

TALKING TO STRANGERS – A SOCIOLINGUISTIC EXPERIMENT:
VARIATION IN INITIAL DYADIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN
SPANISH-SPEAKERS IN EARLY 21ST CENTURY
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

by

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To honor my extraordinary parents, Anne Gayle and Clarence E. Frizzell

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ABSTRACT

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What are the chances of a dyad of Spanish-speaking strangers using informal address in casual, initial interactions in Buenos Aires, Argentina, today? To discover the pattern(s) of contemporary address, the Principal Investigator (PI) conducted a sociolinguistic experiment focusing on strangers' initial interactions to minimize the influence of Brown and Gilman's (1960) dimensions of power and solidarity on address variation. To gather natural and reported speech, the PI used mixed methodologies: participant observation, TV news, survey questionnaires, and interviews. She enhanced the authenticity of reported speech via the use of her new tool—a photo interlocutor prompter sheet.

The research consisted of a triangulated quantitative exploration of extra-linguistic variables with qualitative insights gained via one-on-one interviews. Quantitative findings revealed: (i) older speakers use informal to address younger interlocutors, (ii) symmetrical dyads of Junior generation (18-29) and Middle generation (30-49) speakers use informal address—regardless of gender, and (i) even symmetrical dyads of Senior generation (50+)

females use informal extensively. While many of the interviewed Argentines equated the increase in informal address with the loss of good manners, others viewed “Argentine Light”, a term used to label the use of informal with strangers in casual interactions, as a less prejudicial way of speaking. Based on feedback, the PI attributes strangers’ spontaneous use of informal address to Brown and Gilman’s (1989) dimension of ‘affect’ i.e. likability, affinity. This synchronic sociolinguistic experiment, which benchmarks the pervasiveness of “Argentine Light” in Buenos Aires, serves as a model litmus test for future sociolinguistic fieldwork.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Setting the Stage.....	2
1.2 Focusing on Spanish-Speakers in Buenos Aires, Argentine	4
1.3 Research Scope and Questions	4
1.4 Organization of This Dissertation	5
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Preview of Useful Resources	7
2.2 Evolution and Indicators of Spanish Address in Buenos Aires	8
2.3 Chronological Overview of Theories, Methodologies, and Studies	20
2.4 Summary Comments	38
3. METHODOLOGY	40
3.1 Selecting Research Methods	41
3.2 Survey Questionnaires (SQ)	43
3.3 Interviews (IV)	52
3.4 Participant Observation (PO)	57
3.5 TV News Reports (TV)	60
3.6 Summary Comments	63

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS.....	64
4.1 Inferential Analysis and Results of SQ, PO, and TV Data	64
4.2 Descriptive Analysis and Results of SQ, PO, and TV Data	75
4.3 Assorted PO Anecdotes.....	100
4.4 Highlights of IV Feedback	102
4.5 Summary Comments	132
5. DISCUSSION	133
5.1 Using SQ Settings to Justify Triangulating Mixed Methodologies	133
5.2 Summarizing and Triangulating Informal Quantitative Data	135
5.3 Applying Quantitative/Qualitative Results to Research Questions	144
5.4 Summary Comments	148
6. CONCLUSIONS	149
6.1 The Present Presence of Informal Address	149
6.2 Benefits of Research.....	152
6.3 Future Areas of Research	153
APPENDIX	
A. SQ PHOTO INTERLOCUTOR PROMPTER SHEET.....	155
B. SQ AND IV FORMS IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH.....	157
C. SQ TABLES: ADDRESS BOUNDARIES, GAPS, AND OVERLAPS	164
D. SQ ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS	170
E. SQ SETTINGS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS.....	177
F. PO ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS.....	184
G. TV ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS.....	191
H. SURVEY COMMENTS AND INTERVIEW DATA	198
REFERENCES.....	234
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	238

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
3.1 Matrix of Thirty-Six Generational/Gender Dyads	41
3.2 Mixed Methodologies Used.....	42
4.1 Nine Generational Dyads	75
4.2 Four Gender Dyads.....	75
4.3 Conceptual Illustration of Descriptive SPSS Cross-tabulations Output	76
5.1 Junior speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address	134
5.2 Middle speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address	134
5.3 Senior speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address.....	134
5.4 Total speakers: Distribution of thirty-six gender dyads using the same address.....	135
5.5 Symmetrical generations using informal: (a) $\geq 50\%$ and (b) $\geq 70\%$	142
5.6 Older-to-Younger generations using informal: (a) $\geq 50\%$ and (b) $\geq 70\%$	143
5.7 Younger-to-Older generations using informal: (a) $\geq 50\%$ and (b) $\geq 70\%$	144
5.8 Summary of Generational Hierarchies	145

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1 Early Evolution of Second-Person Nominative Pronouns.....	8
2.2 Past Tense Verb Morphology for Second-Person Nominative Pronouns.....	10
2.3 Population of the City of Buenos Aires by Nationality in 1887.....	12
2.4 Pronominal Paradigm in 19 th Century.....	13
2.5 Formal/Informal 2pS Pronominal Indicators: Madrid vs. Buenos Aires.....	17
2.6 Formal/Informal 2pS Pronominal Address: Madrid vs. Buenos Aires.....	17
2.7 Conjugation of 2pS-Informal Verb Endings.....	18
2.8 Verb Morphology for 2pS: Informal and Formal Address in Buenos Aires vs. Madrid.....	18
3.1 SQ Informants Categorized by Age and Gender.....	44
3.2 SQ Informants Regrouped into Generations.....	44
3.3 SQ Address: Informant Responses in Conversational Encounter.....	51
3.4 SQ Settings: Same vs. Different Informant Address in Both Encounters.....	51
3.5 Interview Informants.....	52
3.6 Female Interview Informants: Junior Generation.....	54
3.7 Female Interview Informants: Middle Generation.....	55
3.8 Female Interview Informants: Senior Generation.....	55
3.9 Male Interview Informants: Junior Generation.....	56
3.10 Male Interview Informants: Middle Generation.....	56
3.11 Male Interview Informants: Senior Generation.....	57
3.12 PO: Samples by Generation/Gender Dyads.....	60
3.13 TV: Total Cases by Generation/Gender Dyads.....	62
3.14 Mixed Methodologies: Address Samples and Informants.....	63

4.1 Inferential SAS Models Comparing Odds of Informal Address Usage	65
4.2 SQ Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects	66
4.3 SQ Address: Estimates	66
4.4 SQ Address: Interpretation of Estimates.....	66
4.5 SQ Address: Summary of Estimates.....	67
4.6 SQ Settings: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects	68
4.7 SQ Settings: Estimates	68
4.8 SQ Settings: Interpretation of Estimates	69
4.9 SQ Settings: Summary of Estimates.....	70
4.10 PO Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects	70
4.11 PO Address: Estimates	71
4.12 PO Address: Interpretation of Estimates.....	71
4.13 PO Address: Summary of Estimates.....	72
4.14 TV Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects.....	73
4.15 TV Address: Estimates.....	73
4.16 TV Address: Interpretation of Estimates	73
4.17 TV Address: Summary of Estimates	74
4.18 SQ Address: Conversational Encounter	77
4.19 SQ Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers	79
4.20 SQ Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers.....	80
4.21 SQ Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers.....	80
4.22 SQ Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads.....	81
4.23 SQ Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads.....	81
4.24 SQ Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads.....	82
4.25 SQ Settings: Same vs. Different Address in Conversational & Service Encounters	83
4.26 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Junior Speakers	85

4.27 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Middle Speakers	85
4.28 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Senior Speakers	86
4.29 SQ Settings: Same Address Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads	86
4.30 SQ Settings: Same Address Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads	87
4.31 SQ Settings: Same Address Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads	87
4.32 PO Address: Descriptive Table of Data Samples	88
4.33 PO Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers	91
4.34 PO Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers.....	91
4.35 PO Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers.....	92
4.36 PO Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads.....	92
4.37 PO Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads.....	93
4.38 PO Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads.....	93
4.39 TV Address: Descriptive Table of Data Samples.....	94
4.40 TV Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers	96
4.41 TV Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers	97
4.42 TV Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers	97
4.43 TV Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads	98
4.44 TV Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads	98
4.45 TV Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads	99
5.1 Triangulation of Inferential Use of Informal by Generation	136
5.2 Triangulation of Inferential Use of Informal by Gender	136
5.3 SQ Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings	137
5.4 PO Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings	138
5.5 TV Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings.....	139
5.6 SQ, PO, and TV Informal Address: Compiled Generational Hierarchies.....	140
5.7 Most Pervasive Generation/Gender Dyads Using Informal Address.....	141

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Choice among variant address forms has long been studied, as has the reasons for changes in these choices. The current study investigates how the situation for contemporary Argentine speakers might differ from the accepted beliefs about Spanish address forms. In Argentina, when factors of familiarity are not yet at play, what are the chances of a dyad of Spanish-speaking strangers using informal address in casual, initial interactions in Buenos Aires, Argentina, today? Responses from Buenos Aires informants ranged from prescriptive to descriptive as illustrated by the following paraphrased¹ answers. In terms of formal address:

- (i) a 56-year old male accountant explained if you don't know someone, the correct form is formal
- (ii) a 31-year old female student claimed to use formal to show respect to older people.

In contrast, in terms of informal address:

- (i) a 45-year old female teacher felt that informal was natural and did not imply a loss of respect
- (ii) a female 48-year old homemaker claimed that she used informal with everyone.

Perhaps it was the 28-year old male veterinarian who summed it up best when he explained that the topic of address was generational.

¹ The PI (Primary Investigator) used Spanish, English, and/or a combination when interviewing informants and making handwritten notes of their responses. For additional interview details, see sections 3.3, 4.4, and Appendix H.

To create the foundation for exploring these issues in this dissertation, the first chapter contains the following sections: 1.1 sets the stage by exploring the current socio-economic climate in Buenos Aires; 1.2 focuses on Spanish-speakers in the region; 1.3 lays out the scope of the research agenda and the research questions; and 1.4 gives the organization of the rest of the dissertation.

1.1 Setting the Stage

To discover the pattern(s) of contemporary address in Buenos Aires, the Principal Investigator (PI) conducted a sociolinguistic experiment using mixed methodologies to gather reported and natural speech samples of address. She intentionally focused on strangers' initial interactions to minimize the differences between interlocutors who were casually dressed, working and middle-class people who had a friendly air/aspect about them. The result was a quantitative and qualitative exploration of the effect of extra-linguistic variables, e.g. generation, gender, setting, and affect/affinity/aspect on contemporary address form usage.

One might suspect that address has evolved in large, cosmopolitan cities as a natural bi-product of modern technology and globalization. Clyne et al., however, in their study of address form changes in France, Germany, and Sweden since the 1960s, demonstrated "...how sociopolitical events and developments have impacted on the ways in which people address each other..." (2003:8). Their explanation seemed particularly appropriate for Buenos Aires which has experienced turbulent economic and political challenges since the middle of the twentieth century.² As recently as 2001-2002, Argentina suffered another economic crisis.

In January 2002, Duhalde [the president] froze bank accounts to stop capital flight. Depositors lost as much as 40 percent of their frozen assets when the link between the Argentine peso and the dollar was broken and bank accounts were 'pesified' (turned into pesos) (Edwards 2008: 58).

The effect of this turmoil on everyday life and language was best expressed by a 47-year old male software engineer:³

² This will be further elaborated upon in Chapter 2.

³ Interviewed by the PI on March 4, 2009, in Buenos Aires.

Everything political and economical in Argentina causes address to be less important. Superficial things are less important. Due to the crisis of today, superficial things will matter even less in the future. Crisis makes things fall apart...formalism has declined. Argentines use less respectful language. Formal is only for artificial situations.

While the city was enduring these problems, the generational demographics continued to evolve. A female 65-year old small business owner explained that all the people she used to address formally are now gone.⁴

This research quantitatively documents and ethnographically investigates the extent to which informal address is currently entrenched in everyday interactional usage by strangers. A 59-year old female psychiatrist⁵ explained that she used the term “Argentine Light” to label the use of informal address in casual interactions. This remark suggested the possibility that informal address had already begun the process of becoming a neutral unmarked form for daily interactions between strangers in casual situations in Buenos Aires. This study will reveal the pervasiveness of informal address by generational/gender dyads of interlocutors.

This sociolinguistic experiment, which produced a synchronic snapshot of contemporary address patterns in one of the largest Spanish-speaking urban centers in Latin America, was unique in several ways compared to previous studies of address variation. First, the geographic scope and social context were intentionally restricted to facilitate the identification of factors influencing the use of informal address. Second, a more realistic survey questionnaire process was achieved via the use of a new tool—a photo interlocutor prompter sheet—instead of simply asking informants to imagine addressing someone older, younger, and/or similar in age. Third, analysis of interaction was done from the perspective of symmetrical/asymmetrical generational dyads of interlocutors instead of the reciprocity of address. Fourth, several types of quantitative data were collected and triangulated to correlate the authenticity of reported speech with natural speech samples. Fifth, the qualitative data was used to gain insights into the quantitative results.

⁴ Interviewed by the PI on February 21, 2009, in Buenos Aires.

⁵ Interviewed by the PI on February 12, 2009, in Buenos Aires.

