication, which is an approach overlooked in many of the previous investigations. The main context of interaction was the home context and most of the conversations happened during meals. Most families were video-recorded at least twice during a minimum of 45 minutes each time. However, some families were recorded for longer periods of time. Conversations were also video recorded at gatherings with friends and at a tailoring and alterations shop. In addition to the video recorded situations, notes were taken during the interaction one of the participants had with a couple of taxi drivers as she ran some errands in the city, and a conversation held in a car by two adult friends was also audio recorded. The data collected through the videotaping of naturally-occurring conversations complemented the data collected with the interview and questionnaire. It either validated or contrasted with the information previously shared by participants as well as it provided new information about the use of *tú* and *usted* in conversation.

Since most conversations took place during meal times, the researcher arrived at the homes of the participating families before these events started so he could set up the camera and had the opportunity to interact with them and develop some rapport. The researcher had the role of participant-observer, and therefore, he took part in some of the conversations. While recording and observing the conversations, the researcher took notes that could better contextualize and support the audio/videotaped data. The notes were related, among other aspects, to the setting of the conversation, disposition of the participants, topics of conversation and meaningful uses of forms of address caught at the time of observation.

### 3.5. Data Analysis

**3.5.1. The interview and questionnaire.** This section explains how the researcher analyzed the data gathered for this qualitative study. First of all, the information given by participants in the interview and questionnaire was compiled in different separate documents representing various categories:

1. The whole group of participants
2. The group of men
3. The group of women
4. The group composed of individuals from the working-class
5. The group composed of individuals from the lower-middle class
6. The group composed of individuals from the upper-middle class
7. The group composed of individuals whose age is 13-19 years
8. The group composed of individuals whose age is 20-29 years
9. The group composed of individuals whose age is 30-39 years
10. The group composed of individuals whose age is 40-49 years
11. The group composed of individuals whose age is 50-59 years
12. The group of individuals whose age is 60 years or more.

Once the researcher compiled the information gathered in the interview and questionnaire, he went over the various documents (compiled information of the interview and compiled information of the questionnaire) and wrote additional side notes and/or codes that signaled important aspects that emerged from the information given by the participants. Also, in most cases the information provided by participants was quantified in percentages (e.g. percentage of individuals who have a positive conceptualization of the form *tú*). The

quantification of the data was crucial in determining parameters and/or preferences among the different social groups.

The data gathered with the interview were sufficient in answering all four research questions; however, the interview was most important in determining the indexical meanings associated with forms of address *tú* and *usted* (Research Question 1). By learning about the true conceptualization that participants have of the address with *tú* and *usted* and about their opinions of the individuals who use/prefer either form, the researcher was able to formulate a description of the social meanings of these forms (a central aspect of this investigation). Likewise, the data gathered in the questionnaire were sufficient in answering all four research questions, but it was most important in determining the participants' preferences in address.

**3.5.2. The naturally-occurring conversations (Analysis).** The data collected through the videotaping of spontaneous conversations was central to this study. In order to analyze this observational data, the researcher created a word-processing document that he filled out while watching the situations in their entirety (see Appendix H). This document contained the following contextual information:

- Name of the event (e.g. breakfast at the Manrique's or BBQ at the Dominguez')
- Date and time of the recording
- Location and description of the place where the event took place
- List of participants with their corresponding age, biological gender, occupation and social strata that classified them
- Type of relationship that participants have (e.g. immediate family, immediate and extended family, friends)

In addition to the previous contextual information, the researcher wrote on a different section of the previously mentioned document all the cases in which participants addressed each other directly (using *tú*, *usted* or their equivalent verb forms) or indirectly (e.g. use of the third person, use of the gerund in imperatives). For this part, the researcher specifically wrote down a code that identified the participants involved in the exchange and the address forms used by them. Additional side notes were taken on some of the different exchanges in which the researcher saw a notorious element in the way participants addressed each other. Also, in a different section of this format, the researcher wrote down the aspects that seemed to have influenced the interactions. Finally, on a different section, the researcher wrote down further notes that described the event such as topics of conversation being discussed, notes on the linguistic behavior of participants (e.g. vocabulary being used in the situation that caught the researcher's attention, the way the participants addressed the researcher). In this section the researcher wrote down any other aspects that could be later used to describe the situation and analyze the use of address forms.

After watching the videos, filling out the previously described format and referring to the field notes, the researcher chose some significant situations that were more closely analyzed (i.e. codified) and make part of the situations described in this study. It is necessary to note that most of the conversations mentioned in the results of this study are important not only because they present important information about the use of *tú* and *usted*, but also because they represent a recurrent observed behavior of the participants.

**3.5.3. Coding the data.** In order to analyze the video recorded conversations, selections of the data had to be coded with regard to the linguistic and social aspects that are thought to be influencing the use of *tú* and *usted*. Dörnyei (2007) and Creswell (2007) offer a series of

guidelines that were taken into consideration in the current study. The following were some important steps that were followed when coding the data:

- Significant parts of the video/audio taped conversations were transcribed showing both linguistic and nonlinguistic features of the conversations in order to have a more complete context of the recorded interaction.
- The transcribed text was read completely in order to spot relevant passages to the topic being investigated. Once these relevant passages were identified, they were highlighted and added an informative code on the margin. As suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) the coding of the data started with *a priori* or pre-existing codes, which were derived from the present study's research questions, adopted conceptual framework and from the previous literature on *tú* and *usted*.
- Pre-analytic remarks were added in the right margin in order to add meaning to the coded segment.
- The data were analyzed for themes and patterned regularities.
- General themes and their corresponding subthemes were identified.

The coding of the data with regard to the aspect of affect can serve as an example of how coding was carried out in the current investigation. First of all, one of the goals of the current investigation was to determine the motivations that speakers from Bogotá have in using forms of address *tú* and *usted* in conversation. According to previous studies (Bartens, 2003; López López, 2016; Mestre de Caro, 2011; Uber, 2011), one of such motivations these speakers seem to have in selecting between *tú* and *usted* is the expression of affect. Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) propose that languages have certain features that individuals use to key affect to others, and that these features are the bases for their interlocutors to construct their subsequent interactional

moves. Forms of address *tú* and *usted* are among the linguistic elements that Spanish uses to express affect. Previous studies have shown how a sudden change of form of address in conversation indexes a change in speaker's mood. Also, a person's expression of affect through forms of address can have consequences in the development of the ongoing dialogue as was found in this project's pilot study: a sudden change in form of address by one of the participants indexed a problematic situation that affected the flow of the interaction.

The current research investigated how affect emerges in socialization through forms of address *tú* and *usted*. To see how it emerges in conversation, a series of aspects needed to be considered. Goodwin (2006) shows how affect surfaces in conversation not only through verbal elements but also with nonverbal features such as gesture, body posture and intonation. The pilot study of this project demonstrated that opposition and disagreement was exteriorized through a sudden change in form of address accompanied by hand wave as well as by a slower and louder speech, signs that were assessed by the other participants' as a manifestation of anger.

Subsequently, the analysis of affect is not only concerned with what people say, but how they say it. The way speakers encode their stances, feelings and perceptions of situations creates an effect in their interlocutor's subsequent construction of feelings, moods and disposition because, as put by Wilce (2014), "language is felt and/or becomes the object of feeling" (p. 81). From this perspective, forms of address *tú* and *usted* are not only linguistic signs with a mere referential meaning, but also tools for social action through which participants show alignment or opposition to others as well as a tool through which individuals exteriorize their feelings.

Nevertheless, the current study presumed that the way individuals from different social groups express affect through *tú* and *usted* would not be the same. People from different social groups identify with *tú* or *usted* in different ways, and therefore, they "feel" these words

differently. Wilce (2014) explains that as part of the process of socialization, novices learn how to express affect in ways that are relevant to their own speech communities. The current study investigated how participants from different social groups constructed affect through their use of *tú* and *usted*. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that affect, as explained by Ochs and Schieffelin (1989), is a broad term that includes many concepts including feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with people and/or situations. Given the variety of aspects that are covered by affect, a series of codes that cover all this diversity needed to be created. Equally important is the fact that *tú* and *usted* can be key elements in what Ochs and Schieffelin call positive affect (e.g. love, empathy, happiness, excitement) as well as in negative affect (e.g. anger, disappointment, sadness, worry).

At the stage of doing the actual coding of form of address use with regard to the expression of affect, the researcher started with making a transcription of the situations that portrayed all linguistic as well as nonlinguistic features that accompany form of address use. Nonverbal indicators of affect can be gesture, gaze, and body posture. On the other hand, linguistic features that index affect can be lexical elements and supra-segmental features such as intonation and voice volume. In order to have a detailed transcription, the researcher attended to the video recordings as well as to his field notes, which contained supporting details of the situations being recorded. These supporting details included notes on the setting, the actions taking place, the mood of participants, their dispositions, the topics being discussed and a description of the type of language being used. Both, video-recorded data and field notes were crucial in producing a fine transcription of the situations. Also, after transcribing the data to be analyzed, notes on the right margin of the transcriptions were added to indicate aspects of importance that were observed during the viewing of the videotaped data.

Since one of the central goals of this investigation was to compare pronoun use (including in the enactment of affect) across different social groups and determine the reasons for such differences, the data had to be coded in a way that could account such differences. Consequently, some codes were related to the way participants expressed affect depending on the gender of both speaker and addressee, their social class, age, type of relationship and the degree of hierarchy of both participants in relation to each other. Based on the research questions of the present study and on previous literature regarding *tú* and *usted*, the following list of *a priori* codes in regard to the aspect of affect was developed:

AF: Affect (segment containing the expression of affect)

- **Type of affect**

POS-AF: Positive affect (e.g. love, empathy, happiness, excitement)

NEG-AF: negative affect (e.g. anger, disappointment, sadness, worry)

- **Affect and how it relates to the aspects of gender and age**

AF-W-W: Affect expressed by a woman to another woman

AF-W-M: Affect expressed by a woman to a man

AF-W-C: Affect expressed by a woman to a child

AF-W-OLD: Affect expressed by woman to an older person

AF-M-M: Affect expressed by a man to another man

AF-M-W: Affect expressed by a man to a woman

AF-M-C: Affect expressed by a man to a child

AF-M-OLD: Affect expressed by man to an older person

AF-C-C: Affect expressed by child to another child

AF-C-W: Affect expressed by child to an adult woman

AF-C-M: Affect expressed by child to an adult man

- **Affect and how it relates to the aspects of degree of familiarity between interlocutors**

AF-FAM: Affect expressed by individual with whom participant is familiarized

AF-NOFAM: Affect expressed by individual with whom participant is not familiarized

- **Affect and how it relates to social class of participants**

AF-SOC: Affect based on social class (This segment of the conversation includes the appreciation of some event, circumstance or object from a social class perspective such as when individuals from the upper class talk about the working class in a discriminatory way)

- **Affect and how it relates to the type of context of interaction**

AF-FORM: Affect expressed in a formal context

AF-INFORM: Affect expressed in an informal context

AF-PRI: Affect expressed in a public context

AF-PUB: Affect expressed in a private context

- **Affect and how it relates to the level of hierarchy of participants**

AF-S-B: Affect expressed by a subordinate to a person with higher level of hierarchy

AF-B-S: Affect expressed by a person with a higher level of hierarchy in comparison to his/her interlocutor

### **3.6. Answering the Research Questions**

A careful analysis and synthesis of the information shared by the participants in the interview and questionnaire as well as the observed behavior in the video situations allowed the

researcher to determine the indexical (or social) meanings of forms of address *tú* and *usted* (Research Question 1), the social and linguistic aspects that influence the use of these forms (Research Question 2), the participants' preferences in regard to how they address others (Research Question 3), and the implications of the use of these forms in dialogue (Research Question 4).

Finally, the results of this study were analyzed with the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 2 (indexicality, CAT, language and social identity, and language attitudes/language ideologies). The analysis of the results with this theoretical framework let the researcher propose his own theoretical description of how forms of address are used in the city of Bogotá in the contexts on which the present study focused. In addition, the researcher compared the results of the current investigation with results from previous investigations in order to find commonalities and differences, and in this way highlight the contributions of this study to the study of forms of address and to academic areas such as pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

### **3.7. Prior Exploration of the Methodology and Instruments: A Pilot Study**

During the Spring semester of 2016, the researcher explored both the methodology and instruments described for the current study as well as tested how well some of the theoretical background fit this type of study. The investigator conducted a study about the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* among a group of Colombian individuals that were then residing in the southeast of the U.S. The ethnographic study looked in detail at how Spanish forms of address *tú* and *usted* were used in interactions occurring at the dinner table context, a setting in which different types of topics are discussed and in which formality and intimacy can play a role in the conversations. The purpose of the project was to determine the linguistic as well as the social parameters that influence the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted* and at how choosing one form

or another could have certain implications in the construction of social relationships among these individuals.

The participants in this study consisted of a group of 11 adult native Spanish speakers from Colombia. At the time of participation, five of them were students at the English Language Institute of a university located in the area where the study took place. All these individuals were professionals in different areas, resided in Colombia, and were in the U.S. only during the time of their English course. Additionally, two participants were graduate students at the same university. One was pursuing his master's degree while the other was working on her Ph.D. Two more participants were pursuing a bachelor's degree at a different institution in the same area where the study took place, and the last two participants were a male professional individual who resided in the area and a female Ph.D. student who was only visiting the U.S. for a few days. In all, the group of participants was made up of six females and five males, and their ages ranged from 21 to 44.

For the data collection, the participants were video recorded while they were having conversations before, during, and after lunch for one group, and dinner for a second group. On a different day, the participants were also given a semi-structured interview that asked participants about their understanding and use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*. Participants also answered a questionnaire that asked them to state which forms they use to address some specific individuals.

For data analysis, selected parts of the video recording were transcribed and coded in order to find the parameters that motivated the participants' use of *tú* and *usted*. Their linguistic behavior in regard to the use of forms of address was compared with their ideas expressed in the interview and questionnaire. Finally, after analyzing and comparing video recordings and

answers gathered in the interview and questionnaire, some generalizations were made about this group's use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*.

Four main claims summarize the findings of this pilot study. First of all, the use of forms of address by this group of Colombians does not match the most frequently referenced pattern of *usted* as being formal and *tú* as informal. Second, the choice of form of address in this group of Colombians responds to a combination of contextual factors that include degree of familiarity with the interlocutor, formality, respect, gender, age, hierarchy, social status, topic and tone of the conversation and even the communicative intention of the speaker. Third, individuals tend to align their speech by portraying a symmetrical use of address forms. However, it is important to note that alignment among women contrasted with the alignment among men. Finally, a lack of alignment in the use of forms of address in dialogue was indexical of important conversational factors such as distance, disagreement and opposition.

In general, the findings of the interview and questionnaire showed an apparent preference for the address with *tú* by most individuals in many contexts. This generalized use of the form *tú* was reported mainly by the individuals from Bogotá in comparison with participants from other regions, especially one young woman from Villavicencio (a city located 78 miles southeast of Bogotá) for whom *usted* was the form that indexed most familiarity and closeness. Also, there seems to be a change in the preference for address form among the participants. Several of the informants reported to have used the address with *usted* more frequently in previous years, but now they prefer to use *tú*. As a reason for such change, some reported an influence of the contact with other Spanish varieties in the U.S. In summary, reports from the group of Spanish speakers from Colombia suggest that the way in which individuals address each other in this nation is very complex and responds to different social aspects such as age of the speakers, gender, hierarchy,

level of familiarity or closeness, and even their socioeconomic status. Also, linguistic aspects such as the topic and tone of the conversation play important roles when addressing others.

Both interview and questionnaire were useful in identifying several important aspects regarding the use of *tú* and *usted*. Among other things, through the interview, the researcher was able to determine the participants' positive and negative associations with forms of address *tú* and *usted*, the aspects these participants believed influence their use of such forms, the participants' desire to accommodate their interlocutors as well as themselves in conversation, and their awareness when selecting between one form or the other. The interview also showed that most participants had pre-established and prescriptive notions of *tú* and *usted* which contrasted with their actual language use during the meal conversations.

The ethnographic data were particularly important in determining crucial aspects that influenced the use of *tú* and *usted* in dialogue. Through the video-recorded interactions, the researcher was able to see the influence of affectivity, gender, and also the tendency of participants to align their speech patterns (in this case, forms of address) with those of their interlocutors, even in situations in which the form of address being used was not a person's most preferred.

This pilot study revealed that forms of address *tú* and *usted* cannot be situated in fixed specific roles because their meaning and use is also mediated in dialogue. *Tú* and *usted* are capable of generating multiple meanings depending on the contexts in which they occur and in which agency and intentionality play important roles. From this perspective, following traditional rules about the use of *tú* and *usted* when interpreting the address used by Colombians could create confusion and misunderstanding. The results of this study also showed that the form *usted*, reported as prevalent among speakers from Bogotá in previous studies, could now be seen

as outdated by the newer generations. *Tú* was the most used form of address among this group of young adults, especially of those who were born or have lived extensively in Bogotá. Even though most men did prefer to use *usted* to address other men, they also expressed their desire to extend their use of *tú* even in situations in which they would address other men.

A series of lessons were learned from the design of this pilot project. One was the number of participants. Given the location of the study, it was difficult to incorporate a large number of participants. Also, there was much homogeneity in the group. All the participants were highly educated in addition to speaking a second language, and most of them were young individuals in their early twenties. The current study took these drawbacks into consideration by integrating several individuals from different educational levels as well as different socio-economic classes. The current study also included participants from a wider range of ages interacting in different types of formal and informal conversations.

## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

### 4.1. The Interview: All Participants

**4.1.1. Participants' own rules for using *tú* and *usted*.** The first aspect that the interview aimed at finding was the rules that participants follow when using the forms of address *tú* and *usted*. Regarding the address with *tú*, the most mentioned aspect was that of *confianza*. Its English translation, *trust*, is only partly accurate because *confianza* can be related to a combination of social concepts that dictate the state of a relationship. Drawing from Rheingold (1988), *confianza* could be more accurately defined as “a combination of utterly eternal, unshakable reliance, trust, confidence, and unconditional social support” (p. 28). The term characterizes long-term relationships and particularly strong family relations. Participants' own rules for using the form *tú* also included using this form with individuals with whom they have familiarity or affinity, with children as well as with individuals that are of the participants' same age or younger, and with someone for whom they feel affection, such as their significant others. In addition, some males emphasized their preference in using the address with *tú* when talking with females and their avoidance of this form when talking with other males.

Regarding the address with *usted*, participants' own rules include using this form of address when they want to convey respect as well as when addressing strangers or people they have just met. Participants also reported using *usted* when addressing individuals at higher hierarchical positions, such as their bosses. In addition, *usted* was reported as participants' preferred form used to address adults, and some participants also highlighted their use in

moments in which they feel upset or are angry with their interlocutor. Exceptions to these rules were present. Such is the case of 44-year-old Jacinto who reported using the form *usted* to address his family members. Jacinto linked the concept of tradition as a reason for his use of *usted* with this family. Table 17 summarizes the most reported rules for using *tú* or *usted*.

Table 17  
*Most Reported Rules for Using Tú and Usted*

Tú	Usted
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When there is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• When there is familiarity or affinity.</li> <li>• With people for whom participants feel affection.</li> <li>• With children and young individuals.</li> <li>• With women.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To convey respect.</li> <li>• With strangers or someone recently met.</li> <li>• With someone with higher hierarchy.</li> <li>• With adults.</li> <li>• When angry or upset.</li> </ul>

In addition to *tú* and *usted*, a considerable number of participants reported using *sumercé*, an apocopated form of *su merced* (translated into English as ‘your grace’). Participants reported using *sumercé* out of respect to address mainly adult individuals, such as their parents. For these individuals, *sumercé* is a form of address that denotes not only respect but also affection, which is the reason why they prefer it over *usted* when addressing very close adult individuals. Finally, a much smaller number of participants mentioned the use of form of the address *vos* to address very close friends.

**4.1.2. The social factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted*.** The interview also aimed at finding the influence of certain social aspects that have been reported in previous studies about forms of address in Bogotá. These aspects are age, gender, social class, and hierarchical level of interlocutor. In addition to the previous social aspects, the interview also

aimed at determining the influence of the level of *confianza* between interactants. The following general findings are described in sections 4.1.2.1 – 4.1.2.5. below.

**4.1.2.1. Age of interlocutor.** A total of 58% of respondents considered the age of interlocutor influential when using *tú* or *usted*. From this perspective, participants tend to use *tú* to address children, young people, or individuals of the same age of participants. On the other hand, participants tend to use *usted* to address adults or individuals who are older. It is important to note that many of the individuals who did not consider age of the interlocutor influential are in fact *usted* users; in other words, individuals who do not use or use very little the form *tú*.

**4.1.2.2. Gender of interlocutor.** In all, 63% of participants did not find gender of the interlocutor influential when using *tú* or *usted*. However, it is important to note that the majority of these participants were females. On the other hand, the 37% that did consider this social aspect important when using *tú* or *usted* is composed mostly of males. From the perspective of most women, it does not matter if the interlocutor is male or female to use *tú* or *usted*. On the other hand, from the perspective of most men, men use *tú* with women mainly and *usted* with men. Males avoid using *tú* with other men due to sexist or at least gendered beliefs that associate the address with *tú* with a delicate manner of speaking, with an address that is given to women and children. These biased beliefs about fixed gender roles and ways of speaking discourage men from using *tú* with other men.

**4.1.2.3. Degree of confianza between interlocutors.** A total of 68% of participants regarded the level of *confianza* they have with their interlocutor as an influential factor when using *tú* or *usted*. From this perspective, most participants tend to use *tú* with individuals with whom they have *confianza* such as family members and friends, but *usted* with people with whom they have no *confianza*, such as strangers.

**4.1.2.4. Social class of interlocutor.** In all, 83% stated that the social status of an individual is not an influential aspect when addressing this person with either *tú* or *usted*. The remaining 17% who found this aspect important (mainly individuals from the upper-middle class) stated that they use *tú* with members of their same social class and *usted* with members of other classes. Also, many participants who did not consider this aspect influential, did acknowledge the fact that the address with *tú* is more common in the upper classes. For example, 60-year-old Rómulo who comes from a lower-middle class family uses *tú* with his clients who are from an upper class because he knows this address is a better way to relate to them.

**4.1.2.5. Hierarchy of interlocutor.** This social aspect was reported as influential by 55% of participants. From this perspective, most respondents use *tú* with people with the same hierarchy as participants, but *usted* with those with higher or lower levels of hierarchy. Participants use *usted* with people with higher hierarchical levels because they consider *usted* more respectful. *Usted* is also preferred to address individuals at lower levels of hierarchy, not only out of respect but also to make these people feel comfortable because, as stated by several participants, many individuals from lower hierarchical levels do not know how to use the form *tú*. Figure 2 illustrates the reported influence of the previously mentioned social aspects.

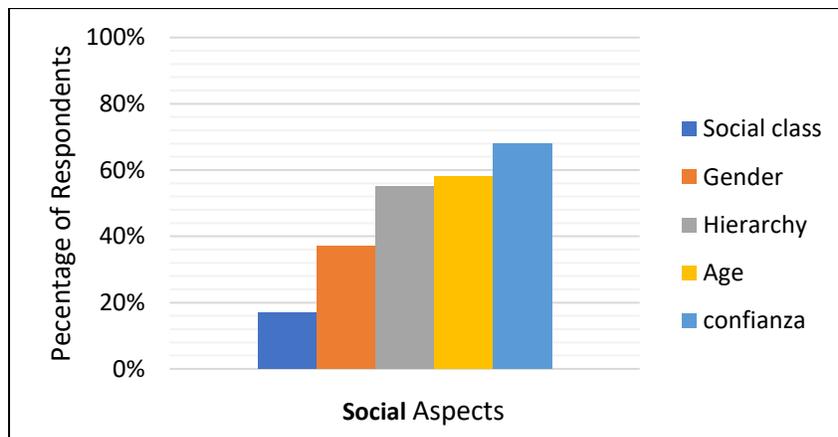


Figure 2. Reported influence of the social aspects in the address with *tú* or *usted*.

**4.1.3. Participants' conceptualization of the address with *tú* or *usted*.** One of the main aims of the interview was to determine the social meanings of *tú* and *usted*. In order to achieve this goal, it was necessary to first determine the true conceptualization that participants have of the forms *tú* and *usted* now that their mere referential meaning does not tell us much about the way in which individuals understand these forms. Holme (2009) states that “meaning is not conceptualized out of the world itself but from our experience of it. The source of meaning is therefore experiential and creates image schemas which are in turn used to fashion the conceptual metaphors out of which most abstract meaning is shaped” (p. 38). Following Holme, the true conceptualization of forms of address *tú* and *usted* is the meanings, concepts and feelings that participants associate with each form. It is expected that an individual's conceptualization of each form is dependent on his/her social identity and experience with such forms and their users.

**4.1.3.1. Conceptualization of the address with *tú*.** A total of 74% of participants associated the address with *tú* with positive concepts, 17% with neutral concepts and 9% with negative concepts. Participants with a positive conceptualization of the address with *tú* associated this address with (from most to least mentioned) *confianza*, closeness, affection, kindness, familiarity, appreciation, respect, affection, elegance, convenience, sweetness, education, delicateness, friendship, equality, affability, calm, warmth, good social status, evolution and youth. On the other hand, participants who had a negative conceptualization of the address with *tú* associated this address with the concepts of disrespect, appearances, pretensions, hypocrisy, and arrogance. Finally, participants who had a neutral conceptualization of the address with *tú* associated this form of talking with informality, a habit, a way of talking that is common, and with something that is personal and cultural. Figure 3 illustrates the concepts that participants associated with the form of address *tú*. Concepts with a larger font represent those

most common among participants. On the other hand, concepts with a smaller font represent those meanings that were mentioned by fewer participants.



Figure 3. Participants' conceptualization of form of address *tú*.

**4.1.3.2. Conceptualization of the address with *usted*.** 36% of participants had a neutral conceptualization of the address with *usted*, followed by participants who had either a positive or a negative conceptualization of this address (32% each group). Participants with a neutral conceptualization associated the address with *usted* with the concepts of formality and authority. *Usted* was also associated with a way of talking that is normal and that is given to strangers. Participants with a positive conceptualization associated the form *usted* with the concepts of respect, kindness, calm, convenience, familiarity, confidence, discretion, human sensibility, acceptance, modesty, decency, and affection. Finally, participants with a negative conceptualization of the address with *usted* associated this form with the concepts of distance, distrust, anger, roughness, aggression, rudeness, brusqueness, punishment, severity, barrier and coldness. Figure 4 illustrates participants' conceptualization of the address with *usted*. Concepts



- It expresses closeness, breaks barriers, generates a connection between people who use it, establishes a better conversation, and creates bonds.
- It empowers people to reach closeness during business deals.
- It shortens communication (i.e. practical).

On the other hand, most common negative opinions about the address with *tú* include:

- The address with *tú* makes individuals look overfamiliar.
- The address with *tú* is pretentious.
- The address with *tú* is disrespectful.

In addition, several individuals (mainly adults from the working class) stated not liking or being interested in this type of address.

Now, the most common neutral opinions about the address with *tú* include:

- The address with *tú* has consolidated lately.
- It is the way rich people talk.
- It comes from the upbringing an individual receives at home.
- It is just a way of talking.

Regarding the address with *usted*, 47 % of respondents had positive opinions, followed equally by participants who had either negative (26%) or neutral opinions (26%). Among the most common positive opinions about the address with *usted* we find:

- The address with *usted* is respectful.
- It is discreet and maintains the appropriate distance people want to have with their interlocutors.
- It is more comfortable, easier to use, calm, pleasant, and kind.
- It generates respect and authority.

On the other hand, some negative opinions about the address with *usted* include:

- The address with *usted* is distant, authoritative, aggressive, ugly, and is longer (not practical).
- It establishes barriers and highlights the differences between interlocutors.

Finally, from a neutral perspective, some participants thought that:

- The address with *usted* is normal, more common, and generational.
- It is the form people use when a friendship is starting.
- It is just a way of talking.
- It is being used less than before but it is still valid in the traditional society of Bogotá.

**4.1.4. Participants' perceptions of the address they receive.** The group of participants had a variety of perceptions of the address they receive from others as well as of sudden changes in address. They also had varied opinions of the individuals who use only or mostly one address.

**4.1.4.1. Participants' perceptions of the address with *tú* or *usted* by a person they have just met.** Participants were asked how they feel when they are addressed with *tú* or *usted* by a person they have just met. This question would report not only about the address participants prefer to have with people they do not know, but also it would further indicate the meanings and feelings associated with each of these forms. A total of 65% of all participants perceive the address with *tú* by a person they have just met in a neutral way. For many of these participants this address is normal and does not bother them. However, some participants condition the use of *tú* to the gender, age and attitude of the interlocutor. The address with *tú* in this situation is also acceptable if it comes from a person who is not a total stranger, such as a friend of a friend. On the other hand, 30% of participants regarded the address with *tú* in this type of situation as negative. For these participants receiving *tú* from a person they do not know well makes them

uncomfortable. People who use *tú* the first time they meet someone are perceived as overfamiliar and/or too expressive. Some participants would feel insecure, and/or abused if they receive *tú* by a stranger because it is difficult to know about this person's real intentions. Finally, only 3% of participants welcome this address. This small portion of the group believes that receiving *tú* from a stranger makes it easier to start and develop a pleasant conversation. It is important to note that two of the three participants who perceive this address as positive are minors.

Regarding the use of *usted* by a person the participants have just met, it is perceived neutrally by 60% of participants. For most of them *usted* is considered normal in this type of situation. 39% considered this address positive because it makes them feel comfortable and respected. Finally, only a 17-year-old female rejected or considered negative the address with *usted* in this situation.

**4.1.4.2. Participants' perceptions of a change in the way they are addressed.** The interview found that changes in the way people address each other do not always happen inadvertently and that these changes can create reactions and/or consequences in people's relationships with each other. If a friend or someone participants know well changes his/her address from *tú* to *usted*, such change is perceived as negative by 77% of participants. They feel uncomfortable about this change because for them it signals anger, some type of problem, or a negative feeling their interlocutor is harboring. Participants may wonder what went wrong or they may be well aware that this "negative" change is the result of a previous event (e.g. misunderstanding, argument, etc.). They may also think that their interlocutor is setting up some distance. For instance, 24-year-old Fabrizio stated that only when his wife is mad at him, she addresses him with *usted*. In addition, 16% of participants see this change from a neutral perspective. Some consider it normal and simply do not care or do not pay attention to these

types of nuances. Finally, only 7% of participants see this change from a positive perspective. All participants who see a change from *tú* to *usted* as positive are only *usted* users and are over 46 years of age.

On the other hand, a change in the opposite direction (from *usted* to *tú*) by a friend or someone participants know well is perceived as negative by 41% of the participants, followed by 36% who see this change as neutral and last by 23% who perceive this change as positive. Participants with a positive perception of this change believe the change is good because it shows that more *confianza* with their interlocutor has been achieved, the person is getting closer, is opening to them, is being more honest, or their friendship is getting stronger. Participants with a negative perspective reported feeling uncomfortable about the change because they have already established an address with this person and the change would make them wonder about their interlocutor's intentions. Finally, participants with a neutral perception of this change believe that it is a normal change that does not affect anything in their relationship with their interlocutor. However, some participants stated they would not answer back with *tú* but continue addressing their friend with *usted* because that is the address with which they established their relationship.

**4.1.4.3. Participants' opinions about people who address all others or most others with *tú*.** Opinions about individuals who tend to address everybody or mostly everybody with *tú* varied: 40% of participants had a negative opinion of these individuals, 31% had a positive opinion, and 29% a neutral opinion. The most common positive opinions about those who address everybody or mostly everybody with *tú* are:

- They are people who bond with others.

- They are friendly, open-minded, chatty, extroverted, accessible, cool, well-educated, and confident.
- They are easy to socialize with.
- They do not make distinctions in how to address different people (e.g. do not pay attention to their social class)
- They belong to a new generation.

On the other hand, some common negative opinions about individuals who address all others or most others with *tú* are:

- They are regarded as overfamiliar, disrespectful, sickly-sweet, exaggerated, pretentious, and hypocrites.

Finally, from a neutral perspective, some participants thought that:

- Those who address all or most others with *tú* do so simply because that is how they speak.
- That is the address they learned at home.
- It is the result of their upbringing.

**4.1.4.4. Participants' opinions about people who address all others or most others with *usted*.** Opinions about individuals who address all others or most others with *usted* also varied: 58% of participants had neutral opinions (neutral opinions or a combination of both positive and negative), 30% had negative opinions only, and 12% had only positive opinions. Among positive opinions we find:

- They are respectful.
- They are tactful.
- They value the other person (interlocutor).

- They keep their place and respect the place of others.
- They do not want to be overfamiliar.
- They are not phony.
- They are unbiased.

Negative opinions about individuals who only use *usted* include:

- They are distrustful, distant or closed-minded.
- They do not know how to use the form *tú*, so they are afraid of making mistakes.
- They do not allow or give others much *confianza*.
- They establish barriers.
- They did not evolve.
- They think they are more superior than others, and therefore, they feel the need to be respected.

Finally, neutral opinions about individuals who only use *usted* include:

- Their address is the result of their upbringing. (i.e., what they were exposed to at home).
- Their address is normal.
- It is their way of talking.
- They do not like or are interested in using *tú*.
- *Tú* is not part of their lexicon.
- They are serious and traditional.

**4.1.5. Participants' awareness and intentionality when using *tú* or *usted*.** A large portion of the group of participants reported being aware of the way they address others as well as they link their use of *tú* or *usted* to certain specific situations or purposes.

**4.1.5.1. Participants' awareness of the address they give others.** 47% of participants reported being rather unaware of the address they give others. These participants stated that the address they give others happens naturally as the address becomes a habit. On the other hand, 38% reported being aware of how they address others. These participants reported being especially aware of their use of *tú*. Finally, 15% stated that they are aware of the address they give others in certain situations but not in others. 21-year-old John, for instance, reported that he is very conscious about how he addresses a person the first time; but from there on, the address he gives this person could happen inadvertently.

**4.1.5.2. Speaker intentionality.** In alignment with the awareness in address expressed by a large portion of the group of participants, the following is a series of situations in which most interviewed individuals use the form of address *tú* intentionally:

- When speaking with someone for whom participants have affection or to whom they feel attracted such as their significant other.
- When participants want to obtain closeness with their interlocutor or want to pass the prevention barrier.
- When participants want to bond with their interlocutor.
- When participants want to calm, comfort or cheer someone up.
- When participants reprimand someone, and they do not want to sound too harsh.
- When asking for a favor, especially to individuals of the opposite sex.
- When participants want to present themselves as equals in a conversation in which the form *tú* is used or when they want their interlocutor to feel equal.

Conversely, the following is a list of situations in which participants use the form of address *usted* intentionally:

- When participants are in a bad mood (e.g. angry, upset) or have some friction with their interlocutor.
- When they exercise authority, such as when giving an order.
- When they issue a complaint.
- When they want to convey respect for their interlocutor or want to be respected.
- When they speak with certain individuals for whom participants have respect or deference such as teachers and police officers.
- When speaking with individuals with whom there is no *confianza*.
- When speaking with individuals with whom participants want to establish distance.

**4.1.6. The influence of affect.** Most participants (63%) reported affect as an influential aspect when using forms of address *tú* or *usted*. From this perspective, most participants use *tú* when they are in a good mood but *usted* if they are upset with their interlocutor or feel stressed or in a bad mood in general.

**4.1.7. The influence of the topic of conversation.** Most participants (66%) reported topic of conversation as not influential when using *tú* or *usted*. What really matters for these individuals is the type of context in which the conversation takes place and the participants in it. The remaining 34%, who stated that the topic of conversation matters, provided, in fact, mostly types of contexts or speech acts more than topics per se. For this minority, *tú* is used in casual conversations among friends, in conversation about love issues, or when talking to the person with whom participants are having a romantic relationship. *Tú* is also the form they use when they give compliments and the form they use in courtship and intimacy. *Tú* was also reported as the form to use when asking for a favor, comforting someone and when praying to God. In the same way, the minority who reported topic of conversation as influential use *usted* when

complaining, when talking about business, in heated conversations and in discussions or debates about serious matters, such as when talking about the problems of the country with adults, as reported by 15-year-old Paloma.

**4.1.8. The effects of a person's address: situations in which *tú* or *usted* are not welcome.** Participants were asked to report the situations in which they do not like to receive either *tú* or *usted*. The following is a list of the most common situations in which the address with *tú* is not welcome by participants:

- When their interlocutor does not use the form *tú* “correctly”, or as expresses by 17-year-old Marcela, “*Cuando tustean.*”
- When the address with *tú* comes from someone with whom participants do not have *confianza*, such as strangers.
- When *tú* comes from individuals with whom participants have a functional or commercial relationship such as street vendors, security guards, store clerks, domestic servants, delivery boys and subordinates.
- Females do not feel comfortable being addressed with *tú* especially by male strangers because they can perceive this type of address as flirtatious.
- Many males do not welcome the address with *tú* when it comes from another male. They perceive this address as not masculine enough and some may even perceive it as flirtatious.
- When participants are addressed with *tú* by someone with whom they had already established an address with *usted*.
- When *tú* is not used is in a positive way (e.g. to express positive feelings). The use of the form *tú* in negative contexts or situations can be perceived as hypocrite.

On the contrary, the following is a list of the most common situations in which the use of the form of address *usted* is not welcome:

- When the address with *usted* comes from the participants' couple.
- When *usted* comes from someone with whom participants have a steady address with *tú*.  
The use of *usted* in this context signals friction or conflict with their interlocutor.
- When the explicit pronoun is used, and it is accompanied by an unfriendly tone.

It is important to note that an approximate 30% of participants expressed to not feel uncomfortable about receiving the form *usted* in any type of situation.

**4.1.9. Participants' adaptation and negotiation of the form of address in conversation.** A significant part of the group reported adapting to the form of address used by their interlocutor and/or negotiating the form of address in conversation.

**4.1.9.1. Adaptation to the interlocutor's form of address.** In situations in which both participants and their interlocutors bring different forms of address to the dialogue (e.g. the participant uses *usted*, but their interlocutor uses the form *tú*), 47% stated that they do not adapt. This group of participants, composed of mainly *usted* users, prefers to keep using their own form of address regardless of if their interlocutor uses a different form. The answers provided by these participants suggest that adapting to a different form of address affects their linguistic and social identity, especially for the *usted* users. For instance, 20-year-old Carolina said: *I put up with the person's use of tú, but I keep using usted.* Also, 69-Maricela said: *I speak the way I speak. Why do I have to use tú?* From the same perspective, 28-year-old Jair stated: *That is the way I speak. I am not going to change the way I speak just to please someone.*

Contrary to the group of participants who reported being determined not to adapt to the form of address used by their interlocutor, 31% reported favoring adaptation. They do so out of

kindness and to make their interlocutor feel comfortable in the conversation. They also do it out of respect. For this group of participants, the adaptation is necessary for the dialogue to be a pleasant one. Participants who favored adaptation belong to either a younger generation or to a middle-class family. Finally, 22 % of participants reported adapting to the form of address used by their interlocutor depending on different aspects such as age of the person, his/her hierarchy, the frequency in which their interlocutor uses *tú* (if adapting to the form *tú*), and for men, depending on the gender of their interlocutor.

**4.1.9.2. Negotiation of the form of address.** 59% of participants believe that the address two individuals use in dialogue can be negotiated. This negotiation takes place once individuals develop some *confianza* and can go in two directions: from *usted* to *tú*, as people become closer; or from *tú* to *usted*, as they establish some distance. On the other hand, 26% of participants believe that the address people are to give each other is already pre-established. According to these participants the address becomes a habit, so people know what to use in each situation. For instance, for 60-year-old Genaro admitted addressing interlocutors according to their cultural level. Finally, 15% stated that the address can be negotiated in some situations but not in others. This negotiation depends on the type of context in which people interact with each other and on the social characteristics of the interlocutors. From this perspective, the address can be negotiated in informal contexts but not in formal ones. Also, some males may be willing to negotiate the form of address they use with females but not the *usted* they give to other males.