1.2 Focusing on Spanish-Speakers in Buenos Aires, Argentina

The PI chose to research address patterns in initial interactions between strangers in Buenos Aires for several reasons. Academically, she had studied Spanish extensively in high school and the university. Professionally, she had lived and worked in Puerto Rico for two years. Personally, she has been married to her Argentine husband for over thirty years. During yearly trips to Argentina to visit family, the PI realized that she felt very insecure about choosing the appropriate address form to use with new acquaintances; plus Argentines' use of *vos* instead *tú* only complicated the situation. The following personal anecdote illustrates the PI's second-language predicament.

One afternoon in the late 1990's, the PI and her husband were walking down a quiet city street in the working/middle class neighborhood of Villa Lugano (*Capital Federal*, Buenos Aires, Argentina) when her husband commented that up ahead he could see an acquaintance approaching them. The PI observed that the person was an informally dressed man who was approximately the same age as her husband. As she mentally prepared to participate in the upcoming conversation, she weighed which address form to use. Unable to decide, she resorted to asking her husband:

PI: "How should I talk to him? Do I use informal or formal?"
PI's husband: "Use whatever comes naturally."
PI: "Well, what are you going to use with him?"
PI's husband: "I'll use whatever comes naturally at that moment."

While her husband's responses did not help the PI to prepare for the upcoming conversation, the exchange was a preview of what the PI would later learn from her observations of casual daily interactions, i.e. the majority of the people in Buenos Aires appear to use address forms spontaneously. Most interviewees indicated that they did not listen for or try to anticipate how the other interlocutor would address them. Therefore, this work aims at teasing out what factors influenced this spontaneous choice.

1.3 Research Scope and Questions

Aware of numerous earlier studies of variation, many of which attributed address form selection to Brown and Gilman's dimensions of power and solidarity (1960), the PI intentionally restricted the scope of her experiment to initial casual interactions between strangers. Her goal

was to constrain the traditional dimensions of power and solidarity in order to reveal other influential variables. The list below characterizes the scope of this sociolinguistic experiment:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Linguistic variable | Second-person singular (2pS) address |
| 2. Location/Language variation | Buenos Aires, Argentina |
| 3. Socio-Economic dyads | Working/Middle class adults |
| 4. Timeframe | Synchronic (2006-2009) |
| 5. Interactant age/gender | 18-50+/females and males |
| 6. Interaction type | Casual, initial, anonymous, and public |
| 7. Settings | Conversational and service encounters |
| 8. Mixed data | Quantitative (reported and natural)
and qualitative (ethnographic) |

Prior to starting her fieldwork, the PI defined a series of research questions. The first two will be answered empirically based on triangulated quantitative data:

1. What is the hierarchy of informal address users?
2. Who are the most pervasive users of informal address?

The next two will be answered based on qualitative data gathered via interviews:

3. What are the criteria for informal address?
4. What affected address in the past twenty-five plus years, e.g. globalization?

The last two relate the theoretical framework and the research findings:

5. How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1960 prediction of increased informal address?
6. How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1989 dimension of 'affect'?

1.4 Organization of This Dissertation

The remaining chapters and appendices are organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews theoretical frameworks, methodologies, and previous empirical studies that have influenced this research. Chapter 3 describes the mixed methodologies used to gather quantitative and qualitative data. Chapter 4 presents the quantitative results of inferential and descriptive

analyses and qualitative highlights from participant observation and interviews. Chapter 5 triangulates the quantitative data and applies the quantitative/qualitative results to the research questions. Chapter 6 describes the benefits of this research and identifies future areas for investigation.

Appendix A contains the photo interlocutor prompter sheet which was the new tool used with the survey questionnaire. Appendix B has Spanish then English versions of the survey questionnaire and the interview questions. Appendix C contains four tables that demonstrate the consequences of using a photo interlocutor tool with the survey questionnaire. Appendix D and E each contain six two-part figures documenting the survey questionnaire address data and settings data. Appendix F contains a similar set of figures for the participant observation data, and Appendix G contains a set for TV News data. The last appendix, H. Interviews, presents all of the feedback from the survey questionnaires and the interviews. The feedback covers eight topics, and the data are organized by gender and generation within each topic.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A shortage of literature has not been a problem for this dissertation. With Spanish being a “pluricentric language”⁶, Spanish address has been the subject of numerous diachronic and synchronic descriptions and studies. In addition, the fact that the topic of address crosses several disciplines (e.g. variation, interaction, interpersonal relations, pragmatics, conversational analysis, and communication) has resulted in a broad range of reference material.

To attempt to review all of the literature available might be equated to trying to boil the ocean; therefore, this chapter presents the literature related to this sociolinguistic experiment in the following sections: 2.1 highlights useful resources; 2.2 summarizes the evolution and indicators of Spanish address in Buenos Aires; and 2.3 provides a chronological overview of the theories, methodologies, and studies that have influenced this work.

2.1 Preview of Useful Resources

This preview highlights the availability of two types of resources: hardcopy and on-line. There are three hardcopy resources that deserve special mention: (i) MLA International Bibliography 3: Linguistics printed in 2008 offers convenient listings of materials on topics such as sociolinguistics, Spanish, address forms, etc. (Chen 2008); (ii) María Beatriz Fontanella de Weinberg’s book *El español de américa* (1992) includes an annotated bibliography of scholarly works dated 1945–1989; and (iii) Jo-anne Patricia Hughson’s 2009 book contains an appendix entitled “Different types of address pronoun studies” in which she provides the author, date, and language(s) for entries which she has categorized into the following eight groups:

⁶ A pluricentric language refers to “one which exists in several national varieties.” (Hughson 2009:13).

quantitative/questionnaire-based, interview-based, other qualitative, anecdotal/personal, observations/descriptive, historical/text-based, theoretical, and other (281-283).

The four on-line resources include bibliographies and databases: (i) *EDICE “Estudios del Discurso de Cortesía en Español”* (<http://edice.org>); (ii) *Centro Virtual Cervantes* (<http://cvc.cervantes.es/>); (iii) the University of Melbourne’s RUMACCC (Research Unit for Multilingualism & Cross-Cultural Communication) is the sponsor of several projects on address including a 28-page annotated indexed bibliography of address studies in many languages (<http://www.rumaccc.unimelb.edu.au/address/bibliography/index.html>); and (iv) *LinRed “Lingüística en la red”* provides Spanish linguistic resources including a 2006 52-page bibliography by Mauro A. Fernández on second person patterns of address entitled “Pronombres de segunda persona y fórmulas de tratamiento en español: una bibliografía” (<http://www.linred.es/informacion>).

2.2 Evolution and Indicators of Spanish Address in Buenos Aires

According to Hughson (2009:40) “In the Romance lineage, ...address pronoun evolution can be traced back to the common ancestor, Latin...[which] had two second person pronouns, *tu* for singular address and *vos* for the plural.” This background is illustrated in Table 2.1 below (Choi 1998:68).

Table 2.1 Early Evolution of Second-Person Nominative Pronouns

Nominative Pronouns	Latín clásico 'Classical Latin'	Latín tardío hablado 'Vulgar Latin'	Castellano antiguo 'Old Spanish'
- Singular	tu	tu	tú
- Plural	vos	vos	vos

The first semantic shift of *vos* from the 2pP pronoun to the 2pS formal occurred with “[t]he use of the plural to [address] the emperor [which] began in the fourth century. By that time there

were actually two emperors...the ruler of the eastern empire... in Constantinople and the ruler of the west...in Rome” (Brown and Gilman 1960:255). Hughson further describes this shift:

By the end of the fifth century, the use of *vos* in a collective sense started to fade and the figurative plural came to be used to denote respect...when addressing one person. This use of *vos* initially spread to those around the emperor and then down into the different hierarchical relationships throughout society (2009:40-41).

Spain was isolated from the Roman Empire, but even before the fall of Rome, “Spain had come under the absolute control of the Visigoths in the sixth century and Catholic Christianity was imposed” (Hughson 2009:42). Starting with the eighth century the Moors began to invade parts of Spain resulting in seven centuries of occupation. As the Christians slowly reconquered Spain, they established a feudal system which created a hierarchy of status and “well-defined group styles” (2009:43). A tradition of asymmetrical pronominal address reinforced the feelings of superiority and inferiority between the two classes of feudal society (Brown and Gilman 1960:254-7).⁷

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Hughson explains, monarchies were replacing the feudal system. *Tú* continued to be used for familiar address, but the growing popularity of *vos* – even to the point of use among the lower classes—resulted in the adoption of a new alternative to indicate respect and distance. It originated in the form of a phrase, for example *vuestra señoría*, *vuestra excelencia*, *su merced*, *vuestra merced*, and was used with third-person singular verb morphology. The phrase eventually evolved into the pronoun *usted* (Hughson 2009:45, Brown and Gilman 1960:264). Hughson also explains that

[a]ccording to Coffen (2002) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spain the choice between *tú* and *vos* was a confusing issue for many....In addition the two [singular] pronouns, *tú* and *vos* could be used interchangeably to express momentary changes in emotion.” (Hughson 2009:45).

⁷ Hughson also explains that “[a] Castilian compound plural, *vosotros*, developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Páez Urdaneta 1981:48) spreading into common usage by the end of the Middle Ages and subsequently undergoing pronominalization, depriving *vos* of its original function (2009:51-52).

Rafael Lapesa called the Spanish of the Golden Age (*el español del siglo de oro*) as a time of “general linguistic changes” (1988:367). María Cristobalina Moreno described the address system in Spain during *el Siglo de Oro*:

The unmarked pronoun in Golden Age society was *VOS*. *TÚ* was less formal, and *VM* [*vuestra merced*] more formal...When people meet for the first time, they use *VOS* as the neutral pronoun if they do not know the social status of the other. *TÚ* and *VM* were generally assigned to people with particular social characteristics depending on the speaker’s own status: the speaker would use *TÚ* for those lower on the social scale and *VM* for those higher (2002:44).

Marta de Pierris (1977:237-238) highlighted an especially confusing combination of verb inflections that existed for second-person pronouns in *el pretérito* ‘the past tense’ during the 16th century. Table 2.2 shows the same verb morphology used for second-person singular and plural.

Table 2.2 Past Tense Verb Morphology for Second-Person Nominative Pronouns

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Tú tomaste</i>	
<i>Vos tom<u>astes</u></i>	<i>vosotros tom<u>astes</u></i>
<i>Vuestra merced toma</i>	

Pierris posits that the resolution of this confusion via a diphthong inflection and the abandonment of the use of *vos* in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries arrived too late in the more isolated Spanish settlements resulting in a mixture of forms in the remote areas (1977:238). She summarizes the linguistic situation for 2pS address as “changing, co-existing, alternating and evolving at the time immediately before the discovery and conquest of America” (236).

The linguistic changes occurring in the mother country were carried over to her colonies in Latin America. Most impacted were those colonies having the closest political ties with

Spain, e.g. Mexico, Peru, and Antilles (Fontanella de Weinberg 1976:269, Moyna 2009:133). In the outer colonial areas of the Americas where there was less communication with Spain, the language did not evolve at the same pace, e.g. “Río de la Plata in general and Uruguay in particular” (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992:15). Fontanella de Weinberg explained that “distance and relative isolation of the Rioplatense territory favored the survival of forms that had fallen into disuse in the language [of Spain]” (1987:31). In terms of address, Moyna states that “[t]he Río de la Plata was one of the marginal areas of *voseo/tuteo* coexistence” (2009:133).

Hughson documented the evolution of informal address in Buenos Aires from interchangeable usage of both *tú* and *vos* in the first half of the century to the standardization of *vos* as the pronoun and verb morphology for second-person singular (2pS) address in the second half of the century (2009:51-52).

The early history of Buenos Aires is neatly summarized by Horowitz et al. saying that the city had:

... an inauspicious beginning. In 1536, members of a Spanish gold-seeking expedition under Pedro de Mendoza founded on the Río de la Plata a settlement which they called Santa María del Buen Aire, but it was abandoned five years later after constant Indian attacks. Buenos Aires was not refounded until 1580 by another Spanish expedition led by Juan de Garay, who had started from Paraguay. ... The creation of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 marks the beginning of the town's development. ...By the beginning of the 1800's Buenos Aires had become a vital center of Spanish colonial commerce [and the] population had increased to 40,000... (1984:711).⁸

The history of Buenos Aires was also influenced by the British. According to Horowitz et al.:

The event that foreshadowed the end of Spanish rule was the British occupation of Buenos Aires in 1806. The Spanish viceroy fled inland to Córdoba, but the colonial militia ... forced the British to evacuate the city. The following year the *porteños* repulsed a second British attack. Having acquired some experience in managing their own affairs, leading citizens of Buenos Aires in 1810 formed a provisional government...Although the Argentine provinces did not declare their independence from Spain until 1816, the official date of Argentine independence is May 25, 1810 (1984:712).

⁸ The variation of Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires has been referred to as Río de la Plata Spanish (Moyna 2009:131), but because this term includes areas of Uruguay and Paraguay, the PI has chosen to use the label ‘Buenos Aires’ Spanish to refer to the variation spoken in the province of Buenos Aires.

During the 17th through 19th centuries, the population of Buenos Aires was reduced by repeated plagues of typhoid fever, small pox, tuberculosis and yellow fever (Romero et al. 2000:434-442). Nevertheless, the population increased via various sources. Below, Moyna describes these sources and how these demographic changes helped to solidify the linguistic future of vos in Buenos Aires:

...contact between an urban prestige *tuteante* dialect and a rural vernacular *voseante* variety as a result of urbanization and internal migration during the 19th century is undoubtedly at the root of the process of voseo generalization. Additionally the arrival of large contingents of non-Spanish speaking immigrants in the area throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries – most notably, several massive waves of Italians – can be hypothesized to have had a deep impact which is yet to be adequately assessed (2009:132).