**4.1.10. The form participants use when they are unsure how to address their interlocutor.** Participants were asked about the form of address they use in situations in which they feel unsure how to address their interlocutor. 75% opted for the form *usted*, only 2% opted for *tú*, and 24% stated that the form they choose depends on a series of factors that make up the

social identity of their interlocutor. Most participants choose the form *usted* because they do not know how their interlocutor would interpret the participants' use of *tú*. In other words, they would not know whether their interlocutor would welcome their use of *tú*. As expressed by 21-year-old Casimiro, "*Usted* is more general and is used in all types of situations. I use it in situations in which I am not sure how to address my interlocutor to avoid misunderstanding or to not be regarded as overfamiliar or indiscreet." 44-year-old Jacinto also stated that by using *usted*, he feels safer and knows that his interlocutor would not be bothered, opinion shared by many participants. The only participant that opted to address her interlocutor with the form *tú* in this type of situation was 14-year-old María, who comes from an upper-middle class family and who has been exposed to the form *tú* constantly at home and at school. Finally, the participants who condition the form of address they use on a number of social aspects of the interlocutor stated that they pay attention to the person's hierarchy, age and gender.

#### **4.2. The Interview: Comparisons Between Male and Female Participants**

**4.2.1. Men's and women's rules for using *tú* and *usted*.** Men and women share many of the rules they follow when using *tú* and *usted*. Regarding the address with *tú*, men and women highlighted the aspects of *confianza*, closeness, affection and the fact that they use this address with family, friends and their significant other. The main difference lies in the avoidance that men have of this form when addressing other men. On the contrary, women use *tú* with both men and women. Regarding the address with *usted*, both groups emphasize the aspect of respect, and both groups report using it with strangers. Regarding the use of other forms, some members of both groups reported using *sumercé* with adult individuals who are considered very close to them. On the contrary, only a few male participants not born in Bogotá reported using *vos*.

**4.2.2. The social factors that influence men’s and women’s use of *tú* and *usted*.** Age, degree of *confianza* with the interlocutor and his/her level of hierarchy were influential factors for a significant percentage of both men and women. On the other hand, social class was considered uninfluential by both groups in general. Finally, gender was deemed as influential by a considerable percentage of men but not by most women. Figure 5 illustrates the degree of influence of the social factors in both females and males.

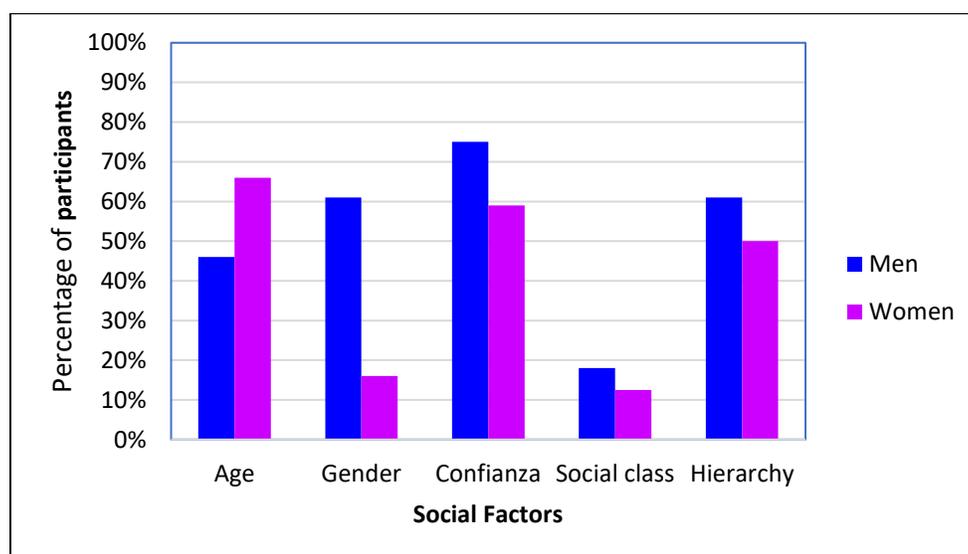


Figure 5. The influence of the social factors in the use of *tú* and *usted* by Men and Women.

**4.2.3. Men’s and women’s conceptualization and opinions of the address with *tú* or *usted*.** Most men and women had a positive conceptualization of the form *tú*. They associated this address mainly with positive concepts (see section 4.1.3.1). On the other hand, both men and women had a divided conceptualization of the form *usted*. They associated *usted* with both positive and negative concepts (see section 4.1.3.2). Table 18 illustrates the type of conceptualization that men and women had of forms of address *tú* and *usted*.

Table 18

*Men's and Women's Conceptualization of the Address with Tú or Usted.*

Form	Type of conceptualization	Men	Women
Tú	Participants with a positive conceptualization	81%	69%
	Participants with a negative conceptualization	8%	9%
	Participants with a neutral conceptualization	11%	22%
Usted	Participants with a positive conceptualization	31%	33%
	Participants with a negative conceptualization	38%	27%
	Participants with a neutral conceptualization	31%	40%

Additionally, both males and females had mainly positive opinions about the address with *tú* and varied opinions (both positive and negative) about the address with *usted*. Also, both groups had a higher number of individuals who expressed negative opinions about the address with *usted* in comparison to the address with *tú* (see section 4.1.3.3). Table 19 illustrates the types of opinions that both men and women had regarding the address with *tú* and *usted*.

Table 19

*Men's and Women's Opinions About the Address With Tú or Usted*

Form	Type of opinion	Men	Women
Tú	Participants with positive opinions	74%	78%
	Participants with negative opinions	13%	9%
	Participants with neutral opinions	13%	13%
Usted	Participants with positive opinions	52%	41%
	Participants with negative opinions	19%	35%
	Participants with neutral opinions	29%	24%

**4.2.4. Men's and women's perceptions and reactions to the address they receive.**

Men and women reported reacting in a similar way to the use of *tú* by someone they have just met but slightly differently to the use of *usted*. Similarly, both groups reported perceiving a

change from *tú* to *usted* in a similar way but differed slightly when the change was from *usted* to *tú*. Finally, their perceptions of individuals who use only one address is more or less similar.

**4.2.4.1. Men’s and women’s perceptions of the address with *tú* or *usted* by a person they have just met.** As shown in Table 20, the address with *tú* by a person who has been recently met is perceived in a similar manner by both men and women. While a significant portion of each group considers this address normal, few, actually welcome it. Regarding the address with *usted*, there are not any significant differences in the two groups either since in both groups there are many more individuals who welcome and/or see the address with *usted* from a stranger as normal than those who reject it. In other words, while men and women seem to be indifferent about receiving *tú* from a stranger, few, actually welcome this address. On the other hand, only a few female participants reject the address with *usted* by a stranger. In general, these results indicate that participants prefer to receive *usted* from strangers or people they do not know well yet.

Table 20

*Men’s and Women’s Reactions to the Address They Receive From Someone They Have Just Met.*

Form	Type of reaction	Men	Women
Tú	Participants who welcome the address with <i>tú</i>	3%	6%
	Participants who reject the address with <i>tú</i>	29%	31%
	Participants who are indifferent about receiving <i>tú</i>	68%	63%
Usted	Participants who welcome the address with <i>usted</i>	30%	48.5%
	Participants who reject the address with <i>usted</i>	0%	3%
	Participants who are in different about receiving <i>usted</i>	70%	48.5%

**4.2.4.2. Men's and Women's perceptions of a change in the way they are addressed.**

Both men and women perceive a sudden change in address as negative, especially if it goes from *tú* to *usted*. Table 21 illustrates how men's and women's perceptions of these changes in address.

Table 21

*Men's and Women's Perceptions of a Change in the Way They Are Addressed*

Change	Perception of the change	Men	Women
<i>Tú</i> to <i>usted</i>	Participants who perceive this change as positive	7%	7%
	Participants who perceive this change as negative	78%	76%
	Participants who perceive this change as neutral	15%	17%
<i>Usted</i> to <i>tú</i>	Participants who perceive this change as positive	12%	30%
	Participants who perceive this change as negative	40%	43%
	Participants who perceive this change as neutral	48%	27%

**4.2.4.3. Men's and women's opinions about people who address all others or most**

***others with only tú or usted.*** Both men and women had divided opinions about individuals who address everyone or mostly everyone with *tú*. In the same way, both groups had divided opinions about people who address all their interlocutors with *usted*, with neutral opinions being the most common one. Table 22 illustrate the participants' opinions.

Table 22

*Men's and Women's Opinions About People Who Address All Others or Most Others With Only Tú or Usted*

Form	Type of opinion	Men	Women
<i>Tú</i>	Participants with positive opinions	35%	28%
	Participants with negative opinions	38%	41%
	Participants with neutral opinions	27%	31%
<i>Usted</i>	Participants with positive opinions	19%	6%
	Participants with negative opinions	31%	29%
	Participants with neutral opinions	50%	65%

#### 4.2.5. Men's and Women's awareness and intentionality when using *tú* or *usted*.

Women seem to be less aware of the address they give others in comparison with men. This lack of awareness may be due to the more freedom that women have to use *tú*, as expressed by several female participants. Also, most men avoid using *tú* with other men, which can make them more aware of their address. Table 23 shows the degree of awareness reported by both groups.

Table 23

*Men's and Women's Awareness About the Address They Give Others*

	Men	Women
Participants who reported being aware	42%	31%
Participants who reported being unaware	35%	62%
Participants who reported being aware in some situations	23%	7%

Regarding intentionality, men and women behave similarly in their use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*. However, the contexts or situations in which females use the form *tú* is larger than that of males. This could indicate more presence of the form *tú* in the speech of females, or as expressed by some female participants, more freedom to use the form *tú*. Table 24 shows the situations in which males and females use forms of address *tú* and *usted* intentionally.

Table 24

*Situations in Which Men and Women Address Others with Tú or Usted Intentionally*

Form	Men	Women
Tú	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To address someone for whom participants have affection.</li> <li>- To compliment someone.</li> <li>- In intimacy and courtship.</li> <li>- To bond with the interlocutor or obtain closeness or <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To ask for a favor.</li> <li>- To flirt.</li> <li>- To show love or affection.</li> <li>- To present themselves or regard others as equals.</li> <li>- To not sound too bossy.</li> <li>- To cheer up or calm someone down.</li> </ul>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>Usted</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When participants are upset.</li> <li>- To set up some distance with the interlocutor.</li> <li>- To reprimand someone.</li> <li>- To give an order.</li> <li>- To convey respect.</li> <li>- To speak to someone with authority (e.g. a police officer).</li> <li>- To speak to someone for the first time.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood or when angry at their interlocutor.</li> <li>- To complain about something.</li> <li>- To reprimand.</li> <li>- When participants want to sound contemptuous.</li> <li>- When there is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- To establish some distance with the interlocutor.</li> <li>- When not interested in socializing.</li> </ul> |
|---|---|
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**4.2.6. The influence of affect and of topic of conversation on men’s and women’s use of *tú* and *usted*.** Affect was considered influential by the majority of men (61%) and women (66%). Consequently, most male and female participants use *tú* when they are in a good mood but *usted* if they are upset or mad at their interlocutor. On the other hand, topic of conversation was considered not influential by the majority of both men (64%) and women (67%).

**4.2.7. The effects of a person’s address: Situations in which *tú* or *usted* are not welcome by men and women.** Members of both groups are bothered about the use of forms of *tú* or *usted* in more or less the same situations. The situations are presented in table 25.

Table 25  
*Situations in Which Most Men and Women Feel Uncomfortable About the Use of Tú or Usted*

Form	Men	Women
Tú	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by someone with whom participants have a functional or commercial relationship (e.g. street vendor servant, security guard, etc.)</li> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by a stranger.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a person who does</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by individuals with whom they do not have <i>confianza</i>, such as store clerks, security guards, etc.</li> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by someone who does not use this form correctly or mixes it with the form <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- not use it correctly.</li> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by another male.</li> <li>- When the address with <i>tú</i> is used to minimize the participants or other people.</li> <li>- When the interlocutor has a hidden intention (e.g. wants a favor or benefit from the participant).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by males with whom they do not have <i>confianza</i> because female participants perceive this <i>tuteo</i> as flirtatious.</li> <li>- When addressed with <i>tú</i> by someone with whom participants had already established an address with <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>
Usted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from their couples, mom or any other person with whom participants have a close relationship and have established an address with <i>tú</i>.</li> <li>- When they start a conversation with the form <i>tú</i>, but their interlocutor answers back with <i>usted</i>.</li> <li>- When <i>usted</i> is accompanied by an unfriendly tone.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed with <i>usted</i> by their couples, intimate friends, and siblings.</li> <li>- When the participants start a conversation with <i>tú</i>, but their interlocutor answers back with <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>

**4.2.8. Men’s and women’s adaptation and negotiation of the form of address in conversation.** Overall, in comparison to women, men reported being more willing to adapt to the form of address used by their interlocutor. In the same way, a higher percentage of males in comparison to females stated that the address form can be negotiated. Table 26 compares the extent to which both groups adapt and negotiate their use of address forms.

Table 26

Men’s and Women’s Adaptation and Negotiation of the Form of Address in Conversation

	Men	Women
Adaptation	36% adapt. 36% do not adapt. 28% adapt depending on gender of interlocutor, relationship with him/her, and on how constant he/she uses <i>tú</i> .	28% adapt. 56% do not adapt. 16% condition their adaptation on the type of person they are speaking with and the degree of <i>confianza</i> achieved.

Negotiation	66% of participants believe the address they use in dialogue can be negotiated. 17% think the address two people are to have in conversation is already pre-established. 17% stated that the address can be negotiated depending on the type of context (e.g. formal vs. informal) and on the social characteristics of interlocutors (e.g. their gender).	54% of participants believe that the address two individuals use in dialogue can be negotiated. 33% believe this address is already pre-established 13% stated that the address can be negotiated in certain contexts but not in others due to established rules of formality.
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#### **4.2.9. The form men and women use when they are unsure how to address their**

**interlocutor.** Most participants from both groups reported their preference for the address with *usted* in situations in which they are unsure how to address their interlocutor. Only a small portion of females stated a preference for the form *tú*. Finally, a similar percentage of males and females condition the address they give their interlocutor on aspects such as type of situation.

Table 27 illustrates males and females' preferences in address in this regard.

Table 27

*The Address Men and Women Use When They Are Unsure How to Address Their Interlocutor*

Men	Women
74% of participants prefer to use <i>usted</i> .	75% of participants prefer to use <i>usted</i> .
26 % condition the form they use on the type of situation, the gender and age of interlocutor.	3% prefer to use <i>tú</i> . 22% condition the form they use on the type of situation and the person with whom they are talking.

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### **4.3. The interview: Comparisons Across the Different Social Classes**

**4.3.1. The rules that the different social classes follow when using *tú* or *usted*.** In general, there are no significant differences with respect to the rules participants of all social classes indicated following when using *tú*. Members of all social classes agreed that *confianza*

and closeness are aspects that influence their use of this form of address. Participants who use *tú* use it with family and friends as well as with their significant other or with people with whom they have a special bond. Regarding the use of *usted*, members of all social classes highlighted the aspects of respect, age, and hierarchy. In this way, participants reported using *usted* with people who are older and have a higher hierarchical level. *Usted* was also reported as the form to be used with strangers and in situations in which they are upset with their interlocutor. In addition, a member of the working class mentioned that he uses *usted* for convenience and ease of communication. This idea can be linked to the reported difficulty of some members from the working class to use the form *tú*. Finally, regarding other forms of address, some members of all social classes indicated their use of *sumercé* to address older individuals in a very special way and very few members of the working and lower middle class admitted using *vos* to address close friends.

**4.3.2. The social factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted*.** Age and Hierarchy were the only factors that were considered influential by at least half of each group of participants. Gender was considered influential by half of the group representing the lower-middle class, but it was considered not influential by the majority of members of the other groups. In addition, gender was considered more influential for men than for women. The degree of *confianza* was considered important for most members of the lower and upper-middle class, but its importance was reduced in the working class. On the other hand, social class of interlocutor was not considered influential by the majority of members of all groups. However, the percentage of individuals from the upper-middle class that considered this social aspect important was more than double than that of the other classes. Figure 6 illustrates the influence of social factors in the address of the different social classes.

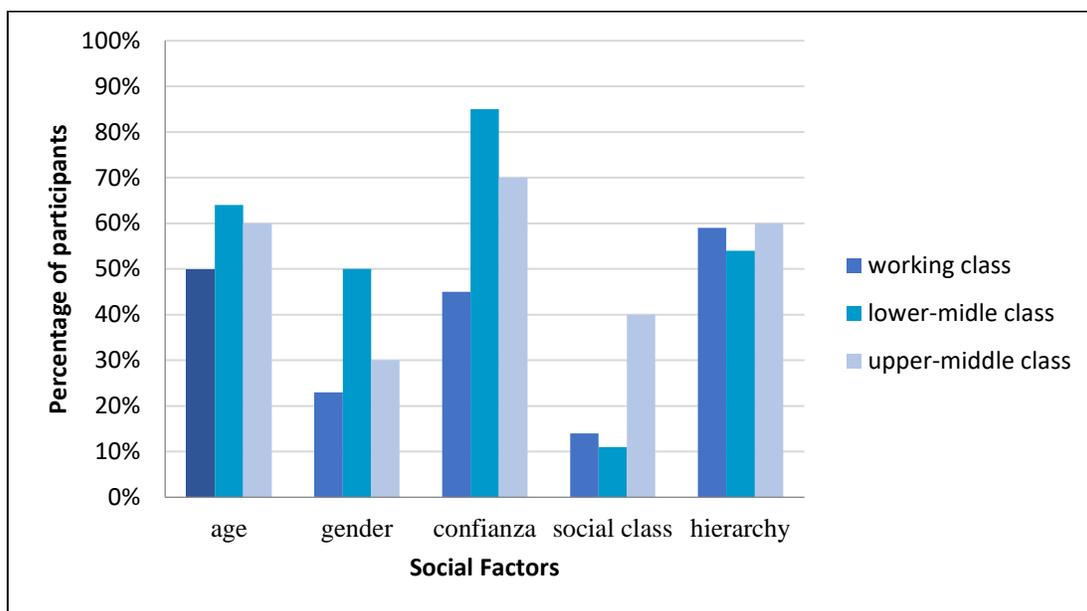


Figure 6. Influence of the social factors in the address of the different socioeconomic classes.

**4.3.3. The conceptualization and the opinions of the address with *tú* or *usted* by the different social classes.** Participants of all social classes had a generally positive conceptualization of the address with *tú* since they associated this form of address with mostly positive concepts. On the other hand, the conceptualization that the different social groups had of the address with *usted* was divided. Participants of the working class had mostly either neutral or a positive conceptualization. Participants of the lower-middle class had mostly either a positive or negative conceptualization and finally members of the upper-middle class had mostly either a negative or a neutral conceptualization. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the conceptualization that the different social groups had of form of address *tú* and *usted* respectively.

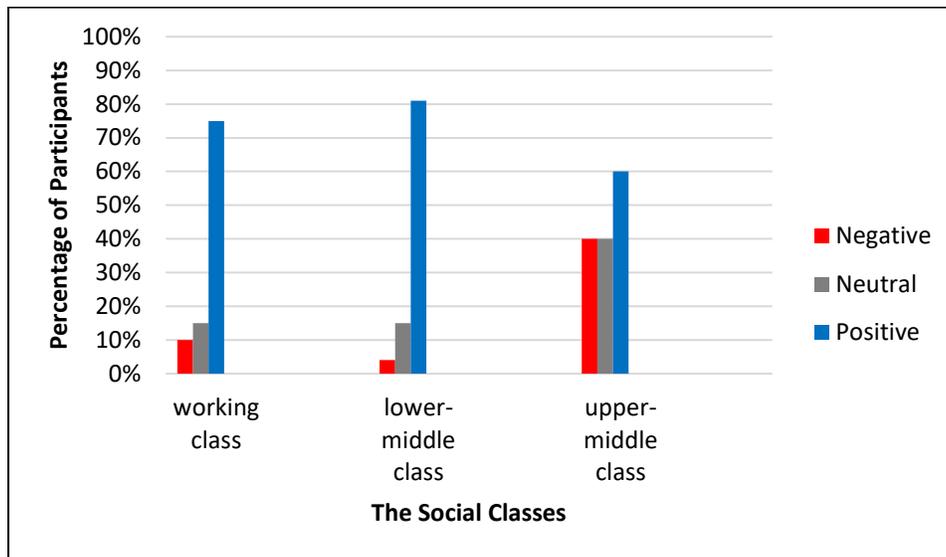


Figure 7. The conceptualization of *tú* by the different social classes.

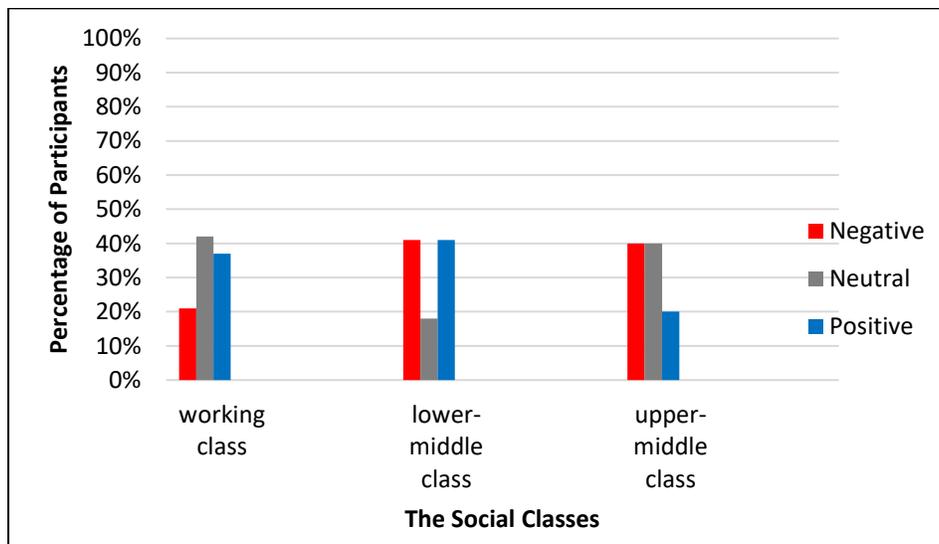


Figure 8. The conceptualization of *usted* by the different social classes.

In addition, most participants from all social classes had positive opinions about the address with *tú*, followed by neutral opinions, and then by negative opinions. On the other hand, the opinions about the address with *usted* varied across the groups. *Usted* received only neutral and positive opinions in the upper-middle class, but it had a slightly negative characterization in

both the working as well as the lower-middle class. Figures 9 and 10 illustrate the opinions that the socioeconomic groups had about the address with *tú* and *usted*.

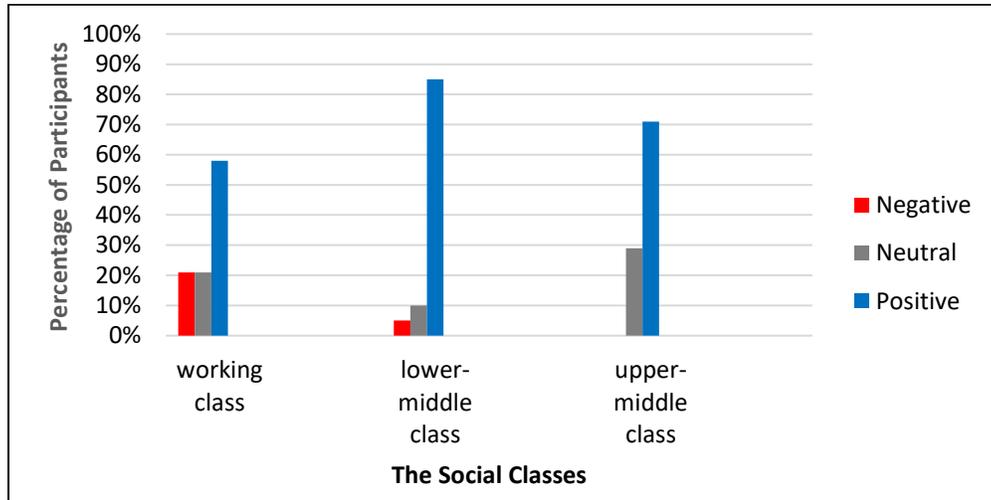


Figure 9. Opinions about the address with *tú* among the different social classes.

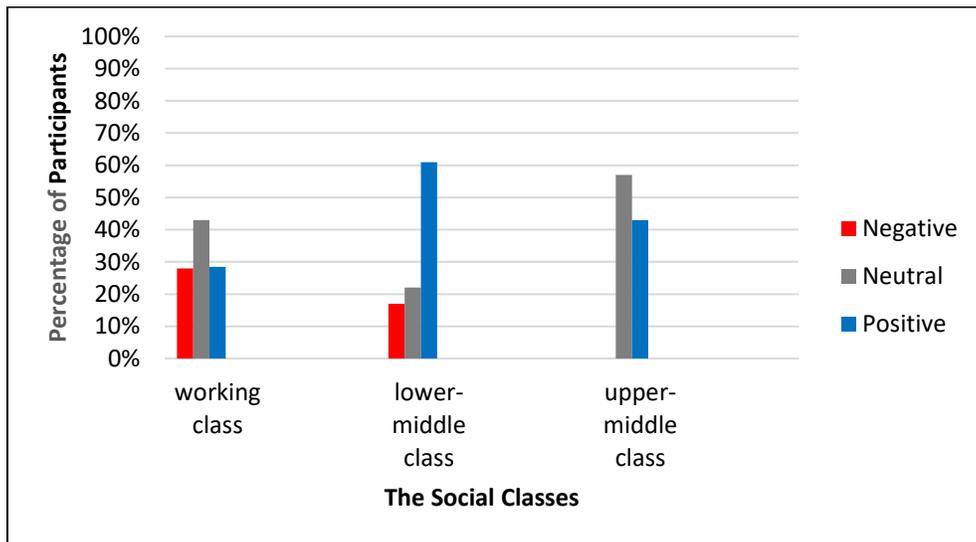


Figure 10. Opinions about the address with *usted* among the different social classes.

**4.3.4. Participants' perceptions and reactions to the address they receive.** Participants reported reacting slightly differently to the address they receive according to their social status. In the same manner, there seems to be slight differences in how they perceive changes in the address they receive from others and in how they perceive individuals who use only one address.

**4.3.4.1. Participants' reactions to the address they receive from a person they have just**

**met.** Most participants from the lower and upper-middle classes reported being indifferent about being address with the form *tú* by a person they have recently met. On the other hand, almost half of the group of participants from the working class reject this address. The address with *usted* is also received with indifference by most members of the lower and upper-middle class as well as by half of the working class because this is the address they believe is customary for such situation. However, many more individuals welcome the address with *usted* or consider it positive for this context in comparison with the address with *tú*. Figures 11 and 12 illustrate the reactions that create the address with *tú* or *usted* by someone the participants do not know well.

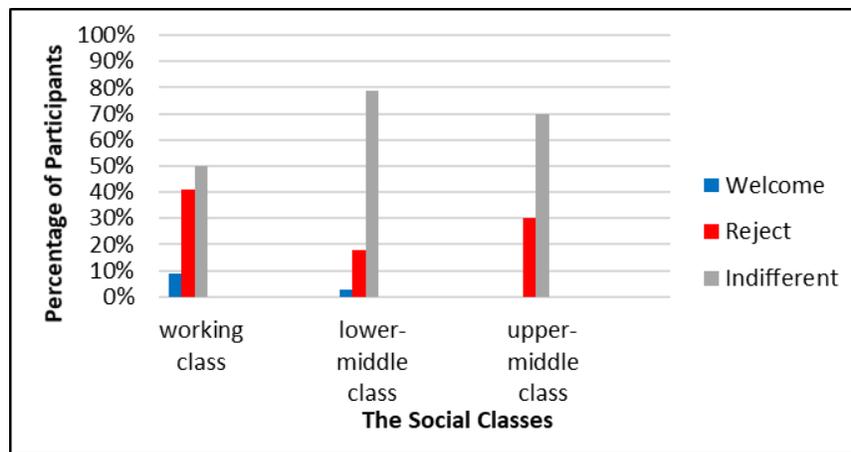


Figure 11. Reactions to the use of *tú* by a person the participants have recently met.

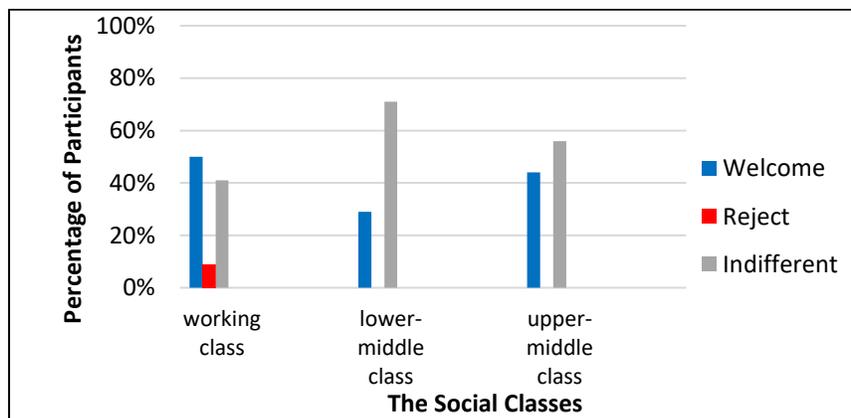


Figure 12. Reactions to the use of *usted* by a person the participants have just met.

**4.3.4.2. Participants' perceptions of a change in the way they are addressed.** A sudden change from *tú* to *usted* by a person the participants consider close to them (e.g. a good friend) is perceived as negative by the majority of participants of the three socioeconomic groups. This address is welcome or considered normal by only a small portion of participants composed of mainly *usted* users. On the other hand, a change in the opposite direction (from *usted* to *tú*) is perceived differently by each social group. It is welcome or considered normal by a significant part of the participants of the lower-middle and upper-middle social class but rejected by most participants from the working class as well as by approximately one third of the lower and upper-middle class. In short, a change in address is noticed and may be perceived negatively, especially if the change is from *tú* to *usted*. Figures 13 and 14 illustrate how the three participating social groups react to the changes previously discussed.

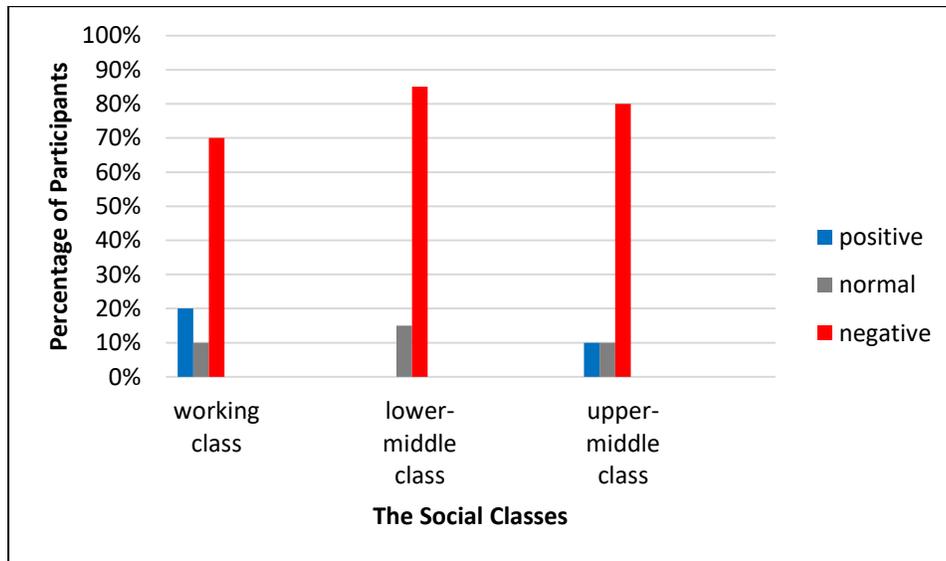


Figure 13. Perceptions of the social classes of a change in address From *tú* to *usted*.

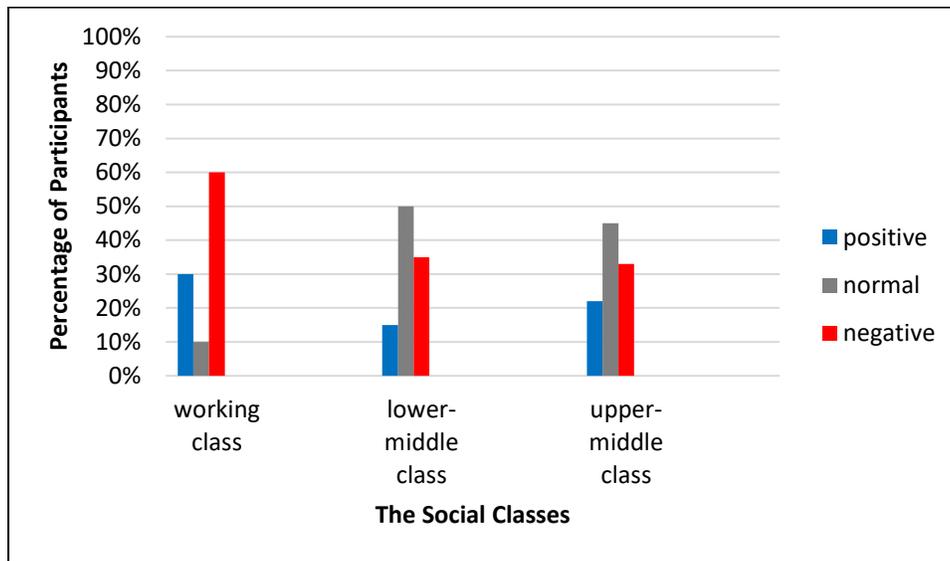


Figure 14. Perceptions of the social classes of a change in address from *usted* to *tú*.

**4.3.4.3. Participants' opinions about people who address all others or most others with just one form.** Opinions about people who address all or most others with *tú* were equally divided, except among upper-middle-class participants, who characterized them as overfamiliar. Individuals who use only or mainly *usted* received mostly neutral opinions, except among lower-middle-class participants, who characterized them in either a neutral or negative way. Figures 15 and 16 show participants' opinions about individuals who use only or mostly one address form.

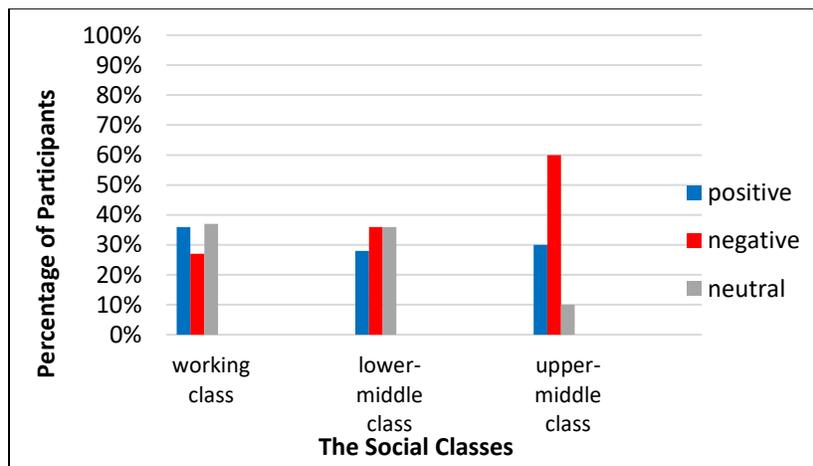


Figure 15. Opinions of the different social classes about individuals who use only *tú*.

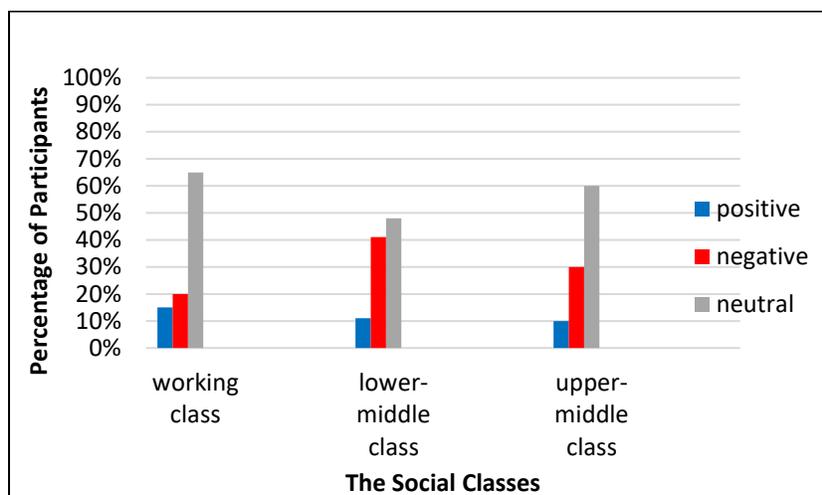


Figure 16. Opinions about individuals who use only *usted*.

**4.3.5. Awareness and intentionality of the social classes when using *tú* or *usted*.** A significant portion of the three social groups reported being aware of the address they give others. In the same way, participants mentioned a variety of situations in which they use the address with *tú* or *usted* intentionally.

**4.3.5.1. Participants' awareness of the address they give others.** Participants of the working class and the lower-middle class had similar reports in regard to their awareness of the address they give others. Approximately half of each group reported being unaware because for these participants, the address happens spontaneously. A second group reported being aware of the address they give others, and a third and much smaller group reported being aware in some situations, such as when they meet someone for the first time but unaware in others, such as when interacting in informal situations. On the other hand, the majority of participants from the upper-middle class reported being aware of their address and the rest reported being unaware. Figure 17 illustrates the degree of awareness of each socioeconomic group.

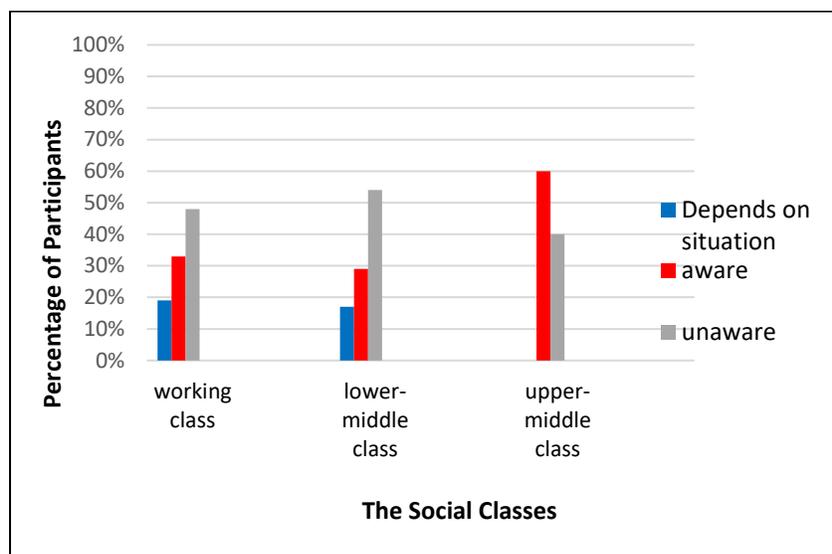


Figure 17. Degree of awareness of the use of *tú* and *usted* by the socioeconomic groups.

**4.3.5.2. Speaker intentionality.** In alignment with the awareness expressed by a large portion of each socioeconomic group, participants mentioned a series of situations in which they use forms of address *tú* and *usted* intentionally. Table 28 shows how the different socioeconomic groups use these forms intentionally.

Table 28

*Situations in Which Participants of the Different Social Classes Use Forms of Address Tú and Usted Intentionally*

Form	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
<i>Tú</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To speak to a person. to whom participants are attracted.</li> <li>- To ask for a favor.</li> <li>- To make the interlocutor feel equal.</li> <li>- To talk about daily routines.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To address someone for whom participants have affection (e.g. couple)</li> <li>- To compliment someone.</li> <li>- In intimacy.</li> <li>- When in search of a benefit (e.g. favor, advice, loan) from members of the opposite sex.</li> <li>- To obtain closeness.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- During courtship.</li> <li>- To generate closeness with someone participants have just met.</li> <li>- To pass the prevention barrier</li> <li>-To present oneself as equal in a situation in which people are using <i>tú</i>.</li> </ul>

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood.</li> <li>- To speak with someone with whom participants do not have <i>confianza</i></li> <li>- To speak with a person for the first time</li> <li>- To request for some type of service.</li> <li>- To give an order.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood.</li> <li>- When there is some type of problem with the interlocutor.</li> <li>- When there is not much <i>confianza</i> or friendship.</li> <li>- To show or ask for respect.</li> <li>- To establish distance or barriers with the interlocutor.</li> <li>- To avoid misunderstanding.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When participants are mad at their interlocutor.</li> <li>- To reprimand someone.</li> <li>- To convey respect.</li> <li>- To speak with someone with whom participants do not want to generate closeness.</li> <li>- To complain.</li> </ul> |
|--|---|--|
- 

#### 4.3.6. The influence of affect and of topic of conversation in the address of the social

**classes.** A person's disposition was a significant factor for most members of the different socioeconomic groups. Table 29 shows the degree of influence of affect in these groups.

Table 29

*The Influence of Affect in the Address of the Different Socioeconomic Groups*

Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Influential for 64% of participants.	Influential for the 64% of participants.	Influential for 60% of participants.

Contrary to the influence exerted by affect, topic of conversation was not an influential factor for the majority of participants of both the working class and the lower-middle class. With respect to the upper-middle class, half of this group reported it as influential. However, when asked to mention the topics that influence the use of one form or the other, these individuals mentioned contexts and situations more than topics per se.

**4.3.7. Effects of a person's address: situations in which *tú* or *usted* are not welcome by the different social classes.** Participants of the different socioeconomic groups mentioned a

series of situations in which the use of *tú* or *usted* makes them uncomfortable. Table 30 presents the most common situations across socioeconomic groups.

Table 30

*Situations in Which Most Participants of the Different Social Classes Feel Uncomfortable about the Use of Tú or Usted*

Form	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Tú	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from individuals with whom there is no <i>confianza</i>,</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone to whom participants have just been introduced.</li> <li>- For females, when <i>tú</i> comes from a male with whom they do not have <i>confianza</i> because it can be perceived as flirtatious.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> is used incorrectly.</li> <li>- For some males, when addressed with <i>tú</i> by other males.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a person with whom participants do not have enough <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a person with whom participants have a functional relationship (e.g. security guard).</li> <li>- When the form <i>tú</i> is not used correctly.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone with whom participants have established an address with <i>usted</i>.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> is used with an unfriendly tone or without affection.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed by an individual with whom participants have a functional rather than a personal relationship (e.g. security guard, street vendor, domestic servant.)</li> <li>- When a male participant is addressed with <i>tú</i> by another male.</li> </ul>
Usted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from their couple or from a friend.</li> <li>* Several individuals from this social class have never felt uncomfortable about receiving the form <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from someone close or intimate (e.g. couple, mom).</li> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from someone with whom participants have established an address with <i>tú</i>.</li> <li>- When participants start a conversation with <i>tú</i>, but their interlocutor answers back with <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from an intimate or close individual (e.g. couple).</li> <li>- When the explicit pronoun <i>usted</i> is used and is accompanied by an unfriendly tone.</li> <li>* A couple of participants did not mention any situations in which the address with <i>usted</i> made them uncomfortable.</li> </ul>

**4.3.8. Adaptation and negotiation of the address used in conversation by the different social classes.** Participants of the working class were more prone to adaptation than those from the lower-middle and upper-middle class. However, some of the participants that favor adaptation condition this adaptation to several aspects related to the context and the social identity of the interlocutor, such as their age and gender. Similarly, most participants from the three groups stated that the form of address they use in conversation can be negotiated. However, for some participants the negotiation can only happen in certain contexts, such as informal ones. In general, only about a fifth of each group thought that the address people have in conversation is pre-established and cannot be negotiated. Table 31 shows the degree of adaptation reported by each socioeconomic group as well as their position towards the negotiation of the address to use in conversation.

Table 31

*Adaptation and Negotiation of the Form of Address in the Different Social Classes*

	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Adaptation	45% of participants adapt. 41% do not adapt. 14% condition their adaptation on who their interlocutor is and on the level of <i>confianza</i> achieved.	29% adapt. 50% of participants do not adapt. 21% adapt depending on topic of conversation, type of relationship with interlocutor and this person's level of hierarchy and gender.	20% adapt to the form used by interlocutor. 50% of participants do not adapt. 30% adapt depending on the interlocutor's consistency of use of <i>tú</i> .

Negotiation	67% of participants believe that the address can be negotiated. 24% think the address is pre-established. 9% believe that the address can be negotiated in some situations but not in others.	45% think the address can be negotiated. 32% believe the address is already established 23% think the address can be negotiated depending on the context and on the interlocutor.	70% think the address can be negotiated. 20% believe that the address is already pre-established 10% think it can be negotiated sometimes.
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**4.3.9. The form participants of different social classes use when they are unsure how to address their interlocutor.** Most members of the three socioeconomic groups reported their preference for the form *usted* in situations in which they are unsure how to address their interlocutor. This preference is more evident among participants from both the working and the lower-middle classes. In fact, only a small percentage of participants from the upper-middle class favored the address with *tú*. Table 32 shows the reported preference of each socioeconomic group in regard to the form of address they use in situations in which they are not sure how to address their interlocutors.

Table 32

The Form Participants from Different Social Classes Use When They Are Unsure How to Address Their Interlocutor

Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
81% prefer to use <i>usted</i> . 19% condition their choice on the age of interlocutor or wait for him/her to talk first and then continue with the form used by this person.	79% of participants prefer to use <i>usted</i> . 21% condition their choice on the gender and age of interlocutor as well as on the type of situation. Some may also wait for the interlocutor to speak first.	60% of participants prefer to use the form <i>usted</i> . 30% wait to be addressed and continue speaking with the form used by their interlocutor. 10% use <i>tú</i> .

#### 4.4. The Interview: The Different Generational Groups

Given the importance of the age factor stressed by most previous studies on *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá, the current investigation recruited its participants in a way that there was a balanced number of individuals representing a variety of generational groups. The goal with such an arrangement was to determine if the differences found in the previous studies persist today or if things in this matter have changed. The 60 participants who were interviewed were grouped according to their age in the following manner:

- 13 to 19-year-olds: 10 participants
- 20 to 29-year-olds: 10 participants
- 30 to 39-year-olds: 10 participants
- 40 to 49-year-olds: 10 participants
- 50 to 59-year-olds: 10 participants
- 60 and above: 10 participants

The following is a comparison of the rules, meanings and uses that participants of the different generational groups give to forms of address *tú* and *usted*.

**4.4.1. Rules of address of the different generational groups.** For most members of all generations, a high level of *confianza* and closeness with their interlocutor are determining factors for using *tú*. *Tú* is then given to family, friends and significant others as it represents a way of talking that denotes affection. On the other hand, most participants from all generational groups associate the address with *usted* with the concept of respect and reported using it with strangers or with individuals with whom they do not have *confianza*. *Usted* is also the address that most men use with other men and with individuals that have a higher hierarchy level. In general, there were no major differences regarding the internalized rules that members of the

different generational groups follow for using *tú* and *usted*. However, regarding the use of other forms of address in addition to *tú* and *usted*, a notorious difference can be found. The use of *sumercé* to address adults who are considered very close to the participants is present in a significant number of respondents from most generations but is completely absent in the 13-19-year-olds and was reported by only one participant from the 20-29-year-olds.

**4.4.2. The social factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted* of the different generational groups.** Participants of different ages reported different degrees of influence of the social factors in the way they address their interlocutors. The following is a description of how the social factors affect individuals in how they address others according to their age.

**4.4.2.1. Age of interlocutor.** The age of interlocutor was reported as influential by most members of all groups except for the 40 to 49 and 60 and older groups. One reason for the lack of influence in these groups may be the fact that they were composed of mostly individuals who use *usted* exclusively or almost exclusively. The generational groups that reported age of interlocutor influential use *tú* with children younger individuals while *usted* with adults or older individuals. Table 33 summarizes and compares the influence of age of interlocutor across generational groups.

**4.4.2.2. Gender of interlocutor.** This aspect was deemed influential by the two younger groups as well as by the 50 to 59-year-olds. In general, this factor was considered more important for men than for women. While females tend to use *tú* with both males and females, males prefer to use *tú* with females and *usted* with other males. Table 33 summarizes and compares how influential this social aspect is in the address of the different generational groups.

**4.4.2.3. Confianza.** This social aspect was considered influential by most participants of all generational groups except for the 40 to 49-year-olds. Half of this group considered the level

of *confianza* important. From this perspective, *tú* is preferred when addressing those with whom participants have *confianza* such as family and friends but *usted* when addressing strangers.

Table 33 summarizes and compares the degree of influence of this aspect across the age groups.

**4.4.2.4. Social class of interlocutor.** This social aspect was reported as not influential by most members of all generational groups. Table 33 shows the degree in which this aspect was not influential.

**4.4.2.5. Hierarchy of interlocutor.** In general, this social factor was considered influential when using *tú* and *usted* by most younger participants while not important for most 40-49-year-olds as well as 60-year-olds and older. Participants who considered this aspect important tend to use *tú* with individuals who are at the same hierarchical level as participants and *usted* with those with higher or lower level of hierarchy. Table 33 summarizes and compares the influence that this social aspect has in the different generational groups.

In sum, the level of *confianza* was the only social factor that influenced most participants from all age groups. Similarly, the social class of interlocutor was the only aspect that did not influence any of the groups. The remaining social factors influenced the different age groups in varied degrees. In addition, the youngest groups (13 to 19 and 20 to 29) were prone to more influence in comparison to the older groups (especially 40 to 49 and 60-and-above). In fact, the latter groups were influenced only by the aspect of *confianza*. One reason why most members of these groups could have reported no influence of the other social aspects may be the fact that many of these individuals use the form *usted* exclusively or almost exclusively. In other words, they address everyone or almost everyone with *usted* regardless of any social characteristic of the interlocutor.

Table 33

*Percentage of Participants Who Deemed the Different Social Aspects Influential*

Social factor	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 +
Age	70%	70%	70%	30%	60%	30%
Gender	50%	60%	10%	40%	50%	10%
Confianza	60%	80%	80%	0%	80%	60%
Social class	10%	20%	10%	10%	30%	20%
Hierarchy	60%	80%	80%	40%	70%	30%

**4.4.3. The conceptualization and the opinions that the different generational groups have of the address with *tú* or *usted*.** All generational groups, except the 60 and above group had an overall positive conceptualization of the address with *tú*. Members of this group had mostly a neutral conceptualization of the address with *tú*. In general, most participants of the different generational groups associated the address with *tú* with the following concepts

- Positive concepts: affection, love, appreciation, kindness, *confianza*, closeness, familiarity, softness, sweetness, respect, good social status, elegance, youth, evolution
- Negative concepts: disrespect, appearances, ostentation, hypocrisy.
- Neutral concepts: common way of speaking, custom, something cultural.

Figure 18 summarizes and compares the conceptualization that the different generational groups had of the address with *tú*.

The conceptualization that the different generational groups had of the address with *usted* varied. However, one aspect that stands out is the increase of the negative associations in comparison with the address with *tú*. Also, the negative associations are most notorious in the 13 to 19 group. In general, most participants from the different generational groups associated the address with *usted* with the following concepts:

- Positive concepts: respect, decency, discretion, calm, ease of communication, humbleness, and human sensibility.
- Negative concepts: distrust, aggression, rudeness, brusqueness, barriers, distance, scowl, anger, punishment, prevention, and insecurity.
- Neutral concepts: address given to strangers, authority, something normal, custom.

Figure 19 summarizes and compares the type of conceptualization that the different generational groups had of the address with *usted*.

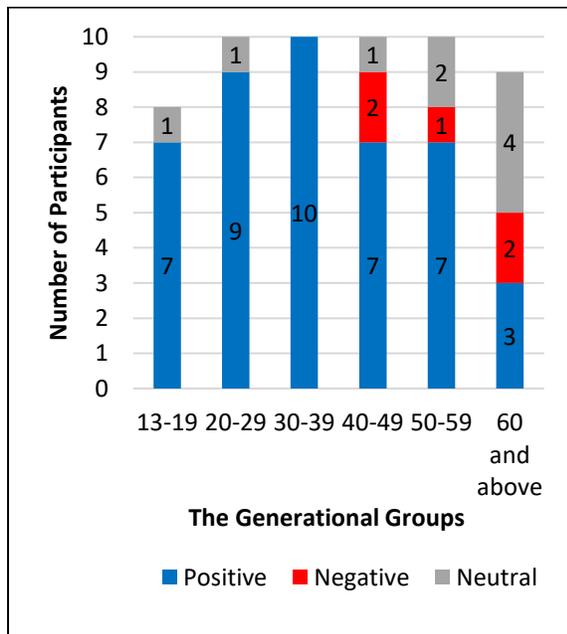


Figure 18. The conceptualization of *tú* of the different generational groups.

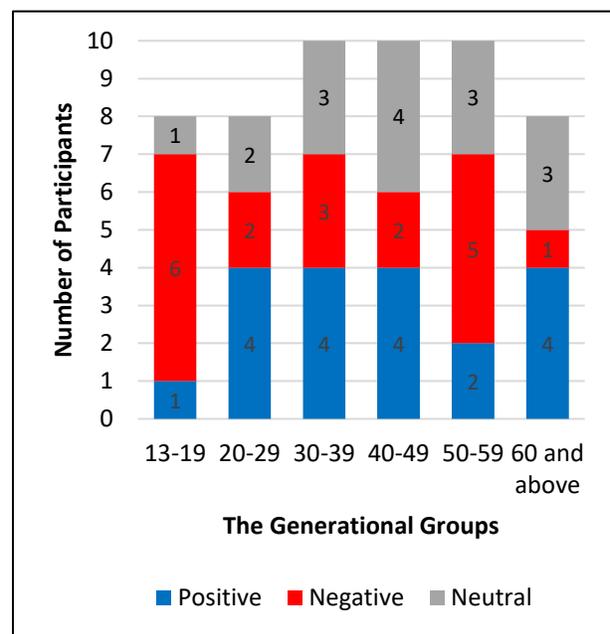


Figure 19. The conceptualization of *usted* of the different generational groups.

In addition, the address with *tú* generated mostly positive opinions among members of most generational groups, except in the 60 and above group, in which opinions about the address with *tú* were divided, with the most common type being negative. Figure 20 compares the types of opinions the different generational groups had of the address with *tú*. It is important to note that not all participants provided an opinion about the address with *tú*. Regarding the address

with *usted*, opinions varied. Even though the most common type of opinion was positive, there were more negative opinions about the address with *usted* than there were about the address with *tú*. Figure 21 compares the types of opinions that each generational group had of the address with *usted*. Finally, Tables 34 and 35 present the most common opinions that participants of each generational group had of the address with *tú* or *usted* respectively.

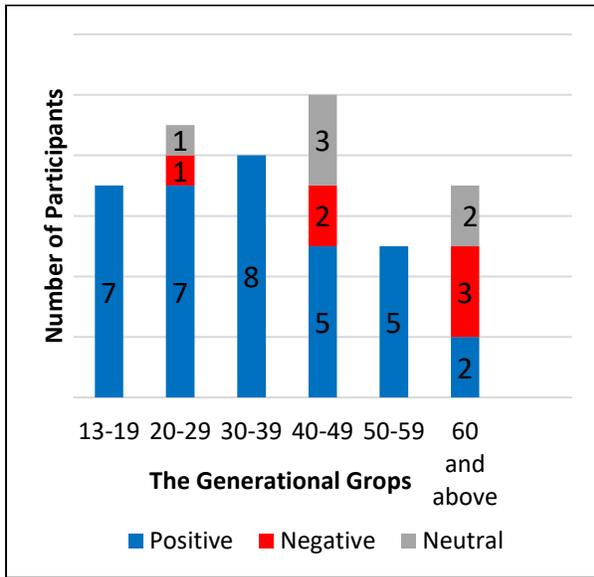


Figure 20. Type of opinions held by the age groups about the address with *tú*.

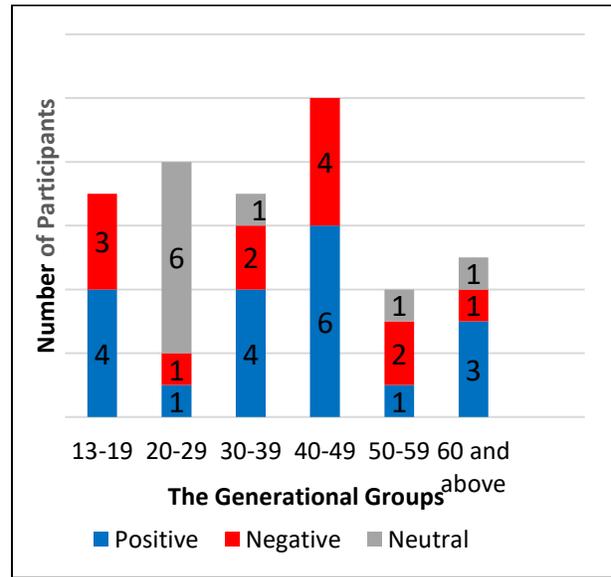


Figure 21. Type of opinions held by the age groups about the address with *usted*.

Table 34

*The Opinions About the Address With Tú by the Different Age Groups*

Age	Positive Opinions	Negative Opinions	Neutral Opinions
13-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú conveys appreciation and confianza.</li> <li>• Tú is a friendly and pretty way of talking.</li> <li>• People feel closer using tú.</li> <li>• I realized it was appropriate in 10<sup>th</sup> grade.</li> </ul>		
20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is what is now correct.</li> <li>• Tú generates a connection.</li> <li>• Tú is more loving.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The address with tú does not interest me</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú has gained strength lately.</li> <li>• The address with tú</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is a delicate way of talking to children.</li> </ul>		comes from the family.
30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú means confianza.</li> <li>• Tú tears down barriers.</li> <li>• Tú brings people closer</li> <li>• Tú establishes a conversation that flows in a “fresh” way.</li> <li>• Within the family, tú is</li> <li>• synonym of love.</li> </ul>		
40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is respectful, friendly, breaks barriers, generates relationships and makes everything sound loving.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is overfamiliar</li> <li>• If not used correctly, it can be a sign of a poor education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is just a way of talking.</li> <li>• Tú is very common nowadays.</li> </ul>
50-59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is soft, affectionate, more elegant and it shortens communication.</li> </ul>		
60 +	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú allows me to me to reach to my customers from an upper social class.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is pretentious.</li> <li>• I do not like the address with tú.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tú is the way rich people talk.</li> </ul>

Table 35

*Opinions About the Address with Usted by the Different Age Groups*

Age	Positive Opinions	Negative Opinions	Neutral Opinions
13-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is respectful.</li> <li>• Usted is relaxing when I use it with my family.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is harsh and</li> <li>• Aggressive.</li> <li>• I don’t like it. I feel like I am being scolded.</li> </ul>	
20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To address people with usted is to be me. It is to speak like my parents taught me.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The address with usted is curt.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is a formal way of speaking,</li> <li>• Usted is normal and is the “default” form.</li> </ul>
30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is respectful, kind, and discrete.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is distant, authoritarian, establishes barriers and can be rude.</li> </ul>	

40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is respectful, calm, pleasant, familiar, and warm.</li> <li>• It is how men should speak to each other.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted denotes authority.</li> <li>• Usted is more common in the speech of Bogotá,</li> <li>• It is being used less lately.</li> </ul>	
50-59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is respectful.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is longer, ugly, contemptuous.</li> <li>• Usted highlights the differences between interlocutors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The address with usted is normal.</li> </ul>
60 +	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is humbler, more egalitarian, calmer and easier to use.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted denotes distance.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usted is a normal way of addressing others.</li> </ul>

**4.4.4. Perceptions and reactions of the different generational groups to the address they receive.** While a considerable number of participants of most generational groups reported being indifferent about the address they receive from someone they do not know well and tend to see a sudden change in address as something negative, their perceptions of those people who use mainly one address with most or all people vary.

**4.4.4.1 Reactions to the address with tú or usted by someone participants have just met.** Most participants of all generational groups, except the 60 and above group are indifferent about receiving *tú* by a person they do not know well or have just met. This type of address is considered inappropriate by members of the latter group because no *confianza* has been achieved yet. Similarly, most participants of all generational groups consider it positive or are indifferent about receiving *usted* from a person they have just met. The oldest group clearly welcomes this type of address because by receiving *usted* they feel they are being respected. Figures 22 and 23

illustrate the reactions that generate the address with *tú* or *usted* in this type of situation respectively.

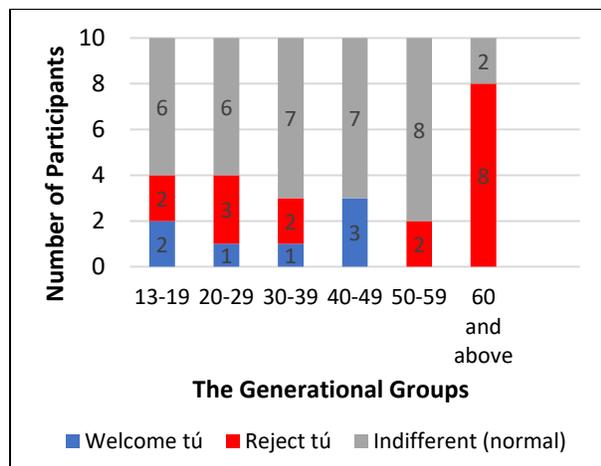


Figure 22. Reactions of the age groups to the use of *tú* by someone recently met.

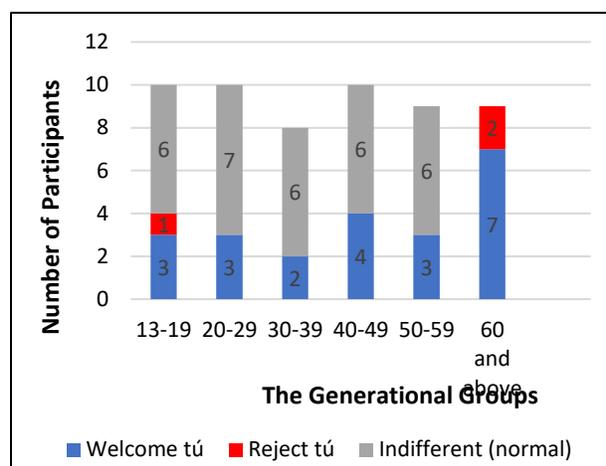


Figure 23. Reactions of the age groups to the use of *usted* by someone recently met.

**4.4.4.2. Participants' perceptions of a change in the way they are addressed.** A change in address from a close individual (e.g. friend) is generally perceived in a negative way. The change from *tú* to *usted*, for example, is perceived as negative by most members (in some cases by all members) of the different generational groups. Only the 60-year-olds and above had divided opinions. In fact, almost half of this group considered the change normal, followed by those who consider the change negative, and finally by those who consider the change positive. The change from *tú* to *usted* is considered negative because it signals anger, distance, or problems in the relationship with the interlocutor. 39-year-old Michelangelo explained how his former wife used to address him with the form *tú*. However, as they started to have problems in their relationship, she changed to the address with *usted*. Figure 24 shows the impact of the change in address from *tú* to *usted* in the participating generational groups.

The change from *usted* to *tú* is also perceived as a negative one, but not by all age groups. It is welcome by half of the 30 to 39-year-olds and is considered a “normal” change by most members of the 40-49 and 60 and above age groups. Participants who considered this change a positive one think that the change signals *confianza* and the creation of a stronger or closer relationship. Some participants who considered this change neutral thought that the change is normal as people in Bogotá change from *tú* to *usted* unintentionally. Figure 25 shows the impact of the change from *usted* to *tú* in all generational groups.

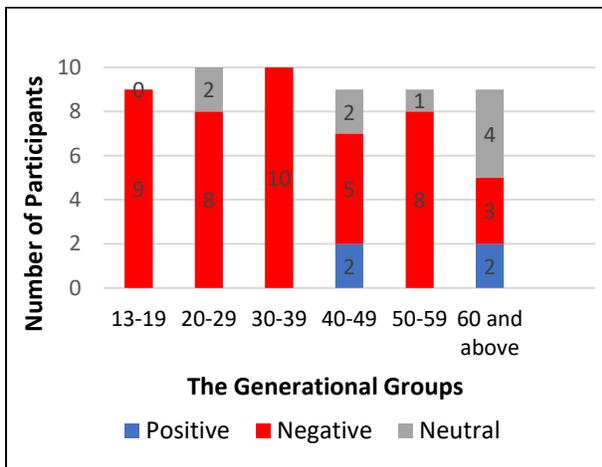


Figure 24. The generational groups and their perceptions of a change from *tú* to *usted*.

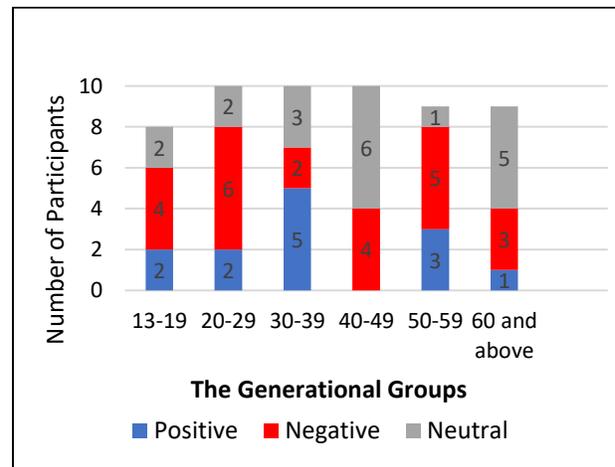


Figure 25. The generational groups and their perceptions of a change from *usted* to *tú*.

**4.4.4.3. Participants’ opinions about people who use only one address form with all or most interlocutors.** The opinions that participants had about individuals who use the form *tú* with all or most of their interlocutors varied. The youngest group had mainly positive opinions about these people as well as the 30 to 39-year-olds. For most of the 20 to 29-year-olds such an address is considered “normal”. The opinions of the remaining groups were divided mostly between those who have a negative and a neutral opinion. In short, two common aspects regarding the age factor are the presence of a significant number of participants in the two younger groups who have a positive or neutral opinion about *tú* users while a significant number

of individuals from the oldest groups who have negative opinions about these individuals. Figure 26 shows the type of opinion held by members of the different generational groups about individuals that tend to address all others or most others with *tú*.

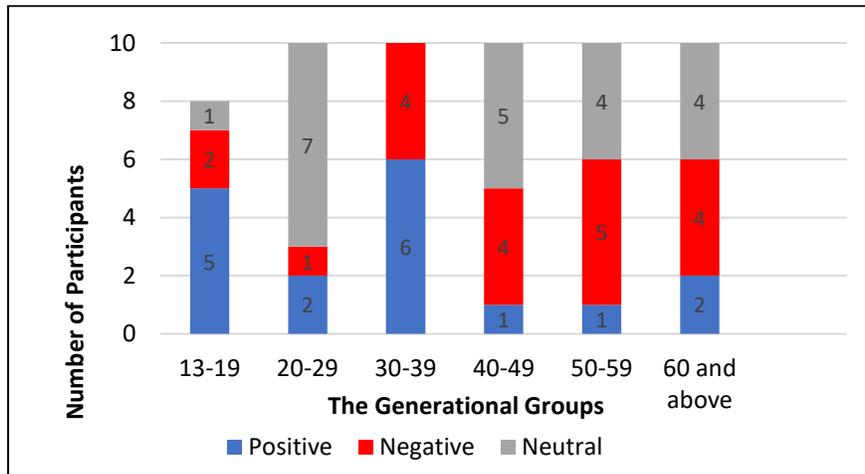


Figure 26. Opinions about individuals who use only or mainly *tú* according to participants' age.

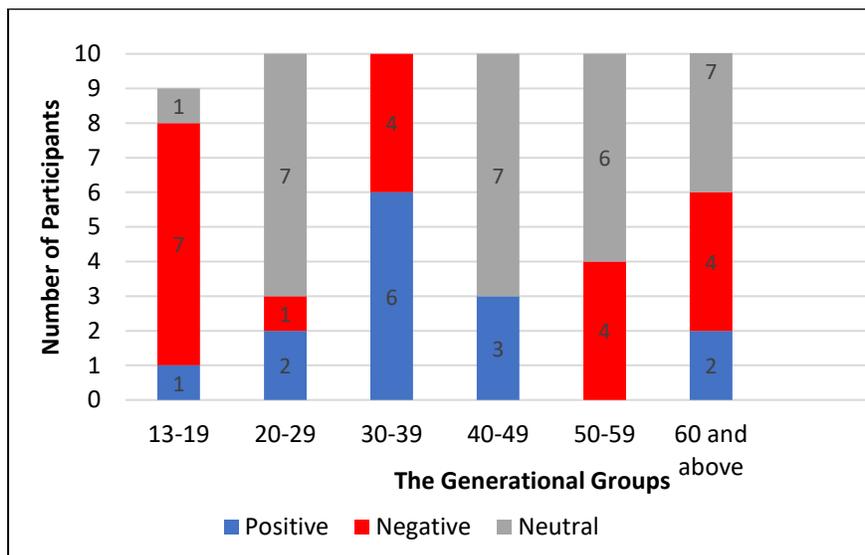


Figure 27. Opinions about individuals who use only or mainly *usted* according to participants' age

Regarding people who use only mostly *usted*, opinions varied as well. The youngest generation had an overall negative opinion of them while *usted* users received mostly neutral opinions from the remaining groups except for the 30 to 39-year-olds who had mostly positive opinions. However, the presence of a large amount of negative opinions in most groups, indicates that on average a person who uses only *usted* is perceived negatively by a considerable amount of people. Figure 27 shows the types of opinions held by the different generational groups in regard to individuals who only use the address with *tú*.

**4.4.5. Awareness and intentionality of the different generational groups when using *tú* or *usted*.** While younger and older generational groups reported different degrees of awareness in how they address others, all groups reported more or less similar situations in which they intentionally use the address with *tú* or *usted*.

**4.4.5.1. Participants' awareness of the address they give others.** The majority of members of the youngest groups reported that the address they give others happens in a rather unconscious manner. On the other hand, most members of the adult groups reported that they are completely aware of how they should address their interlocutors, except for the 50 to 59-group, which was composed of mainly women. In addition, members of some groups reported being aware of their address in some situations but not in others. The level of awareness (or lack thereof) of the youngest groups could be due to the fact that these individuals generally interact in a limited number of social circles in comparison with other older participants. For example, most teen participants of this study do not work, so they are not exposed to the type of address required in such context in which awareness about how individuals address each other may be very important. Also, the female participants of the 50 to 59 group may think that they have more “freedom” to use any form of address they want (as previously expressed by several female

participants), so they do not have to be as careful about addressing others, such as in the case of men. Table 36 summarizes and compares the findings regarding the degree of awareness and intentionality of the different generational groups.

Table 36

*Awareness of the Use of Tú or Usted of the Different Generational Groups*

Age Group	Aware	Unaware	Other
13-19	1	8	
20-29	2	5	Two participants admitted sometimes mixing <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i> inadvertently. One participant stated that he is aware when he first meets his interlocutor. Later, the address happens inadvertently.
30-39	5	2	Three participants stated their awareness depends on the type of situation and on who the interlocutor is.
40-49	5	4	
50-59	2	5	One participant stated that he is aware of his address when he talks to strangers more than when he talks to his friends. One participant who stated being aware, in fact, changed from <i>tú</i> to <i>usted</i> in a conversation, and later on realized about this change.
60+	6	3	

**4.4.5.2. Speaker intentionality.** In alignment with the awareness in address expressed by many participants, Table 37 presents a series of situations in which most interviewed individuals from each age group use forms of address *tú* and *usted* intentionally.

Table 37

*Contexts in Which Members of the Different Age Groups Use Tú or Usted intentionally.*

Age Group	Intentional Use of <i>Tú</i>	Intentional Use of <i>Usted</i>
13-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To address a person to whom participants feel attracted.</li> <li>- To show affection.</li> <li>- To cheer someone up.</li> <li>- When looking for a benefit (e.g. favor).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood.</li> <li>- To indicate authority.</li> </ul>

20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To establish some <i>confianza</i>,</li> <li>- To ask for a favor.</li> <li>- To address someone for whom participants have affection.</li> <li>- Men use <i>tú</i> to compliment a woman.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When upset.</li> <li>- To give orders.</li> <li>- To convey respect.</li> </ul>
30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To speak with a person to whom participants feel attracted.</li> <li>- To pass the prevention barrier in order to socialize.</li> <li>- To make the interlocutor feel equal.</li> <li>- To generate more <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- To ask for a favor.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood.</li> <li>- When participants first meet their interlocutor.</li> <li>- To set up barriers.</li> <li>- When not interested in bonding with one's interlocutor.</li> <li>- To convey respect.</li> <li>- To complain.</li> <li>- To exercise authority.</li> </ul>
40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To bond with their interlocutor.</li> <li>- To ask for a favor to a person of the opposite sex.</li> <li>- To convey affection to children.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When in a bad mood.</li> <li>- To reprimand someone.</li> <li>- To sound contemptuous.</li> <li>- To establish distance.</li> <li>- To speak with someone with authority (e.g. police officer).</li> </ul>
50-59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To obtain closeness or <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- To express love or affection, as in courtship.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When mad at interlocutor.</li> <li>- To complain.</li> <li>- To reprimand children.</li> <li>- When meeting a person for the first time to avoid misunderstanding or make a bad impression.</li> <li>- To convey respect to an older person.</li> </ul>
60+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To obtain some benefit from the their interlocutor (e.g. favor, advice).</li> <li>- To give an order (probably to make it sound softer).</li> <li>- To convey and/or grant <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- To obtain closeness with a person of the opposite sex.</li> <li>- To present oneself as equal in a conversation in which <i>tú</i> is being used.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Most participants admitted being accustomed to addressing others with <i>usted</i>. However, some emphasized the use of <i>usted</i>:</li> <li>- when mad at someone.</li> <li>- to respect the distance, dignity, and position of the person with whom participants are speaking.</li> </ul>

**4.4.6. The influence of affect in the use of *tú* and *usted* by the different generational groups.** Affect was considered influential by the majority of participants of all generational groups, except for the 50 to 59 group in which this aspect was deemed as influential by half of its members. For the majority of participants who reported the aspect of affect as influential, *usted* is used in contexts in which the speaker is upset or angry at his/her interlocutor. *Tú*, on the other hand, is used when interlocutors are in good terms with each other. It is important to note that 10 of the 12 participants that did not consider affect influential are *usted* users; in other words, they are individuals who use only *usted* in all or most situations. For this reason, affect would not influence their address. Figure 28 shows the degree of influence of affect in the different age groups.

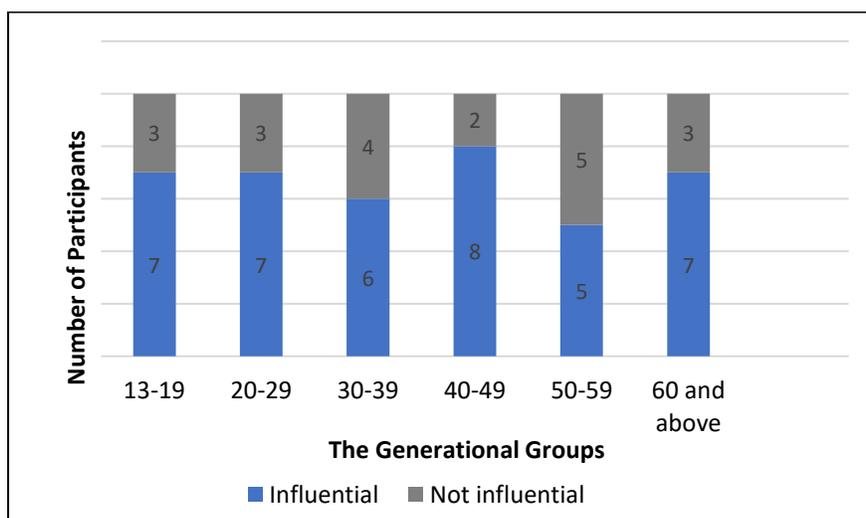


Figure 28. The influence of affect in the address of the different age groups.

**4.4.7. The influence of the topic of conversation in the address of the different generational groups.** The topic of conversation was reported as not influential by the majority of participants from most generational groups, except for the 50 to 59 group, which considered topic of conversation influential. The participants who considered this aspect influential mentioned contexts or situations in which they use one form or the other more than topics per se.

Table 38 shows the reported influence of topic of conversation and the insights from the participants to this regard.

Table 38

*The Influence of Topic of Conversation in the Address of the Different Generational Groups*

Age group	
13-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not influential for 7 out of 10 participants.</li> <li>• A couple of participants reported using <i>tú</i> in casual conversations and <i>usted</i> in formal conversations.</li> </ul>
20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not influential for 7 out of 10 participants.</li> <li>• A female participant indicated using <i>tú</i> to talk about daily issues. Two males said they use <i>tú</i> if the interlocutor is a girl they like.</li> </ul>
30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not influential for 6 out of 10 participants.</li> <li>• Some participants indicated using <i>tú</i> in intimacy, when joking, comforting or cheering someone up. They use <i>usted</i> when complaining or in formal meetings.</li> </ul>
40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not influential for 8 out of 10 participants.</li> <li>• One male reported using <i>tú</i> in intimacy or when asking for a favor. A female reported using <i>tú</i> in conversations with friends.</li> </ul>
50-59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Influential for half of participants. These individuals use <i>tú</i>:</li> <li>• When talking about love in intimate and affectionate contexts.</li> <li>• When comforting someone who has been sick.</li> <li>• When praying to God.</li> </ul>
60+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not influential for 7 of out 10 participants.</li> <li>• A female participant indicated that <i>tú</i> is suitable for casual conversations. A male participant reported using <i>tú</i> when discussing family issues. Another participant reported using <i>tú</i> with his couple.</li> </ul>

**4.4.8. The effects of a person’s address: Situations in which *tú* or *usted* are not welcome by the different generational groups.** Participants reported a series of situations in which they do not welcome the use of either *tú* or *usted*. While many of these situations are shared by most age groups others are more common in certain sector of the population.

Regarding the address with *tú*, some aspects stand out. First, early in their teens or twenties,

individuals start to have prescriptive notions about the “correct” use of the address with *tú* as well as a sexist ideology that stigmatizes the use of *tú* between men. On the other hand, the classist ideology that rejects the use of the address with *tú* by lower-class individuals does not seem to start until the 30s. Regarding the address with *usted*, most generational groups do not welcome similar situations such as when *usted* comes from someone close to them such as their couple. However, it is important to note that only one participant from the 60 and above group reported a situation in which he feels uncomfortable about receiving *usted*. As previously stated in this study, the use of *usted* is quite common among members of this age group even with individuals with whom they have an intimate or close relationship, such as family members. Table 39 presents the most common situations in which the address with *tú* or *usted* is not welcome by participants from the different age groups.

Table 39

*Situations in Which the Address with Tú or Usted is not Welcome by the Age Groups*

Age group	Situations in which the address with <i>tú</i> is not welcome	Situations in which the address with <i>usted</i> is not welcome
13-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When addressed by people with whom participants have no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>- When speaking with individuals who do not know how to use <i>tú</i> correctly.</li> <li>- When addressed by individuals with whom participants have established an address with <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from the participants’ couple.</li> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from friends with whom participants use the address with <i>tú</i>.</li> </ul>
20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- For some men, when <i>tú</i> comes from another man.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from strangers.</li> <li>- When the address established with the interlocutor is <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from the participants’ couple.</li> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes with a strong tone.</li> </ul>

30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone with whom participants have a functional relationship (e.g. maid, security guard, custodian, etc.).</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a stranger of the opposite gender as it can be perceived as flirtatious.</li> <li>- When the use of <i>tú</i> is not “genuine” but is a way to obtain a favor.</li> <li>- When the interlocutor mixes <i>tú</i> and <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from people with whom participants have a close relationship (e.g. mom, couple, friend).</li> </ul>
40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone with whom participants have a functional relationship.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> does not flow naturally.</li> <li>- For some men, when <i>tú</i> comes from another man.</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a stranger.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes with an unfriendly tone.</li> <li>- When the explicit form <i>usted</i> is used.</li> <li>- When participants start a conversation with <i>tú</i>, but their interlocutor answers with <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>
50-59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone with whom participants have a functional relationship (e.g. a clerk).</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a subordinate.</li> <li>- When the interlocutor does not know how to use <i>tú</i>.</li> <li>- When females are addressed with <i>tú</i> by a male stranger because they may perceive this use of <i>tú</i> as flirtatious</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>usted</i> comes from someone close, such as one’s couple or family member.</li> </ul>
60+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from someone with whom participants have a functional relationship (delivery guy).</li> <li>- When <i>tú</i> comes from a stranger.</li> <li>- When the interlocutor does not use <i>tú</i> correctly.</li> </ul>	<p>Only one participant has felt uncomfortable about the use of <i>usted</i>: in situations in which his couple uses this form with him (an indication that she is mad at him).</p>

**4.4.9. Adaptation and negotiation of the address used in conversation by the different generational groups.** In situations in which both participants and their interlocutor bring different forms of address to the conversation, adaptation to the form used by the

interlocutor can occur in all the age groups except in the 60-and-above age group. Participants adapt to their interlocutor's form of address to have a pleasant dialogue and to make the interlocutor comfortable. However, participants of the 60-and-above age group indicated their refusal for adaptation. Some members from this group may consider the change/adaptation (from *usted* to *tú* in most cases) a detriment to their identity because *tú* is not tied to their upbringing. Some may also be afraid of making mistakes in the conjugation of *tú*.