The table below is a translated version of Fontanella de Weinberg’s summary of the Buenos Aires census of 1887 (1987:133).

Table 2.3 Population of the City of Buenos Aires by Nationality in 1887

Nationality	Number	%
Argentines	205,334	47.4
Italians	139,166	32.1
Spanish	39,562	9.1
French	20,031	4.6
Other foreigners	29,882	6.9
Total of foreigners	228,641	52.6
TOTAL	433,375	

With foreign immigrants making up more than half the population of Buenos Aires, Fontanella de Weinberg credits the availability of a network of free primary and secondary schools that not only taught the immigrant children Spanish, but also instilled nationalistic feelings for their new country and facilitated “linguistic assimilation” (1987:141).

According to Fontanella de Weinberg (1971:513-14), Argentine literature showed that *el voseo* “was used by the upper class in the first two decades of the 19th century [in fact, it] has been used by the educated class since the colonial period.” She explained how pronoun

paradigms in the first half of the 19th century had coexisting subject pronouns which later standardized to one during the second half of that century—accompanied by the use of voseo [verb morphology] in the present indicative and the imperative” (1987:156).

Table 2.4 Pronominal Paradigm in 19th Century

19 th Century	Subject	Complement	Object	Possessive
1 st Half	<i>vos / tú</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tu</i>
2 nd Half	<i>vos</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tu</i>

While pronominal/morphological forms for second-person singular (2pS) address were standardizing, Fontanella de Weinberg indicates that the patterns of address were changing. In terms of style, up until the end of the 1700’s, social relationships in the River Plate region were highly stratified, i.e. formal and largely asymmetrical. Correspondence among siblings as well as with their father required the use of formal 2pS verb forms accompanied by formal nominals, such as *señor y querido hermano* (1994:4). She documented that starting in the late 19th century asymmetrical informal-to-formal address (e.g. parents-children, grandparents-grandchildren, uncles-nephews) and even symmetrical formal-to-formal address (e.g. among friends of the opposite sex, etc.) had begun to change to symmetrical informal patterns of address (1987:157 footnote 21).

According to Fontanella de Weinberg (2004:51) “one of the most outstanding characteristics of Buenos Aires voseo [was] its extension to all social levels and all styles.” However, she goes on to clarify that the use of *vos* as the only form for 2pS informal for both oral and written expression was a product of the second half of the 20th century. She credits Berta Vidal de Battini (1964:175) with (i) documenting the loss of *tú* in written formats in the 1960s and (ii) stating that even the schools had given up insisting on it (2004:52). Fontanella de Weinberg cites (2004:52) one of the students of the 1960’s school system, Fernando Sorrentino, who wrote, “I think this is a generational problem... in my time [youth] we never

contemplated the problem or even thought of using anything other than *vos*" (1992:187). This quote is especially relevant to this research because in section 4.4, one of the informants in a March 2009 interview also claimed that the issue of address was generational.

In the first half of the 20th century, starting in 1930, the European immigration into Buenos Aires diminished but was replaced by an influx of people from the interior of Argentina and immigrants from neighboring countries (Fontanella de Weinberg 1987:132). The country experienced multiple changes in government alternating from civilian to military leadership. Juan Domingo Peron, an iconic 20th century political leader of Argentina, served as president from 1946-1955 and later 1973-1974.

Yolanda R. Solé provides a thorough description of the historic aspects of Spanish informal and formal address starting with Latin through 1970 Spanish in Buenos Aires—including the influence of immigration and Peron (1970:167-71). Regarding address by the different generations, Solé (1970:184) provided the following explanation. First, address is symmetrical between "young people [who] address each other informally at the university, at work, in initial social encounters at parties, clubs, meetings, but not on the street". Second, in a dyad where there is a generation or more of difference in age between the interlocutors, typically the younger speaker formally addresses the older person. Third, symmetrical address is typically used in general; non-reciprocal address is infrequent in Buenos Aires.

During the remainder of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, Argentina has suffered political and economic problems. Scobie (1984:276) succinctly summarizes the situation inherited by Raúl Alfonsín when he was elected president in October 1983:

[After] seven years of military rule...President Alfonsín took office in a country deeply troubled by the aftermath of the Falkland Islands War, the disappearance of thousands of persons during the military's antiterrorist campaign of the 1970's, and an economic crisis revolving around rampant inflation and a foreign debt of about \$40 billion.

In less than twenty years, Argentina suffered a second economic crisis. Presumably such economic and political turmoil explains the following contemporary social commentary by two

Argentine writers. Felipe Pigna described the situation saying “Argentine society has, for the past 30 years, been living under the pressing demands of the struggle for daily survival, with little time or energy left to reflect on the origins and remote causes of the evils that afflict it.” (2005:13). Marcos Aguinis, in his book entitled *¡Probre patria mía!*, described the condition of the country saying:

We were rich, cultured, educated and decent. In only a couple of decades, we have become poor, uneducated and corrupt....There is a general and almost permanent feeling of anger, which is only occasionally broken by intervals of peace. Every now and then, in a geometric progression, the anger returns with the drums and shouts of protest. No, it is not the solution, I already know that. But neither is the future we dreamed of on the horizon. It's only equivalent to lava overflowing the volcano. We should do something because Argentina deserves a different destiny (2009:9).⁹

According to Clyne et al. sociopolitical events can affect the use of address. In their quotation below, they were referring to German, French, and Swedish:

What we believe previous studies have neglected and ours has been able to capture is *variation* in address within each language. Differences in modes of address between and within each of the languages reflect cultural and subcultural values, largely conditioned by social and political history....This project confirms that national varieties of a pluricentric language, even relatively small differences in morph syntax, show deep pragmatic variation related to cultural values developed out of long or short periods of nationhood or statehood with different national priorities of communication (Clyne et al. 2009:162-163).

Their remarks seem appropriate to the situation in Argentina which was precisely described by the Argentine software engineer quoted earlier in section 1.1. It bears repeating below to support Clyne et al.'s claim:

Everything political and economical in Argentina causes address to be less important. Superficial things are less important. Due to the crisis of today, superficial things will matter even less in the future. Crisis makes things fall apart...formalism has declined. Argentines use less respectful language. Formal is only for artificial situations.¹⁰

The quotation above demonstrates that the sociopolitical and economic situation in Argentina led to such an “informal” linguistic state that its pattern of address was affected. Section 4.4 reveals the dichotomy of informants’ reaction to the change, i.e. some Argentines lamented the

⁹Translated by the principal investigator (PI).

¹⁰By a 47-year old male software engineer interviewed on March 4, 2009, in Buenos Aires.

change as a loss of respect, and others welcomed the use of “Argentine Light” as a less prejudicial way of speaking.

Today, *los porteños* of all social classes use *el voseo* for 2pS informal address.¹¹ According to Lipski “[n]o stigma is attached – as is the case in some regions of Latin America, e.g. Chile” (1994:141,143). Even back in 1987 Fontanella de Weinberg indicated that “voseo is commonly used by the communications media, in advertisements, and in national movies” (1987:157). Hughson indirectly describes the pervasiveness of *vos* in Argentina.

It is useful to contemplate why *vos* is regarded as a regional feature given that it is reportedly used by as much as 45% of the Spanish-speaking population. The reason most likely lies in the fact that, outside of Argentina, it has not been standardized and is not part of the standard written code in countries where it is used (2009:278).

In Buenos Aires formal versus informal address is linguistically differentiated several ways. (i) pronominal forms,¹² (ii) verb morphological forms, and (iii) certain lexical/nominal forms. By observing these linguistic forms, the PI concluded whether informal or formal address was being used in initial dyadic conversations.

2.2.1 Pronominal Indicators of 2pS Informal/Formal Address

Table 2.5 below displays second-person singular (2pS) pronominal cases that are used in contemporary Spanish to indicate formal versus informal address (Fontanella de Weinberg 1977:232-237, Azevedo 1992:112). For formal singular address all Spanish speakers use forms of *usted*; whereas informal address native speakers in Madrid use *tú*; while native speakers in Buenos Aires use (i) *vos* for the subject and object of a preposition (complement) and (ii) forms of *tu* for the remainder (Blas Arroyo 2008:310). Hughson refers to these three forms as *el ustedeo*, *el voseo*, and *el tuteo* (Hughson 2005:47, 2009:51-52).

¹¹ Wainerman refers to it as “the Porteño system of pronominal address” (1972:183).

¹² Since Spanish is a *pro*-drop language, subject pronouns are not necessarily used.

Table 2.5 Formal/Informal 2pS Pronominal Indicators: Madrid vs. Buenos Aires

SINGULAR 2 nd Person 'You'	Nominative	Complement/ Obj. of Prep.	Accus.	Dative	Reflex.	Poss.
<u>Formal</u>	<i>usted</i>	<i>usted</i>	<i>lo/la</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>suyo/a</i>
<u>Informal</u>						
-Madrid	<i>tú</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tuyo/a</i>
-Buenos Aires	<i>vos</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tuyo/a</i>

Table 2.6 below provides examples of formal and informal address used in sentences.

Table 2.6 Formal/Informal 2pS Pronominal Address: Madrid vs. Buenos Aires

(i) Subject Pronoun (2pS)	(gloss)	'María and <u>you</u> win.'
- Formal	--Madrid & Buenos Aires	<i>María y usted ganan.</i>
- Informal	--Madrid --Buenos Aires	<i>María y tú ganan</i> <i>María y vos ganan</i>
(ii) Complement/Object of a Preposition (2pS)	(gloss)	'This is for <u>you</u> '
- Formal	--Madrid & Buenos Aires	<i>Esto es para usted.</i>
- Informal	--Madrid --Buenos Aires	<i>Esto es para ti.</i> <i>Esto es para vos.</i>

2.2.2 Verbal Indicators of 2pS Informal/Formal Address

Via its verb morphology, the Spanish language indicates person, number, and address in addition to tense, mood, etc. The different ways that *e/ voseo* is used throughout Latin America has been documented by multiple scholars, e.g. Lipski 1994 and Fontanella de Weinberg (1992). Moyna posits that verbal conjugation for *e/ voseo* is natural as evidenced by the "first language acquisition" of young speakers of Spanish (2009:131,137). She points out the simplicity of conjugating verbs for use with *e/ voseo* in the present indicative tense and

affirmative commands. As Table 2.7 shows, the final vowel does not change, but it is accented.¹³

Table 2.7 Conjugation of 2pS-Informal Verb Endings

	Vos [2pS-Inf]		
	<u>-ar</u>	<u>-er</u>	<u>-ir</u>
- Present Indicative	-ás	-és	-ís
- Affirmative Command	-á	-é	-í

Table 2.8 below highlights characteristics of *el voseo* used in the present indicative tense and in affirmative commands in Buenos Aires.¹⁴ In addition, stem-changing verbs do not change their stems, and some verbs have unique forms. The table provides several examples of informal address that contrast the use of *voseo* in Buenos Aires with the use of *tuteo* in Madrid. Formal 2pS address is the same in both cities.

Table 2.8 Verb Morphology for 2pS: Informal and Formal Address in Buenos Aires vs. Madrid

Verb Morphology	Informal		Formal
	<i>Bs. As.</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Both cities</i>
- Present Indicative --Drop infinitive's 'r'; --accent final vowel; --add "s"	<i>Hablás</i> 'You speak'	<i>Hablas</i> 'You speak'	<i>Habla</i> 'You speak'
- Affirmative command --Drop infinitive's 'r'; --accent final vowel	<i>¡Mirá!</i> 'Look!'	<i>¡Mira!</i> 'Look!'	<i>¡Mire!</i> 'Look!'

¹³ "[A] generalized feature of vos verb forms is that they have *aguda* accentuation, which means that the accent falls on the last syllable of the word" (Hughson 2009:51).

¹⁴ Fontanella de Weinberg (2004:51) referencing her 1979 article explains that *cantes* 'you (2pS-Inf-Pres. Subj) sing' is the form used for the present subjunctive in Buenos Aires Spanish. She also explains that there are two ways to express a 2pS informal negative command, e.g. 'Don't sing!': *¡No cantés!* is the abrupt form while *¡No cantes!* is the polite form.

Table 2.8 – *Continued*

<p>- <u>Irregular verbs</u> --Stem-changing verbs do not change</p> <p>--Unique forms in present tense</p>	<p><i>Tenés</i> 'You have'</p> <p><i>Sos</i> 'You are'</p>	<p><i>Tienes</i> 'You have'</p> <p><i>Eres</i> 'You are'</p>	<p><i>Tiene</i> 'You have'</p> <p><i>Es</i> 'You are'</p>
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2.2.3 Nominal Indicators of 2pS Informal/Formal Address

Other categories of grammar can be used to indicate formal versus informal address. For instance, a title plus a last name implies formal address, or a title can be used alone with a formal verb. Some examples are *Señor, Señora, Señorita, Doctor, Señor policía* 'Mr., Mrs, Miss, Dr., Mr. Policeman'.

Addressing someone by her/his first name or nickname/diminutive is usually accompanied by informal verb morphology. A popular vocative form that is used with informal address in Buenos Aires is the term *che* 'mate' (Hughson 2005) or 'Hey!, hey you' (Bracken 2005:24). The PI frequently observed people using it accompanied by the pronoun *vos*, (e.g. *che vos*) or by a first name (e.g. *che Fredy*). Upon investigating the use of this term, the PI received contrasting explanations from informants. Some claimed that they only used *che* with people they were close to, such as family and friends (*de confianza*). Others reported using *che* to call/get someone's attention in a friendly informal way. One Senior generation man claimed to address all male strangers as *che tío* 'hey uncle'. The use of *che* is particularly prevalent among the younger generation, regardless of gender. They have made the term their own by addressing each other as *Che boludo, ¿cómo estás?* 'Hey idiot/dude, how are you?'¹⁵ This brief description of *che* is relevant to this research because during the interviews, some of the informants made a point of clarifying whether or not they would use *che* when addressing

¹⁵ A small recently published book entitled *¡Che Boludo!* (Bracken 2005) explains the use of Argentine expressions to English speakers.

someone informally. While some felt the term was friendly; others felt it was rude. The PI observed that even some of those who denied using *che* at all, did in fact use it—unconsciously.

2.2.4 Alternate Strategies

In addition to choosing between informal versus formal address, the PI observed several alternate strategies. The first consisted of combining first name with formal verb morphology. The PI saw this combination used as a strategy by a son-in-law addressing his “-in laws” and older relatives of his wife. This combination achieved closeness via the use of the first name but showed respect via the use of formal verb morphology. The second was a repair strategy involving the use of informal address accompanied by a formal title to show respect. The third was an avoidance strategy employed by a speaker who feels uncertain whether to use formal or informal address, e.g. (i) using indirect address by referring to “one”, (ii) using plural first person address, i.e. “we,” or (iii) using zero address (Williams-van Klinken 2006).

2.3 Chronological Overview of Theories, Methodologies, and Studies

This section highlights in chronological order the theories, methodologies, and empirical studies that have influenced this research on address variation. From a theoretical perspective, sociolinguists have traditionally based their framework on the foundation laid by (i) Goffman’s 1955 concept of face, (ii) Brown and Gilman’s 1960 work entitled “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity” which introduced new terminology and dimensions for address, and (iii) Brown and Levinson’s 1978/1987 strategies of negative and positive politeness. Methodologies used by sociolinguists can be grouped into three categories. First, traditional sociolinguists, such as Brown and Gilman, used printed survey questionnaires to gather quantitative reported speech. Second, ethnographers, such as Dell Hymes (1962) advocated the use of (i) participant observation to collect quantitative natural speech and (ii) interviews to gather qualitative insights. Third, contemporary sociolinguists, such as Clyne et al. (2003, 2009) and Hughson (2005, 2009), employed mixed methodologies for gathering speech data. Empirical studies of address variation have been conducted by numerous sociolinguists. In addition to

Brown and Gilman (1960), this literature review chronologically highlights work by Fontanella de Weinberg and Najt (1968), Yolanda Solé (1970), Wainerman (1972), Lambert and Tucker (1976), Braun (1988), Blas Arroyo (1994-1995), Clyne et al. (2003, 2009), and Hughson (2005, 2009).

2.3.1 1940s – 1950s

These two decades highlight three scholars' description of address in Buenos Aires-- Weber de Kurlat (1941), Chart (1943), and Kiddle (1953)--plus the theoretical contribution by Goffman (1955).

2.3.1.1 Early Descriptions of Buenos Aires Address

Descriptions of the use of 2pS Spanish address forms in Buenos Aires were published as early as the 1940's. In her 1941 journal article entitled "Fórmulas de tratamiento en la lengua de Buenos Aires", Frida Weber de Kurlat described address patterns of the different social classes focusing primarily on the private domain of family and friends. In 1943, I. E. Chart compared the use of the two forms of Spanish 2pS informal pronouns in America, saying "The speech of the Rio de la Plata region, like the Spanish of a great part of America, puts aside the nominative *tú* and generalizes *vos*", plus he pointed out occurrences of *vos* "in the earliest manifestations of Gaucho poetry" (17). In 1953, Lawrence B. Kiddle's article entitled "Some social implications of the voseo in Latin America" was published in which he gave the following explanation for the use of *el voseo* in Buenos Aires.

In the case of Argentina the form is used in Buenos Aires, of course, but its rustic origin is felt none the less by some speakers. Since the *porteño* suffers from no sense of linguistic inferiority, he uses a form that is characteristically rural with complete naturalness (52).

In addition Kiddle claimed that "[*t*]ú and its forms represent a mid-step between *usted* and *vos* as a *voseísta* speaker moves closer to intimacy, except among men, where the *tú* step is bypassed" (53).¹⁶

¹⁶ A similar approach was reported to the PI during a 2005 personal communication with a Senior generation female (from Buenos Aires) who was a yoga instructor for many years and

2.3.1.2 Irving Goffman

In 1955 Erving Goffman's work entitled "On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction" was published. He introduced the term 'face' which he defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (213). He used the term 'face-work' to "designate the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" i.e. projecting and preserving a certain image (216).¹⁷ Such work might require interactants to use strategies, such as an 'avoidance process' or a 'corrective process' (1955:217,219). In addition according to Swann et al., Goffman stressed the importance of studying "speech in natural encounters [which] influenced variationist sociolinguists like William Labov" (2004:127). In later publications Goffman expanded his work on the role of face in interactions (Goffman 1959, 1961, 1967, 1981).

2.3.2 1960s

From this decade, the relevant concepts reflect the theoretical and empirical work of Brown and Gilman, the methodologies advocated by Hymes and by Labov, plus the empirical study of address variation in Argentina by Fontanella de Weinberg and Najt (1968).

2.3.2.1 Brown and Gilman

In their 1960's article "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity" Roger W. Brown and Albert Gilman introduced new terminology and a theoretical framework for analyzing dyadic interaction; both of which are still referenced by sociolinguists today, e.g. Clyne et al. (2003, 2009) and Hughson (2005, 2009). Brown and Gilman focused on Western European languages (French, German, and Italian) that have dual forms of 2pS pronouns, i.e. informal and formal.

addressed her students informally. One elderly female student had to drop the class but returned much later. This presented the following address dilemma to the instructor. She felt unsure about immediately addressing the student informally with *vos* since so much time had passed plus the student was older than she; but the instructor felt that using formal address would seem too distant and cold. The instructor solved her predicament by using informal *tú* to ask if it would be OK for her to use *vos*.

¹⁷ He also used the term "single two-part exchange" to describe dyadic interaction (1981:8).

They used the following abbreviations to label the two forms of address: T (from the Latin *tu*) for familiar/intimate/informal address and V (from the Latin *vos*) for polite/courteous/formal address (1960:254)

Brown and Gilman explained that individuals selected address forms based on extra-linguistic dimensions consisting of a vertical axis labeled 'power' and a horizontal axis labeled 'solidarity' (Svennevig 1999:28). They described two types of dyadic relationships and how they influence address forms. Non-reciprocal address occurred in asymmetrical relationships, i.e. the interlocutor of higher power/status used informal (T) to address a lower status interlocutor who in turn responded with formal (V) address. Reciprocal address occurred in symmetrical relationships, i.e. where both interlocutors felt a bond of solidarity resulting in either mutual formal (V-V) or mutual informal (T-T) address. Brown and Gilman claimed that by the 19th century, the dyadic dimension of solidarity was becoming more important within the separate classes (1960:258-9). They hypothesized that address was evolving from asymmetrical to symmetrical dyads of either mutual formal or mutual informal patterns. They attributed this change to the belief that solidarity was increasingly considered a more important criterion for social relationships than power (Brown and Gilman 1960:258-9).

[They also] asserted that a process of change was underway in the Romance languages: reciprocal T usage was growing at the expense of mutual V usage. They observed a tendency amongst the younger generation to use T, and they concluded that it was an evolutionary phenomenon that would spread throughout the rest of society as the younger generation grew older. In fact, during the 1970s and within the historical context of the student revolts of the late 1960s [in] countries like France and Germany...some researchers questioned whether the use of T would progressively expand and eventually reign supreme as the sole second-person singular pronoun (Hughson 2009:18).

Brown & Gilman conducted one of the first quantitative studies of address variation.

They described their progress collecting reported speech.

The questionnaire has thus far been answered by the following numbers of students from abroad who were visiting in Boston in 1957-1958: 50 Frenchmen, 20, Germans, 11 Italians, and two informants, each, from Spain, Argentina, Chile, Denmark, Norway, Sweden Israel, South Africa, India, Switzerland, Holland, Austria, and Yugoslavia (1960:254).

Their survey covered the following domains of social interaction: family, work, education, military, and service. In 1960 they published their empirical, theoretical, and methodological work and devoted one section to their description of “[c]ontemporary differences among French, Italian, and German” (1960:261). From a demographic perspective, their informants were all male and from a similar socio-economic background that allowed them to study abroad. Brown and Gilman’s work became the model for address variation studies for subsequent sociolinguists, such as Fontanella de Weinberg and Najt (1968), Wainerman (1972), and Lambert and Tucker (1976).

2.3.2.2 Dell Hymes

In 1962, Dell Hymes’ “The Ethnography of Speaking” was published in which he described his methodology for gathering qualitative data that focused on “...the details of language in actual use...” (Labov 1972:184). In chapter one, “Models of the interaction of language and social life”, Hymes describes the sixteen “Components of Speech” (Hymes 1972:58). Later in the chapter Hymes consolidated the sixteen components into eight to form “...the code word SPEAKING: settings, participants, ends, act sequences, keys, instrumentalities, norms, genres” (Hymes 1972:65).

Hymes’ fourteenth and fifteen components of speech “Norms of Interaction [and] Norms of Interpretation” were especially relevant to this research (Hymes 1972:63-64). Objectives of this fieldwork were to observe and identify norms of address in interaction among strangers—particularly as they varied by generational/gender dyad. In addition, the process of interviewing informants, revealed to the PI that some of the speakers’ were concerned with being misinterpreted, as in the case of older males addressing younger females.

2.3.2.3 William Labov

In 1966 Labov published The Social Stratification of English in New York City. He focused on the phonological variation of “...language in its social context” (Labov 1972:183, Fasold 1990:223). Two of the methodologies that he used to gather natural speech data, the PI

also employed to collect samples of natural uses of address. One technique for eliciting spontaneous vernacular speech during a face-to-face interview was to ask an informant to describe a “danger of death” (Labov 1972:92) experience. The emotion involved in telling the story was believed to counter the Observer’s Paradox (209). Based on Labov’s logic, the PI felt justified in using video-taped Argentine TV news reports as a source of ‘natural’ speech data since the reporters’ interviews with the public typically concerned an emotional event, i.e. murder, car or bus accident, etc. Later in his 1972 book entitled Sociolinguistic Patterns, he described in chapter two, “The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores,” the use of participant observation to elicit natural speech samples from store clerks (49). The PI also employed participant observation to collect samples of interlocutors’ use of address forms in initial casual public interactions.

2.3.2.4 Fontanella de Weinberg and Najt

In 1968 two Argentine linguists, María Beatriz Fontanella de Weinberg and Myriam Najt, conducted and published the first quantitative study of Argentine address based on survey questionnaires. Their informants were native Spanish-speakers from Bahía Blanca in the province and linguistic region of Buenos Aires. They surveyed a total of sixty male and female informants who were divided into three age groups: (15-25, 35-45, and 55+). Their survey questionnaire focused on the effect of generational differences on address form selection in the following seven domains: family, social, work, education, friends, service, and miscellaneous. They based their work on Brown & Gilman’s methodology. They attributed patterns of T and V address variation to power and solidarity and claimed that their findings supported Brown and Gilman’s hypotheses that address styles were migrating from asymmetrical, to mutual formal, and gradually to mutual informal. Their results reported symmetrical and asymmetrical address and became the 1960’s benchmark documenting Buenos Aires address form usage. Their scholarly work influenced the PI’s topic and survey questionnaire. In the decades that followed Fontanella de Weinberg produced numerous other publications including historical linguistic

descriptions of the Spanish language, discussions of sociolinguistic issues (published posthumously in 1996), and descriptions of the evolution of pronominal address patterns in Buenos Aires, Argentina (1971), and Latin America. In the prologue of Fontanella's book on the sociolinguistic study of Spanish, Elena M. Rojas wrote that her Argentine colleague was one of the most outstanding Argentine linguists of all times (2004:9).

2.3.3 1970s

This decade includes theoretical contributions by two pairs of linguists—Berger and Calabrese (1975) and Giles and Powesland (1975)—plus three empirical studies: Solé (1970), Wainerman (1972), and Lambert and Tucker (1976).

2.3.3.1 Solé

In 1970 Yolanda R. Solé published her sociolinguistic study entitled "*Correlaciones socio-culturales del uso de tú/vos y usted en la Argentina, Peru y Puerto Rico*" comparing informal versus formal interaction by Spanish speakers in Puerto Rico, Argentina, and Peru. She referenced the 1960 study by Brown and Gilman and their use of the dimensions of power and solidarity to explain the use of symmetrical/asymmetrical address forms. Her study included a total of 80 informants (both male and female university students ages 25-35) from each of the three countries. Solé conducted the Puerto Rican survey in San Juan, but she used temporary U.S. residents (i.e. foreign students, members of the diplomatic corps and international organizations) from Buenos Aires and Lima to participate in her Argentine and Peruvian survey. Her questions covered a range of domains and relationships, i.e. family, university, work, friends in religious orders, new social acquaintances, and strangers on the street (167-8).