Similarly, most participants of most age groups think that the address two individuals have in conversation can be negotiated. This negotiation happens as the conversation turns into a pleasant one. In addition, the level of *confianza*, the evolution of the relationship, and the context can aid in this negotiation. Table 40 shows in detail what each age group thought of the negotiation of the address form in dialogue.

Table 40

*Participants (Per Age Group) Who Think the Address Can Be Negotiated in Dialogue*

Age Group	Address can be Negotiated	Address is pre-established (not negotiable)	Other
13-19	4	4	
20-29	7	1	1 – depending on gender of Interlocutor
30-39	6	2	2 – Depending on context and type of interlocutor
40-49	7	2	1 – Sometimes not negotiable due to rules of formality
50-59	2	2	4 – depending on the context
60-69	6	3	

**4.4.10. The form participants of the different generational groups use when they are unsure how to address their interlocutor.** Most participants of all age groups prefer to use the form *usted* in situation in which they are not sure how to address their interlocutor. They prefer to use *usted* to avoid misunderstanding because they do not know exactly how their interlocutor is going to interpret their use of *tú*. They also choose *usted* because it is used in more contexts including in situations in which a person is meeting someone for the first time and because they do not want to be taken as overfamiliar or disrespectful. Only a 14-year-old girl clearly prefers the form *tú* for this type of situation. A few participants in each group condition the form they use on aspects such as the context, age and gender of interlocutor. *Tú* could be used by these participants in informal contexts, with women and young people. *Usted* is preferred for formal contexts in which the interlocutor is an adult.

#### **4.5. The Questionnaire: All Participants**

The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine participants' preferences regarding the address they give others. It also intended to gather information about the reasons and/or the ideology behind their preferences in address. The questionnaire asked participants to mention the form of address they use with a series of individuals who were grouped by the type of relationship participants have with them. In addition, participants were asked to indicate the reasons for their preference. The consolidated preferences in address indicated by participants are shown in percentages. However, it is important to note that from the total of 60 participants that participated in the questionnaire not all participants have a relationship with the individuals mentioned in the questionnaire. For example, not all respondents have siblings, employees, and so on.

**4.5.1. The forms of address participants use with their immediate family.** In general, *usted* was the most reported form of address used with immediate family. *Usted* was preferred by a high percentage of participants to address their parents, brothers, sisters, and even their pets. In contrast, the form *tú* was preferred by more participants to address their children and spouse, but in cases in which participants need to reprimand their children, *usted* was the form most participants reported using. Also, a small portion of participants admitted using different forms of address or alternating in their address depending on the type of situation. For example, 38-year-old Yohana reported using *tú* or *usted* with her mother depending on the seriousness of the situation. Also, a few participants reported using *tú* or *vos* with their younger brothers or sisters, but *usted* with the older ones. In addition, some participants reported using *tú* when they interact online with their children, but *usted* when they speak in person. Table 41 provides further details regarding the address given to the immediate family.

Table 41

*The Forms of Address Participants Use With Their Immediate Family*

Person	Most common form	Most common reasons	Other preferred forms
Father	<i>Usted</i> : 51%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• It is the customary address.</li> <li>• Because of his age.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 33% <i>Sumercé</i> : 11% Alternation: 5%
Mother	<i>Usted</i> : 47%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• It is the customary address.</li> <li>• Some moms do not use <i>tú</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 30% <i>Sumercé</i> : 5% Alternation: 8%
Brother	<i>Usted</i> : 58%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This address is customary.</li> <li>• There is a difference in hierarchy.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 25% Alternation: 17%
Sister	<i>Usted</i> : 49%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is the customary address.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 33% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 16%

Son	<i>Tú</i> : 50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participants want their children to use <i>tú</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Tú</i> sounds more beautiful.</li> <li>• He is part of the family.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 32% Alternation: 18%
Daughter	<i>Tú</i> : 50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Because of the love participants have for their daughters.</li> <li>• The addressee is a woman.</li> <li>• <i>Tú</i> is a more delicate address.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 39% Alternation: 11%
To reprimand daughter/son	<i>Usted</i> : 79%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Usted</i> carries more strength and authority.</li> <li>• It is a custom.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 8% Alternation: 13%
Spouse	<i>Tú</i> : 61%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Because there is affection.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 22% <i>Sumercé</i> : 3% Alternation: 14%
Pet	<i>Usted</i> : 48%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Common way of talking.</li> <li>• To sound more authoritative.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 42% Alternation: 10%

**4.5.2. The forms of address participants use with their extended family.** Participants reported using *usted* to address members of the extended family who are older while *tú* to address those who are more or less of the same age or younger than the participants. In this way, *usted* is given by most participants to their uncles, aunts, and grandparents. In contrast, most participants reported using *tú* with their cousins, nieces and nephews. However, in contrast with the previous tendency, most grandparents interviewed reported addressing their grandchildren with *usted*, which seems to be their most used form of address to relate to most and in some cases to all individuals. Finally, a small percentage of participants admitted alternating the form of address they use depending on different aspects such as the type of context, the degree of *confianza* they have with these family members, as well as their age. Table 42 provides further information about the address given to the extended family.

Table 42

*The Forms of Address Participants Use with Their Extended Family*

Person	Most common form	Reasons	Other preferred forms
Uncle	<i>Usted</i> : 76%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form used while growing up.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Uncle is older than participants.</li> <li>• There is no much <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 15% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 7%
Aunt	<i>Usted</i> : 63	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form used while growing up</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Aunt is older than participant.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 24% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 11%
Male cousin	<i>Tú</i> : 47%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• This address has become a custom.</li> <li>• There is closeness.</li> <li>• Cousin is more or less of the same age or younger.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 40% Alternation: 13%
Female cousin	<i>Tú</i> : 54%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• She is part of the family.</li> <li>• She is a woman</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 30% Alternation 16%
Niece or Nephew	<i>Tú</i> : 67%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• He or she is younger.</li> <li>• He or she is part of the family.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 14% Alternation: 19%
Grandpa	<i>Usted</i> : 50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• This address is customary for most participants.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 28% <i>Sumercé</i> : 14% Alternation: 8%
Grandma	<i>Usted</i> : 53%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is the address used in the family.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 28% <i>Sumercé</i> : 11% Alternation: 8%
Grandchild:	<i>Usted</i> : 50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Usted</i> is the address these respondents use.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 25% Alternation: 25%

**4.5.3. The forms of address participants give to their in-laws.** *Usted* was the most reported form used by participants to address their in-laws. Both father-in-law and mother-in-law received high percentages of use of *usted*. In fact, no male participant reported using *tú* with their father-in-law; and only a few females did. The use of *usted* decreases when it is used with the

participants' brother-in-law or sister-in law. In fact, the most reported form used to address sisters-in law is *tú*. In addition, a small percentage of participants reported alternating the form of address they use with this group of individuals (except with their father-in-law) depending on a series of aspects such as the type of conversation. It is important to mention that both participants who were married and those who were having an established romantic relationship but were single answered this part of the questionnaire. Table 43 provides further information regarding the address given to the in-laws.

Table 43

*The Form of Address Participants Use With Their In-Laws*

Person	Most common form	Most Common Reasons	Others preferred forms
Father-in-law	<i>Usted</i> : 81%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Customary way of talking.</li> <li>• There is not much closeness.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 10% <i>Sumercé</i> : 6% <i>Vos</i> : 3%
Mother-in-law	<i>Usted</i> : 71%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect</li> <li>• She does not like using <i>tú</i></li> <li>• Not a very good relationship.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 12% <i>Sumercé</i> : 5% Alternation; 12%
Brother-in-law	<i>Usted</i> : 58%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Customary address given to men.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Customary way of talking.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 37% Alternation: 5%
Sister-in-law	<i>Tú</i> : 49%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• Customary address given to women.</li> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 43% Alternation: 8%

**4.5.4. The forms of address participants use with individuals from their closest social network.** Most participants reported addressing their significant other with *tú*, except when they are upset with this person, a situation in which most participants prefer to use *usted*. *Tú* is also given to their best male and female friend. However, the preference is higher when the

addressee is a female. *Usted* was the most reported form to use with other friends that are not as close. However, regarding the latter, participants expressed a series of aspects that motivate their use of either form of address such as this person’s gender, level of *confianza* and type of context in which they are interacting. For instance, some participants reported using *usted* when they interact with these individuals in person, but *tú* when they do it online. Table 41 provides further details regarding the address that participants use with people from their closest social network.

Table 44

*The Forms of Address Participants Use with Individuals From their Closest Social Network*

Person	Most common address	Most common reasons	Other preferred forms
Significant other	<i>Tú</i> : 73%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i> and closeness.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 16% Alternation: 11%
When mad at significant other	<i>Usted</i> : 78%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Usted</i> sounds stronger than <i>tú</i>.</li> <li>• Participants want to show they are upset</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 17% Alternation: 5%
Best male friend	<i>Tú</i> : 46%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• There is closeness.</li> <li>• There is affection.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 42% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 10%
Best female friend	<i>Tú</i> : 61%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of affection.</li> <li>• It the customary way of talking.</li> <li>• Out of affection</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 29% Alternation: 10%
Other friends	<i>Usted</i> : 42%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is not much <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Usted</i> is the customary address.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 30% Alternation: 28%

**4.5.5. The forms of address participants use at work and at school.** *Usted* was reported as the most used form of address at work and at school. At work, most participants reported using *usted* with their boss and male co-workers. Most participants also prefer to use *usted* with their employees or subordinates; among other reasons, because of the difference in hierarchy. Also, 38-year-old Maya, who supervises a large number of workers, stated that she

addresses her subordinates who have lower positions in the company with *usted* because of their low level of education. Using the form *tú* with them, according to Maya, makes both parts uncomfortable since Maya’s subordinates cannot use *tú* “correctly” and are not used to being addressed that way. Participants reported using *tú* at work mainly with female co-workers who have similar hierarchy as the participants. However, the percentage of participants who use the form *usted* with female co-workers is only slightly lower. At school, participants use *usted* mainly with their male classmates and instructors. On the other hand, participants use *tú* with their female classmates. In addition, a small percentage of participants (in some cases a large one) reported alternating the form of address they use with people at work or at school depending on aspects such as the level of hierarchy, the amount of time they know these individuals, the level of *confianza*, the gender of the addressee, and their level of education, Table 45 provides further details about the address used at work and at school.

Table 45

*The Forms of Address Participants Use at Work and at School*

Person	Most common form	Most common reasons	Other preferred forms
Boss	<i>Usted</i> : 74%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Because of the difference in hierarchy.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 13% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 11%
Younger employee	<i>Usted</i> : 60%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Customary way of talking.</li> <li>• Because of the difference in hierarchy.</li> <li>• To maintain their distance.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 20% Alternation: 5%
Older employee	<i>Usted</i> : 56%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Because of the difference in hierarchy.</li> <li>• Customary way of talking.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 19% Alternation: 25%
Male co-worker	<i>Usted</i> : 45%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Address given to men.</li> <li>• Professional relationship.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 32% Alternation: 23%

Female co-worker	<i>Tú</i> : 38%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address given to women.</li> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• In order to be kind.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 36% Alternation: 36%
Male classmate	<i>Usted</i> : 54%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address given to men.</li> <li>• Most of them also use <i>usted</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 36% Alternation: 10%
Female classmate	<i>Tú</i> : 61%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address given to women.</li> <li>• There is <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• There is closeness.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 34% Alternation: 5%
Instructor	<i>Usted</i> : 70%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Authority figure.</li> <li>• There is a difference in hierarchy.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 16% Alternation: 14%

**4.5.6. The forms of address participants use with strangers.** Most participants reported addressing both male and female strangers with *usted*. However, when the stranger is a child, most participants use *tú*. Also, a small percentage of participants reported alternating the form of address they use with a stranger depending on this person's physical appearance, gender, age, and whether he/she generates *confianza*. Table 46 provides further details about the address given to strangers.

Table 46

*The Forms of Address Participants Use With Strangers*

Person	Most common form	Most common reasons	Other preferred forms
Male stranger	<i>Usted</i> : 89%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He is someone participants do not know.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• It is the address men give other men.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 4% Alternation: 7%
Female stranger	<i>Usted</i> : 66%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He is someone participants do not know.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Out of precaution.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 25% Alternation: 9%

Minor stranger	<i>Tú</i> : 45%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Because he or she is a minor (especially children).</li> <li>• It is a warmer address.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 38% Alternation: 17%
Homeless	<i>Usted</i> : 76%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participants do not know this person.</li> <li>• Out of fear for this person.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 11% <i>Sumercé</i> : 4% Alternation: 9%

#### 4.5.7. The forms of address participants use with people from certain occupations.

*Usted* was the most reported form used by participants to address individuals from the different occupations listed in the questionnaire (see the following table). Almost all participants reported using *usted* with police officers and the few ones who reported using *tú* were females. Also, two young male participants who had recently completed their military service with the police stated that using *tú* in this institution is regarded as a non-masculine way of speaking. *Usted* is also the most common address given to security guards and domestic workers, even if these are individuals with whom participants interact on a regular basis. In addition, domestic workers tend to receive the address with *tú* more than security guards. *Usted* is also the most common form used with medical doctors. Most participants who reported using *tú* with doctors were females. In addition, almost all participants reported using *usted* with taxi drivers. Even though the reasons for this address include positive aspects such as respect, taxi drivers as well as police officers receive the most negative reasons for using *usted*. While several participants stated not to like the police, many respondents justify their use of *usted* with taxi drivers by highlighting a latent distrust in these individuals. *Usted* was also the most reported form to address servers at restaurants. However, a few participants who indicated using *tú*, do so to obtain a better service. Finally, *usted* is also used with priests and pastors, but God is addressed with *tú* by a great majority of participants. With respect to the address given to God, 32-year-old Katy stated that “God is a great being and deserves the best treatment.” However, 48-year-old Constanza

affirmed that the prayers (literature) that Colombians use in their religious practice have always included the use of the form *tú*, which is for her a logical reason why most individuals address God with *tú*, including those who address all others with *usted*. Finally, a small percentage of individuals alternate the form of address they use with people from most of the occupations previously mentioned except police officers and to a very small extent God. Aspects such as addressee's age, gender, attitude, and even the form of address used by this individual influence the form of address used by participants. Table 47 provides further details about the address given to individuals according to their occupation.

Table 47

*The Forms of Address Participants Use With People From Certain Occupations*

Person	Most common form	Most common reasons	Other preferred forms
Police officer	<i>Usted</i> : 91%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Because of his or her authority.</li> <li>• He or she is a stranger.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 9%
Security guard	<i>Usted</i> : 82	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• He or she is a stranger.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Usted</i> is the customary address.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 9% Alternation: 9%
Domestic worker (maid)	<i>Usted</i> : 55%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• To maintain certain distance.</li> <li>• To be comfortable (participants' address).</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 35% Alternation: 10%
Doctor	<i>Usted</i> : 74%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• Participants do not know him/her well.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Customary way of talking.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 12% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 12%
Taxi driver	<i>Usted</i> : 93%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He or she is a stranger.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Taxi drivers have a bad reputation.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 2% Alternation: 5%

Younger waiter or waitress	<i>Usted</i> : 55%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He or she is a stranger.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• They are only providing a service.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 34% <i>Vos</i> : 2% Alternation: 5%
Older waiter or waitress	<i>Usted</i> : 63%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He or she is a stranger.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• He or she is an adult.</li> <li>• Customary way of talking (participants' address)</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 29% Alternation 8%
Priest or pastor	<i>Usted</i> : 80%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• There is no <i>confianza</i>.</li> <li>• Out of formality.</li> <li>• Because of the hierarchy held by priests/pastors.</li> </ul>	<i>Tú</i> : 13% Alternation: 7%
God	<i>Tú</i> : 88%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Out of love.</li> <li>• Out of respect.</li> <li>• There is closeness.</li> <li>• God is a friend.</li> </ul>	<i>Usted</i> : 8% <i>Sumercé</i> : 2% Alternation: 2%

#### 4.6. Questionnaire: Men and Women

**4.6.1. The forms of address men and women use with their immediate family.** The most common form of address men reported using with members of their immediate family depended on the addressee. *Usted* was men's most common form to address their father and brothers. Most men also reported using *usted* when reprimanding their children and when addressing their pets. *Tú*, on the other hand, prevailed as the most common address among men to address their sisters, children (both sons and daughters) and spouses. Finally, both *tú* and *usted* were equally preferred by men to address their mother.

Women reported *usted* as the most common address used with their immediate family. *Usted* was reported by women as the most common address given to their father, mother, brothers, sisters, daughters, and pets. Women also reported using *usted* more often when

reprimanding their children. Among women, *tú* prevailed only as the address given to spouses, and both *tú* and *usted* were reported as the forms to use with sons. In general, men reported using *tú* slightly more than women with this social group. However, these reports contrast with the observed behavior in which women used *tú* slightly more than men. Also, it is important to note that the strength of the preference for one form or the other depends on who the addressee is. *Usted* was clearly the most preferred form by most men and women to address their brothers and to reprimand their children while *tú* was clearly common by both to address their spouses. However, as Table 48 indicates, the preference for one form or the other in some of the other cases is not very strong. In such cases *tú* and *usted* compete or even both may be used depending on the situation (alternation). For instance, the preference for *usted* by a considerable percentage of women when addressing daughters is slightly higher than the preference for *tú* stated by other females. Finally, in addition to *tú* and *usted*, *sumercé* is often used by some participants to address their parents. *Sumercé*, which according to the participants denotes a combination of both respect and affection, was more reported by men than by women. Table 48 provides further details about the address that men and women give their immediate family.

Table 48

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use With Their Immediate Family*

Person	Form of address	Men	Women
Father	<i>Tú</i>	36%	30%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>39%</b>	<b>63%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	18%	3%
	Alternation	7%	4%
Mother	<i>Tú</i>	<b>39%</b>	23%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>39%</b>	<b>55%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	15%	3%
	Alternation	7%	19%
Brother	<i>Tú</i>	25%	25%

	<i>Usted</i>	<b>50%</b>	<b>63%</b>
	Alternation	25%	12%
Sister	<i>Tú</i>	<b>38%</b>	30%
	<i>Usted</i>	31%	<b>59%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	6%	-
	Alternation	25%	11%
Son	<i>Tú</i>	<b>67%</b>	<b>39%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	22%	<b>39%</b>
	Alternation	11%	22%
Daughter	<i>Tú</i>	<b>63%</b>	40%
	<i>Usted</i>	25%	<b>50%</b>
	Alternation	12%	10%
To reprimand child	<i>Tú</i>	20%	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>79%</b>
	Alternation	-	21%
Spouse	<i>Tú</i>	<b>67%</b>	<b>56%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	17%	28%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	5%
	Alternation	16%	11%
Pet	<i>Tú</i>	38%	45%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>48%</b>	<b>48%</b>
	Alternation	14%	7%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.2. The forms of address men and women use with their extended family.** Most men and women reported using *usted* with their uncles, aunts, and their grandmothers while *tú* with their nieces and nephews. These results point to a difference in address marked by age of addressee. Regarding the address given to cousins, the tendency is for men to use *tú* with female cousins but *usted* with their male ones. Women, on the other hand, tend to use *tú* with male and female cousins. Also, a notable difference between male and female participants is the reported

use of *sumercé* by men to address their grandparents. Table 49 shows further details about the address given by men and women to their extended family.

Table 49

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use with Their Extended Family*

Person	Form of address	Men	Women
Uncle	<i>Tú</i>	15%	16%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>78%</b>	<b>74%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	3%	-
	Alternation	4%	10%
Aunt	<i>Tú</i>	36%	16%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>50%</b>	<b>72%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	5%	-
	Alternation	9%	12%
Male Cousin	<i>Tú</i>	41%	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>47%</b>	36%
	Alternation	12%	14%
Female cousin	<i>Tú</i>	<b>42%</b>	<b>66%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>42%</b>	19%
	Alternation	16%	15%
Niece/nephew	<i>Tú</i>	<b>72%</b>	<b>64%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	14%	13%
	Alternation	14%	23%
Grandpa	<i>Tú</i>	<b>30%</b>	26%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>30%</b>	<b>69%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	<b>30%</b>	-
	Alternation	10%	5%
Grandma	<i>Tú</i>	35%	21%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>43%</b>	<b>62%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	22%	-
	Alternation	-	17%
Grandchild	<i>Tú</i>	<b>60%</b>	-
	<i>Usted</i>	20%	<b>71%</b>
	Alternation	20%	29%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.3. The forms of address men and women use with their in-laws.** *Usted* was the most reported form by both men and women to address their father-in-law, mother-in-law and brother-in-law. This preference is substantial because it was expressed by most participants. Men and women differed mainly in the address they give their sister in law. While men reported using *tú* more often, women reported using *usted*. Also, while no male participant reported using *tú* with their father-in-law, a relatively small percentage of female participants did. However, it is important to note that one of the male participants reported *vos* as the most common form to address his father-in-law. According to this participant, he uses *vos* with his father-in-law because this form of address represents a way of speaking that identifies both of them since they both come from a region where *vos* is used often. *Vos* had been previously reported as a form that is used among individuals who have mutual *confianza*. Even though, the relationship between father and son-in-law can be marked by mutual *confianza* and understanding, most participants reported respect as the reason for the use of *usted* with their father-in-law. However, in the particular case of this individual who reported using *vos* with his father in-law, the relationship between language and a person's identity seemed to prevail over the formalities that individuals must follow in their address they give to individuals who have a higher hierarchy. Table 50 illustrates the most common address that both men and women give their in-laws.

Table 50

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use with Their In-Laws*

Person	Form of address	Men	Women
Father-in-Law	<i>Tú</i>	-	18%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>92%</b>	<b>82%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	-
	<i>Vos</i>	8%	-
	Alternation	-	-

Mother-in-Law	<i>Tú</i>	14%	10%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>72%</b>	<b>70%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	10%
	Alternation	14%	10%
Brother-in-Law	<i>Tú</i>	29%	43%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>65%</b>	<b>52%</b>
	Alternation	6%	5%
Sister-in-Law	<i>Tú</i>	<b>65%</b>	35%
	<i>Usted</i>	29%	<b>55%</b>
	Alternation	6%	10%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.4. The forms of address men and women use with the individuals from their closest social circle.** There are some interesting similarities as well as some differences in the way men and women address the members of their closest social circle. First, most male and female participants reported using *tú* to address their significant other, except when they are mad with them, which corroborates participants report of the influence of affect in the use of *tú* and *usted*. Participants' best male friend is addressed with *tú* by most women while most men address this person with *usted*, among other reasons, because this person is male. On the other hand, most male and female participants reported addressing their best female friend with *tú*, which strengthens the previously stated idea that the form *tú* is given more often to women than to men by both male and female individuals. Finally, female participants reported addressing most other friends with *tú* while male participants reported using *usted*. In general, it can be stated that female participants tend to use *tú* slightly more often than men, at least in this social circle. Table 51 provides further details of the address that men and women give to members of their closest social network.

Table 51

*The Address Men and Women Use with the Individuals from Their Closest Social Circle*

Person	Form of address	Men	Women
Significant other	<i>Tú</i>	<b>78%</b>	<b>68%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	4.5%	27%
	Alternation	17.5%	5%
When mad at significant other	<i>Tú</i>	26%	10%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>69%</b>	<b>85%</b>
	Alternation	5%	5%
Best male friend	<i>Tú</i>	32%	<b>58%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>45%</b>	38%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	5%	-
	Alternation	18%	4%
Best female friend	<i>Tú</i>	<b>67%</b>	<b>55%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	24%	35%
	Alternation	9%	10%
Other friends	<i>Tú</i>	16%	<b>44%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>44%</b>	37%
	Alternation	40%	19%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.5. The forms of address men and women use at work and/or at school.** *Usted* is the most common form used at work by men and women. It is used by most men and women with their boss, younger and older employees, and with most male co-workers. Also, men tend to use *tú* with their female co-workers more than women. Regarding school, most men reported using *tú* with female classmates but *usted*. with the male ones. In contrast, most women reported using *tú* with male and female classmates. The instructor is addressed by most men and women

with *usted* because of the respect and the authority that he or she represents. Table 52 provides further details about the address used by men and women at work and at school.

Table 52

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use at Work and/or at School*

Person	Form of address	Males	Females
Boss	<i>Tú</i>	18%	9%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>68%</b>	<b>79%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	3%
	Alternation	14%	9%
Younger employee	<i>Tú</i>	15%	25%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>62%</b>	<b>58%</b>
	Alternation	23%	17%
Older employee	<i>Tú</i>	27%	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>46%</b>	<b>80%</b>
	Alternation	27%	20%
Male co-worker	<i>Tú</i>	26%	36%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>48%</b>	<b>44%</b>
	Alternation	26%	20%
Female co-worker	<i>Tú</i>	<b>38%</b>	38%
	<i>Usted</i>	29%	<b>43%</b>
	Alternation	33%	19%
Male classmate	<i>Tú</i>	11%	<b>57%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>72%</b>	38%
	Alternation	17%	5%
Female classmate	<i>Tú</i>	<b>61%</b>	<b>63%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	28%	37%
	Alternation	11%	-
Instructor	<i>Tú</i>	8%	23%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>79%</b>	<b>62%</b>
	Alternation	13%	15%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.6. The forms of address men and women use with strangers.** The overall tendency of both men and women is to use *usted* with strangers. However, there is a higher use of *tú* among men than among women in the address they give female strangers. Also, many male and female participants use *tú* with younger strangers, especially if they are children. However, the difference between those who prefer *tú* over *usted* is not very large. In addition, as table 53 shows, the percentage of male participants who alternate the form of address they use with younger strangers is significant. Table 50 provides further details about the address given to strangers by both male and female participants.

Table 53

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use With Strangers*

Person	Form of address	Males	Females
Male stranger	<i>Tú</i>	-	7%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>96%</b>	<b>83%</b>
	Alternation	4%	10%
Female stranger	<i>Tú</i>	<b>47%</b>	14%
	<i>Usted</i>	40%	<b>79%</b>
	Alternation	13%	7%
Minor stranger	<i>Tú</i>	<b>41%</b>	<b>48%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	37%	39%
	Alternation	22%	13%
Homeless	<i>Tú</i>	7%	14%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>85%</b>	<b>68%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	7%
	Alternation	8%	11%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.6.7. The forms of address men and women use with people from certain occupations.** Men and women reported *usted* as the most common form used with the occupations listed in Table 54. *Usted* was the most reported form to address police officers,

security guards, domestic workers, doctors, taxi drivers, waiters, priests and pastors. Regarding the use of *tú* with these individuals, it is higher among women than among men. For instance, only a few women reported using *tú* with police officers and taxi drivers. In contrast, *tú* is used by most male and female participants to address God. Nevertheless, the use of the form *tú* is slightly higher among females than among males. Table 54 provides further details about the address given by males and females to people with certain occupations.

Table 54

*The Forms of Address Men and Women Use With People From Certain Occupations*

Person	Form of address	Males	Females
Police officer	<i>Tú</i>	-	19%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>100%</b>	<b>81%</b>
Security guard	<i>Tú</i>	4%	13%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>88%</b>	<b>81%</b>
	Alternation	13%	6%
Domestic worker (maid)	<i>Tú</i>	26%	45%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>59%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	Alternation	15%	5%
Doctor	<i>Tú</i>	5%	17%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>81%</b>	<b>73%</b>
	Alternation	14%	10%
Taxi driver	<i>Tú</i>	-	3.5%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>93%</b>	<b>93%</b>
	Alternation	7%	3.5%
Young waiter/waitress	<i>Tú</i>	31%	38%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>58%</b>	<b>53%</b>
	<i>Vos</i>	4%	-
	Alternation	7%	9%

Older waiter/waitress	<i>Tú</i>	23%	36%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>69%</b>	<b>55%</b>
	Alternation	8%	9%
Priest/Pastor	<i>Tú</i>	12%	13%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>81%</b>
	Alternation	8%	6%
God	<i>Tú</i>	<b>81%</b>	<b>94%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	19%	-
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	3%
	Alternation	-	3%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

#### 4.7. Questionnaire: The Different Social Classes

##### 4.7.1. The forms of address that the social classes use with their immediate family.

The most reported address used by members of the working class with their immediate family was *usted*. This form prevails in the address given to these individuals' father, mother, brothers, sisters, daughters, and pets. It is also the most common form participants from this social group use to reprimand their children. According to participants' reports, *tú* only prevails in the address given to spouses; however, the difference between those who prefer *tú* over *usted* is not very large. In addition, there is a high percentage of alternation in the use of form of forms of address with respect to some of these individuals, including brothers and sons.

In contrast with the overall preference for the address with *usted* by the working class, the most reported form by members of the lower-middle class and the upper-middle class to address their immediate family was *tú*. In the lower-middle class, *tú* prevails in the address given to their mother, children, spouse and the family's pet. On the other hand, *usted* is the most common

address given to brothers, sisters, and it is the form used to reprimand the participants' children. In the upper-middle class, *tú* prevails in the address given to the participants' father, sisters, daughters, spouses and pets while *usted* is the most common form of address given to the participants' mother, brothers, and it is the form participants use to reprimand their children.

In general, there was more reported use of *tú* among participants of the lower-middle and upper-middle class than among the working class. Also, it is important to keep in mind the large percentage of individuals who manifested their awareness of an alternation in the use of forms of address depending on the situation in which they are. The alternation in the use of forms of address signals an address that is not static and that depends not only on the person with whom people are socializing, but also on contextual factors such as speaker's mood, as stated by several participants. Also, in addition to *tú* and *usted*, a small percentage of participants from the three groups reported using *sumercé* to address their parents. Table 55 provides further details about the address given by members of the different social classes to their immediate family members.

Table 55

*The Forms of Address that the Social Classes Use With Their Immediate Family*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Father	<i>Tú</i>	6%	<b>43%</b>	<b>40%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>82%</b>	<b>43%</b>	30%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	6%	7%	20%
	Alternation	6%	7%	10%
Mother	<i>Tú</i>	5%	<b>48%</b>	30%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>71%</b>	30%	<b>40%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	10%	7%	10%
	Alternation	14%	15%	20%
Brother	<i>Tú</i>	31%	22%	12%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>38%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	Alternation	31%	-	38%

Sister	<i>Tú</i>	16%	32%	<b>56%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>58%</b>	<b>63%</b>	22%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	-	11%
	Alternation	26%	5%	11%
Son	<i>Tú</i>	<b>40%</b>	<b>64%</b>	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>40%</b>	27%	-
	Alternation	20%	9%	<b>100%</b>
Daughter	<i>Tú</i>	33%	<b>56%</b>	<b>67%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>67%</b>	33%	-
	Alternation	-	11%	33%
To reprimand child	<i>Tú</i>	-	18%	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>89%</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>75%</b>
	Alternation	11%	9%	25%
Spouse	<i>Tú</i>	<b>43%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>72%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	36%	33%	14%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	7%	-	-
	Alternation	14%	11%	14%
Pet	<i>Tú</i>	32%	<b>48%</b>	<b>57%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>63%</b>	39%	43%
	Alternation	5%	13%	-

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

#### 4.7.2. The forms of address that the social classes use with their extended family.

Among the working class, *usted* was the most reported form used to address members of the extended family. Most participants from this social group reported giving *usted* to their uncles, aunts, male cousins, grandparents as well as to their grandchildren. *Usted* was also the most reported form used to address female cousins; however, the difference between those who prefer *tú*, *usted*, and those who choose the form of address depending on the situation (alternation) is not very large. In this group *tú* did not prevail in the address given to any member of the

extended family, but it was as common as *usted* in the address given to the participants' nieces or nephews.

Among participants from the lower-middle class, *tú* prevailed in the address given to the participants' cousins (both male and female), nieces, and nephews. *Usted*, on the other hand, was more common in the address given to the participants' uncles, aunts, and grandmas. Finally, both *tú* and *usted* receive equal frequency of use in the address given to grandpas and grandchildren.

Among the upper-middle class, *tú* prevailed with more family members in comparison with the other two social groups. In this group, *tú* is the most common address given to the participants' cousins (both male and female), nieces, nephews, and grandmas. On the contrary, *usted* was the most reported form by participants from this social group to address their aunts, uncles, and grandpas. Finally, all grandparents of the upper-middle class admitted alternating the address they give their grandchildren depending on the situation. For instance, 69-year-old Fernanda, stated she addresses her grandchildren mainly with either *tú* or *sumercé*, but she uses *usted* when she needs to reprimand them. Table 56 shows that the use of *usted* is not as common among the lower and upper-middle class as it is among the working class. On the contrary, members of the lower and upper-middle class use *tú* at a higher percentage with all members of the extended family in comparison with individuals from the working class. Also, in addition to *tú* and *usted*, some participants of these social groups use *sumercé* with their grandparents.

Table 56

*The Forms of Address that the Social Classes Use With Their Extended Family*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Uncle	<i>Tú</i>	4%	23%	20%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>83%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>70%</b>
	Alternation	13%	8%	10%

Aunt	<i>Tú</i>	4%	42%	20%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>82%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>70%</b>
	Alternation	14%	8%	10%
Male cousin	<i>Tú</i>	24%	<b>50%</b>	<b>60%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>62%</b>	45%	40%
	Alternation	14%	5%	-
Female cousin	<i>Tú</i>	29%	<b>64%</b>	<b>78%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>38%</b>	36%	11%
	Alternation	33%		11%
Niece/Nephew	<i>Tú</i>	<b>36%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>86%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>36%</b>	-	-
	Alternation	28%	-	14%
Grandpa	<i>Tú</i>	7%	<b>37%</b>	25%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>86%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	7%	10%	25%
	Alternation	-	36%	-
Grandma	<i>Tú</i>	11.5%	40%	<b>38%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>71%</b>	<b>45%</b>	25%
	<i>Sumercé</i>	6%	10%	25%
	Alternation	11.5%	5%	12%
Grandchild	<i>Tú</i>	20%	<b>40%</b>	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>40%</b>	-
	Alternation	-	20%	<b>100%</b>

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.7.3. The forms of address that the social classes use with their in-laws.** Most participants of the working class reported using *usted* with their in-laws. This family group includes father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law. However, the preference for the form *usted* decreases as the social status increases. Among individuals of the lower-middle class, *usted* was also the most common form to address father-in-law, mother-in-law and brother in law. However, *tú* was the most reported form to address sisters-in-law. Finally, among

participants of the upper-middle-class, *usted* prevails in the address given to both father and mother-in-law, but *tú* is the most common form given to both brother and sister-in-law. Table 57 provides further details about the address that individuals from different social classes give to their in-laws.

Table 57  
*The Forms of Address that the Social Classes Use With Their In-Laws*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Father-in law	<i>Tú</i>	8%	7%	20%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>84%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>60%</b>
	<i>Vos</i>	8%	-	-
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	7%	20%
	Alternation	-	-	-
Mother-in-law	<i>Tú</i>	12%	11%	17%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>76%</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	6%	6%	-
	Alternation	6%	11%	33%
Brother-in-law	<i>Tú</i>	28%	40%	<b>60%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>67%</b>	<b>60%</b>	20%
	Alternation	5%	-	20%
Sister-in-law	<i>Tú</i>	27%	<b>59%</b>	<b>67%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>60%</b>	35%	16%
	Alternation	13%	6%	17%

**4.7.4. The forms of address that the social classes use with their closest social network.** Most members of the three socioeconomic classes reported using *tú* with their significant other, except when they are mad at this person. In such situations, most participants reported using *usted*. Similarly, most members of the three social groups prefer using *tú* with their best female friend. On the contrary, there were some reported differences in the address given to the participants' best male friend. While for the working class the most common form

used with this person is *usted*, for the lower-middle class it is *tú*. Among the upper-middle class both *tú* and *usted* received the same popularity. There were also some differences regarding the address given to ‘other friends’. Among the working class, *usted* was once again the most common form; among the lower-middle class both *tú* and *usted* were most common; and finally, among the upper-middle class, *tú* was the most common address. In addition, as Table 58 shows, the item “other friends” received a high percentage of alternation. In other words, a substantial percentage of participants from the three social groups address these individuals depending on factors such as their gender and the level of *confianza* achieved.

Table 58

*The Forms of Address that the Social Classes Use With Their Closest Social Network*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Significant other	<i>Tú</i>	<b>72%</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>67%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	11%	18%	11%
	Alternation	17%	5%	22%
When mad at significant other	<i>Tú</i>	13%	13%	29%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>57%</b>
	Alternation	7%	6%	14%
Best male friend	<i>Tú</i>	40%	<b>53%</b>	<b>45%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>45%</b>	42%	<b>45%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	5%	-
	Alternation	15%	-	10%
Best female friend	<i>Tú</i>	<b>55%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>57%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	40%	22%	-
	Alternation	5%	-	43%
Other friends	<i>Tú</i>	27%	<b>38%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>50%</b>	<b>38%</b>	20%
	Alternation	23%	24%	30%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.7.5. The forms of address that the social classes use at work and at school. *Usted***

was reported as the most used address at work by participants from the three socioeconomic classes, specially by individuals from the working class. *Usted* is then the most common form of address they give their bosses and employees (younger and older). However, regarding the address used with co-workers, there were some differences. While among the working class, the most common form was *usted*, the lower-middle and upper-middle class favored the use of the address with *tú*. At school, *tú* was reported as the most used address with female classmates while *usted* with male classmates, except for most participants from the upper-middle class who reporting using *tú* with both. In addition, most participants from the three socioeconomic groups address their instructor with *usted*. However, the use of *tú* with instructors increases as the social class increases. Table 59 provides further information about the address used at work and/or at school by members of the different socioeconomic classes.

Table 59

*The Forms of Address that the Social Classes Use at Work and at School*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Boss	<i>Tú</i>	10.5%	16%	22%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>74%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>67%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	5%	-	-
	Alternation	10.5%	21%	11%
Younger employee	<i>Tú</i>	20%	21%	29%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>71%</b>
	Alternation	-	36%	-
Older employee	<i>Tú</i>	25%	31%	14%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>75%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>86%</b>
	Alternation	-	23%	-
Male co-worker	<i>Tú</i>	24%	<b>44%</b>	<b>38%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>47%</b>	37%	24%
	Alternation	29%	19%	<b>8%</b>

Female co- worker	<i>Tú</i>	29%	<b>41%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>47%</b>	35%	13%
	Alternation	24%	24%	37%
Male classmate	<i>Tú</i>	29%	31%	<b>67%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>53%</b>	<b>63%</b>	33%
	Alternation	18%	6%	-
Female classmate	<i>Tú</i>	<b>50%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>83%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	39%	33%	17%
	Alternation	11%	-	-
Instructor	<i>Tú</i>	11%	12%	43%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>72%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>57%</b>
	Alternation	17%	19%	-

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.7.6. The forms of address that the social classes use with strangers.** *Usted* was reported as the most common form of address given to strangers by members of the three social groups. Among participants of the working class, *usted* is the most common form of address given to male and female strangers as well as to underage strangers and homeless individuals. However, as Table 60 shows, the address with *usted* to an underage stranger is not given by a majority. There is a high percentage of individuals who alternate the form they use with this type of person and a considerable percentage of participants who reported using the form *tú* only.