In 1978 Yolanda R. Solé published another article entitled "Sociocultural Determinants of Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Address Forms in Spanish" that focused on the challenges of teaching the use of Spanish informal versus formal address forms in the English-speaking classroom from the perspective of achieving language competency. She provided

characteristics of formal/informal address form usage in Spanish-speaking countries. The following three points were especially relevant to the PI's research. First, Solé suggested that "[l]inguistic variance may occur in the composition, distribution, and/or function of some linguistic items"; and proposed that "sociocultural determinants of usage of some forms" can be attributed to "country of origin, level of education, rural/urban precedence, sex and age differentials". She added that as informal/formal forms:

link grammar with sociodemographic and sociocultural variables, their distribution and value, more so than that of other linguistic items, are least likely to remain invariant from speaker to speaker and from one setting to another (1978:941).

Second, she described *Ud.* as "an unmarked conventional form used in all exchanges that involved interlocutors who were strangers or only casually acquainted with each other" (1978:941). She re-emphasized this point saying:

The unmarked form *Ud.* is universally considered the appropriate address form between adult interlocutors who are only casually acquainted with each other or whose relationship is one of a transactional nature: physician-patient, salesperson-customer, teacher-student, waiter-customer, lawyer-client, etc....Asymmetrical pronominal usage is also common among friends who are separated by one or more generations....The occurrence of asymmetrical uses of *tú/Ud.* in impersonal transaction situation tends to underscore hierarchical dimensions: social class and/or race differentials. (1978:943-4).

Third, Solé used the term 'affinity' in her description of address and also described the treatment of strangers.

[I]n San Juan, Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City, young adults may easily exchange a reciprocal *tú* at clubs, at college, and even at work. In Lima and Bogotá, on the other hand, the relationships arising within those spheres do not necessarily engender common solidarity feelings which warrant—in time—a mutual *tú*. Whether the *tú* is ultimately extended or not depends in the end upon the affinity between the individuals, rather than the shared experiences within those domains. In casual encounters, however, in public places, streets, parks, restaurants, etc., strangers, young and old, always address each other with *Ud.* (Solé 1978:948).

2.3.3.2 Wainerman

In 1972 Catalina Wainerman completed her dissertation entitled Pronominal Address Rules: A Sociolinguistic Study of the Structure and Evolution of Dyadic Usages in the Speech of Argentina. She conducted synchronic studies in two different urban areas of Argentina

sampling male informants between the ages of thirty and forty: 120 from Buenos Aires city and 112 from Catamarca city (1972:176). Her primary tool was a written survey questionnaire containing questions concerning oral dyadic pronominal address forms used with family members, among friends, and with acquaintances. Based on her field work plus her diachronic survey of address forms in Argentine literature, she claimed that Brown and Gilman's 1960 hypotheses were still valid. Although her work did not include strangers, her findings provided a 1970's benchmark of address in Argentina. Later in the decade she published two additional works: a book in 1976 entitled *Sociolingüística de la forma pronominal*¹⁸ and a journal article in 1978 entitled "Family Relations in Argentina: Diachrony and Synchrony."

2.3.3.4 Berger and Calabrese

Berger and Calabrese (1975) built upon Goffman's 1955 concept of face. They discussed interlocutors' efforts to be perceived in a positive light when interacting for the first time. They specifically focused on dyadic interaction among strangers describing the discomfort that interlocutors felt when they were unsure about the appropriate way to act and the strategies that interlocutors used to reduce these feelings of uncertainty. Originally, the PI thought that their work would provide useful insights into Buenos Aires address; however, she later changed her mind after observing two tendencies during her fieldwork in Argentina. First, the majority of *porteños* appeared to address others spontaneously. Second, an older person had (and usually used) the option of addressing a younger person informally.

2.3.3.5 Giles and Powesland

Giles and Powesland (1975) also added to Goffman's concept of face by positing that the desire for acceptance motivates speakers to match each other's way of speaking. They described interlocutors' strategies of accommodation. Because the scope of the PI's sociolinguistic experiment was restricted to initial interaction only, Giles and Powesland's

¹⁸ In the case of her 1976 book entitled *Sociolingüística de la forma pronominal*, the author's last name is spelled Weinerman instead of Wainerman.

concepts of accommodation had limited application to this research primarily because the majority of informants in Buenos Aires indicated that they used spontaneous address.

2.3.3.6 Lambert and Tucker

In their 1976 book, *Tu, Vous, Usted: A Social-Psychological Study of Address Patterns*, W. E. Lambert and G. R. Tucker investigated address patterns of male and female primary and secondary school children in two languages: French spoken in Canada (in the urban and rural areas of Quebec) and in France (St. Pierre-et Migueion and Laval-Mayenne) and Spanish spoken in Latin America (Puerto Rico and Colombia). Similar to Brown and Gilman's 1960 methodology, Lambert and Tucker used survey questionnaires to ask informants which address form they would use and which form they anticipated in response in the following six domains: family, friends, education, service, work, and miscellaneous. Lambert and Tucker followed the 1960's Brown and Gilman theoretical framework plus analyzed their data by the extra-linguistic variables of gender and age.

2.3.4 1980s

This decade highlights four scholarly works. Two pairs of linguists posited theoretical frameworks for address: Brown and Levinson (1987) and Slugoski and Turnbull (1988). Brown and Gilman enhanced their dimensions influencing the choice of address forms (1989). The fourth was Braun's empirical study of address variation in multiple languages (1988).

2.3.4.1 Brown and Levinson

Building upon Goffman's work on face, Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson published their initial strategies for positive and negative politeness in 1978 followed by an enhanced reissue in 1987. They focused on face-to-face interaction describing strategies for face-threatening acts (1987:68). In terms of strangers, the combination of the following two quotes from Brown and Levinson may provide insight into the use of informal address:

Positive politeness is redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable. Redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one's own wants (or some of them) are in some respects similar to

the addressee's wants (1987:101), i.e. *cooperative* wanting of the same wants (290 note 31).

It is precisely this association with intimate language usage that gives the linguistics of positive politeness its redressive force. Positive-politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes of the interaction, as somehow similar (103).

While Brown and Levinson acknowledged Brown and Gilman's dimensions of 'power and solidarity' (1960), they designated their own three parameters which combined into strategies of positive and negative politeness (1987:101,129):

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|
| (i) | the social distance | (D) of S[peaker] and H[earer] (a symmetrical relation) |
| (ii) | the relative power | (P) of S and H (an asymmetrical relation) |
| (iii) | the absolute ranking | (R) of impositions in the particular culture (1987:74). |

Brown and Levinson admitted that other linguists felt that their 'social distance' ...

D variable should be further broken down to distinguish familiarity from affect (intimates don't necessarily like each other, and liking predicts politeness directions which are opposite to those predicted by unfamiliarity). Slugoski demonstrates that the distinction (between affect and social distance) is also necessary in interpreting ironic utterances as either insults or compliments.... Nevertheless, we can only concede that "liking" might be an independent variable affecting choice of politeness strategy (1987:16).

In light of the fact that this dissertation focuses on casual initial interactions between strangers, Brown and Levinson's parameter of 'social distance' is especially relevant to the theoretical framework considering that they "concede that 'liking' might be an independent variable influencing selection of politeness strategy (1987:16). Regardless if the term is "liking" or "affect", this concept of an additional "independent variable" will be very useful in order to explain a *porteño's* immediate use of informal address when there is a feeling of affinity by one or both strangers in the dyad.

2.3.4.2 Slugoski and Turnbull

In 1988 Ben R. Slugoski and William Turnbull published an article entitled "Cruel to be Kind and Kind to be Cruel: Sarcasm, Banter and Social Relations" in which they claim:

In an empirical study of ironic sarcasm and banter, Brown and Levinson's model is found to require an additional relationship parameter, 'relationship affect', to account for

the ways in which neutral observers interpret counter-to-fact insults and compliments (101).¹⁹

As was mentioned earlier, the PI feels that the concept of 'affect' as an independent variable is useful for explaining cases of strangers who spontaneously used mutual informal address because there was a feeling of affinity (i.e. high affect)..

2.3.4.3 Braun

In her 1988 book entitled Terms of address: problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures, Friederike Braun positions the study of address saying:

In the 1960s, around the time when the Brown/Gilman and Brown/Ford articles appeared, the phenomenon of address established itself as a subject of sociolinguistics and has acquired increasing popularity since then. The sociolinguistic treatment of the subject has developed parallel to sociolinguistics itself, i.e., relatively late in the history of linguistics. In modern linguistics, address is not only treated as an independent sociolinguistic topic, but is touched upon in works on greetings, on stylistics, on baby talk, dialectology, contrastive linguistics, under the heading of vocative, etc. (1988:297).

Braun (1988) identified the eight dyadic domains listed below; plus she examined relationships between interlocutors, i.e. well acquainted, newly acquainted, and strangers:

1. Family
2. Friends
3. Education, e.g. teacher(s)-student(s), student-student dyads
4. Work, e.g. boss-employee, employee-employee, new hire-employee dyads.
5. Service, e.g. servants, maids, store clerks-customers
6. Professional, e.g. citizen-policeman, doctor-patient, citizen-government official
7. Social, e.g. formal and informal gatherings including introductions
8. Miscellaneous, e.g. asking for directions, making small talk in waiting rooms and on public transportation

Braun's research on pronominal address was modeled on the 1960's work of Brown and Gilman. She used a quantitative questionnaire as "the basis of a structured interview"

¹⁹ Spencer-Oatey (1996) brought attention to the validity of this possibility.

(195). Her survey covered six domains (family, neighbors, university, work, service, and miscellaneous), both genders, and three dyadic relationships based on the following extra-linguistic variables: (i) age, i.e. younger, similar, older, and very much older; (ii) status, i.e. lower, same, and higher, and (iii) position, i.e. subordinate, equal, and superior. Braun described address in several languages. She surveyed 30 male and female informants in the 18-30 age range who were native German speakers. In additional studies, Braun surveyed native speakers of over twenty-five languages. The number of informants per language ranged from 1-4 up to 20-30 (1988:2). Her work corroborated Brown and Gilman's 1960's attribution of variation to extra-linguistic variables.

2.3.4.4 Brown and Gilman

More than twenty-five years after their 1960's article, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", and the publications of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Slugoski and Turnbull (1988), Brown and Gilman published a journal article in 1989 entitled "Politeness Theories and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies." This article is relevant to this research for two reasons. First, Brown and Gilman changed the name of their horizontal axis from 'solidarity' to 'distance'. In addition they claimed: "We conclude, in agreement with Slugoski and Turnbull, that the Brown/Levinson model requires an additional parameter – 'relationship affect'" (1989:196). These will be discussed further in the subsections for Spencer-Oatey (1996) and Svennevig (1999).

2.3.5 1990s

This decade highlights the empirical work by Blas Arroyo (1994-1995), and the theoretical critiques by Spencer-Oatey (1996) and Jan Svennevig (1999).

2.3.5.1 Blas Arroyo

Blas Arroyo conducted his own field work to capture natural uses of informal and formal address used by Spanish-speaking strangers in Valencia, Spain. His participant observation experiment consisted of 115 male and 116 female interlocutors. He categorized them into the

following four age groups: younger than 25, 26-40, 41-60, and 61+ (1994-1995:29, 2008:303). He documented interaction between strangers in the following seven contexts: bar, student-professor, boss-employee, customer-clerk, customer-business owner, and professionals (1994-1995:29, 2008:303). The following are two of his conclusions concerning strangers' use of address in Valencia: (i) the use of formal address is alive and well, and (ii) in many cases formal address is still the unmarked form between strangers (2008:303).

In 2008 Blas Arroyo published the second edition of his book entitled *Sociolingüística del español*. In it he (i) analyzes Brown and Gilman's 1960's dimensions of power versus solidarity, (ii) discusses the relevancy of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory—especially the role of positive and negative face, and (iii) reaffirms Solé's characterization of “the society of Buenos Aires as the prototype of a modern and urban speech community” (2008:307).

2.3.5.2 Spencer-Oatey

In her 1996 article entitled “Reconsidering Power and Distance” Spencer-Oatey critiqued earlier scholars' use of terms such as *power*, *solidarity*, and *distance* in sociolinguistic studies of address variation and politeness. She supported Slugoski and Turnbull's (1988) position that *affect* was a separate and equally viable horizontal dynamic as *distance*. She was the editor and a contributor to her 2008 book entitled *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* which focused on rapport management, examined issues of address, highlighted theories of face and politeness, and discussed empirical studies and methodologies from the perspective of intercultural interaction.

2.3.5.3 Svennevig

Although Jan Svennevig's 1999 book entitled *Getting Acquainted in Conversation: A Study of Initial Interactions* analyzes strangers who are brought together for the purpose of conversation, the following quotations provide insights into initial interactions that are relevant to the brief exchanges between strangers in this research.

Finally, strangers are constrained as to knowing what sort of background information they can take for granted. When problems of assessing common ground arise, they

commonly engage in side sequences, by which they can take a “time out” from the topic and establish the required contextual resources (1-2).

Interpersonal relationships are viewed as consisting of three constitutive components:

- solidarity, involving a set of mutual rights and obligations
- familiarity, involving mutual knowledge of personal information
- affect, involving mutual liking (or dislike) (2).

This is another example of a linguist positing the role of affect in interactions. In addition Svennevig’s use of the term “common ground” is emphasized in the work of Clyne et al. which is discussed in the next subsection.

2.3.6 2000s

The first decade of the 21st century includes two significant empirical works, one by Clyne et al. and the other by Hughson, that are models of mixed methodologies. In addition Clyne et al. offer explanations for contemporary changes in address patterns.

2.3.6.1 Clyne et al

In 2003 Michael Clyne, Heinz L. Kretzenbacher, Catrin Norrby, and Jane Warren authored a conference proceeding entitled “*Address in Some Western European Languages*”. They posited that “[t]he thorough investigation of even a small number of languages, such as ours, can constitute a contribution to a pragmatic and/or sociolinguistic typology; particularly so if tested against traditional categories in the research on linguistic politeness (2). They concluded their paper by describing the early phase of the ARC Discovery Project:

Though this project is at an early stage, it has enormous potential not only to show how recent sociopolitical events and developments have impacted on the ways in which people address each other in French, German, and Swedish, but also, in part through comparison with research on Italian, Dutch and Portuguese, to provide a new conceptual framework for the study of address (8).

This paragraph also applies to the current research on strangers’ initial interaction in Buenos Aires especially in light of the informant’s feedback in section 1.1 and the contemporary social commentary by two Argentine writers, Pigna (2005) and Aguinis (2009), in section 2.2.

The 2009 book by Michael Clyne, Catrin Norrby, and Jane Warren, entitled Language and Human Relations: Styles of Address in Contemporary Language, “examines address

systems of three western European languages, French, German and Swedish, and to a more limited extent English” (2009:1).²⁰ The authors focused on both “pronominal and nominal address” (2009:2). They used mixed methodologies consisting of focus groups, participant observation, Internet chat groups/forums, survey questionnaires, and interviews. The last two methods involved a total of 414 male and female informants ranging in age from 16 to 83 which included “72 for French, 144 for Swedish and 198 for German” (2009:33). Their survey/interview questions covered a range of generational/gender dyadic relationships which they categorized into three domains: (i) “public domain (e.g. address[ing] a stranger in the street, a shop assistant, a police officer, etc.)”, (ii) “private domain (e.g. addressing family members, friends)”, and (iii) “workplace (e.g. addressing colleagues, superiors, clients)” (2009:34).

Clyne et al. focused on contemporary address. These authors described the second half of the 20th century as follows

The 1960s were an important turning point not only in Europe but also in the Americas and Asia. The spirit of the time was one of social revolt and oppositional politics, which differed from country to country. Reassuringly conservative after the shock of World War II, the national cultures of Europe have been radically challenged since the 1960s, not only by the ideological divides and shifts along with new expressions of solidarity during and after the student uprisings of 1968 in western Europe, but also by the social and cultural effects of ongoing European integration, the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, globalization, and the spread of Anglo-American cultural influence (through its single address pronoun *you*) (2009: 1).

They also reviewed contributions by other sociolinguists, such as Goffman, Brown and Gilman, and Brown and Levinson (2009:23-28) plus included comments by others. For their own theoretical framework they posited the following:

We would propose as our starting point for a model of address, the concept of social distance, which we believe to be the overarching principle that guides interlocutors in their choice of address forms...The concept ‘common ground’ which we can understand

²⁰ There were six main sites: (i) Paris, France, (ii) Mannheim and (iii) Leipzig, Germany, (iv) Vienna, Austria, (v) Gethenburg, Sweden, and (vi) Vassa, Finland. In the case of focus groups, there were three additional locations: (i) London and (ii) Newcastle upon Tyne, England, and (iii) Tralee, Ireland (Clyne et al 2009:32-33).

as 'low social distance', cuts across all three social distance parameters²¹: a sense of attraction (affect) may occasion a search for traces of affinity, or commonalities between interlocutors, which might in turn help establish common ground. A sense of solidarity, for example between work colleagues, members of a sports club or political party, is clearly related to an established sense of common ground in that particular area or domain. Degree of familiarity is perhaps the dimension of social distance that is most obviously connected to common ground (2009:35-36).

Clyne et al. converted the terminology of 'common ground' into the term "perceived commonalities' as an explanatory category and highlight how 'sameness' and 'difference' are relevant in showing how address choices are contextually motivated" (2009:37). In addition, the authors indicated two characteristics that will be referenced by the PI in her description of Buenos Aires strangers' address form usage in Chapters 4 and 5. First, they used the term 'affinity' as a criterion for address form selection. Second, they used the term 'spontaneous' in their explanation of address form selection saying:

a spontaneous or a reasoned response to how much of themselves speakers discover in their interlocutor, or, to put it another way, the extent to which speakers share common ground with their interlocutor...is a decision on inclusion or exclusion, on whether to draw a group boundary between that person and oneself...(2009:155-156).

Lastly, they acknowledge the fact that "[g]lobalization, migration and new technologies have brought address systems into contact with those of other languages" (2009:146); however, they claim:

What we believe previous studies have neglected and ours has been able to capture is *variation* in address within each language. Differences in modes of address between and within each of the languages reflect cultural and subcultural values, largely conditioned by social and political history....This project confirms that national varieties of a pluricentric language, even relatively small differences in morph syntax, show deep pragmatic variation related to cultural values developed out of long or short periods of nationhood or statehood with different national priorities of communication (2009:162-163).

This is a key theoretical explanation for the change in the address system in Buenos Aires—at least in initial casual interactions between strangers.

²¹ Clyne et al. credit Svennevig 1999 with establishing the three components of social distance: "affect, solidarity and familiarity" (2009:35)

2.3.6.2 Hughson

In 2005 Jo-anne Hughson completed her dissertation in which she used mixed-methodologies to study address variation used by first and second-generation Spanish-speaking immigrants²² in Australia. In addition to using focus groups, surveys/interviews, and participant observation, she also made audio recordings of an Australian radio program conducting a call-in talk show in Spanish.

In 2009 she published a book²³ entitled Diversity and Changing Values in Address: Spanish Address Pronoun Usage in an Intercultural Immigrant Context which described the historical evolution of Spanish address, highlighted previous address studies, and provided an extensive listing of resources on “Different Types of address pronoun studies” (281) which was mentioned earlier in section 2.1.

In the paragraph below, Hughson (2009) describes the benefit of using triangulation in her own study as well as the contribution it can make to address variation research in general.

The triangulated approach to data collection and the heavy qualitative focus in this study have exposed integral features of address behaviour which have not been dealt with in previous studies because they were not accessible with the methods of data collection chosen. In addition, it is possible to have greater confidence in the validity of the results obtained since many of the findings have been corroborated across the different methods of data collection. From the results presented by some researchers on address, one is often left with the impression that address choices are cut and dry, straightforward processes, when, in fact, empirical analysis of actual practices and a more qualitative analysis of speakers’ own beliefs and opinions demonstrate that address choice is a sticky, unsystematic, often contradictory and unpredictable area of language use (278-279).

For data collection Hughson used a triangulated approach (2009:130) that included both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. She started with focus groups to identify topics of concern then conducted “questionnaire-based interviews” with a total of 150 male/female informants ranging in age from 13-73. Survey questions focused on the domains of family and

²² Immigrants were primarily from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, and Uruguay (Hughson 2009:145-146).

²³ Based on her 2005 dissertation Spanish address pronoun usage in an inter-cultural immigrant context: Language, social and cultural values among Spanish-English Bilinguals in Australia.

friends plus strangers (297-298). In addition she gathered participant observation data at a playground "...where she joined Spanish-speaking parents for the common purpose of giving their children exposure to Hispanic culture and the Spanish language" (147). She also collected "naturalistic data" by recording seven hours of daily interactions within two separate families (130,149).

From the perspective of a theoretical framework, Hughson focused on Brown and Gilman (1960 and 1989). She was critical of their study saying that it was based on "data collected from a questionnaire filled out by male university students...all from upper-middle class, professional families," and she claimed that "Brown and Gilman themselves do not take into account the potential influence of sociolinguistic factors" (2009:17). She pointed out that Brown and Gilman later "...revised their terminology somewhat...using politeness theory, exchanging 'solidarity' for 'distance' (2009:19). In addition Hughson summarized the positions of other linguists saying:

Authors such as Braun (1988), Wales (1983), Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990), and others raise various objections to the Brown and Gilman model, sometimes rejecting it outright, sometimes merely drawing attention to certain discrepancies that call into question the proposed universal application of the model (2009:19).

Hughson's mixed-methodology approach was inspirational for the current research, and her documentation on the evolution of Spanish address was invaluable.

2.4 Summary Comments

This chapter has traced the evolution of Spanish address from its Latin root and has highlighted the theories, methodologies, and previous studies of address variation that have created a framework for this sociolinguistic experiment to document and explain the patterns of initial casual interaction among strangers in Buenos Aires today. While some earlier studies occasionally included strangers as interlocutors, few, if any, have focused solely on this particular dyad. Left unaddressed by earlier work are the aspects that will be focused on in this dissertation: a mixed methodology approach that looks beyond self-reports of use to include naturally occurring data and which triangulates that data with any demographic differences in

how speakers choose forms for addressing different interlocutors. The full methodology is spelled out in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the PI's research methods for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data and contains the following sections: 3.1 highlights trends in address form data collection; 3.2 describes the survey questionnaire and the use of the photo interlocutor prompter tool designed to elicit more authentic reported speech; 3.3 summarizes the interview questions; 3.4 describes the use of participant observation to gather natural address data in the field; and 3.5 describes an alternate method for collecting natural speech data, i.e. via Argentine TV news reports.

The description of each method includes the participants, instruments, and procedures. In addition, the data samples and/or informants are counted and categorized by generation-gender dyads of interlocutors. From a generational perspective, the PI classified adult interlocutors into three age groups with the following labels: Junior generation (18-29), Middle generation (30-49), and senior generation (50+).²⁴ The goal was to document informants/speakers of a particular generation addressing interlocutors in each of the three generations thereby producing nine generational dyads, e.g. Jr-Jr, Jr-Mi, Jr-Sr, etc. Multiplying the nine generational dyads by the four possible gender dyads produced the thirty-six box matrix illustrated in Figure 3.1 below that facilitated the display of data analysis results in Chapter 4 as well as the discussion in Chapter 5

²⁴ It is interesting to note that Clyne et al. (2009: 53) used a similar age grouping scheme (e.g. 30 and younger, 31-50, and 51 plus older) for their study of address in French, German, and Swedish.

Generation Dyads		Gender Dyads			
Speakers	Hearers	f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m
Jr (18-29)	Jr	-	-	-	-
	Mi	-	-	-	-
	Sr	-	-	-	-
Mi (30-49)	Jr	-	-	-	-
	Mi	-	-	-	-
	Sr	-	-	-	-
Sr (50 +)	Jr	-	-	-	-
	Mi	-	-	-	-
	Sr	-	-	-	-

Figure 3.1 Matrix of Thirty-Six Generational/Gender Dyads

3.1 Selecting Research Methods

3.1.1 Using Mixed Methodologies

Different methodologies have been used to study different aspects of language. In the case of address variation, the traditional approach has been the use of survey questionnaires to collect reported speech, e.g. Brown and Gilman (1960), Fontanella de Weinberg and Najt (1968), Wainerman (1972), Lambert and Tucker (1976), as well as Braun (1988). In other areas of linguistics, researchers have gathered natural speech using participant observation, e.g. Labov (1966) in New York City department stores. Others have used interviews to gain ethnographic insights into language use, e.g. Hymes (1964).

The PI elected to emulate the more recent linguists' use of mixed methodologies which complement each other and allow triangulation, e.g. Clyne et al. (2003, 2009) and Hughson (2005, 2009). For this research, the PI conducted three months of field work in Argentina to gather reported speech via survey questionnaires and interviews and to collect natural speech data via participant observation. Back home in the U.S. she documented additional samples of natural address by video taping Argentine TV news reports (available via satellite). Figure 3.2 summarizes the mixed methodologies used and classifies the types of data collected.

Types of Speech & Methodologies	Quantitative Data	Qualitative Data
- Reported: -- Survey Questionnaire (SQ) -- Individual Interviews (IV)	√	√
- Naturally-Occurring: -- Participant Observation (PO) -- TV News (TV)	√ √	√

Figure 3.2 Mixed Methodologies Used

3.1.2 Special Considerations

3.1.2.1 Two Sides of the Observer's Paradox

In any field work involving PI-informant interaction, Labov's Observer's Paradox questions the impact of the PI's presence on informants' behavior, i.e. might it motivate them to use their "best" speech and/or to provide prescriptive answers to survey/interview questions (1972:209-210). In the case of bilingual/bicultural field work, the PI posits that a PI's preparation is of equal concern, i.e. (i) second-language proficiency and cultural competency, (ii) access to informants, and (iii) support from a native-speaker/resident. In this case, the PI felt prepared plus grateful to her Argentine husband for his assistance.

For this research the PI gathered the reported speech via a spontaneous mixture of English and Spanish—depending on informants' preference during the survey and interview process. When observing natural language usage, the PI made handwritten field notes plus tried to record covertly as many samples of live data as possible on her portable digital audio recorder. The PI summarized the data in English for two reasons: (i) the objective of the research was to document the use of informal versus formal address, and (ii) the dissertation was written for an English-speaking audience.