Participants from the lower-middle and upper-middle classes also use *usted* with male and female strangers and with homeless people. However, the most common address individuals from this social groups give underage strangers is *tú*. The address with *tú* is given to minors by a small majority of participants from the lower-middle class and by half of the participants from

the upper-middle class. Table 60 provides further details about the address given to strangers according to the social class of the speaker.

Table 60

*The Forms of Address That the Social Classes Use With Strangers*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Male stranger	<i>Tú</i>	9%	-	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>82%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>100%</b>
	Alternation	9%	8%	-
Female stranger	<i>Tú</i>	27%	12%	12%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>68%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>88%</b>
	Alternation	5%	12%	-
Underage stranger	<i>Tú</i>	27%	<b>61%</b>	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>41%</b>	35%	30%
	Alternation	32%	4%	20%
Homeless	<i>Tú</i>	19%	8%	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>71%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>78%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	-	4%	11%
	Alternation	10%	8%	11%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

**4.7.7. The forms of address that the social classes use with individuals from certain occupations.** *Usted* was reported as the most common address given by most participants from the three social groups to people holding most of the occupations mentioned in this study. *Usted* is the most common address given to police officers, security guards, domestic workers, doctors, taxi drivers, waiters and waitresses, as well as to priests or pastors. In fact, police officers, security guards, taxi drivers, doctors, and priests or pastors receive the smallest amount of *tú*. Factors such as dislike and/or respect for some of these individuals (e.g. police officers), distrust (e.g. taxi drivers), or extreme deference (e.g. doctor, priests) mark the tendency for such address.

God, on the other hand, is addressed with *tú* by most participants because of the affection and the special connection they have with this supreme being. Table 61 provides further information about the address given by the social classes to people according to their occupation.

Table 61

*The Address That the Social Classes Use With Individuals From Certain Occupations*

Person	Form of address	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
Police officer	<i>Tú</i>	5%	7%	12%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>95%</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>88%</b>
	Alternation	-	-	-
Security guard	<i>Tú</i>	4.5%	13%	11%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>82%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>78%</b>
	Alternation	13.5%	4%	11%
Domestic worker (maid)	<i>Tú</i>	31.5%	26%	40%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>58%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>60%</b>
	Alternation	10.5%	11%	-
Doctor	<i>Tú</i>	13.55	11%	10%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>68%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>70%</b>
	<i>Sumercé</i>	5%	-	-
	Alternation	13.5%	6	20%
Taxi driver	<i>Tú</i>	4.5%	-	-
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>91%</b>	<b>96%</b>	<b>90%</b>
	Alternation	4.5%	4%	10%
Younger waiter/waitress	<i>Tú</i>	32%	32%	<b>50%</b>
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>55%</b>	<b>64%</b>	40%
	<i>Vos</i>	4%	-	-
	Alternation	9%	4%	10%
Older waiter/waitress	<i>Tú</i>	27%	19%	33%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>64%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>45%</b>
	Alternation	9%	-	22%
Priest/Pastor	<i>Tú</i>	9%	15%	11%
	<i>Usted</i>	<b>77%</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>78%</b>
	Alternation	14%	-	11%
God	<i>Tú</i>	<b>80%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>78%</b>

<i>Usted</i>	15%	-	11%
<i>Sumercé</i>	5%	-	-
Alternation	-	-	11%

*Note.* The percentage in bold represents the most common form of address given by men and women to each particular interlocutor.

#### **4.8. Questionnaire: The Use of *Tú* and *Usted* According to the Age of the Speaker**

Sections 4.8.1 to 4.8.7 present the general preferences in address of the different generational groups that participated in this study. Instead of mentioning the percentages of all the forms used by each group, tables 62 to 68 indicate the most common form of address used by each generational group. This switch in data presentation allows for a better comprehension of the main differences in address among the groups.

**4.8.1. The forms of address that the generational groups use with the immediate family.** Findings show that most members of the immediate family receive a different address according to the age of the speaker. On one hand, most participants from the youngest group make a clear distinction in how they address parents and siblings. While parents receive *tú*, siblings are mostly addressed with *usted*, especially when the interaction is between brothers. In the older generations, the tendency is to address parents and siblings with *usted*. Children tend to receive *tú* from parents of most generations, except from the oldest or from the majority of 40 to 49-year-olds. However, when parents need to reprimand their children, *usted* is the most common form of most generational groups. Spouses also tend to be recipients of the form *tú*, except in the oldest generational group. Table 62 provides further details about the most common address the different generational groups give members of their immediate family.

Table 62

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Their Immediate Family*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Father	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Mother	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted
Brother	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Sister	Usted	Alternation	Tú	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted
Son	-	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted
Daughter	-	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted
To scold child	-	Tú/Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Spouse	-	Tú	Tú	Tu/Usted	Tú	Usted
Pet	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted	Tú	Usted

**4.8.2. The forms of address that the generational groups use with their extended family.** The reported tendency of the different generational groups is to address the older members with *usted* and the younger ones with *tú*. Therefore, uncles, aunts and grandparents receive *usted* while cousins, nieces and nephews tend to receive *tú* by most individuals from most age groups. However, the use of *tú* by the oldest generational group is much less common than in the other groups. In fact, *usted* is the most common address this generational group give their immediate as well as their extended family. Table 63 provides further details about the most common address given to the extended family by the different generational groups.

Table 63

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Their Extended Family*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Uncle	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Aunt	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Male cousin	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted

Female cousin	Tú	Usted	Tú	Tú	Tú	Usted
Niece/Nephew	Tú	Tú	Tú	Tú/Usted	Tú	Usted
Grandpa	Tú	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted	Usted/Sumercé	Usted
Grandma	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted
Grandchild	-	-	-	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted

**4.8.3. The forms of address that the generational groups use with their in-laws.**

Parents-in-law tend to receive *usted* from all generational groups. On the other hand, brothers and sisters-in-law tend to be address with *tú* by the younger generations but *usted* is more common in the address given by individuals from older generations. Further details about the address given to the in-laws are found in table 64.

Table 64

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Their In-Laws*

Person	13-39	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Father-in law	-	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Mother-in-law	-	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Brother-in law	-	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted
Sister-in-law	-	Tú	Tú	Tú/Usted	Tú	Usted

**4.8.4. The forms of address that the generational groups use with their closest social network.** Participants of all generational groups, except the oldest one, tend to address their significant other with *tú*. However, when participants are mad at this person, *usted* is the most used address. Also, female friends tend to receive *tú* more than male friends, especially if addressed by men. Table 65 provides further details about the most common address given by the different generational groups to people from their closest social network.

Table 65

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Their Closest Social Network*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Significant Other	-	Tú	Tú	Tú	Tú	Usted
When mad at significant other	-	Tú/Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Best male friend	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted
Best female friend	Tú	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú	Tú/Usted
Other fiends	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted

#### **4.8.5. The forms of address that the generational groups use at work and at school.**

There are some similarities as well as some differences in the way participants from the different age groups address individuals at work and/or at school. First of all, *usted* is the most common form of address used at work. It is the most common form of address given by the different age groups to their boss, employees and male co-workers. Female co-workers, on the other hand, tend to be addressed with *tú* by most generational groups except, the oldest group. At school, classmates tend to be addressed with *tú*, except by most individuals from the oldest group and from the 40-49 group who reported to have used *usted* with everyone when they were in school. Female classmates tend to receive *tú* more than men. Teachers, on the other hand, are addressed with *usted* by most individuals of all the generational groups. Table 66 provides further details about the most common address used at work and at school by the participants of the different age groups.

Table 66

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups at Work and at School*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Boss	-	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Younger employee	-	-	Tú/Usted	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted
Older employee	-	-	Usted	Usted	Tú/usted	Usted
Male co-worker	-	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted	Tú	Usted
Female co-worker	-	Tú	Tú	Tú/Usted	Tú	Usted
Male classmate	Tú	Tú/Usted	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted
Female classmate	Tú	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú	Usted
Instructor	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted

**4.8.6. The forms of address that the generational groups use with strangers.** The majority of participants of all generational groups reported *usted* as the most common address they use with strangers. However, this preference is more stressed in the older generations than in the younger ones. In addition, when the stranger is a child, most participants from the younger generational groups prefer to address this person with the form *tú*. Also, even though both male and female strangers tend to be addressed with *usted*, the latter tend to receive *tú* more than the former because, as stated by several participants, “women generate more trust”. Table 67 provides further details about the most common address given to strangers by the individuals from the different generational groups.

Table 67

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Strangers*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Male Stranger	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Female stranger	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Underage stranger	Tú	Tú	Tú	Usted	Tú/Usted	Usted
Homeless	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted

**4.8.7. The forms of address that the generational groups use with individuals from certain occupations.** *Usted* was reported as the most common form of address given by the different generational groups to individuals listed in the interview (see Table 68). *Usted* is given to police officers, security guards, domestic workers (maids), doctors, taxi drivers, servers at restaurants, priests and pastors. *Tú* is preferred only by the 13 to 19-yearolds to address a few of these individuals. Finally, in contrast with a clear preference for the form *usted* to address individuals with the aforementioned occupations, most members of all generational groups reported addressing God with *tú*. Table 67 provides further details about the most common address given by the different generational groups to people with certain occupations.

Table 68

*The Form of Address Most Used by the Generational Groups With Individuals From Certain Occupations*

Person	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Police officer	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Security guard	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted

Domestic worker	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Doctor	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Taxi driver	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Younger waiter or waitress	Tú	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Older waiter or waitress	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
Priest or pastor	Tú/Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted	Usted
God	Tú	Tú	Tú	Tú	Tú	Tú

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#### 4.9. Naturally-Occurring Conversations

In order to know about participants' actual use of forms of address, they were video recorded while engaged in conversations at home, at gatherings with friends, at work (in a sewing and alterations shop), and in conversations in a car.

**4.9.1. The use of forms of address by individuals from the working class.** *Usted* was clearly the most common form of address used by the majority of members from this socioeconomic group. Most participants from this group used *usted* with members of the immediate family, which included their mother, father, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters and spouse. However, previously in the interview the address with *tú* had been reported by most participants as the preferred one to use with their spouse. *Usted* was also the most common address given to members of the extended family, which included uncles, aunts, and cousins (both male and female). Nieces and nephews, on the other hand, were addressed with *usted* by some while by with *tú* by others, corroborating the reports given by participants during the

interview. *Tú* was most preferred when the addressee was female. *Usted* was also the most common address grandparents gave their grandchildren and the address participants gave their in-laws (including father, mother, brother and sister-in-law). In fact, the use of *usted* with the in-laws was mutual. Finally, during a barbeque held by one of the families that belong to this socioeconomic group, *usted* was also the address given by a 19-year-old female to her boyfriend. This young female had previously stated in the interview that she liked addressing her boyfriend with *tú* and criticized him for not using this address with her more often. The previous situation could indicate a disagreement between what participants consider the ideal address (what they stated in the interview) and their actual language use. This disagreement can also indicate a difference between the address given to one's significant other in public and in private.

In this social group, *tú* was given sporadically by younger mothers to their children, by a 20-year-old female to her little brother, by a two-year-old boy to his mom, and it was also common in the address given by a 55-year-old grandmother to her grandson. However, the use of *tú* by these individuals was by no means constant. The use of *tú* was accompanied by the alternation with the form *usted* somewhere along the interaction, sometimes occurring in the same utterance. Example one (6), in which 51-year-old Daniela commands her 7-year-old son Sandro to stay still in his seat, illustrates the alternation of forms of address.

(6) *Quédate*            *quietecito.*            *No*    *se ponga*            *a*    *brincar.*  
 Stay-2SG.IMP.T    still-DIM            No    put-2SG.REFL.V    to    jump  
 'Stay still. Don't start jumping.'<sup>5</sup>

In (6), the speaker starts her first utterance using the form *tú* as indicated by the reflexive pronoun *te*. However, in the very next utterance, she changes to the form *usted*, as indicated by

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<sup>5</sup> The abbreviations T and V indicate whether the verb form is *tú* (T) or *usted* (V). See page iii for a complete list of abbreviations.

the reflexive pronoun *se*. The reason for the alternation between *tú* and *usted* by some of these participants is not clear. We can speculate that it is the participants' lack of familiarity with the form *tú* what makes them fall back to their default *usted* in many of these situations. Regardless of the reasons for their alternation, it was clear that children were the only recipients of the address with *tú* and that some individuals clearly seemed to prefer to address their children with *tú* as example two (7) indicates:

(7) Aunt to her niece: *Ahora le dice al papito que le dé ((brief pause)), que te dé un poco.*

<i>Ahora</i>	<i>le</i>		<i>dice</i>	<i>al papito</i>	<i>que le</i>	<i>((brief pause)),</i>	<i>que te</i>
Now	him-3SG-IOP		say-2SG	to daddy	that	you-2SG.IOP.V	that
							you-2SG.IOP.T
	<i>dé</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>poco.</i>				
	gives	a	little				

'You can now tell daddy to give you ((brief pause)), to give you a little.'

In example seven, the aunt starts her utterance with the form *usted*, as indicated by verb form *dice*. However, after pausing for a little moment, she then switches to the form *tú*, as indicated by the reflexive pronoun *te* 'you' and the verb form *dé* 'gives'. The change can be interpreted as some type of "self-correction" perhaps because the aunt thought that the address with *tú* would be more appropriate for her little niece since she is a child. The change from *usted* to *tú* could have happened also because the aunt realized that this was a soft command and not a strong one, situation in which she would have most possibly used the address with *usted*.

Regarding the address most children used with each other, *usted* was the most common form, except for 11-year-old Germán who used *tú* or *usted* depending on his interlocutor. He used *tú* with his mother, little sister, grandmother and his female cousins, but *usted* with most male family members. Germán's use of forms of address exemplify how children of this age already master the local pragmatic rules for the use of *tú* and *usted* in regard to gender.

**4.9.2. The use of forms of address by individuals from the lower-middle class.** One striking difference between the address used by participants from the working class and participants from the lower-middle class is the much more often use of the form *tú* by the latter. *Tú* was the most used form of address that members of the lower-middle class gave their mother, father, daughter, spouse, and cousins. *Tú* was also the form of address used by a Christian family to pray to God. However, it is important to note that the preference for the address with *tú* was more common among participants who were in their 30s or younger. Also, this social group included many more children who used *tú* exclusively.

*Usted*, on the other hand, was the most common address given by the majority of adults (approximately 40 years of age and above) to their siblings, sons, uncles, grandchildren, as well as to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. *Usted* was also most common in the address given to the adult participants' neighbors as well as it was the address used by some of them with strangers. In addition, one of these families which used the form *tú* almost exclusively among each other, used *usted* to address their domestic worker (i.e., maid). When the father of this family was asked why he addressed their domestic worker with *usted*, he stated that through the use of *usted* he can maintain his hierarchical position. He added that with the use of *usted*, he conveys respect as well as clarifies each other's functional relationship.

Finally, the alternation of forms of *tú* and *usted* also occurred in the address of this group but to a much lesser extent than among members of the working class. This alternation was particularly common in the speech of a few adult individuals when addressing their nieces and nephews. In fact, some participants used only *usted* with the adult nieces and nephews.

**4.9.3. The use of forms of address by individuals from the upper-middle class.** Like the previous social group, participants from the upper-middle class tended to use *tú* more often

than *usted* with their family members. In addition, the address with *tú* was more constant in this social group than in the previous one, and therefore, fewer instances of alternation of the form of address were noticed. Like in the previous group, *tú* was more common in the younger generations than among older individuals, especially among grandparents. In fact, minors of this group used *tú* exclusively with everyone they interacted, including their domestic worker. *Tú* was the most common form used by participants from this social group to address their spouses and their children as well as their grandparents, parents, sisters and cousins. On the other hand, *usted* was common only in the speech of older individuals as well as in the speech of younger parents when they reprimanded their children or wanted their commands to sound more authoritative. Example (8) shows the pragmatic force of *usted* in commands as well as of the address of older adults.

(8) *Daughter:* ((*Interrupting a conversation*)) *Mami:* ¿*me ayudas?* ( . ) Por favor.

*Mom:* ***Vaya pues empiyámese y se me lava dientes super juiciosa.***

*Daughter:* *Sí señora. =*

*Mom:* =¿*Ya, ya firmó [(unintelligible)]?*

*Daughter:* [*Pero yo quiero comer:* ]

*Mom:* ¿*Qué quieres comer? [¿Quieres un yogur con (jugo)]?*

*Daughter:* [*un bonyurt :* ]

*Mom:* ¿*Quieres un bonyurt?* =

*Grandma:* = *Un bonyurt. **Dele** un bonyurt*

*Mom:* *Tómatelo. **Cómete** este amor.*

*Daughter:* *Ya voy. Espera.*

Daughter: ((frowning her face and chuckling)) *Ay pero chocolate a esta hora Isa;*  
*Pero se acuesta* ((chuckles)).

English Translation:

Daughter: ((Interrupting a conversation)) Mom :\_ Will you help me? ( . ) Please.

Mom: Go ((V)) put on your pajamas and brush your ((V)) teeth.

Daughter: Yes, ma'am. =

Mom: = ¿Did you ((V)) already sign [(unintelligible)] ...?

Daughter: [But I want to eat ;

Mom: What do you want ((T)) to eat? [Do you want a yoghurt with (juice)?]

Daughter; [ U n b o n y u r t ; ]

Mom: Do you ((T)) want a bonyurt? =

Grandma: = A bonyurt. Give her ((V)) a bonyurt.

Mom: ((Drink ((T)) it up. Eat((T)) this one up my love.

Daughter: Ok. Wait up.

Mom: ((Frowning her face and chuckling)) But hot chocolate at this  
time, Isa; But then you ((V)) go to bed.((chuckles))

In (8), the mother orders her daughter to put on her pajamas. She emits this order with the use of *usted*, which is understood here as an order. The girl answers positively using the word *señora* 'ma'am', an indication of compliance and of respect. However, the girl tells her mom that she wants to eat something, which the mom understands as her daughter may be a little hungry. It is here that the mother switches back to the form *tú*, the default form to address her daughter. Also, notice how the grandmother addresses the girl's mom using *usted*. This is an example of the use of *usted* by the older members of the family. At the end of this interaction, the mother

addresses her daughter again with the *usted* form to tell her that she needs to go to bed after eating her snack. She uses *usted* again in this imperative. However, this time she chuckles, which makes her order sound friendlier. She also frowns, which indicates that drinking something sweet at this time of the night is not a good idea.

In addition to being the address of older individuals as well as the address used in strong and urgent commands, *usted* was the address two middle-aged females used with their mother-in-law. Also, in addition to the constant use of *tú* by all members of this family (except the maternal grandmother), another linguistic element that characterized this group was a rather frequent use of English words or of topics that were related with having family members abroad. For instance, 38-year-old Maya often addressed her 14-year-old daughter as *princess*. The rather frequent presence of English terms may be related to the fact that individuals from this social group simply have more exposure to the English language. The participating children of this project, for example, attended private schools that had intensive English programs, and many of them had also traveled abroad. Furthermore, it can be argued that this group, in comparison to the previous ones, portrayed itself as cosmopolitan rather than local. Another linguistic feature that characterized the speech of the upper-class in comparison with the other two social groups was the more common use of short names and reduced words (e.g. *Mano* instead of *Manolo*, *mate* instead of *matemáticas*, *abue* instead of *abuela*, etc.). The rather modern and cosmopolitan attitude of this group contrasted with traditional behavior of the working class.

**4.9.4. Some common features of the address of the participating social groups.** While there were some notable differences with regard to the use of *tú* and *usted* by the different socio-economic groups, there were also some aspects somehow common to all of them. The following is a series of aspects that characterize the address of the participating groups in general.

**4.9.4.1. Children's and adults' address.** The most common form of address used by most children (12 years of age and below) was *tú*, except by a couple of children from the working-class who used *usted* more often. Also, the children from an upper-middle class family not only used *tú* with everyone including adults in their families but occasionally would address them using only their first name. In contrast, children of the other social groups addressed their adults using their family status (e.g. uncle, grandpa, mom, etc.). It was also common for children of the upper-middle class to address other children using short versions of their names (e.g. *Gise* instead of *Gisella*, *Ger* instead of *Germán*, *Salo* instead of *Salomé*).

In contrast, the most common address among adults was *usted*, especially among members 40 years of age and above. In the address given to adult neighbors the titles *don* or *doña* were common even among neighbors who had constant interaction and could be considered friends, such as the case of 59-year-old Angelina and 79-year-old Rostita. These two ladies, who are next-door neighbors in a middle-class neighborhood, stated that they spend a great deal of time together and have developed a special relationship. However, their address could be considered most formal given their mutual use of *usted* and of the title *doña*. Also, some older adults gave children titles they use with adults. In (9) we see how 79-year-old Rosita uses *señora* 'ma'am' with her 7-year-old great-granddaughter Dayana as well as how Rosaura uses *señor* 'sir' with 11-year-old Germán.

- |             |                                    |   |
|-------------|------------------------------------|---|
| (9) Rosita: | Dayana. ¿Qué quiere comer?         | 1 |
| Dayana:     | Nada.                              | 2 |
| Rosita:     | Sí señora. Acuérdes-               | 3 |
| Dayana:     | Que no                             | 4 |
| Giselle:    | Dayana, No. Tienes que comer algo. | 5 |

Katy:	<u>Germán.</u> [((unintelligible words)) =	6
Rosita:	[ <u>Acuérdese</u> que se van ahora para la casa ((speaking to Dayana))	7 8
Katy:	=No, no <b>le</b> estoy preguntando. ( . ) Me hace un favor, ((emphasizes with nodding of the head)) No- no <b>le</b> estoy preguntando.	10
Nelcy:	[ <u>Tiene</u> que comer porque-	11
Germán:	[Ay: está muy temprano son las siete	12
Nelcy:	No eso no importa _ ¿Vamos a llegar a qué? [a ir a la tienda a comprar comida y todo eso? ((skakes her head))	13 14
Germán:	[Ay: pero es que yo estoy acostumbrado a comer a las 8.	15 16
Nelcy:	[No me importa. ] Coma. Ya. Tome.	17
Germán:	[<Ay, el desafío>]	18
Constanza:	A esta hora se come	19
Germán:	<Es que yo quiero comer, yo quiero comer viendo el desafío>	20
Rosaura:	<u>No</u> señor. Aquí en el comedor come todo el mundo ((emphasizes with her hand)) ( . ) Todo el mundo come aquí en el comedor.	21 22

Translation:

Rosita:	Dayana. What do you ((V)) want to eat?	1
Dayana:	Nothing.	2
Rosita:	Yes, ma'am. Remember ((V)) that-	3
Dayana:	I don't want anything.	4
Giselle:	Dayana. No. You ((T)) have to eat something	5

Katy:	<u>Germán</u> . [((unintelligible words))] =	6
Rosita:	[Remember that you ((V)) are going home] ((speaking to Dayana))	7 8
Katy:	= No, I am not asking you. ( . ) Do me a favor  ((emphasizes with nodding of the head)) No- I'm not asking you	9 10
Nelcy:	[You ((V)) <u>have to</u> eat because-	11
German:	Come on. It's too early. It's seven.	12
Nelcy:	That doesn't matter. What are we going to do when get there?  [Go to the store and get something to eat and all of that?  ((shakes her head))	13 14 15
Germán:	[The thing is that I am used to eating at 8 pm	16
Nelcy:	[That doesn't matter to me.] Eat. Now. Here.	17
Germán:	[ < Oh, El Desafío > ]	18
Constanza:	This is the right time to eat.	19
German:	<The thing is that I want to eat, I want to eat watching <i>El Desafío</i>	20
Rosaura:	<u>No</u> sir. Here, everybody eats at the table ((emphasizes with her hand)) ( . ) Everybody here eats at the table.	21 22

In (9) we can see how 79-year-old Rosita addresses her 8-year-old granddaughter with *usted* and with the term *señora* (lines 1-3). The same is observed of 63-year Rosaura who addresses Germán with the term *señor* (line 21). When Rosita was asked why she used *señora* instead of *señorita* with her granddaughter, Rosita answered that she addresses her granddaughter with *señorita* 'miss' only if she wants to reprimand her. These examples show the generalized use of *usted* by older adults in Bogotá as well as the use of a language normally

reserved for adults (*señor* and *señora*) in most other dialects. Given this use of *usted*, *señor* and *señora*, we cannot classify these terms only as formal or distant. Their meaning and use are context-dependent just like Nelcy and Katy's use of *usted*. While these two ladies had been previously observed addressing with *tú* their 11-year-old grandson and son respectively, they used *usted* with him in this situation because they were reprimanding him for not wanting to eat. Notice the increase of voice volume and of emphasis when Katy and Nelcy address Germán with the form *usted* (lines 6 and 11). This effect of affect was not observed in the speech of children. In contrast with the generalized use of *usted* by most older adults of this family or with the change from *tú* to *usted* to express authority or anger, children from this family used the form *tú* exclusively.

One feature that clearly differentiated the address of adults from the address of children was the presence of *sumercé*. This pronoun of address, which was used by a minority in each social group, only made part of the address of adults. In the current study, *sumercé* was used by participants 21 years of age or above to address individuals with whom participants had a close relationship or for whom they felt some type of affection. *Sumercé* represented a tender and special way of talking that participants used when they wanted their interlocutor to feel greatly appreciated. In (10) 69-year-old Fernanda uses the pronoun of address *sumercé* in a conversation she has with her 8-year-old granddaughter Dayana, her 10-year-old granddaughter Giselle, the girl's mom 37-year-old Cecilia and with 7-year-old Lina, who was a guest in this home and who resides in the U.S. This situation exemplifies the use of *sumercé* and also the address of children in comparison with the address of adults.

(10) Giselle:	<i>Uy abue, ¿ya te terminaste el jugo?</i>	1
Fernanda:	<i>No:</i>	2
Giselle:	<i>¿Y éste?</i>	3
	<i>((Fernanda slightly shakes her head))</i>	4
Fernanda:	<i>No: ése se lo tomó sumercé.</i>	5
Dayana:	<i>No:</i>	6
Rosaura:	<i>Dayanita. No se tome el jugo. Primero, cómase la carnegita. (2.0)</i>	7
	<i>Lina <b>la</b> veo quedada.</i>	8
	<i>((Cecilia Chuckles and there is a brief silence))</i>	9
Cecilia:	<i>Doña Fernanda utiliza arto el término sumercé, ¿cierto?</i>	10
Fernanda:	<i>Sí, sumercé. ((Now speaking to Lina)) A ver [mamacita] Mamacita,</i>	11
	<i>¿y sumercé: domina bien ya el inglés?</i>	12
Cecilia:	<i>[Anto- e:]</i>	13
Dayana:	<i>((Chuckling)). Y Sumercé. Otra vez sumercé.</i>	14
Fernanda:	<i>¿Habla bien inglés mamá?</i>	15
Rosaura:	<i>No habla casi español.</i>	16
Cecilia:	<i>Claro</i>	17
Fernanda:	<i><b>Tú</b>, Lina.</i>	18
Interviewer:	<i>Respóndele a la señora.</i>	19
Lina:	<i>¿Qué dijiste?</i>	20
Cecilia:	<i>Que si <b>tú</b> [hablas inglés.]=</i>	21
Fernanda:	<i>[ (Háblame) ]</i>	22
Cecilia:	<i>= Claro ella habla.</i>	23

<i>Ana:</i>	<i>(Sí, yo hablo) inglés.</i>	24
Translation:		
Giselle:	Hey grandma, ¿did you finish ((T)) up your juice?	1
Fernanda:	No:	2
Giselle:	And this one?	3
	((Fernanda slightly shakes her head))	
Fernanda:	No: You ((sumercé)) drank it all.	4
Dayana:	No:	5
Rosaura:	Dayanita. Don't drink ((V)) all the juice. First, eat ((V)) your meat.	6
	Lina, I see you ((V)) are behind.	7
	((Cecilia Chuckles and there is a brief silence))	8
Cecilia:	Doña Fernanda, you use ((V)) a lot the word <i>sumercé</i> , don't you?	9
Fernanda:	Yes, <i>sumercé</i> . ((Now speaking to Lina)). Let's see [honey]. Honey,	10
	¿Do you ((SM)) already speak English well?	11
Cecilia:	[Anto- e:]	12
Dayana:	((Chuckling)). <i>Sumercé</i> . Again <i>sumercé</i> .	13
Fernanda:	¿Do you speak ((V)) English well, darling?	14
Rosaura:	She doesn't speak much Spanish.	15
Cecilia:	Claro	16
Fernanda:	<u>You</u> ((T)), Lina.	17
Interviewer:	Answer ((T)) the question.	18
Lina:	¿What did you ((T)) say?	19
Cecilia:	She asked if you ((T)) [speak English.]=	20

Fernanda:	[ ( Talk to me )]	21
Cecilia:	She surely speaks English.	22
Ana:	(Yes, I speak) English.	23

In example (10), we can see how Fernanda addresses her 10-year-old granddaughter Giselle with the form *sumercé* (line 5) even though the latter had previously addressed her with the form *tú* (line 1). Immediately after this interaction, the girls' maternal grandmother uses the form *usted* with 8-year-old Dayana and with their guest Lina (lines 7 and 8). *Usted* is also the form used by the girls' mom (Cecilia) to address the girls' paternal grandmother, who in fact she addresses as *Doña Fernanda* (line 10). Fernanda then asks Lina if she speaks English well using the form *sumercé* (line 12), to which Dayana chuckles (line 14). Since the visitor does not understand when she is addressed with *sumercé*, Fernanda is then forced to omit the use of this pronoun of address with the underaged visitor, and it is only when Fernanda says, *Tú Lina* (line 18) that the latter responds also using the form *tú*.

The previous interaction illustrates that children and adults make use of different forms of address and that in order for the oral interaction to run smoothly, some accommodation needs to occur. In this case the older participant had to accommodate her younger interlocutor Lina so their conversation would be successful.

**4.9.4.2. The influence of affect.** Regardless of the preference for the form *tú* to address most children, several adult participants changed to the form *usted* when they needed to reprimand or strongly command them. In (11) 58-year-old Alberta is reprimanding her little nephew, 11-year-old Germán, for not eating his vegetables. Before this specific moment, Alberta had been addressing her nephew with the form *tú*. However, as she noticed that the boy had not eaten much of his vegetables, she switched to the form *usted*, which she even used in its explicit

form. In regard to the use of the explicit pronoun *usted*, several participants in the interview stated that it indexed a negative feeling (e.g. anger, dislike). However, notice how in this situation, the force of *usted* is somehow softened by the endearment term *papá*:

(11) Alberta: *Un poquito Germán:; ((emphasizes with hand waving)) que eso no lo va a Envenenar ;*

*Germán: Eso es hartísimo.*

*Alberta: No Germán, hágale pues. Por eso es que **usted** vive tan enfermo papá.*

Translation:

Alberta: ‘A Little more Germán:; ((emphasizes with hand waving)) the vegetables are not going to make you ((V)) sick ;

Germán: It’s a lot.

Alberta: No German. Eat it up ((V)) Germán. That is why you ((V)) are always sick, darling.

Also, among participants who used *usted* exclusively or almost exclusively, the use of the explicit pronoun signaled a change in mood. In (12) 63-year-old Rosaura criticizes her mother’s faith in the Christian pastors/leaders and mockingly reprimands her for believing that they have some kind of “divine” power. When Rosaura “reprimands” her mom for being so naïve, she uses the explicit form *usted* with an added emphasis.

(12) Rosita: *Mire esos soldaditos que iban a matar en ((unintelligible due to overlapping speech))*

*Rosaura: ((Speaking ironically)) Y ella los salvó.*

*Rosita: Espérese. Espérese. ((Reinforces her command with hand movement))*

*Rosaura: Ella los salvo*

Rosita: *No ella no los salvó*

*((Rosaura gets up from her chair as indicating her disapproval and discontent with her mom's beliefs. Her mom tries to stop her))*

Rosaura: *No Sea Tan Boba Usted Mamá Que Me Va A Decir, Que Porque Predicó, Salvó A Los Soldados. Ay Mamacita, Usted ya Está Muy Vieja Para Que Crea en Eso.*

*((Rosaura puts her arms around her mom's neck to make things up and both ladies smile))*

Translation:

Rosita: Look at those soldiers that were going be killed ((unintelligible due to overlapping speech))

Rosaura: ((Speaking ironically)) And she saved them.

Rosita: Wait ((V)) wait ((V)). ((Reinforces her command with hand movement))

Rosaura: She saved them

Rosita: No, she didn't save them

*((Rosaura gets up from her chair as indicating her disapproval and discontent with her mom's beliefs. Her mom tries to stop her from getting up))*

Rosaura: Don't Be ((V)) So Naive Mom. How Can You ((V)) Tell Me That Because She Prayed, She Saved the Soldiers. Come on Mom. You ((V)) Are Too Old To Believe That.

*((Rosaura puts her arm around her mom's neck to make things up and both ladies smile))*

Notice how in (12), the use of the first *usted* is not necessary to identify the referent of this statement. However, Rosaura uses *usted* with an added emphasis marked in the stress and the high volume of her voice to convey a feeling of discontent toward her mother's innocence.

**4.9.4.3. The alternation of forms of address.** One of the most common features of the address of adult participants that used the form *tú* was their constant alternation between *tú*, *usted* and in some cases *sumercé*. This alternation, which was manifested in most members, tended to increase with a rise in age of participant and/or with a decrease in his/her the social class. It is important to remember that this alternation had been highly criticized by the participants in their interview.

Example (13) shows how 69-year-old Fernanda alternates the form of address she uses in a telephone conversation with her 38-year-old son Oscar, who lives abroad.

- (8) *Fernanda:* *Hola mi tesorito sa:nto. ¿Cómo **está** mi muñe:co? ¿Cuénteme, cómo te* 1  
*ha ido?* 2  
*((Oscar's turn))* 3
- Fernanda:* *Aquí mi corazón que vine a almorzar. Ya almorcé y: y: voy a ayudarle* 4  
*a: a lavar la locita a Rosaura y ya. ( . ) Y me voy después para la* 5  
*(cado) porque tengo una cita ahí a las cuatro.* 6  
*((Oscar's turn))* 7
- Fernanda:* *Bueno mi vida ¿y entonces?* 8  
*((Oscar's turn))* 9
- Fernanda:* *Sí mi amor, en la casa.. ( . ) **Mire** mi vida, entonces **cuénteme** el* 10  
*itinerario para este fin de semana **tuyo**.* 11  
*((Oscar's turn))* 12

<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Papá, ((Fernanda takes the phone off her ear and speaks directly into its microphone)))</i>	<i>13</i>
	<i>cuénteme el itinerario de esta semana suyo.</i>	<i>14</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Sí.</i>	<i>16</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>¿Y cuando llegan las dos personas que vas a entrenar, mi amor?</i>	<i>18</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Mi vida, ¿cuándo llegan las otras dos personas que tú vas a entrenar?</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Mi amorcito ¿Cuándo llegan las dos personas que sumercé va a entrenar?</i>	<i>22</i>
		<i>23</i>

Translation:

<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Hi, my holy treasure ((literal translation)) How is my Dar:ling? Tell</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>((V)) me how you have ((T)) been?</i>	<i>2</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Here my darling. I came to have lunch. I already had lunch a:nd a:nd I</i>	<i>4</i>
	<i>am going to help Rosaura to wash the dishes and that's it. ( . ) After that</i>	<i>5</i>
	<i>I'm going to the (cado) because I have an appointment there at four</i>	<i>6</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>OK my life, ¿and then?</i>	<i>8</i>
	<i>((Oscar's turn))</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Fernanda:</i>	<i>Yes my love, at home. ( . ) Look ((V)) my darling. Tell ((V)) me your</i>	<i>10</i>
	<i>((T)) itinerary for this weekend.</i>	<i>10</i>

	((Oscar's turn))	11
Fernanda:	Darling, ((Fernanda takes the phone off her ear and speaks directly into its microphone))) tell ((V)) me about your ((V)) itinerary for this week.	12 13
	((Oscar's turn))	14
Fernanda:	Yes.	15
	((Oscar's turn))	16
Fernanda:	When will the two people that you ((T)) are going to train be there,	17
	my love?	18
	((Oscar's turn))	19
Fernanda:	My darling, when will the people you ((T)) are going to train be there?	20
	((Oscar's turn))	21
Fernanda:	My little darling, when will the two people that you ((SM)) are	22
	going to train be there?	23

In (13) we can see how Fernanda uses a variety of address forms with her son in the same conversation. In line 1, she greets him with the *usted* form *¿Cómo está?*, but almost immediately after using an imperative in the *usted* form again *cuénteme*, she uses the indirect object pronoun *te* with her son. changes to *tú*. The same happens in a subsequent turn in lines 10 and 11 where she uses the imperative *usted* form of *mirar* (i.e., *mire*) and *contar* (i.e., *cuénteme*), but finishes with the corresponding possessive form for *tú* (i.e., *tuyo*). Because apparently her son did not answer Fernanda's question, in her next turn (lines 13 and 14) Fernanda repeats the previous request, but this time she uses *usted* verb and possessive forms. Notice how she takes the phone off her ear and speaks directly into the microphone. This action indicates that she is trying to be as clear as possible as well as adding some type of emphasis to her question, which she utters

with *usted* forms only. In her next turn, (line 18), she asks a new question using the form *tú*. However, given that her son does not answer her question, she repeats the question in her next turn in line 20; however, this time she uses the explicit pronoun of address. Because her son does not answer Fernanda's question, in her next turn (lines 22 and 23), Fernanda repeats the question; however, this time she again changes the form of address she uses with her son. This time she utters her question with the pronoun of address *sumercé*.

In the previous example, we can see how Fernanda's alternation of address forms serves a specific communicative function: adding clarity and emphasis, so her interlocutor would answer the questions being asked. Regardless of the many changes, we can see that in the conversation with her son, Fernanda tried to maintain an address with the form *tú*; however, given her son's avoidance in answering her questions, she changed to other forms of address: *usted* and *sumercé* in this case.

It is important to note that the alternation of address forms by Fernanda did not signify any change in her mood. In other words, *tú*, *usted* and *sumercé* seemed to have the same value of closeness and affection given the use of endearment terms with the three forms of address. However, regarding this alternation of address forms in conversation, Fernanda was one of the participants that had most criticized this linguistic practice during the interview. This inconsistency between people's thoughts and opinions and their actual linguistic performance could index different aspects. First, there are situations in which individuals are more "free" to use whatever comes to mind (as when speaking to a close family member). Second, when individuals interact with people out of the family context, they use *tú* more carefully and avoid mixing it with other forms. Regardless of the differences between the "ideal" and the actual address, the alternation of address forms was a common linguistic behavior among participants

of this study, and such alternation of address forms had specific communicative functions, as in Fernanda's case. A careful analysis of the many cases in which participants engaged in the alternation of address forms found that in many cases such alternation served the following pragmatic or communicative functions:

- The change from *tú* to *usted* to express anger or a strong disapproval, as in (6)
- The change from *tú* to *usted* to express authority, as in (3)
- The change from *tú* to *usted* or to mock a person, as in (17)
- The change from *usted* to *sumercé* to express a higher degree of closeness or affection.
- The change to a different form of address to accommodate an interlocutor in the conversation, as in (5)
- The change to a different form of address to add clarity and emphasis, as in (8)

**4.9.4.4. Linguistic features that filled in the absence of *tú*.** It has been well documented in the literature on forms of address that in many Spanish dialects the form *tú* is a linguistic element that individuals use to convey closeness or intimacy. However, since *tú* did not make part of the linguistic repertoire of most participants from the working class or of most older adults of all classes, individuals from these social groups relied on other linguistic features that highlighted the connection or special bond that they had with each other. These features included endearment terms, nicknames, titles and diminutives.

Participants often engaged in the use of endearment terms and nicknames when they addressed their interlocutors. These linguistic features commonly accompanied the address given by grandparents to their grandchildren as well as by parents to their small children (e.g. *papi*, *papito*, *papasito*, *perrito*, *mamita*), brothers to their sisters (e.g. *gorda*), nieces and nephews to their aunts and uncles (*tiíta*, *tiíto*), among friends (e.g. *compa*, *papá*), among spouses (e.g. *mami*,

*papi*), and among children (e.g. *chino*). It is important to note that some of these nicknames such as *gorda*, which can be literally translated into English as “*fat*,” take a positive situational meaning that contrasts with the base meaning of these words. *Gorda* or *Gordo* (masculine form) is used by an individual to show the connection, familiarity and appreciation that he or she has with his or her interlocutor and not to describe the person’s physical appearance. Such terms are allowed only to those who have a very intimate or close relationship with the recipient, such as spouses or very good friends.

Another linguistic feature that was common in the speech of participants was the use of diminutives. These linguistic features were applied to an endearment term or to the name of the interlocutor. In this way, participants were addressed as *Rosita* instead of *Rosaura*, *Genarito*, instead of *Genaro*, *Alvarito* instead of *Álvaro*, *cuñadito* instead of *cuñado*, *hermanito* instead of *hermano*, etc. The use of diminutives when addressing an interlocutor emphasizes the connection, love and/or appreciation that the speaker has for his/her interlocutor. In the case of individuals who do not use *tú*, these terms can serve the function of expressing closeness or connection.

**4.9.4.5. *Non-prototypical uses of forms of address.*** Participants often engaged in non-prototypical uses of forms of address. These non-prototypical uses represented indirect ways of addressing their interlocutors and had a series of pragmatic intentions including, the expression of camaraderie, criticism, and/or mockery. One of such cases is the use of the third person singular (*él/ella*) to address one’s interlocutor. This indirect address was used by 45-year-old Madelena to jokingly criticize the way her 24-year-old son Fabrizio bowled (9) and by 19-year-old Xiomara to mock her 46-year-old dad Guillermo (15) for being lazy and not wanting to play a game with the rest of the family.

(14) *Madelena: Ay, pero es que no le vamos a dar duro. No como los bolos que día, Fabrizio. que es que casi nos revienta la pista el otro.*

*Ay, pero es que no le vamos a dar duro. No como los bolos,*  
Hey, but is that no it go-PRS.1PL to through hard. Not like the bowling match,

*Fabrizio, que es que casi nos revienta la pista el otro.*  
Fabrizio that is that almost us break-PRS.3SG the lane the other.

‘Hey, but we’re not going to throw the ball hard. Not like the bowling match the other day, Fabrizio. That day **he** almost broke the lane.’

(15) *Daughter to her dad: ¿No va a jugar el papá? ¿Qué tiene? ¿Está enfermo?*

*¿No va a jugar el papá? ¿Qué tiene? ¿Está enfermo?*  
Not go-PRS.3SG to play the dad? What have-PRS.3SG be-PRS.3SG sick  
‘Is the dad not going to play? What does he have? Is he sick?’

In (14), the expression *el otro* ‘the other’ as well as the verb ending (i.e., *revienta* ‘breaks’) indicate a third person singular. In the same way, in (15) the expression *el papá* and the verb endings *quiere* ‘wants’, *tiene* ‘has’, and *está* ‘is’ indicate a third person singular. Madelena and her daughter Xiomara decide not to use *usted* with their son and father, respectively, but rather *él*, given the nature of the pragmatic intention that they had in mind: to mock their interlocutors. These individuals make use of an indirect form of address (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular) to soften the force of their statements. Had Madelena and Xiomara addressed their interlocutors directly with *usted*, the force and effect of the mocking would have been stronger. In other words, Madelena and Xiomara used this linguistic tactic to still be respectful, save their face, and sound friendly and amusing at the same time.

Another instance of non-prototypical uses of forms of address noticed in the video recordings was the use of an impersonal *usted* not to refer to a particular interlocutor, but to a group of individuals that were participating in the conversation. This use of *usted* instead of *ustedes* occurred, for instance, in the speech of 55-year-old Ismael when giving his interlocutors

(mostly females) directions on how to correctly cook a specific Colombian dish. The use of this impersonal *usted* in situations like this one, affirms Helmbrecht (2015) may respond to a specific intention of the speaker such as the expression of camaraderie or the mitigation of the force that implies a directive. Ismael used the singular form (*usted*) to refer to the whole group possibly to not appear as critical of their audience's cooking skills, but as someone who just wants to give them ideas to better cook their dishes.

One more non-prototypical use of address forms observed in the video recordings was the use of the first-person plural “nosotros” to address one interlocutor. In (16), 59-year-old Angelina compliments her neighbor's daughter, 55-year-old Nelcy, on her clothes and on how she looks. Notice how Angelina uses first person plural when she compliments Nelcy:

- (16) *Nelcy: ¿Qué más Angelina?*
- Angelina: Uy:, **andamos** todas sexis con minifal::da::*  
*((Nelcy chuckles))*
- Angelina: ¡Qué chuscota estás!*
- Nelcy: Ay, tan bella, [gracias.]*
- Angelina: [¿Estás cómo con gripa↑ o me parece?]*
- Nelcy: Me duele terrible la garganta. Me va a dar gripa. Me duele (las)*  
*[las amígdalas y la garganta.]*
- Elmer: [Tiene que tomar antibiótico.](. ) Tomar antibiótico.*
- Angelina: Bueno, ahoritica cuando salgas, es lo que más debes abrigar.*  
*Debes buscarte una bufanda o un cuello que te tape aquí*  
*((Angelina points to her neck))*

Translation:

Nelcy: ¿How're you doing Angelina?

Angelina: Wo:w We look so sexy in mini-skirt

((Nelcy chuckles))

Angelina: You ((T)) look Gorgeous!

Nelcy: Oh, how nice of you, [thanks.]

Angelina: [You ((T)) have a cold ↑ or am I wrong?

Nelcy: My throat hurts badly. I'm going to get the flu. (The) my tonsils  
and my throat hurt.

Elmer: [You ((V)) have to take antibiotics.] ( . ) To take antibiotics.

Angelina: Well, when you go out, that's what you have to protect the most.  
You must look for a scarf or wear something that covers you here.  
((Angelina points to her neck))

Even though Angelina uses first person plural to compliment Nelcy, the latter understands that Angelina is in fact not referring to both of them, but to Nelcy only. Following Yule (1996) successful reference in this situation is tied to the collaboration between the two interlocutors, their shared knowledge of the situation at hand and their social connection. Also notice in this situation how Elmer, who is Nelcy's brother in-law uses *usted* with her while Angelina continue her conversation with Nelcy using the address with *tú*.

Another example of the use of *nosotros* to refer only to the addressee is exemplified in (17). In this situation, 50-year-old Lucía kindly but also mockingly asks her 53-year-old friend Fermín to put away his cell phone while they are visiting and talking with their friends. Notice how Lucía addresses Fermín with *nosotros* even though she was not using her phone.

(17) *Lucía: Fer, vamos a guardar. Vamos a poner todos los celulares encima de la mesa para que la visita sea sin celular.*

*Fer, vamos a guardar. Vamos a poner todos los celulares*  
Fer, go-PRS.1PL to put away. Go-PR.1PL to place all the cellphones  
*encima de la mesa para que la visita sea sin celular.*  
on the table so that the visit is without cellphone.

‘Fer, we’re going to put away. We’re going to place all the cell phones on the table so that the visit does not involve telephone use.’

Notice how in (17) Lucía avoids the use of a direct form of address (*tú* or *usted*) and uses *nosotros* to make the directive sound softer and friendlier. Had she used *tú* or *usted*, her friend Fermín could have taken the suggestion as an order, which could have possibly not been welcome.

A fifth non-prototypical use of language was the emission of a directive (command) not using any address form (explicit or implicit) but rather the present participle. In (18), we see how 48-year-old Constanza commands her 7-year-old daughter Lina to finish eating her food. Notice the absence of address form:

(18) *Constanza: Hermosita. ¡Haciéndole a la hamburguesita, mamacita!*  
*Darling, Do-GER=le to the little hamburger darling*  
‘Gorgeous. Eat your hamburger.’

For successful reference to occur in the previous examples, there must be mutual collaboration and understanding of the situations at hand. In (18) Lina understands her mother's directive even though the latter did not use any form of address. When later asked about this use of indirect language, Constanza (the mom) stated that it is a way to persuade her daughter to eat and not sound too authoritative.

One more case that exemplifies the avoidance of the form of address is a situation in which 58-year-old Alberta criticized what she considered the extremely calm personality of her

husband 63-year-old Elmer. In (19) Alberta uses *unos* (some) to indirectly refer to her husband. Notice how their children 34-year-old Janeth and 24-year-old Alexander know it is their father Alberta is referring to:

- (19) *Elmer:* *Las personas tranquilas. Entonces, yo puedo vivir cien años. ( . )*  
*Eso es vida, verdad.*
- Alberta:* *Chico. Es bueno la tranquilidad, pe::ro a ratos, papito. No siempre. Porque es que hay unos que ya se pasan de lo tranquilo.*
- Alexander:* *¿Te refieres a mi papá?*
- Janeth:* *Pues, obviamente.*
- Alberta:* *Pues, obvio. ((chuckles))*

English translation:

- Elmer:* Calm people. Therefore, I can live one hundred years. That's life. It's true.
- Alberta:* Oh boy. Being calm is good sometimes. Bu::t not always. Because there are **some** ((meaning some people)) that are too calm.
- Alexander:* ¿Are you ((T)) referring to my dad?
- Janeth:* Well, obviously.
- Alberta:* Well, Obviously. ((Chuckles))

**4.9.5. Other contexts of interaction.** Naturalistic data gathered for this investigation also included some interactions out of the home context. In the following section, we find a description of the address held by a couple that own and operate a sewing and alterations shop. After that, there is a description of the type of interactions that occurred at gatherings with

friends. The description includes a sample situation. Finally, the interaction between a female participant and a taxi driver is described.

**4.9.5.1. *The interactions at a sewing and alteration store.*** 52-year-old Camila and her husband, 50-year-old Pascual, were two participants who work at a sewing and alterations shop that they own and that is located in a low-middle-class neighborhood. The area, which some ways resembles the appearance of a working-class location, is called by residents of nearby lower and upper-middle class neighborhood as “*el pueblo*”. The neighborhood is full of stores of all kinds and maintains a spirit of tradition that the more modern near-by residential areas do not. The sewing and alterations shop was frequented not only by its customers but also by some neighbors with whom the couple had a seemingly close relationship. These neighbors would stop for a few minutes to chat with the couple, especially with Pascual who was some some kind of religious leader in this community. Sometimes Pascual and even more so his wife seemed to be a little disengaged with their unannounced visitors, probably because of the amount of work they had and the interruption these people represented. However, it seemed that saving face as church leaders was a very important thing to do. For this reason, none of the multiple visitors was ever discouraged from staying a little while even when this imposition would mean less work finished, especially for Pascual who was the one who took care of the visitors.

The couple addressed all their customers and neighbors with *usted* as well as received this address from their interlocutors. In addition, Pascual addressed the visitors as “*hermanos*” ‘brothers’. The couple addressed their teenage children who would sometimes show up at the store with both *tú* and *usted*. Pascual used the form *tú* with the children more constantly than his wife Camila, who in fact had been born and raised in Cartagena, a city located in the Atlantic coast of Colombia which is characterized by the common use of *tú* by its inhabitants. Camila

explained in the interview that she had dropped her Caribbean accent to pick up the accent from Bogotá where she has lived for many years. Proof of the influence of the Spanish spoken in Bogotá is her common use of *usted* and the use of *sumercé* with her husband. Camila also commented that when they visit her family in Cartagena, she tells her husband to avoid using *sumercé* with the locals because she says people there just do not understand it or know what it means. The couple's children, a 17-year-old girl and a 13-year-old boy addressed each other with *usted* but addressed their parents with *tú*. All participants, except the young female who was in her freshman year of college, addressed the researcher with *usted*.

**4.9.5.2. The use of *tú* with God.** On several conversations Pascual had with his neighbors as well as with the researcher, he narrated parts of the Bible in which there was interaction with God. An important aspect of these narrated passages for the current study was the exclusive presence of the form *tú*. The characters of those passages narrated by Pascual addressed God with *tú* and vice versa. In this way, in the midst of a conversation that Pascual was having with the researcher or any of his neighbors using the form *usted*, a Bible passage or a direct conversation or prayer to God meant a change in the form of address.

In (20) Pascual tells Giovanni (the researcher) how people should pray as well as leads Giovanni in actual prayer. Notice how Pascual addresses God with *tú* while Giovanni with *usted* throughout the entire interaction. Particularly, notice how in line 31 Pascual uses the form *usted* with Giovanni, but changes immediately to the form *tú* in line 34 to address God. Also, notice how in line 4, Genaro intentionally displays what a careless way of praying is and how this prayer contains the address with *usted*.

(20) Pascual:	<i>Entonces. Esa es la manera en que Dios lo quiere. ((Emphasizes idea with his hand movement))</i>	1
	<i>No oraciones vagas, “Bueno señor si quieres bendíceme.” ((Waves hand to show carelessness))</i>	2
		3
Genaro:	<i>Deme. Si no pues todo bien. ((Indicating a careless disposition with his hand movement))</i>	4
		5
Pascual:	<i>Pero entonces Dios le puede decir a uno: “Hijo, ¿cómo quieres que yo te bendiga? ¿En qué quieres que yo te bendiga? ( . ) ¿En qué?”</i>	6
		7
Pascual:	<i>((Answering as an imaginary believer)) Entonces, “No. Señor yo quiero que me des un negocio, una empresa, así, asá, asá, asá.”</i>	8
		9
	<i>Describirlo. Eso, entonces, él dijo que eso revolucionó su oración.</i>	10
	<i>Entonces ahora el pide específicamente.</i>	11
Researcher:	<i>¡Qué bien!</i>	12
Pascual;	<i>Vamos a orar.</i>	13
Genaro:	<i>Bueno.</i>	14
Giovani:	<i>Claro.</i>	15
Pascual:	<i>Pues, yo voy a guiarlo en una oración de fé. Obviamente esa es una oración,</i>	16
		17
	<i>((Neighbor passes by and greets. Participants answer back))</i>	18
Pascual:	<i>es una oración digamos como para: ( . ) una confesión que se hace, delante de Dios y de los hombres, ¿sí? Y ...</i>	19
		20
	<i>((Pascual speaks for some time about what is to be a son of God))</i>	21
Pascual:	<i>Entonces, yo voy a guiarlo en una oración sencilla y vamos a orar.</i>	22
	<i>((Giovani nods his head to show agreement and thanks Pascual))</i>	23

<i>Pascual:</i>	<i>¿Qué otras peticiones <b>tiene</b>: Giovanni, por ejemplo?</i>	24
	<i>((Researcher answers back with his petitions and Pascual speaks to</i>	25
	<i>him about the necessity to join a Christian church and about the role</i>	26
	<i>that the man has in his household as religious leader.))</i>	27
<i>Pascual:</i>	<i>Bueno vamos a orar.</i>	28
	<i>((Participants close their eyes and bow their heads))</i>	29
	<i>Señor Jesus,</i>	30
	<i><b>Va Va</b> a repetir conmigo esa oración.</i>	31
	<i>((Giovani repeats every line Pascual says))</i>	32
	<i>Señor Jesus,</i>	33
	<i>Gracias porque <b>tú</b> me amas,</i>	34
	<i>y <b>moriste</b> en la cruz del calvario,</i>	35
	<i>por salvar mi vida.</i>	36
	<i>Señor, _</i>	37
	<i>Reconozco,</i>	38
	<i>que soy pecador,</i>	39
	<i>que he pecado contra <b>tí</b>,</i>	40
	<i>que he quebrantado <b>tus</b> mandamientos, ...</i>	41
	<i>((Pascual continues his prayer using the form <b>tú</b> exclusively. At the</i>	42
	<i>end of the prayer Pascual addresses Giovanni once more, this time</i>	43
	<i>switching back to the form usted))</i>	44
<i>Pascual:</i>	<i>((Shaking hands with Giovanni)) Dios me <b>lo bendiga</b> Giovanni.</i>	45
<i>Giovani:</i>	<i>Gracias, Pascual.</i>	46

<i>Pascual:</i>	<i>Dios lo bendiga.</i>	47
Translation:		
Pascual:	So, this is the way God wants it. (( <i>Emphasizes idea with his hand movement</i> )) He doesn't want vague prayers, "Ok Lord. If you ((T)) so want it, bless me. (( <i>Waves hand to show carelessness</i> ))	1 2 3
Genaro:	Give me ((V)). If not, it's fine (( <i>Indicating a careless disposition with his hand movement</i> )).	4 5
Pascual:	But then God can tell us: "My child, ¿How do you ((T)) want me to bless you ((T))?" ( . ) How?	6 7
Pascual:	(( <i>Answering as an imaginary believer</i> )): Then, "No. Lord. I want you to give me a business, a company, so and so. We have to describe it. He said that revolutionized his praying. He now asks for specific things.	8 9 10 11
Giovani:	That's good!	12
Pascual:	Let us pray.	13
Genaro:	OK.	14
Giovani:	Sure.	15
Pascual:	Well, I am going to guide you ((V)) on a prayer of faith. Obviously, this is a prayer (( <i>Neighbor passes by and greets. Participants answer back</i> )) it is a prayer, let's say like for a confession that one does before God and men, ¿right? And ...	16 17 18 19
	(( <i>Pascual speaks for some time about what is to be a son of God</i> ))	20
Pascual:	Then, I am the going to guide you ((V)) on a simple prayer and	21

	we're going to pray.	22
	((Giovani nods his head to show agreement and thanks Pascual))	23
Pascual:	What other petitions do you ((V)) ha:ve, Giovani?	24
	((Giovani answers back with his petitions and Pascual speaks to him	25
	about the necessity to join a Christian church and about the role that	26
	the man has in his household as religious leader.))	27
Pascual:	OK. Let us pray.	28
	((Participants close their eyes and bow their heads))	29
	Lord Jesus,	30
	You ((V)) are going to repeat this prayer with me.	31
	((Giovani repeats every line Pascual says))	32
	Lord Jesus,	33
	I thank you ((T)) because you ((T)) love me,	34
	and because you ((T)) died on the cross of the Calvary,	35
	to save my life.	36
	Lord,	37
	I admit,	38
	that I am a sinner,	39
	that I have sinned against you,	40
	that I have violated your commandments...	41
	((Pascual continues his prayer using the form <i>tú</i> exclusively.	42
	At the end of the prayer Pascual addresses the researcher once more,	43
	this time switching back to the form <i>usted</i> ))	44

Pascual:	((Shaking hands with Giovanni)) God Bless you ((V)) Giovanni.	45
Giovani:	Thank you, Pascual.	46
Pascual:	God bless you ((V)).	47

Example (20) exemplifies the address given to God. Pascual as well as the great majority of participants of this study, including those who do not use *tú* with others, admitted using *tú* to address God in prayer. Participants offered different reasons for the use of *tú* with God including because “He deserves the best treatment” or because of the love participants have for Him. However, a female participant suggested that it is the literature (The Bible and the different books with prayers) what has influenced people to address God with *tú*.

**4.9.5.3. *The address used during gatherings with friends.*** In addition to the family context, the video recordings included conversations among a group of adult friends from the lower and upper-middle classes. The group was composed by 8 individuals whose ages ranged between 49 and 60. All participants except one had met each other more than 20 years ago while they were attending college. Two of the members of the group were visiting Bogotá because they were currently living abroad. The situation included the children of these two individuals as well.

One feature that characterized these individuals’ address was the almost exclusive use of *tú* among each other. However, when individually interviewed, the two participants who were currently living abroad stated that when they first met each other and then for several years, the most common address among all of them was *usted*. 50-year-old Maribel who currently lives in the U.S., stated that her use of *tú* increased in this country because she was exposed to speakers of different Spanish varieties, all of whom used the form *tú* mainly. In addition, 50-year-old Dorotea stated that her use of *tú* started after college when she obtained her first job at a multinational oil company. There she was encouraged by her co-workers to use *tú* mainly. The



Translation:

Joaquín:	And why didn't you ((T)) give me a surprise, honey?	1
Lucía:	At the age of fifty people don't ((unintelligible))	2
Joaquín:	I'm <u>fur</u> ious. I wasn't given a surprise	3
	((James leaves supposedly angry and Helga laughs))	4
Helga:	I knew you ((T)) were going to get this way. =	5
	((Lucía turns around searching for James with a dirty look and intonation))	6 7
Lucía:	Come here I'll give you ((V)) your surprise (darling)	8
	((Lucía unzips her jacket pretending she is getting undressed))	9
Joaquín:	Come ((T)) here my love; ((Imitating the accent from another region))	10
Helga:	I knew you ((T)) were going to ruin the piñata.	11
	((James turns around and walks toward Lucía))	12
Joaquín:	Come ((V)) here my love; ((still imitating accent))	13
	((Participants laugh))	14

In the previous situation, the interaction between lines 1 to 5 show that the members of this group were using *tú* to address each other. This address is illustrated by the question posed by Joaquín in regard to his discontent for not being given a surprise on his birthday (line 1) and by Helga's reproach to James in line 5. However, as Joaquín leaves the conversation, presumably angry, Lucía turns to him and tells him to come to her for his surprise using the form *usted* (line 8). She then unzips her jacket and pretends she is going to take off some more clothes (line 8). At this moment, the rest of the group reacts by laughing. The sexually-intended message brought a change in the intonation used by Lucía and an abrupt change in her address. Lucía had been

addressing everyone exclusively with *tú*, including Joaquín, but it is in this moment when she wants to mock her friend by pretending to be offering herself as Joaquín's surprise that she changes to the form *usted*.

**4.9.5.4. The address used in a taxi cab.** 59-year-old Angelina, one of the participants in the study, was observed in her interactions with two cab drivers as the researcher kept her company to a doctor's appointment. On the first trip, when Angelina got on the cab, she used *usted* with the driver, a man probably in his late 50s or early 60s and with a friendly attitude. However, as they established a friendly conversation, the researcher noticed how the two individuals *entraron en confianza* 'felt comfortable' with each other. Angelina complimented the driver on how beautiful his long white hair was. At this point, in which the conversation had become more personal, Angelina started using *tú* with her interlocutor. In fact, she addressed the friendly driver with *tú* all the way to the end of the ride. Nevertheless, the driver always addressed Angelina with *usted*.

In contrast, on the way back, the new taxi driver was someone much younger with whom Angelina did not try to make any personal connection. Angelina had left the doctor's office feeling weak and tired due to the tests she had undergone. Her disposition had obviously changed. During this ride, Angelina only gave the taxi driver a few directions to get to her destination always using the form *usted*.

Findings from the questionnaire indicate that taxi drivers are among the individuals that receive the least amount of *tú*. While these two situations do not necessarily demonstrate the opposite, they show that the address in Bogotá is not always pre-established based on some societal norms and beliefs, but on the contrary, it is highly influenced by the circumstances of the situation, which include a person's mood. In the first taxi ride Angelina had a positive

disposition and found some affinity with the driver (such as his age). The pleasant attitude of the driver and Angelina's positive disposition favored Angelina's use of *tú*. On the contrary, on the ride back home, the circumstances of the situation had changed. Angelina was feeling weak and hungry. She did not have any interest in interacting with the driver, who this time was a much younger man. The use of *usted* in this situation was influenced by the circumstances which impeded Angelina, and also the driver, to relate to each other in more personal terms.

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

### 5.1. The Research Questions

**5.1.1. What indexical meanings are embedded in *tú* and *usted* in the context of Bogotá?** To determine the indexical or social meanings of forms of address *tú* and *usted*, the current investigation explored participants' conceptualization of these forms as well as the linguistic attitudes that these forms generate. In the interpretation of the social meaning of these linguistic forms, the current investigation also took in consideration the social identity of individuals who use or receive these forms, as suggested by Díaz-Campos (2014).

Traditional analyses of address forms have viewed these forms as having fixed meanings. *Tú* has been traditionally regarded as informal and friendly while *usted* as formal, distant and respectful. However, while these meanings are still applicable to the Spanish spoken in Bogotá to some extent, the findings of the current study show that in addition to these concepts, forms of address *tú* and *usted* are associated with a much broader variety of meanings which vary depending on the social identity of the speaker.

Generally, *tú*, in the context of Bogotá means *confianza*, connection, affection, elegance, education, delicateness, a good social status, youth and evolution. These meanings are true for those individuals who include *tú* in their linguistic repertoire (mainly young middle-class individuals). On the other hand, for most older adults and members of the working class *tú* can mean something quite the opposite. For many of these individuals *tú* can mean disrespect, pretention, hypocrisy, and arrogance.

Nonetheless, *usted* can generally mean formality and authority. However, there are other meanings embedded in the form *usted* which are not shared by all social groups. For most individuals who only or mostly use the form *usted*, this form of address means respect, kindness, calm, comfort, familiarity, confidence, discretion, modesty; and in some cases, even affection. On the other hand, for most individuals whose address includes *tú*, *usted* can mean distance, distrust, anger, roughness, aggression, coldness and even backwardness.

Holme (2009) explains that “meaning is not conceptualized out of the world itself but from our experience of it” (p. 38). From this perspective, different social groups conceptualize *tú* and *usted* in distinct manners depending on their experience with these forms and with the individuals who use them. It is also their indexical value what allows *tú* and *usted* to carry a multiplicity of meanings. Via first-order indexicality, *tú* and *usted* carry meanings that Silverstein (2003) links to the already established macro-level social order. Through this first level of pragmatic meaning, *tú* and *usted* point to characteristics of the immediate context (e.g. degree of deference and/or intimacy, degree of formality or publicness). In this way, participants’ use of *usted* with their superiors is a sign of respect that has been established by Colombian society in general. Via second-order indexicality, which according to Morford (1997) exists by virtue of a set of beliefs about who typically uses which form and in what distinctive ways, *tú* and *usted* point beyond the immediate context to certain social characteristics of the interlocutors, such as their social status, gender, or age. From this perspective, this study associates the address with *tú* with children and young individuals mainly from the middle class, as well as with adult individuals who have a cosmopolitan and modern personality while *usted* with those who are older, come from the working class, or value tradition. It is important to note

that no previous investigation has undertaken a description of the multiple meanings that forms of address *tú* and *usted* can have in the speech of Bogotá.

**5.1.2. What are the social and linguistic factors that influence the use of *tú* and *usted* in conversation?** The current investigation found that in Bogotá a series of social and linguistic factors influence the use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*.

**5.1.2.1. The social factors.** Findings of the current study show that the choice for form of address is highly influenced by the degree of *confianza* between interlocutors, their age, hierarchy, gender, and social status. In addition, the current investigation posits that tradition is another social factor that influences the use of *tú* and *usted*.

**5.1.2.1.1. The degree of *confianza* between speaker and addressee.** The level of *confianza* is the most influential factor in using *tú* or *usted* according to the group of participants in general. This influential social aspect that was also highlighted in previous investigations (Bartens, 2003; Bayona, 2006; Fitch, 1998; Pagel, 1990; Uber, 1985, 1999, 2011) is considered in the current investigation more important by members of both the lower and upper-middle class than by those from the working class. This characterization marks a major difference in the way individuals from the working class use the address with *tú* in comparison with members from other social classes. Since the degree of *confianza* is not considered important by a significant portion of members from the working class (45%), some of them may use this address with individuals from other social classes with whom they do not have a close, personal relationship, and therefore, their use of *tú* is rejected. To this regard, members of the lower and upper middle-classes reported their discontent for receiving the address with *tú* from security guards or any other individual usually associated with the working class with whom middle-class participants had a relationship that was based on a service rather than on a personal basis. However, it seems

that participants from middle-class families linked level of *confianza* with a person's social class and/or with their hierarchical level. An example of such assertion is the address given by adult individuals of two middle-class families to their domestic worker. While the adult members of these families address their children as well as most adults from their family with *tú*, they give their domestic worker the address with *usted* regardless of the trust they have in these individuals who not only cook and take care of other chores in the home, but also take care of the children while the parents of these families are away. Even though the domestic worker is tightly connected to the family in general, she receives a different address in these families. Also, given the mutual use of *usted* by some adult family members of all social classes, the influence of the level of *confianza* seems to be more related to out-of-home contexts or applies to individuals who do not make part of the family unit. Previous studies also emphasized the influence of this important social aspect.

**5.1.2.1.2. *The social status of interlocutors.*** While most members of the working and lower-middle class do not pay attention to the socioeconomic condition of the interlocutor when using *tú* and *usted*, a significant portion of the upper-middle class (40% of this subgroup) does consider this social aspect as important. This finding indicates that members of the upper-middle class impose more conditions on members of other classes in regard to their use of *tú*. In other words, it seems that the use of *tú* across social classes (especially when the receiver is a member of the upper class) is much more restricted. In fact, members of the working class seem to be aware of this kind of discrimination, which can be a reason why many of them dislike the way of speaking of the upper class. (i.e., use of *tú*). 46-year-old Fabiano explained how some high-rank individuals at work (middle class individuals) use *tú* among each other, but when they speak with lower-rank employees (working-class individuals), they use the form *usted*. On the other hand,

findings from the naturalistic data (video recorded spontaneous conversations) show that there is a significant correlation between social class and presence of the address with *tú*. Data from this source provided evidence that the presence of *tú* increases with an increase in social status as well as the use of *usted* increases with a decrease in social status in general.

Findings of the current investigation are in alignment with previous studies that highlight the influence of the social status of individuals in their use of *tú* and *usted* (Bartens, 2003; Fitch, 1998; Lamanna, 2012, Mestre de Caro, 2011; Pagel, 1990; Rimgaila, 1966; Uber, 1985, , 1999, 2011). However, the current study did not show the asymmetrical address found by Fitch (1998) in which powerful and wealthy individuals use *tú* with their socially-inferior interlocutors but expect them to answer back with *usted*.

**5.1.2.1.3. *The hierarchy of interlocutors.*** This aspect was reported as influential by most participants in both the interview and questionnaire. In addition, a few instances of the influence of this social aspect were found in the video situations. Middle-class families addressed their domestic workers (maids) with *usted* while their family members with *tú*. However, the use of *usted* with lower-rank individuals was mutual and not nonreciprocal as previously found by Bayona (2006). On the other hand, the influence of hierarchy in the family was not found in the use of forms of address. Most members of the working class addressed their parents and grandparents with *usted*, who in return responded with the same address. Among middle-class families, young individuals use *tú* with parents and grandparents while many of the older adults used *usted* with everyone. The current investigation suggests that this asymmetry in address was the product of age rather than hierarchy.

**5.1.2.1.4. *The age of interlocutors.*** The current investigation has found that age of interlocutors is an influential factor when using *tú* and *usted*. Findings from the interview,

questionnaire and video situations show the tendency of most children and younger adults to use and receive *tú* while middle-aged adults and above tend to use *usted*. However, it is important to state that not all participating children from the working class used *tú* exclusively while those from the middle and upper middle class did. Also, the address some adult participants (especially those from the middle class) gave other adults depended on the age and social class of the speaker. These findings are in line with the results previously discussed by Uber (1985, 2001), Pagel (1990) and Bayona (2066).

**5.1.2.1.5. *The gender of interlocutors.*** Findings from the interview and questionnaire show that gender of interlocutor is generally influential for most men while it is unimportant for women. Men reported using *tú* mainly with women but *usted* with other men. On the other hand, women reported using *tú* with both males and females, but their use of this address depended on their age and social class. Findings from the naturalistic data do show more use of *tú* by females. In fact, the influence of gender can already be seen in small children's address. For instance, while three male children (ages 7 to 11) used *usted* with each other, they all addressed their 7-year-old female cousin with *tú*. In her discussion on the construction of social identity, Ochs (1993) states that through displays and ratifications of acts and stances, children come to understand social order. In other words, from a very young age, individuals acquire an awareness of the linguistic practices that affiliate them with the social groups that they are to belong to or want to make part of. The findings of the current investigation are in line with the results from previous investigations (Bayona, 2006; Pagel, 1990; Uber, 1998, 2011) which also found an influence of the age factor in the address of Bogotá.

**5.1.2.1.6. *Tradition.*** Another influential aspect emphasized by participants, specifically in regard to their use of *usted*, was tradition. Some participants who considered themselves *tú* users

admitted addressing (some of) their close family members with *usted*, among other reasons, because *usted* was the customary address in their family. There were participants that admitted harboring feelings of disapproval toward this type of address in the family by saying that they wished some of their close family members would use the form *tú* with them, as was the case of 51-year-old Helga. Such assertions could indicate that breaking away from tradition or from an already established linguistic and social identity by the family unit is not easy and that the adoption of a more generalized use of *tú* in the family context can only start in the younger generations. In their discussion of the relationship between language and social identity, Bucholtz and Hall (2006) affirm that “Practice is habitual social activity” (p. 377). For Helga, those who always or usually address others with *usted* do so simply because they grew up using this address or because their time to learn *tú* passed by. Helga admitted learning to use *tú* when she was a teenager and added that nowadays people start to use *tú* since they are little children.

Colenso-Semple (2008) and Lamanna (2012) found in their studies that their participants’ awareness of the relationship between language (in these cases use of address forms) and their identity as Colombians was an important reason for them to adapt to the address of Madrid only partially and not to accommodate to the generalized use of *tú* of Mexicans in North Carolina respectively.

**5.1.2.2. Linguistic and/or situational factors.** The current investigation found that in addition to a series of social aspects, the use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá is also conditioned by a variety of linguistic and/or situational factors which include speaker intentionality, speaker affectivity as well as the type of context of interaction.

**5.1.2.2.1. Speaker intentionality.** The use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá is highly influenced by speaker intentionality. First of all, since *tú* is associated with a form of speaking that is,

among other aspects, warm, kind, and loving, participants use it to express affection to their children or their significant other, to obtain closeness with their interlocutor, to comfort, and to reprimand in a way that does not sound too harsh. Furthermore, because with the use of *tú* participants obtain closeness with their interlocutors, they use this address to ask for favors (especially to individuals of the opposite sex). Also, in a conversation framed by the address with *tú*, some participants use this address intentionally to present themselves or to regard others as equals. In addition, since *tú* is associated with a form of speaking characteristic of the middle or upper class, individuals may use this address to situate themselves in (apparent) favorable social positions. On the other hand, because *usted* is associated with a way of speaking that is harsh and authoritative, participants of this study use *usted* intentionally to show their anger or disagreement, to complaint and to exercise authority (through directives). Also, because *usted* tends to be associated with a form of talking that is formal and respectful, participants reported using *usted* to convey deference when speaking to teachers, police officers, and older individuals. In addition, because *usted* establishes distance, participants use the address with *usted* to set up limits in their interactions with strangers or any already familiar individual with whom their relationship has deteriorated.

Speaker intentionality is also observed in participants' motivation to adapt to the use of address forms in conversation. Because people interact with both individuals with whom they share certain aspects of their social identity as well as with people who belong to other social groups and have other ways of speaking, people sometimes have to adjust their address if they want to succeed in their communicative intentions. Many young participants as well as individuals from the middle class stressed the importance of adaptation in dialogue. Using a symmetrical address is preferred by these participants because through such an address

communication flows smoothly. Participants reported adapting their address, among other reasons, to claim affiliation in a group, to obtain some type of personal gain, to follow the norms established by a majority in conversation, to present themselves or their interlocutors as equals, or to convey respect. It is this intention to align in the use of address forms in conversation which motivates participants to negotiate *tú* and *usted* in dialogue. In fact, a good dialogue for many participants of this study (especially those who use both *tú* and *usted*) includes the negotiation of an address with which both interlocutors feel comfortable. Therefore, in situations in which people need to make a good impression or be accepted by their interlocutor(s), then a negotiation or an adaptation of the address needs to take place.

Furthermore, people are affiliated to different social groups and therefore to different social identities. This affiliation to different identities makes individuals adapt their address depending on the social group with whom they are interacting. To this regard, Bucholtz and Hall (2006) state that identities may shift and recombine to meet the requirements of new situations. Using only one form of address *tú* or *usted* with all types of individuals and in all types of situations is not considered a good strategy for interaction, according to participants whose address include both *tú* and *usted*. The aspect of adaptation or of alignment in the use of address forms as well as its effects in conversation will be discussed in more detailed in section 5.1.4.3.

Speaker intentionality can also be linked to the many instances of non-prototypical uses of forms of address observed in the current study (see section 4.9.4.5). This intentional and indirect use of language allowed participants, among other aspects, to express camaraderie, mitigate the force of a directive or express criticism or sarcasm in a way that could save their face in public. The use of an indirect address let participants of this study “lubricate” their interactions and prevented possible confrontations, which could have not only affected the

communicative act itself but even the social relationship of the interlocutors. In this way, 19-year-old Xiomara's mocking and criticism of her father in public or Lucía's imposition on her 53-year-old friend Fermin through the use of an indirect address allowed these participants express their thoughts and still be in good terms with their interlocutors. Had these two individuals addressed their interlocutors directly using either *tú* or *usted*, their interaction would have been framed by disrespect and intimidation. Non-prototypical uses of address forms may violate important conversational rules, such as the conversational maxim of manner<sup>6</sup>. However, people are aware of the "lubricant" effect of an indirect address and therefore use it in situations in which a direct address can be a threat to their public face.

The influence of speaker intentionality in the address system of Bogotá has been overtly acknowledged only by Bartens (2003) in her discussion of the use of address forms in advertisement and by Mestre de Caro (2011) who showed how individuals from different dialects align their address in order to show empathy and/or connection with each other. However, the significance and influence of this situational aspect can be deduced in other studies as well. Speaker intentionality is considered in the current investigation a central, if not most influential aspect in choosing between *tú* and *usted*.

In her discussion of the social indexicality of French pronouns *tu* and *vous*, Morford (1997) states that native speakers of French are aware of the indexical values of *tu* and *vous*, and therefore, they use these pronouns in strategic ways in order to achieve particular ends. In the same way, the current investigation provides evidence of how through the use of *tú* or *usted*

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<sup>6</sup> Grice's (1975) maxim of manner states that one should be clear, brief, and as orderly; and that one should avoid obscurity and ambiguity.

speakers in Bogotá display their communicative intentions and how individuals are aware of the performativity of forms *tú* and *usted*.

**5.1.2.2.2. Speaker affectivity.** Data from all sources of the current investigation also evidenced the influence of participants' dispositions (affectivity) in the address they gave their interlocutors. This finding, which is alignment with Ochs and Schieffelin's (1989) claim that states that languages have certain features that individuals use to key affect to others, had been only touched upon by previous investigations on the address of Bogotá (Bartens, 2003; Uber, 2011). In the current investigation, participants associated *tú* and *usted* with particular emotional states during both the interview and questionnaire. Generally, participants whose address included both *tú* and *usted* associated *tú* with a positive disposition, and therefore, they reported using this address to express what Ochs and Schieffelin call positive affect. In this way, participants reported using the address with *tú* when expressing their affection to their significant others, as well as when comforting and/or complimenting their interlocutors, among other aspects. On the other hand, *usted* is perceived by these individuals as a form that is associated with a negative disposition. Therefore, participants link this address to moments of anger and/or discomfort. From this perspective, these participants reported using the address with *usted* to express what Ochs and Schieffelin call negative affect, which, among other aspects, includes reprimanding, complaining, and criticizing.

In addition, the video recordings corroborated participants' reports regarding the influence of people's emotional states in their address. The video situations showed, for instance, how parents and adults addressed children with the form *tú* in general, but when the situation included some type of reprimand, criticism or a firm command, these adults addressed their children with the form *usted*. One specific example is the change in address from *tú* to *usted* by

58-year Alberta with her 11-year-old nephew German when she realized that German had not eaten his vegetables during lunch. The highly emotional charge of the form *usted* was also exemplified by 63-year-old Rosaura's explicit use of the pronoun *usted* in her strong criticism of what she considered her mother's naivety for believing so much in the Christian pastors.

Knowing about the emotional dispositions, which according to Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) are exteriorized through both verbal and nonverbal cues, is crucial for successful participation in interaction. Awareness of this contextual information allows individuals to know how to proceed in the communicative act. For instance, 59-year-old Angelina's positive disposition during a taxi ride, which was exteriorized, among other linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects, through the address with *tú*, allowed the driver of the taxi cab she was riding to engage in a pleasant conversation with his passenger. In contrast, on her ride back Angelina's negative disposition was exteriorized by very specific, blunt directions to her new taxi driver, always using the form *usted*. This type of attitude and language did not motivate any interaction between the two strangers. The contextual information which tells people about their interlocutors' dispositions and how they should respond to uncertain situations is called by Ochs and Schieffelin social referencing. The authors consider it crucial as it makes possible cooperation and communication in general.