3.1.2.2 Personal (In)Security

The daily Argentine TV news programs presented cases of the rising crime rate in Buenos Aires Province, and informants warned the PI about the problems of *inseguridad* 'insecurity'. This personal safety issue affected the PI's field work with strangers in two ways. On the one hand, the public in general had become increasingly distrustful of people they did not know. On the other hand, the PI had to select potential subjects carefully in public settings. These concerns were solved by the PI's husband who accompanied her whenever she was talking to strangers; plus being a native of Buenos Aires he provided "gateway" access to his friends/acquaintances for surveys and interviews. On occasion, he asked others for their opinions on the current state of address forms in Buenos Aires, e.g. his neighborhood barber. Most of his contacts were happy to oblige. In addition, during participant observation he provided many opportunities for the PI to observe how a 60+ male stranger was addressed by both genders of all three generations.

3.2 Survey Questionnaires (SQ)

For her first mode of data collection, in contrast to Chapter 2's description of early written survey questionnaires which covered a range of dyadic relationships, e.g. family, friends, education, professional, etc., the PI decided to narrow the focus. She restricted her investigation to initial dyadic interactions between Spanish-speaking strangers in two imaginary casual public settings in Buenos Aires: (i) a conversational encounter in a lobby/waiting area of a bus/train station or airport and (ii) a service request in a local neighborhood hardware store.

3.2.1.SQ Participants

The PI selected survey informants from two sources. The majority consisted of family, friends, and acquaintances of the PI's husband. In addition, the PI randomly engaged friendly-looking strangers in public locations such as libraries, universities, stores, museums, lobbies, buses, airplanes, etc. The PI's original target was to survey five females and five males in six different age groups, i.e. 60 people. The actual number of informants, which totaled 92,

exceeded this goal. Table 3.1 below shows the number of informants categorized by age group and gender.

Table 3.1 SQ Informants Categorized by Age and Gender

Age Groups	Females	Males	Total
18-20s	13	9	22
30s	8	8	16
40s	7	8	15
50s	8	8	16
60s	8	6	14
70s	4	5	9
Total	48	44	92

To simplify the analysis/display of data, the PI consolidated the six age groups into three generations originally mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Table 3.2 below summarizes the regrouped informants to show the number and percent by generation/gender dyad.

Table 3.2 SQ Informants Regrouped into Generations

Generations	Age Ranges	Females		Males		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Junior (Jr)	18-29	13	14	9	10	22	24
Middle (Mi)	30-49	15	16	16	17	31	33
Senior (Sr)	50 & older	20	22	19	21	39	43
Total		48	52	44	48	92	100

3.2.2. SQ Instruments

The PI created two instruments for eliciting and documenting informants' preferences when addressing male and female strangers of varying ages: (i) a photo-interlocutor prompter tool (see a copy in Appendix A), and (ii) a written survey questionnaire which the PI used to document informant responses (see Spanish and English versions in Appendix B).

3.2.2.1 Ten-Photo Interlocutor Prompter Sheet/Tool

Instead of simply asking informants to imagine how they would address a stranger of similar, younger, or older age, the PI created a more life-like instrument consisting of a one-page sheet of paper containing ten small pictures of unknown strangers. The PI constructed this research tool by:

1. cutting out approximately fifty color photos of faces that she found in Spanish-language magazines
2. asking a female 60+ Argentine friend to select photos representative of male and female Argentines who fit the following five age groups: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 +
3. trimming each photo to become an approximate 1x1 inch headshot that revealed as little wardrobe and background as possible
4. pasting the ten photos onto an 8½ x 11" sheet of paper arranging them in two columns (females on the left and males on the right) and in five rows sequencing the female-male rows starting with the youngest (i.e. 18-29) at the top and incrementing to the oldest pair at the bottom
5. scanning the sheet, converting it into a PC JPG file, printing it in color, and laminating it

The benefit of this tool is that it allowed a more controlled experiment because all of the informants surveyed were responding to the same virtual clues from their hypothetical interlocutor's face.

3.2.2.2 Survey Questionnaire

The PI created a two-page typed survey questionnaire (SQ) to document informants' responses to her survey questions which consisted of (i) several demographic questions, (ii) a place for the age estimates of the ten photo interlocutors, (iii) address forms used with each photo interlocutor and (iv) the anticipated response in return. For the first page of the SQ, the

PI set the stage as an imaginary conversation encounter in a waiting area of a train/bus station or airport where the photo interlocutors were presumably fellow travelers and the informant was inquiring about the location of a kiosk selling newspapers or Coca-Cola. For the second page, the PI changed the setting to a service encounter in a local hardware store in which the photo interlocutors were employees/clerks and the informant was a customer inquiring if copies of keys could be made in the shop. Both imaginary public settings were located in Buenos Aires.

3.2.3. SQ Procedures

Prior to conducting this sociolinguistic research, the PI requested IRB exempt approval to invite Argentine subjects to participate in an anonymous survey questionnaire and interview. The IRB granted approval and did not require the use of consent forms.

3.2.3.1 Pre-screening Selection

The PI's husband was an invaluable gateway to multiple survey participants. In addition, the PI also randomly selected approachable adult strangers (i) inquiring if they were from Buenos Aires and (ii) explaining in Spanish that she was an American conducting her doctoral research on Argentine ways of speaking to strangers. The PI stressed to the informants that all of their answers were important and none would be judged good/bad-correct/incorrect.

The PI conducted the surveys in Spanish, English, and/or a combination of both languages depending on informants' preferences—many of whom were bilingual and eager to practice their English with a native speaker. The PI used informal address with informants that she already knew and with younger subjects that she did not know; however, when the informant was a stranger of similar or older age, the PI tried to use avoidance strategies such as speaking in the first person plural e.g. *Vamos a imaginar....* 'Let's imagine...'.

3.2.3.2 Informant Estimations of Photo Interlocutor Ages

The PI asked informants to (i) hold the 8 ½ x 11 inch photo interlocutor prompter sheet, (ii) look at each of the ten photos, and (iii) tell the PI their age estimates for each stranger.²⁵ The PI hand wrote their age estimates on the informant survey questionnaire which she was holding. As the PI was conducting the surveys, the participants gave answers that indicated that using the prompter tool motivated them to make natural responses in spite of the fact that they were technically reporting on how they would speak.

3.2.3.3 Survey of Conversation Address in Waiting Rooms

For the first part of the survey, the PI asked informants to (i) imagine waiting in a Buenos Aires train/bus station or airport lobby where there were ten strangers (i.e. the photo interlocutors) seated nearby who were presumably fellow travelers, (ii) report how they would address each of the ten photo interlocutors when asking for the location of a kiosk to buy a refreshment, newspaper, or magazine, and (iii) report how they expected each stranger to address them in return. The PI made handwritten notes of the informants' responses/comments in a mixture of English and Spanish directly onto the written survey questionnaire.

All of the informants appeared to react authentically to this artificial methodology which consisted of an imaginary setting and ten photo interlocutors. For example, when the PI asked a Senior male informant how he would address a young female photo interlocutor seated near him in a bus/train/airport lobby, he replied with a question: "First, tell me if she is alone or with her husband." While this experience happened only once, the earnestness of the informant's question demonstrated to the PI how realistic (and presumably effective) this imaginary methodology was, and at the same time, made her realize how setting details affected informant responses.

²⁵ When the PI later asked informants how they would address each photo interlocutor in conversation and service settings, she did not remind them of the ages that they had assigned to each photo interlocutor.

3.2.3.4 Demographic Questions

After conducting the conversation encounter survey, the PI asked informants basic demographic questions, and she hand wrote their responses on the survey form. The purpose of these questions was to gather minimal socio-economic background information while still maintaining informants' anonymity:

1) Select their age from the following ranges: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60+). Some informants volunteered their actual age which the PI noted on the survey questionnaire. When an informant selected an age range, the PI later converted it to its average (i.e. 30-39 became 35) for data entry into a spreadsheet.

2) Indicate the highest level of education that they had started, i.e. primary, secondary, or university. The PI felt that this was more diplomatic than asking them what level they had completed.

3) Describe their occupation, e.g. store clerk/employee, supervisor, shop owner, teacher, librarian, doctor, accountant, housewife, tradesman, engineer, retiree, etc.

4) Indicate their newspaper preference. Answers usually varied between the popular *Clarín* and the more upscale paper *La Nación*.

5) Indicate where they usually vacationed: (i) inside Argentina e.g. at the beach or in the mountains, (ii) outside of Argentina e.g. the beaches of Uruguay or Brazil, or (iii) beyond South America, i.e. the world.

The combined answers to the demographic and pre-screening questions revealed that the informants (i) lived/grew up in Buenos Aires province, (ii) many completed secondary school while others started and some completed the university, and (iii) the majority belonged to middle/working classes—primarily based on their occupations, newspaper preference, and extent of world travel.

3.2.3.5 Survey of Service Address in Hardware Store

Lastly, the PI asked informants to imagine a second setting involving a neighborhood hardware store where the same photo interlocutors worked as clerks/employee, and the informants were customers inquiring whether copies of keys could be made there. The PI asked the informants whether their address in the hardware store differed from what they had just used in the waiting area. The unexplained objective was to determine how this change to customer/clerk roles in a casual service setting would affect address form usage by the informants and the photo interlocutors. The PI made handwritten notes of their responses and comments on the survey questionnaire. This second scenario concluded the quantitative survey and transitioned easily into a short list of optional interview questions for the purpose of gathering insights into informants' criteria for address selection. The description of the interview methodology is located in section 3.3.

3.2.4 SQ Data Collected

3.2.4.1 Impact of Using a Photo Interlocutor Prompter Sheet

All informants looked carefully at the prompter sheet and provided their estimates of the ages of the photo interlocutors. Most informants seemed to base their address form usage on the generation of the photo interlocutor compared to their own. In some cases, however, the informants indicated that their choices were influenced by something in the stranger's facial expression, air, and/or attitude which caused them to feel a sense of affinity or distance.

Example 1: In the case of one young female photo interlocutor (see 2-f in Appendix A), several informants reported that they would address her formally because she appeared serious, distracted, distant, and presumably less approachable as she gazed to the side while listening to music via earphones.

Example 2: The youngest male photo interlocutor (see 1-m in Appendix A) caused some informants to report that they would address him formally even though they reported using informal address with some of the older male photo interlocutors. Informants did not offer

a specific explanation; but the PI suspected that this photo interlocutor was possibly perceived as somewhat arrogant because he held his head in a slightly upward position as he smiled down at the camera.

As the informants were offering their age estimates of the photo interlocutors, the PI was silently amazed at how varied their responses were. The age of the informant seemed to influence her/his age estimates of the photo interlocutors, for example younger informants estimated older photo interlocutors to be older than the senior informants did. In fact, some of the older informants used informal address with all photo interlocutors because they estimated them to be similar in age or younger. For lack of very elderly-looking photo interlocutors, it remained undefined at what point the older informants would start using formal address. In other cases, not all of the informants perceived that the successive rows of photo interlocutors increased in age. Even more surprising was the fact that some of the female photo interlocutors were perceived to be the same age.

Regardless of the variation, all informants revealed their delimiters for address, i.e. the oldest photo interlocutor that they would address informally and the youngest one that they would address formally. By manually plotting these two extremes for each informant, the PI revealed the range in their age boundaries, gaps, and overlaps for using informal versus formal address. The four tables in Appendix C display the disparities in the gaps between informants' "oldest informal addressee" versus "youngest formal addressee" in a conversational encounter.

3.2.4.2 SQ Address

Each of the 92 informants had the opportunity to report how they would address five female and five male photo interlocutors in a conversational encounter. The PI categorized the quantity of samples by generation/gender dyads and documented the totals in the thirty-six box matrix. As Table 3.3 below indicates, the conversational encounter generated 911 samples of address.

Table 3.3 SQ Address: Informant Responses in Conversational Encounter

Generation Dyads		Gender Dyads				Total
Informant	Photo Interloc	f – f	f – m	m – f	m – m	
Jr	Jr	20	5	15	5	45
	Mi	26	39	20	26	111
	Sr	19	21	10	14	64
	<i>Total</i>	65	65	45	45	220
Mi	Jr	20	8	20	8	56
	Mi	34	37	37	45	153
	Sr	20	25	23	27	95
	<i>Total</i>	74	70	80	80	304
Sr	Jr	32	7	34	10	83
	Mi	43	56	41	49	189
	Sr	25	37	18	35	115
	<i>Total</i>	100	100	93	94	387
Total		239	235	218	219	911

3.2.4.3 SQ Settings

The PI asked survey informants if they would use the same address forms for the two encounters. The informants generated 885 responses indicating same or different, and the PI categorized the quantity of samples by generation/gender dyads in the thirty-six box matrix in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 SQ Settings: Same vs. Different Informant Address in Both Encounters

Generation Dyads		Gender Dyads				Total
Informant	Interlocutor	f – f	f – m	m – f	m – m	
Jr	Jr	20	5	15	5	45
	Mi	26	39	20	26	111
	Sr	19	21	10	14	64
	<i>Total</i>	65	65	45	45	220
Mi	Jr	18	8	18	8	52
	Mi	32	37	33	41	143
	Sr	20	25	19	26	90
	<i>Total</i>	70	70	70	75	285
Sr	Jr	30	6	34	10	80
	Mi	41	54	43	49	187
	Sr	24	25	18	36	113
	<i>Total</i>	95	95	95	95	380
Total		230	230	210	215	885

Whether or not informants used the same address forms in both encounters was crucial to the PI's strategy of comparing reported SQ data with natural PO and TV data because they were a mixture of casual conversational and service encounters.