Furthermore, "interlocutors need to know not only what predication an individual is making; they need to know as well the affective orientation the speaker is presenting with regard to that particular predication" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989, p. 9). This contextual information is crucial for interlocutors to know how they should enter, continue or end the communicative act. From this perspective, when someone receives *usted* from his or her partner, this person knows that something may be wrong and that he or she may need to proceed with caution in the ongoing

interaction. Michelangelo's report of how his former wife started addressing him with *usted* as their relationship deteriorated exemplifies the influence of affect in people's address.

In short, following Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) grammatical structures, and in our case forms of address, serve affective ends. These grammatical features together with gestural cues provide interlocutors with crucial information on which to base their subsequent oral participation. Furthermore, beyond the function of carrying referential information, forms of address convey feelings, modes, dispositions and attitudes. Wilce (2014) stated that "language is felt and/or becomes the object of feeling" (p. 81). Evidence of such assertion is how speakers' emotions are indexed or encoded through forms *tú* and *usted*.

**5.1.2.2.3. *The type of context.*** The current investigation found that that the type of context in which participants interacted also influenced their use of address forms. The context can be classified as formal or informal, public or private, and oral or online. Findings from the interview and questionnaire suggest participants' preference for the form *usted* in formal contexts. Proof of this influence is participants' preference for the address with *usted* when interacting with individuals such as their bosses, doctors, police officers, and teachers. However, the rather informal nature of the spontaneous conversations, could not validate such information. Formal contexts usually entail the expression of deference, which for Agha (1993) is a positional concept. Nevertheless, adds Agha, people linked by some discursive signal can be simultaneously positioned by more than one criterion. While the influence of formality of context cannot be discounted, the current investigation has not been able to ascertain the precise extent of its influence in choice of address form, and data from both interview and questionnaire indicate that in many situations, in addition to formality, participants are influenced by other aspects such as their intentionality and/or willingness to adapt to the ongoing situation. In other

words, while formality seems to keep influencing the use of *tú* and *usted* in Bogotá to some extent, it is definitely not the only influential aspect. In fact, some participants of the current study indicated using *tú* in some formal situations, such as 46-year-old Fabiano who reported using *tú* with his bosses in formal meetings and 60-year-old Rómulo who reported using *tú* during negotiations with his upper-class clients. Fabiano justifies his use of *tú* in such context by stating that misaligning with these individuals' way of speaking can send an unintended message as well as it places him in an unfavorable social position. Rómulo stated that addressing his upper-class clients with *tú* allows him to obtain more closeness with these individuals, and therefore, be more successful in his sales.

Based on Bourdieu's (1977) claim that states that language, rather than an abstract system, is a social practice, people's violations of traditional rules of etiquette that confined *tú* and *usted* to informal and formal contexts respectively may be due to the existence of current social values or ideals that promote social equality. The violation of these rules is very common among young individuals who, in fact, expressed in the interview their dislike for conveying respect or deference to some individuals but not to others. It is this discontent one of the reasons why this type of population prefers framing their social relations through one form mainly: *tú*. However, adults do not always react positively to such behavior, and therefore, they regard the address with *tú* in formal situations as "overfamiliar". The effect of formality of context was found in previous studies (Bartens, 2003; López López, 2016; Mestre de Caro, 2011; and Uber, 2011). However, the current investigation emphasizes that rather than just restraining *tú* to informal contexts and *usted* to formal ones, participants also are influenced by other social and linguistic aspects that sometimes prevail in the communicative act.

Furthermore, in his discussion about the relative deference indexed by the T/V<sup>7</sup> forms, Silverstein (2003) characterizes the T form as neutral while the V form as elevated or marked in value, and therefore preferred by speakers to use in public contexts. The application of this ethno-metapragmatic analysis to the speech of Bogotá may be possible when it relates to the expression of deference; however, when the publicness of a person's speech does not necessarily imply or take into consideration the expression of deference, the opposite may be the norm. Findings of the current investigation show that among individuals whose address include both *tú* and *usted*, *tú* seems to be the preferred form for public contexts, as this is the address with which people want to be associated (i.e., public image). However, back in these people's comfort areas at home or with most intimate friends, *usted* may be more common. Evidence of this position is the address referenced by 17-year-old Angélica who reported using *tú* with her university classmates, including those with whom she does not have much connection. At home, however, Angélica was seen using *usted* with both her younger brother and with her older sister.

In agreement with the current investigation, Pagel (1990) posited in his study that *tú* dominates the address of middle-class individuals in public domains while *usted* is, many times, preferred in more private ones. In general, individuals may opt to use *tú* in public because of its association with a way of speaking that is generally perceived as modern, more elegant, educated, and characteristic of individuals with a favorable social position.

In addition, several participants whose address was characterized by the common or even exclusive use of *usted* in the video recorded conversations, reported using *tú* in online contexts. So was the case of 63-year-old Elmer, who used only *usted* with his most intimate family

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<sup>7</sup> Based on Brown and Gilman (1960) T refers to the pronoun that indexes solidarity, which in most Spanish varieties is *tú* while the V form refers to the pronoun through which individuals index power, represented in most Spanish varieties by the form *usted*.

members in the spontaneous conversations, but who informed using *tú* when he chats with his children in WhatsApp. Also, 59-year-old Angelina reported her surprise about receiving a message in WhatsApp from her previous domestic worker, in which the latter addressed her with the form *tú*. Angelina was surprised because her house worker had never used this address while she worked in her home. In the same way, 49-year-old Justo whose address includes both *tú* and *usted* admitted that he is more resistant to use *tú* in person than when he chats or texts someone. In short, these examples suggest that in online interactions *tú* seems to be more used than *usted*, at least in casual interactions; but most important, the use of *tú* in online situations can come from individuals who in face-to face conversations use *usted*. These findings are in alignment with López López (2016) who found that both males and female soccer fans use *tú* more often than *usted* in the Facebook pages of their soccer teams. 53-year-old Fermin commented how his generation had grown up watching Mexican television in which the characters used the address with *tú* with each other, but how at home they continued using *usted*. Based on these previous accounts, the current investigation posits that the influence of social media in the address of Bogotá has had a greater impact than that of television.

Previous studies showed the influence of a series of social aspects that included social status of interlocutors, their degree of familiarity with each other, their gender, hierarchy, and age. Among linguistic or situational aspects, those studies found evidence for the influence of type of context, content of interaction, and affectivity. The current study corroborates such influence, except for content or topic of interaction, which was not deemed important by most participants. However, speaker intentionality, which is considered a central aspect of influence by the current investigation, was ignored in most previous studies with the exception of Mestre de Caro (2011) who overtly acknowledged its effect in people's address. Given the reported

degree of awareness of the use of *tú* and *usted* as well as the actual use of these forms in conversation, including the many intentional instances of non-prototypical uses of forms of address, the aspect of speaker intentionality is considered fundamental in the current investigation. However, rather than dictating a specific order of influence, the current investigation suggests that the previously mentioned factors interact with one another to generate the specific form of address for any specific situation. From this perspective, it is the communicative intention of the speaker along with other influential aspects which determine the required address for any situation. Figure 29 shows how in interaction both social and linguistic factors interact with one another to generate the pragmatically and socially appropriate address. Notice how each aspect can integrate or be absent from a specific situation and how speaker intentionality stands in the center. This situational factor, which had been very frequently ignored or not overtly considered as influential in the literature on forms of address, was found to be very important by this study when choosing between *tú* and *usted*.

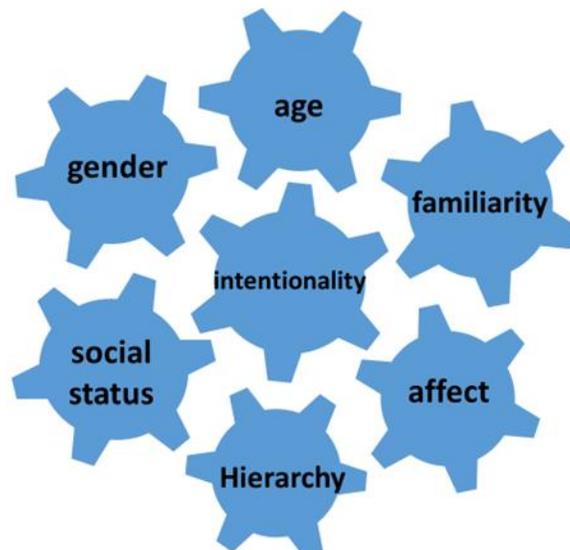


Figure 29. The interplay of the influential factors.

**5.1.3. What is the preferred form of address of each participating social group?** The current investigation found that the meaning and use of forms of address is not uniform among all social groups. Some notable differences in regard to peoples' age, gender, and social class were found and will now be discussed in more detail. Bucholtz and Hall (2006) state that language use across different social groups is distinctive and that such distinctiveness is a reflection of differences in their social identities. In this way, the differences in address among the different social groups of the present study reveal their social identities, how they position themselves in society as well as how they view and position others. In addition, membership in a specific social group within a language community depends on a member's awareness of local conventions for building social identities (in our case how members of these groups relate to one another through the use of forms of address).

**5.1.3.1. Men's address.** Findings from the interview indicate that men have a generally positive conceptualization and opinion of the address with *tú* while a less favorable conceptualization and opinion of the address with *usted*. This information could at first indicate that males perceive the address with *tú* as a more appealing form to adopt. However, this apparent preference does not necessarily reflect their actual linguistic behavior. Because *tú* is associated with a more delicate way of speaking and with an address through which individuals express love and affection, many male participants of this study reported avoiding using *tú* to address other men. In this way, men use *tú* generally to address their significant other, women and children, but avoid it to address other men due to a sexist ideology that links the address with *tú* with a not masculine way of talking. The several metapragmatic comments in the interview of how men should speak show a way of thinking that characterizes men as individuals who should avoid conveying affection or delicateness through language when speaking to other men. This

metapragmatic discourse, which Silverstein (2003) characterizes as ideologically saturated, is an attempt to establish and/or reinforce the traditional identities of men.

The video situations of this project validated the previous statements by showing that not only women tend to use *tú* more than men, but also that males, no matter the age, tend to use *usted* with other males, with some exceptions of fathers and their young children who use *tú* mutually. However, regardless of the more generalized use of *usted* among men, many of these individuals do criticize the existence of the attitudes and beliefs that discourage them from using *tú* with each other.

**5.1.3.2. Women's address.** Findings from both the interview and questionnaire indicate that *tú* is the most preferred form of address of women (especially those 40 or younger). Not only do women have a more positive conceptualization of the address with *tú* to in comparison with the address with *usted*, but they also have more freedom to use the address with *tú* in comparison with men. Since men must “control” their use of *tú* with other men, as stated by 49-year-old James, men tend to be more aware of the address they give others. Also, women use *tú* in more contexts than men (see Table 24 in section 4.2.5.) and reported using *tú* more often than men with individuals whose position is marked by higher levels of power such as police officers, doctors, instructor; or by distance such as taxi drivers. In addition, a higher use of *tú* by females (especially those under the age of 40) in the spontaneous conversations corroborate the findings of both interview and questionnaire in general. Ochs (1993) argued that communities differ radically in the linguistic conventions they use for indexing their acts or stances. One linguistic element that can differentiate men and women in Bogotá is their preferences and use of address forms.

**5.1.3.3. *The address of the working class.*** Findings of the current study indicate that *usted* is the most preferred and most used address by members of the working class. Not only did more members of this group have either a positive or neutral conceptualization of this address, but also most individuals who reported having difficulty using the form *tú* belonged to this social group. Also, participants of the working class had the highest percentage of negative opinions about the address with *tú*. In addition, participants from the working class reported using *usted* with most individuals from most social groups found in the questionnaire (see Appendix B).

On the other hand, participants' reports regarding the address given to the immediate and extended family were partially validated by the findings of the naturalistic data (videotaped conversations). Even though, some members of this social group reported using *tú* with their spouse or significant other, the video situations showed that it was children the main recipients of the address with *tú*. However, the use of *tú* by most members of this social group was many times accompanied by the alternation with the form *usted*. In other words, their use of *tú* with these minor individuals was by no means constant but mixed with the form *usted*. In fact, sometimes the alternation happened with some type of self-correction, which indexed young working-class participants' intention to cultivate the address with *tú* in their small children. Being aware of the lower social standing of the form *usted*, young parents from the working class raise their children through the form *tú*. Also, some members of this social group (mainly young individuals) reported their use of *tú* with certain individuals or in certain contexts in which members of other classes use *usted* (with strangers as well as in formal academic contexts). These reports suggest that members of the working class whose address includes the form *tú* tend to generalize the use of this address and may not follow the exact same rules for using *tú* that members of other classes do. The overgeneralization of the use of *tú* by some members of the

working class can be linked to the concept of hypercorrection. Decamp (1972) defines hypercorrection as “an incorrect analogy with a form in a prestige dialect which the speaker has imperfectly mastered” (p. 87). This hypercorrection in the use of the address with *tú* indexes a lower social class as well as speaker’s linguistic insecurity. It also indexes an ideology that correlates the address with *tú* with good education and a favorable social position while *usted* with backwardness and minimal social mobility.

**5.1.3.4. *The address of the lower-middle class.*** Data from both interview and questionnaire indicate a general preference for the form *tú* by participants from this social group. Members of the lower-middle class had an overall positive conceptualization of the address with *tú* while a divided conceptualization of the address with *usted* (similar percentage of participants who associated this address with either positive or negative concepts). Also, data from the questionnaire indicated an increase in the use of *tú* with the different social networks in comparison with participants from the working class. For instance, participants from the lower-middle class reported using *tú* with most members of the immediate and extended family as well as with members of their closest social network (significant other and friends), and the naturalistic data validated such reports. In fact, *tú* was dominant in some of these families. However, there were also cases in which some participants would use *tú* with some family members but *usted* with others (e.g. *tú* with parents but *usted* with siblings), and also, cases of alternation between *tú* and *usted*. However, the presence of alternation of forms of address was not as common as in the working-class. On the other hand, most older adults of this group used *usted* exclusively or almost exclusively. In short, members of this social group seemed to prefer and use more often the address with *tú* (at least with the immediate and extended family), except for most older adults who used *usted*.

**5.1.3.5. The address of the upper-middle class.** *Tú* was clearly the preferred and most used form of address of most members of the upper-middle class. Individuals from this social group had a generally positive conceptualization and opinion of this address while a significant portion of them had a negative conceptualization of the address with *usted*. Participants from this social group also reported using *tú* with most individuals that belong to their immediate and extended family as well with members of their closest social network (significant other and friends). These reports are validated by the findings of the naturalistic data. However, as indicated in the interview and questionnaire only some older adults are inclined to using *usted* with their closest family members. These preferences create an asymmetrical address in which children, teenagers and most adults used *tú* with the older members, but the latter answer back with the form *usted*. In fact, in many cases older individuals address their younger family members with the form *sumercé*. The alternation between *tú* and *usted* also happens in this social group, but to a lesser extent in comparison with the previous socio-economic groups.

Taking into consideration the previously discussed results we see that as social class rises so does the use and/or preference for the address with *tú*. Similarly, as the social status lowers, so does the use of *tú*. However, it is important to note that regardless the reported preference and common use of the address with *tú* by members of both the lower and upper-middle class, *usted* still occupies important spaces in the daily interaction of individuals from this social group. *Usted* was reported as the most common form used by these individuals in certain contexts or with certain individuals such as when they interact with their in-laws, generally at work, with strangers, and with people representing most of the occupations found in the questionnaire (see Appendix B). It is also important to note that among the different social classes, more members of the upper-middle class reported being aware of the address they give others, which implies

that they also pay more attention to the address they receive from others. Findings of the interview indicate that some members of the upper-middle class welcome the address with *tú* when it comes from someone from their same social class but reject it when it comes from a lower-class individual, who, according to several upper-middle class individuals, usually cannot use *tú* “properly”. In fact, some upper-middle class individuals intentionally imitate and mock the “improper” use of the form *tú* by working class individuals. This behavior, which indexes existent power inequalities among groups based on language, aligns with Bucholtz and Hall’s (2006) claim that states that differences among social groups imply hierarchy, and that the group with most power establishes a vertical relation with others which is beneficial to itself.

The address of Bogotá seems to have experienced a drastic change in the last four decades given the common presence of the form *tú* among individuals from the middle-class and its current expansion in the working class, something not noticed by Cristina and Rimgaila (1966).

**5.1.3.6. *The address of the different age groups.*** The current study found that age clearly influences the social meaning and use of forms of address *tú* and *usted*. The different participating generational groups conceptualize, prefer and use forms of address distinctively.

**5.1.3.6.1. *Children’s address.*** In general, *tú* was the most common form used by children to address other children as well as adults. *Tú* was used exclusively by children from the lower and upper-middle class. On the other hand, children of the working class not only presented alternation in their use of *tú* and *usted*, but also, they used *tú* mainly with females and *usted* with males. An example was 7-year old Sandro and his 8-year-old cousin Pepe. These boys used *usted* with each other, but *tú* with their 7-year-old female cousin Lina. It is important to note that all children from the lower an upper-middle class were girls while the children of the working class

were boys. It is also important to restate that in the working class, children were the main receivers of the address with *tú*. The findings regarding the use of forms of address by children inform us about how individuals acquire a series of attitudinal practices towards others, which are in turn directly or indirectly exteriorized through language. From this perspective, the differentiation in how boys address both boys and girls is an example of the sexism in which they are socialized by adults. In their discussion on language socialization, Bucholtz and Hall (2006) affirm that “language, along with other social practices, shapes the social actors’ way of being in the world” (p. 377). The use of address forms by children as well as by other social groups that participated in the current investigation confirm the previous statement.

The overgeneralizing use of *tú* by most little children (especially those from the middle class) can be explained by the fact that even though most of the phonological, syntactic, and semantic structures of language are in active use by age four or five, it is not until much later that children acquire sociocultural competence, which can let them interact in culturally-expected ways out of the home context (Lakoff, 1976). Children do not have the necessary sociolinguistic competence to “correctly” navigate an address in which *usted* still holds a prominent position due to the limited variety of contexts in which they interact in comparison to an adult individual. However, as children grow up, and as they are socialized in school and other contexts, children may start adjusting to the use of *usted*. Nevertheless, their early exposition to the form *tú* in comparison to their parents (true for most kids of all social classes) can be an influential factor for the later diminishing of the form *usted* in the future.

**5.1.3.6.2. *The address of teenagers.*** Participants with ages 13 to 19 also favored the use of *tú*. A mostly positive conceptualization of this address held by these young individuals as well as a less favorable conceptualization of the address with *usted* makes *tú* the preferred and most

common address of this group. However, the use of *tú* by this group was not exclusive. Most teenagers made distinctions in how they addressed members of their immediate family. In this way, they used *tú* with their parents but *usted* with their siblings, especially if the interaction was between brothers. In the address given to the extended family, *tú* prevailed among teenagers as it did in the reported address given to their friends and classmates (especially in the case of females). *Tú* was reported as the preferred address even by two teenagers from the working class. However, only one of them used this address in the videotaped situations. Also, only a 14-year-old female participant from the upper-middle class used *tú* exclusively. She not only addressed all her family members and other individuals with whom she interacted in the video recorded conversations with *tú*, but also reported using this address with all individuals mentioned in the questionnaire, except adult strangers, and reported no linguistic or social influence in her use of forms of address. Based on Bucholtz and Hall's (2006) conceptualization of the relationship between language and social identity, the preference for the addressed with *tú* displayed by teenagers whose parents and other family were mainly *usted* users is an example of the resistance, subversion or challenge that some members of society have towards the existing linguistic and social norms. For instance, while many adults of the lower and upper-middle class displayed differences in the addresses they give individuals from other social classes, all teenagers in the study denied being influenced by the social status of their interlocutor. In fact, findings from the naturalistic data validate such report. Also, while most adults favored the maintenance of hierarchical positions in their social relations with others, all teenagers shared the idea that everyone deserves the same address.

**5.1.3.6.3. *The address of adults.*** The difference in address between the youngest and oldest generation is evident. While children and teenagers use *tú* with most individuals from all

their close social circles, most participants 60 and above use *usted* with pretty much everybody except God. The preference in address of the generations in between these groups alternated between *tú* and *usted*. In the 20 to 29 age group, the use of *tú* decreased considerably in comparison to the younger group probably because most participants from this age group came from the working class. On the other hand, the use of *tú* increased in the following generational group (30 to 39-year-olds) given an increase in participation of middle-class individuals. Given the difference between the youngest and oldest group, the current investigation assumes that the use of *tú* generally decreases as age increases, and that the use of *usted* increases as age increases. A case that exemplifies the difference in address between teenagers and younger adults on one side and middle-aged as well as older adults on the other side is the type of address these two groups use in their romantic relationships. While many middle-aged individuals (especially those after 40 years of age) and almost all older adults use mainly *usted* with their spouses, teenagers and young adults highlighted the importance of giving and receiving *tú* from their significant others. The address with *usted* in this type of relationship can be indexical of momentary or permanent problems in the relationship. Also, as expressed by 24-year-old Fabrizio, *usted* simply generates a barrier in this type of relationship.

Another crucial difference between the address of the youngest and the other generations is the presence of the form of address *sumercé*. The form *sumercé* was not observed in the address of the youngest participants even though the video situations showed some evidence that some of them were exposed to this way of addressing others in their homes. In fact, only one participant from the age group 20 to 29 reported using *sumercé*. This form of address seems to be viewed by young individuals as pertaining to the older generations. The video situations

illustrated the metapragmatic comments of some children toward the “amusing” use of *sumercé* by their grandmother.

Some important conclusions can be made regarding the address given by participants according to their age. First, it is important to highlight that given the degree of awareness reported by both younger and older individuals, the former tend to be less careful about the address they give others in comparison to the latter. In addition, the younger generations use *tú* much more than the older generations and the use of *usted* tends to increase as age increases. Also, while the form of address *sumercé* is not foreign to children and teenagers, it does not make part of the address they give others. Finally, Bucholtz and Hall (2006) affirm that performance (in our case the display of address forms by the different generational groups) is a highly intentional social display as well as a way to exteriorize one’s identity. However, this display may happen in subversive or resistant ways, such as the way teenagers used forms of address in the current study.

**5.1.4. What implications can the use of one form over another have in the development of dialogue?** The previous discussion stressed the idea that depending on the aspects that make up their social identity, individuals have specific preferences in how they address others as well as how they want others to address them. It is then evident that address forms are important linguistic elements through which individuals manage and interpret their social relations with others. People affiliate and disaffiliate with others not only through what they say, but also through how they say it (Gasiorek & Giles, 2015). It is for this reason that the current investigation posits that using either *tú* or *usted* in a given communicative situation has certain repercussions not only in the development of the communicate event itself, but also in the existing or nonexistent relationship of interlocutors.

**5.1.4.1. Implications of the use of *tú*.** Using *tú* in a conversation allows participants to obtain closeness if *tú* comes from a person with whom participants feel or have some type of affinity. However, when *tú* comes from a person with whom there is no affinity, *tú* can create discomfort, discontent or distrust. Many participants of the current study stressed their dislike for receiving the address with *tú* from strangers or from individuals with whom participants have only a commercial or functional relationship (e.g. store clerk or security guard). Also, due to a sexist characterization of the form *tú*, most men seem to refrain from using this address with other men, especially in an out-of-the-home context. Using *tú* in these previously mentioned situations can disrupt not only the conversation, but it can also affect any existent relationship between the two individuals. For instance, 28-year-old Jair, a security guard at a middle-class apartment building complex, admitted that he is not allowed to use *tú* with the residents of the building complex where he works, and that not following this social as well as work requirement can jeopardize his position because addressing the residents of the building where he works with the form *tú* makes him appear as overfamiliar and disrespectful.

Also, since the address with *tú* is associated with the speech of the middle and upper classes, using *tú* in a conversation can place an individual in an apparent favorable social position. However, this same association can make working-class individuals reject those who use *tú* because through this address, the latter may be perceived as conceited, show-off or arrogant. To this regard, 46-year-old Fabiano stated that “people from the upper-class think they are superior, and they show it through their *tuteo* (use of *tú*).” In addition, in some situations the use of *tú* can generate doubts about the real intention of the speaker, as stated by several participants. The use of *tú* in some situations may be perceived as a preparation for a subsequent request (e.g., favor), as flirtation, or as a strategy people can use to take advantage of others.

Finally, because the address with *tú* is associated with a softer and friendlier way of speaking, it is expected by many individuals (especially those from the working class) to be used in positive contexts such as when comforting or complementing someone, when in a good mood, etc. It is not common to use *tú* in the opposite contexts in which participants switch or prefer the form *usted*. In fact, 78-year-Alicia, from a working-class-family, stated that it is more difficult to use *tú* when one is in a bad mood. From this perspective, the use of *tú* can be taken as hypocrite if used in “negative” contexts or when it is not used to convey positiveness. 19-year-old Xiomara stated that when individuals from the upper-class say to her, *No tengo tiempo para ti* ‘I don’t have time for you ((T))’ their use of *tú* is hypocritical, as she expects this type of address to express understanding and cooperation.

**5.1.4.2. Implications of the use of *usted*.** Results of the interview indicate that for individuals whose address includes the form *tú*, using *usted* in close contexts can disrupt their conversations and may be indexical of problems in the relationship with their interlocutor. In general, these participants do not welcome the address with *usted* when it comes from individuals with whom they have an intimate relationship such as their significant other, their mother, or for many females, when it comes from their best friend. In such cases, *usted* can index anger, frustration or strong disagreement. Also, in cases in which people do not want to create any personal connection with their interlocutor, a simple use of *usted* indexes this person’s intention. On the other hand, the use of *usted* among working class individuals creates the appropriate environment for interaction for these individuals since they perceive *usted* not only as respectful but also as a form that is genuine and that is not charged with pretensions.

**5.1.4.3. Implications of the alignment in the use of address forms.** A common feature stressed by participants in the interview was their preference for alignment in address.

Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles (2015) refer to this alignment as convergence and explain that through this linguistic practice people adjust their communicative behavior to the behavior of others in interaction. Members of working-class families converged with each other through a common use of the address with *usted* while most family members of the lower-middle and upper-middle class usually converged in their mutual use of *tú*. However, the alignment found in the middle-class family context was not always the same. For example, while adult middle-class individuals connected with members of their family using *tú*, a mutual *usted* was used by these adults with their domestic workers. In fact, convergence in the address with *usted* between middle and working-class individuals was sometimes preferred not out of class difference, but as stated by Dragojevic, Gasiorek and Giles (2015) to facilitate coherent interaction and manage social distance. In this way, 38-year-old Maya uses a mutual *usted* with her subordinates at work (working-class individuals from rural locations) not necessarily because of a social class difference or because of hierarchy, but mainly because *usted* is the form that these individuals use and understand. Maya explained that when she first tried to use *tú* with her subordinates, she noticed her way of talking was not being welcome, so she realized that if she needed to be clearer and make a personal connection with her subordinates at work, it was necessary to address them in a way that was more familiar to them.

In the same way, individuals who prefer to use the address with *usted* may converge with others through a mutual *tú*. One example is the case of 46-year-old Fabiano, who has an overall negative conceptualization of the address with *tú* and uses *usted* exclusively with his family and friends. However, in meetings with his supervisors at work (mainly upper-middle class individuals), he experiences the need to use *tú* as it is the common address of all other members of the meetings. Not adjusting to the form of address being used or portraying what Dragojevic,

Gasiorek and Giles (2015) call “maintenance” would not only make him stand out but it could also send a wrong message. This example of how through the use of *tú* Fabiano adopts the position of an equal also suggests that a conversation characterized by an asymmetrical address let interlocutors stresses the differences between them.

Generally, converging (in the use of address forms) produces favorable results in the interaction because it increases speaker’s perceived attractiveness, intelligibility and interpersonal involvement. In fact, previous studies had found a preference for a mutual address among individuals from Bogotá (Bartens, 2003; Pagel, 1990). On the other hand, diverging or maintaining one’s own way of addressing others tends to provoke negative relational results and could even be characterized as insulting, impolite or hostile (Dragojevic, Gasiorek & Giles, 2015). An example of the negative consequences of not being willing to adapt to the form of address of the context was narrated by 63-year-old Rosaura who while living in Spain did not want to adapt to the generalized use of *tú* of Spaniards. Her non-accommodation resulted in many uncomfortable situations, such as one in which her boss vehemently rejected Rosaura’s use of *usted*. A passionate and, according to Rosaura, “humiliating” reproach made her quit one of her jobs. Pitts and Harwood (2015) state that some people are seriously challenged to engage in competent accommodation while others might possess inherent accommodative advantages. Adults who were never socialized with the form *tú* may face an evident challenge to accommodate to this address as it simply does not make part of these individuals’ repertoire. Also, people with a high degree of own-group identity like Rosaura may be unwilling to adjust to the address of other groups since they can perceive such accommodations as a detriment to their cultural and linguistic identity. This divergence in address between speakers of Colombian Spanish and Spanish speakers from other dialects was also found by Colenso-Semple (2008) in

Madrid and Lamanna (2012) in North Carolina. Through convergence, maintenance, and divergence individuals negotiate their identities because “every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world” (Norton, 2010, p. 350).

**5.1.4.4. Implications of a sudden change in address.** Findings of the current study show that a sudden change in address is an interactional strategy through which individuals reveal their feelings as well as their position toward the topics of discussion. Consequently, a person’s sudden change in address can affect the development of the communicative event. In addition, when the change persists, it is indexical of meaningful repercussions in the relationship between interlocutors. For instance, the change from *tú* to *usted* by couples is indicative of momentary or persistent problems in their relationship, as was indicated by several participants of this study. For example, 39-year-old Michelangelo explained that as the relationship with his former wife started to deteriorate, she stopped using *tú* with him, and that after being separated for many years, she now only addresses him with *usted*. In the same way, in relationships in which individuals have already established an address with *usted*, a sudden change to *tú* can also have negative implications. This change makes participants uncomfortable because it can indicate certain hidden intentions. For instance, the addressee may think that his/her interlocutor wants a favor or may even be flirting. Even though a sudden change from *usted* to *tú* may not be welcome in some situations, it is not considered as negative as the change from *tú* to *usted*.

Nevertheless, a sudden change in address is not only indexical of a negative attitude or a hidden intention. The current investigation found that speakers change the address they are using with their interlocutor also to entertain or “spice up” the conversation. The naturalistic data of the current investigation showed how middle-class individuals changed from *tú* to *usted* to mock

their interlocutor and/or entertain their audience. It is important to note that whether the change indexes a positive or a negative stance, a corresponding set of nonverbal behavior accompanies the use of each address form. It is in fact a combination of address form, intonation, and nonverbal language what allows individuals to interpret the change in address as positive or negative.

In short, certain uses of language make tangible highly specific kinds of social effects (Agha, 2007). A change in address can go unnoticed, but most of the time it can alter the context transforming it into a situation of an entirely different kind. In some extreme situations, the change can be indexical of a new status in a relationship.

**5.1.4.5. Implications of alternating address forms.** Adult participants of this study whose address included *tú* and *usted* often engaged in the alternation of forms of address in their discourse. This alternation consisted of mixing address forms within the sentence or utterance (intra-sentential) or between sentences or larger parts of the oral discourse (inter-sentential). Participants seem to be more aware of the first kind, which in fact, is highly stigmatized by them. This type of alternation, called by a young participant “tusteo” can include the mixing of *tú* and *usted* forms as in (22) and also a combination of *usted* and *tú* non-standard verb forms as in (23).

(22)      ¿Ya      se              bañaste?  
 Already 2SG.REFL.V bathe-PRES.2SG.T  
 ‘Did you already shower?’

(23)      ¿Ya      se              bañastes?  
 Already 2SG.REFL.V bathe-PRS.2SG.T + s  
 ‘Did you already shower?’

This type of address generates all kinds of negative reactions, including its association with an individual who has a deficiency in his or her education and who cannot use *tú*

“correctly”. In fact, several adult participants of this study admitted not knowing how to use *tú* “well”, and therefore, they avoid using it with others to prevent public ridicule.

However, regardless of the many metalinguistic comments against the alternation of forms of address in dialogue, the mixing of *tú*, *usted*, and in some cases *sumercé* (mainly at the inter-sentential level) was a common feature of the speech of many adult individuals including some participants from the upper-middle class. The current investigation found that this alternation of address forms can have specific communicative functions such as the expression of anger or disapproval, the exercising of authority, the expression of mockery, the expression of affection, the desire to accommodate an individual in the ongoing conversation, and the adding of clarity and/or emphasis. Regarding this alternation of address forms in Bogotá, Mestre de Caro (2011) had indicated that such mixing is indexical of the contact of different dialects in Bogotá as well as of interactional factors such as speaker’s mood.

The alternation of forms of address can serve specific communicative functions. However, this alternation at the utterance or at the sentence level can situate an individual in a disadvantageous position, and the consequence in conversation may contrast with the speaker’s intentions. Some middle-class individuals mockingly imitate the mixing of *tú* and *usted* of working-class individuals to directly index a humorous stance. However, at the same time through this nonstandard construction middle-class individuals position themselves over the working-class individual, who cannot use the address with *tú* in a “correct” way. Bucholtz and Hall (2006) refer to this ambiguity between direct and indirect indexicality as an important source for establishing and maintaining power inequalities between groups as well as for the formation of social stereotypes based on language.

In summary, the previously commented situations of this section demonstrate that the language we use (in this case the use of address forms) is in no way neutral, that it has effects in the development of dialogue and in the construction and maintenance of social relationships. People's use of language (in this case forms of address) reveals their vision of the social and cultural events in which they participate as well as the ideologies that motivate such use (Díaz-Campos, 2014).

Furthermore, speakers make choices and display orientations based on the sociolinguistic meanings associated with forms of speech (Jaffe, 2009). The social effects of address forms are context-dependent: they are evaluated in relation to the context or situation at hand. In this way, the use of a form of address in a specific situation may be considered appropriate to the situation or it may alter the context in some way, even transforming it into a situation of an entirely different type.

## **5.2. Other Important Linguistic and Social Aspects That Are Reflected in the Use of Address Forms**

**5.2.1. *Usted* as the default form and the transition to *tú*.** The current study found that *tú* is quite common in the address of lower and upper middle-class families as well in the address of many young individuals in general. However, out of the family context, *usted* seems to be the default form of address from which most adults start their relationships with others. One linguistic aspect that indicates why *usted* is the default form for most relations out of the home context is the high degree of awareness participants report having when using *tú* in comparison to their use of *usted*. *Usted* marks the beginning of a relationship that if well-developed may change to *tú*. To this regard, 60-year-Rómulo stated that “If you don't overcome certain stages in the relationship, you can't use *tú*”. For many individuals in Bogotá people need to obtain some

*confianza* before they start addressing each other with *usted*; otherwise, they may be regarded as *confianzudos* ‘overly chummy’. Also, 36-year-old Yohana stated that the address two people use evolves depending on the type of relation they have with each other. At the beginning, adds Yohana, people give each other *usted*, but with time, if the relationship becomes a close one, people may start using *sumercé* (for those who use this form of address), and then *tú*. However, in some situations, such as in interactions between very young individuals, the transition between *usted* and *tú* can go rather fast. In their discussion on language socialization, Ochs and Schieffelin (2006) state that “a life course may be marked by shifting language socialization experiences that encourage the shedding of certain language forms in favor of others.” In summary, the different stages of social relations may be linguistically manifested in Bogotá through the changes in how people address each other.

**5.2.2. The address with *tú* as a social aspiration.** Adult participants of this study associated the address with *tú* with a sign of social progress. An example of this way of thinking was given by 44-year-old Jacinto, who grew up in a working-class family with both parents socializing him and his siblings with the form *usted*. However, once Jacinto obtained a professional degree and started interacting with individuals from other social classes, he started to adopt the address with *tú*. As we can see, Jacinto’s case exemplifies the association that people make between *tú* and a better social status. This association of *tú* with an educated and modern individual influences parents from all social classes nowadays (including many young parents from the working class) to socialize their children with the form *tú* or encourage its use at home. Many adults of different social classes, in contrast with their children, were not exposed to the form *tú* at home, and it was later in high school, college or work that they started to incorporate *tú* in their daily address. It can be said that for many years, people in Bogotá grew up using *usted*

at home, but now a change in the way adults socialize their children is evident. However, will this change signify the demise of *usted* in the address of Bogotá.

**5.2.3. Is the increase of *tú* the demise of *usted*?** In the current study, several participants reported being aware of an increase in the use of the address with *tú* in Bogotá in the recent years. For example, 39-year-old Michelangelo stated that *tú* used to be part only of the address of the upper class or of the address between men and women. Nowadays, according to Michelangelo, all social classes use *tú*. Michelangelo explained this change as some type of progress, as a step toward modernity, and as a symbol of the rejection of sexist values that used to prevail. In fact, Michelangelo, who grew up in a working-class family and who was socialized by his parents and older siblings with the forms *usted*, uses *tú* with his 17-year-old daughter and his 13-year-old son. In the same way, findings of the current investigation show that young individuals do not seem to follow as many rules as their parents do when using *tú*; and also in contrast with their parents, young individuals from the middle class do not reject the address with *tú* when it comes from a member of a lowered social class.

The increase of the use of *tú* seems to be happening not only in the family context but also at work. Several participants reported that nowadays young people at work have the tendency to address their supervisors with *tú*. However, while some participants welcome this change because it indexes some type of equality, others see it as a violation to a person's respect. In general, people report a notable increase in the use of *tú* as well as a change in the way *usted* is perceived. While for the previous generations *usted* was the "right way of speaking" and was formal and respectful, for today's citizen of Bogotá, the address with *usted* can also be perceived as rough, backward and distant.

The attitudes generated by the address with *tú* or *usted* reflect a language ideology which emphasizes the superiority of the address with *tú*. This particular ideology is held mainly by younger individuals as well as by members of the middle and upper class. This proclaimed superiority of *tú* is not based on the structural properties of this form or its communicative efficiency, but rather on its association with an affluent social class, with an individual that is modern and educated. From this perspective, it could be argued that *tú* and *usted*, as perceived and as used in Bogotá, are inherently ideological.

The participants of the current investigation engaged in reflecting about the meanings they associate with forms *tú* and *usted*. They exteriorized the perceptions they have of these forms, the reasons why they use them or avoid them in socially-situated contexts as well as they discussed the implications of their use or avoidance. In other words, participants rationalized about their use of *tú* and *usted*. Silverstein (1979) affirms that when individuals rationalize or reflect about the structure of language and about the use they give to this structure, they are taking the first step towards change. Taking into consideration this relationship between language attitudes and linguistic change, it could be argued that the common negative characterization of the address with *usted* by many of the participants of this study, especially those who are younger, can lead to a displacement of the address with *usted*; in this way, leaving it for a few specific contexts and making *tú* the prevalent form of address that most *bogotanos* will use in the near future. In fact, Hummel (2010) argues that Spanish has an inherent tendency to have a unitary system of address in which the form that expresses solidarity prevails (*tú* or *vos*) and in which *usted* is relegated to specific settings. The increase of *tú* is evident when we compare the findings of previous studies with those of the current investigation. This increase is illustrated by figure 30.

Rimgaila and Cristina (1966)	Uber (1985)	Pagel (1990)	The current study (2019)
-----X-----	-----X-----	-----X-----	-----X-----
Not common in the lower-middle or the working class	Used by the middle class but not as much as the upper class.	Upper and middle class favored its use. Lower middle and lower classes favored used.	Common in the lower middle and upper-middle class. Young parents from the working class use <i>tú</i> with their children.

Figure 30. The ongoing diffusion of the address with *tú* in the social classes of Bogotá.

**5.2.4. The increase of the use of *tú* and the rising of a new linguistic and social identity.** Young people’s resistance to comply with the traditional address of Bogotá (use of *usted*) can have a direct link not only to their agency as users of the language, but also to their social affiliations. At the same time, while some adults express and show their resistance in accepting the ideology of younger groups who view the address with *usted* as a way of speaking that is backward and outdated, many others opt for the strategic negotiation of a new identity that will allow them to claim ownership for the discursive practices of the younger generations. Because “identity constructs and is constructed by language” (Norton, 2010, p. 419), people renegotiate their linguistic and cultural identities when engaging in these new language practices. In addition, people’s social identities also evolve in the development of interaction, transformed in response to the acts and stances of their interlocutors (Ochs, 1993); in this way, showing how people want to position others as well as how they want to be positioned by others. The current investigation showed how participants portrayed sudden changes in their address or how they used forms of address in non-prototypical ways. This investigation also showed that individuals in Bogotá have the sociocultural awareness to detect such changes and respond or adapt to them.

**5.2.5. The address of Bogotá and the address of other regions in Colombia.** The participants who came from other regions of Colombia (except a 52-year female from

Cartagena<sup>8</sup>) associated the use of *tú* with the speech of the middle or upper class of Bogotá and not with the speech of their native places. These individuals admitted having learned to use *tú* in Bogotá because *tú* was not common or not used at all where they came from. The new environment influenced their later development and (partial) adoption of the address with *tú*. While some now feel totally identified with their new way of speaking, others still reject it, but may use it from time-to-time to meet the circumstances of their interactions. Findings of the current study are in alignment with Lipski (1994) who pointed out how *usted* was the most used address in all of the central highlands of Colombia (including in the address given to family members or intimate friends). However, the current investigation emphasizes a change in preference for middle-class individuals from Bogotá. The association of the address with *tú* with the speech of the middle class of Bogotá by individuals from other regions of Colombia was also found in the pilot study of this investigation and had previously been described by Bartens (2003) who found that soap opera characters who depicted individuals from Bogotá used *tú* while those of other regions tended to use other address forms.

**5.2.6. Brown and Gilman's (1960) Theory of Power and Solidarity and its applicability to the address of Bogotá.** The Theory of Power and Solidarity, proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960), has been the most common model used to describe the meanings and uses of *tú* and *usted* in Spanish in general. However, the current investigation finds it unsuitable for the address of Bogotá due to the rigid characterization that it provides to forms *tú* and *usted*. Based on Brown and Gilman's theory, *tú* and *usted* operate under the variables of power and solidarity. The theory explains that under the 'power' variable, those with more power use the T

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<sup>8</sup> Cartagena is a city located on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, area characterized by the preference for the address with *tú* (Lipski, 1994).

form (*tú*) but receive V (*usted*) from their interlocutor. In contrast with this principle, the current investigation found that in Bogotá individuals with more power (e.g. people with higher hierarchical levels at work) tend to use a symmetrical *usted* with their subordinates. In fact, in cases with an asymmetrical address, such as the address between grandparents and their grandchildren, the individual with lower hierarchy (grandchild) use *tú* with the higher-hierarchy individual (grandparent) while the latter addresses the former with the form *usted*. Also, based on Brown and Gilman's theory, in interactions in which interlocutors share an equal amount of power, *tú* or *usted* can be used depending on their degree of solidarity. The current investigation found, however, that several other social and situational aspects influence the use of *tú* and *usted* in interactions among individuals with similar power. In this way, members of the working class use a mutual *usted* with one another while individuals from the lower and upper-middle class use *tú*. In the same way, men from any class tend to use *usted* with other men while women have more freedom to use *tú* with men and women.

Furthermore, based on Brown and Gilman's theory, under the variable 'solidarity', people use the V form (*usted*) to address individuals with whom they have little in common or do not know well. On the other hand, people use the T form (*tú*) with those they are acquainted, familiarized, or share some common social characteristic such as same social status or same political affiliation. While this rule can be reflected in the address some individuals in Bogotá use with strangers in comparison with the address they use with family and close friends, the fact that many other individuals from all social classes use *usted* with their closest family members including parents, spouses and even children suggest that rather than non-solidarity *usted* has a value of identity and tradition in the address of Bogotá. Due to the use given by participants of the current investigation to forms of address *tú* and *usted*, it is not possible to speak of just one

form that expresses solidarity as both serve this function but in different social groups. While men, adults and individuals from the working class in general connect with each other through the mutual use of *usted*, individuals from the lower and upper-middle class as well as some women express their solidarity with each other through a mutual *tú*.

In addition, Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory does not take into consideration the changes in address due to fluctuations in speaker's attitude or the many cases of non-prototypical uses of forms of address; all common features of the address of Bogotá. As a consequence, the current investigation is alignment with Blass Arroyo's (1994) argument that states that *tú* and *usted* can no longer be associated with some inherent values because their meaning depends on contextual factors of each communicative situation. The current investigation is also in alignment with Fernández's (2003) view of *usted* as having a value of local identity in some dialects of Spanish.

**5.2.7. Vos and sumercé: Two contrasting cases.** A reduced number of adult participants who were originally from other regions of Colombia reported using or having used *vos* before in their life. Individuals who reported having *vos* as part of their address repertoire linked this way of speaking to their native regions and felt that *vos* was a part of their social identity. However, most of these individuals indicated that in the context of Bogotá *vos* is stigmatized, and therefore they felt discouraged to use it. For instance, 46-year-old Samanta commented how when she moved from the city of Cali, her new middle-class co-workers in Bogotá literally encouraged her to drop her use of *vos* and "trained" her to use *tú*. She also explained how her coworkers would correct her on the spot every time she "misconjugated" a verb in the form *tú*. This type of behavior makes individuals insecure of their way of speaking and influences them to adopt traditional negative attitudes toward their own local language. This

negative influence makes them view their own way of speaking as not educated or formal enough to be used in certain contexts, such as work. Fernández (2003) stated that with the exception of Argentina, *vos* suffers some type of stigmatization in all other regions where it is used. This stigmatization is also reflected in the discrepancy between the written and the spoken language in education of most nations in which *vos* is used (Christiansen, 2014). In the same way, the negative connotations associated with this form of address is one of the reasons for instructors of Spanish as a foreign language not to include *vos* in any way in the classroom discourse (López López, Martínez Franco & Yazan, 2019).

In contrast with *vos*, *sumercé* was highly appreciated by most adult participants of the current investigation. This form of address, which was associated with a way of speaking that is both affectionate and respectful was regarded by some individuals as a linguistic emblem of Bogotá and the nearby regions (e.g., the provinces of Boyacá and Cundinamarca). However, even though no adult individual characterized *sumercé* negatively in any way, and some used this form of address in their homes, children and teenagers were not observed using it. The absence of *sumercé* in children's and teenagers' address suggests that these young individuals view *sumercé* as a linguistic form that belongs to the adult generations. As previously stated, *sumercé* (or *sumercé* as used in Bogotá), is considered archaic and extremely formal in other Spanish dialects, and therefore, it does not make part of the popular speech of other dialects (Lipski, 1994).

Uber (1985) reported on a supposedly gradual disappearance of the form *sumercé* from the address of Bogotá. However, the current investigation cannot corroborate such evaluation given the number of participants who reported using *sumercé*, which in fact, was slightly higher than those who reported using or having used *vos*. Participants as young as 21 years of age from

all social classes reported using *sumercé* to address others, especially to address adult individuals from their own family.

### **5.3. Classification of Bogota's Pronominal System**

The way individuals use forms of address in Bogotá does not coincide with any of the pronominal divisions suggested by Fontanella de Weinberg (1999)<sup>9</sup>. First of all, in addition to *tú*, *vos* and *usted*, the address of Bogotá includes a fourth form for the second person singular: *sumercé*. This form of address, used mainly by adult individuals, conveys a combination of both respect and affection. Also, the characterization of *usted* as an intrinsically formal and distant form of address indicated by Fontanella de Weinberg contrasts with the value of solidarity that participants from the working class as well as most middle-aged and older individuals of all social classes gave to this form of address. In fact, *usted* was reported and used by this section of the sample population to address most family members and friends in all kinds of situations. In addition, the current investigation found that the address with *tú* was practically only receptive for this group of participants (working class and most middle-aged and older individuals). Therefore, in this segment of the population *usted* can indicate both: solidarity, familiarity, intimacy, and/or closeness on one side, and formality, politeness, power, and/or social distance on the other.

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<sup>9</sup> Fontanella de Weinberg's (1999) classification of the Spanish pronominal system can be found in section 2.2.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1. Main Claims of the Current Study and Final Thoughts

This ethnographic study has examined forms of address *tú* and *usted* in the context of Bogotá through a comprehensive methodology that included the collection of data from multiple and complementary sources as well as the participation of individuals from different ages and socioeconomic status. These methodological aspects, which are missing in previous studies about the address of Bogotá, allowed for a complete description not only of the use of these forms in actual conversation, but also of the ideology behind such use.

The current study has found that forms of address *tú* and *usted* have no fixed inherent meanings in Bogotá. The indexicality of these forms allows them to have a multiplicity of socially situated meanings that depend on the contextual factors of the linguistic exchange and on the social identity of interlocutors. From this perspective, the common description of *tú* as informal and close and of *usted* as formal and distant offers an incomplete picture of the way in which individuals in Bogotá conceptualize and use these forms of address.

Also, in contrast with the rather simplistic characterization given to forms of address by textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language, in Bogotá a variety of social and linguistic and/or situational factors influence the use of *tú* and *usted* in conversation. While the present investigation does not suggest a specific rank of importance of the different influential factors, it highlights their interplay and the centrality of the aspect of speaker intentionality.

People's language choices are influenced by the way in which they identify themselves linguistically, socially and culturally (Heller, 1982). The current study showed that there are

distinctive preferences in address among the social groups as well as variation across individuals within each group. There is also variation within the individual, which is linked to the fact that people belong to different social groups simultaneously, and to the fact that individuals must respond to the discursive requirements of specific situations. Consequently, many people in Bogotá navigate their social world through both the traditional *usted* of their parents and the *tú* of modern society.

The current investigation also posits that in the context of Bogotá using either *tú* or *usted* in conversation can have meaningful implications for the development of dialogue. It is for this reason that individuals in this city use these forms in strategic ways in socially-mediated contexts. In the same way, people's use of address forms in conversation affects and indexes the status of their relationships.

In addition to having a referential function, *tú* and *usted* highlight connections to social categories. In fact, forms of address inform us not only about people's social identity (e.g. gender, age, social class), but also about important situational factors of the linguistic exchange such as speaker's mood and intentionality. In this way, rather than considering their address fixed and predetermined, individuals in Bogotá use *tú* and *usted* in ways that meet the circumstances of the communicative event. It is for this reason that they adapt their address in conversation, converging or diverging with others as well as enhancing or diminishing their communicative efficacy. The fact that individuals in Bogotá negotiate or adapt to the address of their interlocutors indicates that the citizen of Bogotá does not conceptualize the address as a fixed system, but as something to which they have agency, can manipulate and use in ways that are indicative of their own linguistic and social identity as well as of their intentionality.

Agha (1993) characterized speech as an instrument of social action, and the use of address forms by the participants of this study attest to such a claim. Their intentional use of address forms represented a way in which these individuals brought their identities to the fore, sometimes in subversive or resistant ways, such as the case of young individuals who resisted expressing deference to others through what some of them considered a distant and formal *usted*.

The address system of Bogotá is indexical of the linguistic and ethnic diversity of its population. A visitor to Bogotá may hear *tú*, *vos*, *usted* and *sumercé* in the conversations with the inhabitants of this city. In fact, as exposed in the current investigation, individuals in Bogotá may use different forms of address with their interlocutor even in the same conversation or use these forms in non-prototypical ways. However, regardless of the variety of forms of address that individuals have at their disposition in Bogotá, the speech of this city has been traditionally known in the Spanish world for the common use of *usted* by its citizens. Findings of the current study suggest that preferences in address in the city of Bogotá seem to be changing given the much more positive conceptualization that participants in this study had of the address with *tú* in comparison with the address with *usted*. In addition, the current ongoing diffusion of the address with *tú* in the working class as well as a change in how young individuals relate to others in different contexts, including at work, indicate that the address with *tú* is taking over spaces in which the form *usted* was more common a few years ago. Nevertheless, it is important to state that *usted* still occupies an important space in the speech of this city and that using *tú* in certain contexts can still result in misunderstanding and/or power inequalities.

The address of Bogotá is a system of its own. The variety of forms available to the speaker, the multiplicity of social meanings that these forms convey, and the many social and contextual factors that influence their meaning and use make it contrast with the address of other

Spanish dialects, but especially with the address presented in the Spanish as a foreign language textbook.

## **6.2. Pedagogical Implications**

The current study has provided evidence of an address system that is composed of multiple forms and in which both *tú* and *usted* have prominent positions. Even though the use of *tú* seems to be increasing in the address inventory of Bogotá, the current study also shows that *usted* still occupies an important role in the address of this city; and based on participants' reports, the position of the form *usted* seems to be even more prominent in other areas of Colombia. In addition, Lipski (1994) and Fernández (2003) report the existence of a similar use of *usted* in the speech of other Latin American nations that include Costa Rica, Honduras and some areas of Venezuela. In contrast with the use of *usted* found in the current study as well as in those reported by the previously mentioned authors, López Lopez, Martínez Franco, and Yazan (2019) found that in the Spanish as a foreign language classroom *tú* dominates both the oral and written discourse, while *usted* is less common and *vos* is practically non-existent. The preponderance of *tú* in the Spanish as a foreign language classroom, according to López López et al., seems to be indexical, among other aspects, of a desire of instructors to conform to the language portrayed in textbooks, which usually showcase forms which have the most prestige. However, the current study aligns with López López et al. in highlighting the necessity to increase linguistic diversity in the classroom because language instruction which is based solely on the textbook, gives learners the impression that the language they are learning is homogenous and has no ethnic or regional diversity. In short, the current investigation advocates for the diffusion of a Spanish that is more inclusive and that specifically includes other forms of address

in addition to *tú*. In fact, the inclusion of *usted* in the Spanish as a foreign language classroom discourse can allow for more accommodation to real communicative needs.

Also, most textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language do not include much information about the social meanings and uses of address forms; and their information, from the perspective of the current investigation, offers an overgeneralized description of *tú* and *usted*, in which the former is informal and close while the latter is distant and formal. Such perspective assumes that the only influential factors in the choice of address form are age, formality of the situation, and degree of closeness of interlocutors. While this description is still accurate for the Spanish language in general, it ignores other important influential factors observed in some dialects of Spanish, including the one spoken in Colombia. In addition, the way textbooks portray *tú* and *usted* may encourage the use of an asymmetrical address in relationships marked by a difference in hierarchy. In such situations, individuals with more power use *tú* with their lower-ranked interlocutor but expect to receive *usted* in return. This way of relating to one another was least preferred by participants of the current investigation given the social distance it creates and its possible hindrance to clarity of communication. In contrast, the current investigation showed how individuals in Bogotá prefer to align in addressing others through either *tú* or *usted*.

From the perspective of the current investigation, then, the oversimplified presentation and/or discussion of address forms by textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language ignores linguistic variation as well as important pragmatic uses of these forms. In the current investigation, we saw how individuals in Bogotá sometimes use address forms in non-prototypical ways, which resulted in the violation of important rules of cooperation (see Grice's 1975 Cooperative Principle). However, these non-prototypical uses of address forms are

pragmalinguistic resources that speakers use to convey their intentionality, save their face in public, or mitigate the force of a statement or directive.

Given the complex conceptualization and use of address forms by participants in this study, the current investigation encourages textbook editors and instructors of Spanish as a foreign language to provide learners with a more comprehensive instruction in regard to how individuals relate to one another in different parts of the Spanish-speaking world. The inclusion and/or instruction of a more comprehensive approach to address forms is beneficial because it allows the learner to interact with Spanish speakers from different dialects in a way that is not only grammatically correct but also in alignment with the cultural practices and values of these individuals. Instructors can then integrate the use of *tú* and *usted* in their lessons by guiding their students in the use of language in context and in the development of important communicative skills related to different pragmatic functions or strategies which can include:

- expressing affection
- comforting others
- complimenting
- obtaining closeness in a conversation
- making requests
- asking for favors
- reprimanding
- complaining
- commanding
- conveying deference
- setting distance with one's interlocutor

Thus, using *tú* or *usted* in the previous contexts helps develop pragmatic awareness and pragmatic competence.

### **6.3. Limitations of the Current Study and Future Research**

The current study encountered a series of limitations which will be discussed in this section. First of all, while the sample population was evenly distributed regarding the age and gender factors, the representation of the different social classes was not even. Specifically, there were many more participants from the working and lower-middle class than from the upper-middle class. Nevertheless, this methodological setback contrasts with previous investigations in which members of the working class were underrepresented or even ignored. Future investigations can take this limitation into consideration and consider including members from the actual upper class.

Also, although the home context offers multiple possibilities for interaction from different perspectives in which agreement, disagreement and even contestation is conveyed through the use of address forms, most interactions in this context are framed in a rather informal manner. In addition, even though there are some clear differences in hierarchy among some family members (e.g. parents and children), interactions in the home context are characterized by the closeness that individuals have with one another. It is for this reason that future investigations should focus on more formal contexts. Their findings could validate or contrast with one of the central hypotheses of the current investigation which is the increasing spread of the use of *tú* in Bogotá which, according to some participants' reports, is also happening in the work setting in addition to the family context.

Future investigations could also seek to establish whether the extended use of *tú* is also taking place in the other parts of the central highlands of Colombia, which have generally

preferred the address with *usted* (Lipski, 1994). Furthermore, findings of the current investigation indicate that individuals who did not grow up in Bogotá have felt the need to adopt the address with *tú*, at least in some social contexts in which they interact with individuals from this city. Future investigations could focus on the address used by members of these communities when they interact with one another and in this way determine the extent of influence of the address of Bogotá in how these individuals interact with members of their own regional and/or dialectal background. Another situation of dialect contact that could be researched by future studies is the degree of adaptation to the address of Bogotá by the thousands of Venezuelans that are now residing in this city as well as their influence in the speech of their new home.

Uber (1985) indicated that the form of address *sumercé* was dying out in Bogotá. However, the current investigation found that *sumercé* is still active in the address of an adult minority. In fact, the use of *sumercé* was observed in individuals as young as 21 years of age in the current study. Future investigations can examine the presence and status of this address in the speech of Bogotá. One way to determine its active status is to examine the address of the current teenage population in a few years to find out if they have incorporated this address form into their spoken repertory or if they have definitely rejected it.

Historically, forms of address are characterized by their shifting nature. Changes in the way individuals conceptualize and/or use forms of address are indexical of significant changes in the way these individuals relate to one another, as well as are indexical of prominent changes in a community's social perspectives. Like the current investigation, future investigations on address forms could report not only on the changes individuals have chosen for their own address system, but also on the social and linguistic forces behind those changes.

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## APPENDIX A - INTERVIEW (ADULTS AND MINORS)

### Personal information

Name of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

gender: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Educational level: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of residence (neighborhood): \_\_\_\_\_

Length of residence in Bogotá: \_\_\_\_\_

Other places where you have lived and length of residence: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Place of origin of your parents: \_\_\_\_\_

### Rules for usage of *tú* y *usted*

1. What rules do you follow to use *tú* and *usted*? In other words, with whom and in which contexts do you use the *tú* or *usted*?

### Social factors

2. Does the way you address others vary depending on their age? Do you address children, people of your age and much more older adults in the same way?
3. Does the way you address others vary depending on their gender? Do you address men and women in the same way?

4. Does the way you address others vary depending on the degree of familiarity you have with them? ¿Do you address family members, friends, acquaintances, and strangers in the same way?
5. Does the way you address others vary depending on their social status? Do you address people from the low, middle and upper class in the same way?
6. Does the way you address others vary depending on their level of hierarchy? Do you address individuals with more hierarchy in the same way as those with less hierarchy?

**Participants' conceptualization of *tú* and *usted***

7. What does the form *tú* mean to you? What concepts and feelings do you associate with the form *tú*?
8. What does the form *usted* mean to you? What concepts and feelings do you associate with the form *usted*?

**Preferences and perceptions that participants have of *tú* and *usted***

9. Do you have any preference in the way that you address family members, friends, coworkers, classmates and strangers? Do you prefer to address them with *tú* or *usted*? Explain your answers.
10. How do you prefer to be addressed by family members, friends, coworkers, classmates and strangers? Explain your answers.
11. What opinion do you have of the address with *tú* and of the address with *usted*?
12. How do you feel when a person you just met addresses you with *tú*? And if that person addresses you with *usted*?
13. How do you feel if a good friend of yours who usually addresses you with *tú* suddenly addresses you with *usted*?

14. How do you feel if a good friend of yours who usually addresses you with *usted* suddenly starts to address you with *tú*?

15. What opinion do you have of those people that tend to address everyone with *usted*?

16. What opinion do you have of those people who generally address others with *tú*?

### **Participants' motivation and intentionality for using *tú* and *usted***

17. To what extent are you conscious of the choice to address others with *tú* or *usted*?

18. Are there any situations in which you purposefully address others with *usted*? Explain your answer.

19. Are there any situations in which you purposefully address others with *tú*? Explain your answer.

### **Affect**

20. Does your mood affect the way you address others? Example: if you are in a bad mood, if you are mad at the person you are speaking with, or if you are very happy with this person.

### **Topic of discussion**

21. In your opinion, are there certain topics that are more fit for the address with *tú* or *usted*?

### **Effects of the use of *tú* and *usted***

22. Tell me about a situation in which someone addressed you with *tú*, and consequently made you feel uncomfortable. Why didn't you like this address with *tú*?

\* If participant cannot think of a specific situation ask: Imagine a situation in which somebody addresses you with *tú*, and therefore makes you feel uncomfortable.

23. Tell me about a situation in which someone addressed you with *usted*, and consequently made you feel uncomfortable. Why didn't you like this address with *usted*?

\* If the participant cannot think of a specific situation, ask: Imagine a situation in which someone addresses you with *usted*, and therefore makes you feel uncomfortable.

### **Negotiation of the address form in conversation**

24. What do you do in those situations in which you are speaking with someone who uses a different form of address (e.g. the person uses the *tú* form, but you don't)? Do you adapt to that person's address, keep using your own address, or do you attempt to negotiate the form of address to be used? Explain your answer.

25. Do you think that the way two people address each other can always be negotiated or the address between two people sometimes is already pre-established?

### **Uncertainty regarding the form of address to be used**

26. Are there situations in which you do not feel certain about how to address the person you are speaking with? What do you do in such situations? What form do you use to address this person?

### APPENDIX B - QUESTIONNAIRE (ADULTS)

Indicate the form (*tú, usted*, or other) you usually use to address the following individuals. If you use a different form (e.g. *sumercé, vos*), please specify it. Also, indicate if the form you use to address an individual depends on the situation. Finally, explain your answers.

#### Form of address used with members of your immediate family

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Mother					
Father					
Brother					
Sister					
Son					
Daughter					
To reprimand your child					
Spouse					
Pet					

**Form of address used with members of the extended family**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Uncle					
Aunt					
Male cousin					
Female cousin					
Niece/nephew					
Grandfather					
Grandmother					
Grandchild					

**Form of address used with the in-laws**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Father in-law					
Mother in-law					
Brother in-law					
Sister in-law					

**Form of address used with participant's close social network**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Boyfriend/gilrfriend					
Boyfriend/girlfriend (when fighting)					
Best male friend					
Best female friend					
Other friends					

**Form of address used at work or at school**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Boss					
Younger employee					
Older employee					
Male co-worker of your age					
Female co-worker of your age					
Older co-worker					
Younger co-worker					
Male classmate					
Female classmate					
Professor / teacher					

**Form of address used with unknown individuals**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another Form	Depends on situation	Reason
Male stranger on the street					
Female stranger on the street					
Younger stranger on the street					
Homeless person					

**Form of address used according to occupation of interlocutor**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Police officer					
Security guard					
Maid					
Medical doctor					
Taxi driver					
Young waiter/waitress					
Older waiter/waitress					
Priest / pastor					
God					

### APPENDIX C – QUESTIONNAIRE (MINORS)

Indicate the form (*tú, usted*, or other) you usually use to address the following individuals. If you use a different form (e.g. *sumercé, vos*), please specify it. Also, indicate if the form you use to address an individual depends on the situation. Finally, explain your answers.

#### **Form of address used with members of your immediate family**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Mother					
Father					
Brother					
Sister					
Son					
Daughter					
To reprimand your child					
Spouse					
Pet					

**Form of address used with members of the extended family**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Uncle					
Aunt					
Male cousin					
Female cousin					
Niece/nephew					
Grandfather					
Grandmother					

**Form of address used with participant's close social network**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Best male friend					
Best female friend					
Other friends					

**Form of address used at school**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
School Principal					
Male teacher					

Female Teacher					
School bus driver					
School Janitor					
Cafeteria staff					
Male classmate					
Female classmate					

**Form of address used with unknown individuals**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Razón
Male stranger on the street					
Female stranger on the street					
Younger stranger on the street					
Homeless person					

**Form of address used according to occupation of interlocutor**

Person(s)	Tú	Usted	Another form	Depends on situation	Reason
Police officer					
Security guard					
Maid					
Medical doctor					

Taxi driver					
Young waiter/waitress					
Older waiter/waitress					
Priest / pastor					
God					

## APPENDIX D – SPANISH VERSION OF INTERVIEW (ADULTS)

### Información personal

Nombre y apellidos del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Edad: \_\_\_\_\_

Sexo: \_\_\_\_\_

Ocupación: \_\_\_\_\_

Nivel de estudios: \_\_\_\_\_

Lugar de residencia (barrio): \_\_\_\_\_

Cantidad de tiempo que ha vivido en Bogotá: \_\_\_\_\_

Otros lugares aparte de Bogotá donde ha vivido y cantidad de tiempo: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Lugar de origen de sus padres: \_\_\_\_\_

### Las reglas de uso de *tú* y *usted*

1. ¿Qué reglas sigue usted para usar *tú* o *usted*? En otras palabras, ¿con quiénes y en qué contextos *tutea* o usa la forma *usted*?

### Aspectos sociales

2. ¿Varía el trato que usted da a las personas según su edad? ¿Trata usted de la misma manera a niños, personas de su misma edad o personas mucho mayores?
3. ¿Varía el trato que usted da a las personas según su género? ¿Trata usted de la misma manera a hombres y mujeres?

4. ¿Varía el trato que usted da a las personas según el grado de familiaridad o confianza que usted tenga con ellas? ¿Trata usted de la misma manera a familiares, amigos, conocidos y extraños?
5. ¿Varía el trato que usted le da a las personas según su posición social? ¿Trata usted de la misma manera a personas de clase alta, media o baja?
6. ¿Varía el trato que usted da a las personas según su jerarquía o nivel de poder o influencia sobre usted? ¿Trata usted de la misma manera a personas con más poder (superiores) que a personas con menos poder (subalternas)?

**La conceptualización que tienen los participantes de las formas *tú* y *usted***

7. ¿Qué significado tiene para usted el *tuteo*? ¿Con qué conceptos y/o sentimientos asocia usted esta forma de tratar a las personas?
8. ¿Qué significado tiene para usted la forma *usted*? ¿Con qué conceptos y/o sentimientos asocia usted esta forma de tratar a las personas?

**Preferencias y percepciones que tienen los participantes en cuanto al trato con *tú* o *usted***

9. ¿Tiene usted alguna preferencia en cuanto a cómo dirigirse en general a familia, amigos, compañeros de estudio o trabajo y a extraños? ¿Prefiere *tutearlos* o tratarlos con la forma *usted*? Explique sus respuestas.
10. ¿Cómo prefiere usted que lo trate su familia, sus amigos, compañeros de estudio/trabajo o las personas extrañas? Explique sus respuestas.
11. ¿Qué opinión en particular tiene usted acerca del *tuteo* y del trato con *usted*?
12. ¿Cómo se siente cuando una persona que acaba de conocer lo/la *tutea*? ¿Y si lo/la trata de *usted*?

13. ¿Cómo se siente si un buen amigo de mucho tiempo que usualmente lo ha *tuteado* de repente lo trata de *usted*?
14. ¿Cómo se siente si un amigo con el que se han tratado de *usted* empieza repentinamente a tutearlo?
15. ¿Qué opina de las personas que tienden a tratar a todas las personas de *usted*?
16. ¿Qué opinión tiene de las personas que por lo general *tutean*?

#### **Motivación e intencionalidad de los participantes para usar *tú* o *usted***

17. ¿En qué medida es usted consciente de la elección de tratar de *tú* o *usted* a otras personas?
18. ¿Hay situaciones en las que usted se dirige a otra persona por medio de la forma *usted* intencionalmente? Explique su respuesta.
19. ¿Hay situaciones en las que usted se dirige a otra persona por medio de la forma *tú* intencionalmente? Explique su respuesta.

#### **Afectividad**

20. ¿Influencia su estado de ánimo la forma como usted trata a las personas? Ejemplo: si se encuentra de mal genio, si está peleando con la persona que está hablando o por el contrario si está muy contento (a) con esa persona.

#### **Temas de discusión**

21. En su opinión, ¿hay temas de conversación que se prestan más para el uso de *tú* o de *usted*? Explique sus respuestas.

#### **Efectos del uso de *tú* and *usted***

22. Cuénteme de una situación en la que el *tuteo* de otra persona hacia usted no lo hizo sentir cómodo. ¿Por qué no le pareció agradable ese trato con *tú*?

\* Si el participante no puede pensar en una situación específica preguntar: Imagínese una situación en la que alguien lo tutea y, por consiguiente, lo hace sentir incómodo.

23. Cuénteme de una situación en la que el trato con la forma *usted* no lo hizo sentir cómodo.

¿Por qué no le pareció agradable ese trato con *usted*?

\* Si el participante no puede pensar en una situación específica preguntar: Imagínese una situación en la que alguien lo trata de *usted* y, por consiguiente, lo hace sentir incómodo.

### **Negociación de la forma de tratamiento en la conversación**

24. En situaciones en las que usted habla con alguien que utiliza una forma de tratamiento diferente a la suya (e.g. la persona *tutea* pero usted no), ¿qué hace usted? ¿se adapta usted a la forma que usa la otra persona, sigue usted usando su propia forma sin importar la diferencia o trata de negociar el trato? Explique su respuesta.

25. ¿Cree usted que siempre se pueda negociar la forma en que se van a tratar dos personas o el trato entre dos personas a veces ya está pre-establecido?

### **Duda en cuanto a la forma de tratamiento a usar**

26. ¿Hay situaciones en las que usted a veces no se encuentra muy seguro(a) de la forma en que debe dirigirse a la persona con quien habla? ¿Qué hace en esas situaciones? ¿Con qué forma se dirige usted a la otra persona?

**APPENDIX E – SPANISH VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (ADULTS)**

Indique la forma que usted generalmente usa (*tú* o *usted*) cuando habla con las siguientes personas.

En el caso que utilice otra forma (*e.g. sumercé* o *vos*) indíquelo. También indique si la respuesta varía según la persona o situación. Dé una breve explicación de su respuesta.

**Forma utilizada con los miembros de su núcleo familiar**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Papá					
Mamá					
Hermanos					
Hermanas					
Hijo					
Hija					
Hijo (a) cuando usted lo/la regaña					
Esposo (a)					
Mascota					

**Forma utilizada con otros miembros de la familia**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Tío					
Tía					
Primo					
Prima					
Sobrino (a)					
Abuelo					
Abuela					
Nieto (a)					

**Forma utilizada con miembros de la familia política**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía Según la situación	Razón
Suegro					
Suegra					
Cuñado					
Cuñada					

**Forma utilizada con miembros del círculo social cercano**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Novio (a)					
Novio(a) cuando están de pelea					
Mejor amigo					
Mejor amiga					
Otros amigos (as)					

**Forma utilizada en el trabajo o el estudio**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Jefe					
Empleado de menor edad					
Empleado de mayor edad					
Compañero de trabajo de su edad					
Compañera de trabajo de su edad					
Compañero(a) de trabajo mayor que usted					
Compañero(a) de trabajo menor que usted					
Compañero de estudios					
Compañera de estudios					
Profesor(a)					

### Forma utilizada con personas no conocidas

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Hombre extraño en la calle					
Mujer extraña en la calle					
Persona extraña en la calle menor que usted					
Un indigente					

### Forma utilizada según la profesión u ocupación

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Policía					
Guardia de seguridad					
Empleada del servicio doméstico					
Doctor (médico)					
Taxista					
Mesero (a) joven					
Mesero (a) adulto					
Sacerdote / pastor					
Dios					

## APPENDIX F – SPANISH VERSION OF INTERVIEW (MINORS)

### Información personal

Nombre y apellidos del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Edad: \_\_\_\_\_

Sexo: \_\_\_\_\_

Institución en la que estudia: \_\_\_\_\_

Grado escolar: \_\_\_\_\_

Lugar de residencia (barrio): \_\_\_\_\_

Cantidad de tiempo que ha vivido en Bogotá: \_\_\_\_\_

Otros lugares aparte de Bogotá donde ha vivido y cantidad de tiempo: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Lugar de origen de sus padres: \_\_\_\_\_

### Las reglas de uso de *tú* y *usted*

1. ¿Qué reglas sigues para usar *tú* o *usted*? En otras palabras, ¿con quiénes y en qué contextos *tuteas* o usas la forma *usted*?

### Aspectos sociales

2. ¿Varía la forma en que te diriges a otras personas según su edad? ¿Tratas de la misma manera a niños, personas de tu misma edad o personas mucho mayores?
3. ¿Varía la forma en que te diriges a otras personas según su género? ¿Tratas de la misma manera a hombres y mujeres?

4. ¿Varia la forma en que te diriges a las personas según el grado de familiaridad o confianza que tienes con ellas? ¿Tratas de la misma manera a familiares, amigos, conocidos y extraños?
5. ¿Varía la forma en que te diriges a otras personas según su posición social? ¿Tratas de la misma manera a personas de clase alta, media o baja?
6. ¿Varía la forma en que te diriges a las personas según su grado de jerarquía o nivel de influencia o poder sobre ti? ¿Tratas de la misma manera a personas con más grado de jerarquía (por ejemplo, profesores) que a personas con menos jerarquía (ejemplo, la empleada del servicio)?

#### **La conceptualización que tienen los participantes de las formas *tú* y *usted***

7. ¿Qué significado tiene para ti el *tuteo*? ¿Con qué conceptos y/o sentimientos asocias esta forma de tratar a las personas?
8. ¿Qué significado tiene para ti la forma *usted*? ¿Con qué conceptos y/o sentimientos asocia usted esta forma de tratar a las personas?

#### **Preferencias y percepciones que tienen los participantes en cuanto al trato con *tú* o *usted***

9. ¿Tienes alguna preferencia en cuanto a cómo dirigirte en general a tu familia, amigos, compañeros de estudio y a extraños? ¿Prefieres *tutearlos* o tratarlos de *usted*? Explica tus respuestas.
10. ¿Cómo prefieres que te trate tu familia, tus amigos, compañeros de estudio y personas extrañas? Explica tus respuestas.
11. ¿Qué opinión tienes acerca del *tuteo* y del trato con *usted*?
12. ¿Cómo te sientes si una persona que acabas de conocer te *tutea*? ¿Y si te trata de *usted*?
13. ¿Cómo te sientes si un amigo tuyo que usualmente te *tutea* de repente te trata de *usted*?

14. ¿Cómo te sientes si un amigo con el que te tratas de *usted* empieza repentinamente a tutearte?
15. ¿Qué opinas de las personas que tienden a tratar a todas las personas de *usted*?
16. ¿Qué opinión tienes de las personas que por lo general *tutean*?

### **Motivaciones e intencionalidad de los participantes para usar *tú* o *usted***

17. ¿En qué medida eres consciente de la elección de tratar de *tú* o *usted* a otras personas?
18. ¿Hay situaciones en las que te diriges a otra persona por medio de la forma *usted* intencionalmente? Explica tu respuesta.
19. ¿Hay situaciones en las que tuteas a la otra persona de manera intencional? Explica tu respuesta.

### **Afectividad**

20. ¿Influencia tu estado de ánimo la forma como te diriges a las personas? Ejemplo: si estás de mal genio, si estás peleando con la persona que estás hablando o por el contrario si estás muy contento (a) con esa persona.

### **Temas de discusión**

21. En tu opinión, ¿hay temas de conversación que se prestan más para el *tuteo* que para el uso de *usted*? Explica tus respuestas.

### **Efectos del uso de *tú* and *usted***

22. Cuéntame de una situación en la que alguien te *tuteó* y, por consiguiente, te hizo sentir incómodo(a) o no te gustó. ¿Por qué no te gustó que esa persona te haya tuteado?

\* Si el participante no puede pensar en una situación específica preguntar: Imagínate una situación en la que alguien te tutea y por consiguiente te hace sentir incómodo (a).

23. Cuéntame de una situación en la que alguien te trató de *usted* y, por consiguiente, te hizo sentir incómodo. ¿Por qué no te gustó ese trato con *usted*?

\* Si el participante no puede pensar en una situación específica preguntar: Imagínate una situación en la que alguien te trata de *usted* y por consiguiente te hace sentir mal o incómodo.

### **Negociación de la forma de tratamiento en la conversación**

24. En situaciones en las que hablas con alguien que utiliza una forma de tratamiento diferente a la tuya (e.g. la persona *tutea* pero tú no). ¿Qué haces? ¿Te adaptas a la forma que usa la otra persona, sigues usando tu propia forma sin importar la diferencia en el trato o tratas de negociar el trato? Explica tu respuesta.

25. ¿En qué medida pueden dos personas negociar la forma en que se van a tratar? ¿Crees tú que siempre se puede negociar la forma en que se van a tratar dos personas o el trato entre dos personas a veces ya está pre-establecido?

### **Duda en cuanto la forma de tratamiento a usar**

26. ¿Hay situaciones en las que a veces no te sientes muy seguro(a) de la forma en que debes dirigirte a la persona con que hablas? ¿Qué haces en esas situaciones? ¿Con qué forma te diriges a la otra persona?

**APPENDIX G – SPANISH VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (MINORS)**

Indica la forma que generalmente usas (*tú* o *usted*) cuando hablas con las siguientes personas. En el caso que utilices otra forma (*e.g. sumercê*) indícalo. También indica si la respuesta varía según la persona o situación. Da una breve explicación acerca de tu respuesta.

**Forma utilizada con los miembros de su núcleo familiar**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Papá					
Mamá					
Hermanos					
Hermanas					
Mascota					

**Forma utilizada con otros miembros de la familia**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Tío					
Tía					
Primo					
Prima					
Sobrino (a)					
Abuelo					
Abuela					

### Forma utilizada con miembros del círculo social

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Mejor amigo					
Mejor amiga					
Otros amigos (as)					

### Forma utilizada en el colegio

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Rector(a) del colegio					
Profesor					
Profesora					
Conductor de la ruta					
Señora que hace la limpieza					
Personal de la cafetería					
Compañero de clase					
Compañera de clase					

**Forma utilizada con personas no conocidas**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Hombre extraño en la calle					
Mujer extraña en la calle					
Persona extraña en la calle (niño/a)					
Un indigente					

**Forma utilizada según la profesión u ocupación**

Persona(s)	Tú	Usted	Otra forma	Varía según la situación	Razón
Policía					
Guardia de seguridad					
Empleada del servicio					
Doctor (médico)					
Taxista					
Mesero (a) joven					
Mesero (a) adulto					
Sacerdote / pastor					
Dios					

## APPENDIX H – DETAILS ABOUT VIDEO SITUATION

Event/Situation		
Date and Time		
Location (description)		
Persons involved in the situation (gender, age, occupation, social class)		
Persons and forms of address used		
Notes:		
Social aspects	Age	
	Gender	
	Confianza	
	Social Class	
	Hierarchy	
Intentionality (speech act)		
Affect		
Topic of discussion		
Effect of use of form of address		
Negotiation/Adaptation		

## APPENDIX I – IRB APPROVAL



January 7, 2019

Giovani Lopez  
Department of Modern Languages & Classics  
College of Arts & Sciences  
The University of Alabama  
Box 870246

Re: IRB # 17-OR-117-R2 “The Social Indexicality of Forms of Address Tu and Usted among Family Members in Bogota, Colombia”

Dear Mr. Lopez:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application. Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

*(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.*

Your application will expire on January 6, 2020. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Study Closure Form.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Carpantato T. Myles, MSM, CIM, CIP  
Director & Research Compliance Officer  
Office for Research Compliance

358 Rose Administration Building | Box 870127 | Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127  
205-348-8461 | Fax 205-348-7189 | Toll Free 1-877-820-3066