3.3 Interviews (IV)

To provide qualitative insights into the quantitative data, as a second mode of data collection, the PI encouraged informants to share their rationale for making their address form selections during the survey process as well as their thoughts regarding the interview questions. The purpose of the interview was to elicit informant feedback on (i) their own criteria for address selection, (ii) if/why/how address form usage has changed in Argentina and (iii) how address trends in Buenos Aires compare with other parts of the Spanish-speaking world. The PI made handwritten notes summarizing informants' feedback in Spanish, English, and/or a combination on the interview sheet.

3.3.1. IV Participants

Many of the informants participated in the interview following their completion of the survey questionnaire. In cases where the PI had the opportunity to talk with residents of Buenos Aires but not enough time to complete a survey questionnaire, the PI simply invited individuals to provide feedback on some of the interview questions, and she made handwritten notes on paper. Table 3.5 indicates a total of 95 informants were interviewed.

Table 3.5 Interview Informants

Gender	Generation	Quantity
female	Jr (18-29)	13
	Mi (30-49)	16
	Sr (50 +)	<u>21</u>
	Subtotal	50 (53%)
male	Jr (18-29)	10
	Mi (30-49)	16
	Sr (50 +)	<u>19</u>
	Subtotal	45 (47%)
<i>Total</i>		95 (100%)

3.3.2. *IV Instruments*

The PI used an interview sheet containing the following prepared questions. (See Appendix B for the Spanish and English versions.)

1. What influenced your decision to use informal versus formal address with strangers in casual public encounters, e.g. age, respect, tradition/custom, or other?
2. Who uses informal the most in casual conversation encounters?
3. Who uses informal the most in casual service encounters?
4. Compared to the past, do young adults use more informal address with strangers today?
5. Is informal address a characteristic of young adults; and if so, will they use formal as they mature?
6. How does informal usage in Buenos Aires compare with other large cities in Argentina, Latin America, and Spain?
7. When/Why/How has address changed in Buenos Aires, i.e. has globalization (e.g. satellite TV, Internet, movies, music, or texting) influenced address?
8. Describe a personal situation that you experienced or observed in which the address form was surprising or inappropriate.
9. Provide any other additional comments you may wish to share.

3.3.3. *IV Procedures*

After pre-screening, the PI casually invited subjects to respond to some or all of the interview questions. If informants were short on time, the PI boiled the interview down to a three-part question: (i) Do young people today address strangers the same way you and/or your parents did in the past? (ii) To what do you attribute any changes? (iii) Have similar changes occurred in other urban areas of Argentina and/or Spanish-speaking countries, e.g. Chile, Spain? The PI did not discourage informants from taking tangents because the goal was to stimulate feedback—not just obtain precise answers to a set of questions. Participants

completed varying amounts of the interview depending on their time constraints. The PI concluded the interview by gathering their demographic details. She captured as much data as possible in handwritten field notes in a combination of English and Spanish which she later paraphrased in English when typing individual summaries for reference in Chapter 4 Data Analysis and Results and in Appendix H.

3.3.4. IV Data Collected

The tables below contain a list of the interview informants categorized by gender/generation and sequenced by age and date/time of the interview. In addition most of the entries include the following demographic information: highest education level started, occupation, newspaper preference, vacation preference. Highlights of interview feedback are included in section 4.4. A more detailed version can be found in Appendix H.

Female informants are categorized by generation in Tables 3.6 (Junior), 3.7 (Middle), and 3.8 (Senior).

Table 3.6 Female Interview Informants: Junior Generation

	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Educ</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Vacation</u>	<u>ID</u>
1)	f	Jr	18	sec	student	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090116-1330
2)	f	Jr	24	sec	homemaker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081213-1145
3)	f	Jr	25	univ	univ student	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081222-2015
4)	f	Jr	25	univ	secretary	<i>Perfil</i>	Arg	20090211-1730
5)	f	Jr	25	univ	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1830
6)	f	Jr	25	univ	student	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1826
7)	f	Jr	25	sec	student	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1905
8)	f	Jr	25	univ	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1909
9)	f	Jr	25	univ	teacher	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20090304-2330
10)	f	Jr	25	univ	teacher	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20090304-2345
11)	f	Jr	26	sec	supervisor	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090129-2215
12)	f	Jr	26	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090129-2300
13)	f	Jr	29	univ	grad student	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090226-2100

Fifty percent or more of the females started the university (Jr 62%, Mi 79%, and Sr 50%).

Table 3.7 Female Interview Informants: Middle Generation

	Gender	Generation	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	_ID
1)	f	Mi	30	univ	teacher	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg.	20090118-1900
2)	f	Mi	30	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090301-1500
3)	f	Mi	31	univ	student	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090202-1400
4)	f	Mi	33	sec	homemaker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081213-1100
5)	f	Mi	34	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081204-1245
6)	f	Mi	35	univ	librarian	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090202-1715
7)	f	Mi	35	univ	secretary	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1815
8)	f	Mi	35	univ	supervisor	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090301-1400
9)	f	Mi	43	univ	accountant	<i>La Prensa</i>	world	20090111-1500
10)	f	Mi	45	univ	administrator	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090214-1930
11)	f	Mi	45	univ	teacher	<i>Página 12</i>	Arg	20090105-1230
12)	f	Mi	45	—	(theater)	—	—	20081209-2100
13)	f	Mi	45	univ	dir. of studies	<i>B.A. Herald</i>	Arg	20090204-1900
14)	f	Mi	45	univ	librarian	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090212-1400
15)	f	Mi	46	univ	teacher/grad st.	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090209-1800
16)	f	Mi	48	—	—	—	Arg	20090223-1800

More than 50% of the females preferred vacations in Argentina (Jr 54%, Mi 71%, and Sr 55%).

Table 3.8 Female Interview Informants: Senior Generation

	Gender	Generation	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	_ID
1)	f	Sr	54	sec	office worker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg.	20090127-1930
2)	f	Sr	55	univ	library director	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090202-1630
3)	f	Sr	56	sec	shop owner	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081202-1600
4)	f	Sr	56	univ	librarian/teacher	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090226-1600
5)	f	Sr	57	univ	finance office	<i>Página 12</i>	world	20081220-1830
6)	f	Sr	59	univ	psychiatrist	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090212-1200
7)	f	Sr	59	univ	accountant	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20081209-2000
8)	f	Sr	59	sec	homemaker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081213-1115
9)	f	Sr	61	univ	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090302-1300
10)	f	Sr	61	univ	librarian/teacher	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090302-1310
11)	f	Sr	63	—	teacher	—	—	20090228-1800
12)	f	Sr	65	sec	homemaker	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20081204-1430
13)	f	Sr	65	univ	librarian	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090212-1430
14)	f	Sr	65	univ	exec secretary	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20081219-1630
15)	f	Sr	65	sec	business owner	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090221-1923
16)	f	Sr	65	sec	homemaker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081222-2030
17)	f	Sr	68	sec	homemaker	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090203-1252
18)	f	Sr	69	sec	retired	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081225-1315
19)	f	Sr	72	sec	business owner	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20081223-1400
20)	f	Sr	77	univ	homemaker	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090207-1800
21)	f	Sr	78	sec	ret. Manager	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090207-1828

Male informants are categorized by generation in Tables 3.9 (Junior), 3.10 (Middle), and 3.11 (Senior).

Table 3.9 Male Interview Informants: Junior Generation

	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Educ</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Vacation</u>	<u>ID</u>
1)	m	Jr	19	univ	student	<i>La Nación</i>	world.	20090103-1630
2)	m	Jr	23	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090129-2230
3)	m	Jr	23	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090129-2334
4)	m	Jr	25	univ	employee	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090212-1330
5)	m	Jr	25	univ	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090214-1840
6)	m	Jr	25	univ	employee	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090214-1850
7)	m	Jr	26	univ	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090129-2245
8)	m	Jr	27	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090129-2315
9)	m	Jr	28	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090101-1800
10)	m	Jr	29	univ	veterinarian	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20090304-2245

Fifty percent of the males started the university (Jr 60%, Mi 85%, and Sr 50%).

Table 3.10 Male Interview Informants: Middle Generation

	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Educ</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Vacation</u>	<u>ID</u>
1)	m	Mi	35	sec	maintenance	<i>Clarín</i>	—	20090223-1030
2)	m	Mi	35	univ	journalist	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090223-1100
3)	m	Mi	35	univ	technician	<i>Clarín</i>	—	20090223-1130
4)	m	Mi	35	univ	librarian	<i>Página 12</i>	Arg	20090226-1530
5)	m	Mi	35	sec	mgr, restaurant	<i>Clarín</i>	Brazil	20090301-1430
6)	m	Mi	36	sec	tech optician	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090226-1800
7)	m	Mi	39	univ	employee	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090207-1752
8)	m	Mi	39	univ	dermatologist	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090304-2302
9)	m	Mi	42	univ	librarian	<i>Página 12</i>	world	20090202-1427
10)	m	Mi	45	sec	employee	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081225-1300
11)	m	Mi	45	univ	employee	<i>Le Monde Dip</i>	Arg	20092007-1300
12)	m	Mi	45	univ	administrator	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090214-1915
13)	m	Mi	46	univ	priest	—	Urug.	20081217-2015
14)	m	Mi	46	—	barber	—	—	20090224-1300
15)	m	Mi	47	univ	engineer	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090304-1800
16)	m	Mi	48	univ	flight attendant	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20090116-1400

More than 50% of the males preferred vacation in Argentina (Jr 80%, Mi 54%, and Sr 72%).

Table 3.11 Male Interview Informants: Senior Generation

	Gender	Generation	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID
1)	m	Sr	54	univ	employee	0	Arg.	20090216-2100
2)	m	Sr	55	univ	doctor	<i>Página 12</i>	Arg	20090105-1430
3)	m	Sr	55	sec	military	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090223-1000
4)	m	Sr	55	univ	engineer	—	—	20090223-1200
5)	m	Sr	56	univ	accountant	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20090111-1630
6)	m	Sr	58	sec	supervisor	<i>La Nación/Clarín</i>	Arg	20081202-1630
7)	m	Sr	59	sec	iron worker	<i>Crónica</i>	Arg	20090212-1930
8)	m	Sr	59	univ	doorman	<i>Perfil</i>	Arg	20090302-1500
9)	m	Sr	62	univ	engineer	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20081203-1732
10)	m	Sr	63	sec	taxi owner	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081213-1130
11)	m	Sr	64	univ	employee	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20090212-1700
12)	m	Sr	65	sec	graphics designer	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090211-1700
13)	m	Sr	65	univ	manager	<i>Clarín</i>	world	20081219-1600
14)	m	Sr	65	sec	retired	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081222-2045
15)	m	Sr	67	sec	manager	<i>La Nación</i>	world	20081204-1500
16)	m	Sr	70	univ	engineer	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090228-1600
17)	m	Sr	71	sec	barber	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20081225-1330
18)	m	Sr	72	sec	railroad	<i>Clarín</i>	Arg	20090101-1300
19)	m	Sr	72	univ	employee	<i>La Nación</i>	Arg	20090212-1530

3.4 Participant Observation (PO)

3.4.1. PO Participants

For the third mode of data collection, the PI randomly observed interlocutors in casual public settings in Buenos Aires province. Her goal was to collect samples from interactants representing the thirty-six generation/gender dyads. Examples of conversational encounters included small talk, i.e. while standing in line or seated in a waiting area. Examples of service encounters involved common daily interactions among strangers in shops, stores, public transportation, restaurants, libraries, and educational facilities. Many times family members and friends elicited natural address from strangers in conversational and service settings by asking for directions.

In most of the conversational encounters, both interlocutors immediately began using informal address; however, in casual service encounters, avoidance strategies appeared as an alternate in addition to informal and formal address. Several different strategies were used and

are illustrated in the examples below. What remains for future research is whether these types of alternate address are consciously or unconsciously being used to avoid having to make an address form decision in initial casual interactions with strangers.

Example 1: In neighborhood grocery stores and smaller shops that typically sell just one or two categories of products (i.e. meat, pasta, vegetables/fruits, or bread/cakes), the PI frequently observed a one-sided style of interaction in service encounters. Regardless of whether customers informally/formally addressed a shop clerk, the employee used an alternate method of interaction to acknowledge customers—typically a simple nod of the head. Occasionally the head gesture was accompanied by one of the following minimal (non-committal) verbal remarks, such as (i) *Si* ‘Yes’, (ii) *Hola* ‘Hello’, (iii) *¿Quién sigue?* ‘Who’s next?’, or (iv) *¿La próxima?* ‘Next?’.

Example 2: Another alternate address form (i.e. avoidance strategy) was occasionally employed in service encounters when restaurant waiters or taxi drivers were talking to a couple. Typically, they would use the second-person plural (2pP) *ustedes* which is both formal and informal address in Buenos Aires. In addition waiters might resort to first-person plural (1pP) when asking the couple: *¿Qué vamos a tomar?* ‘What are we [1pP] going to drink?’ A taxi driver could use a similar strategy by asking the couple: *¿Adónde vamos?* ‘Where are we [1pP] going?’

3.4.2. PO Instruments

For field work, the PI discretely carried a notepad, pen, and small digital audio recorder to document her observations of strangers using address in initial casual interactions in public places. This particular device, a Sony ICD-P620 digital voice recorder, provided several benefits. First, it was small enough for the PI to carry in the palm of her hand. Second, each recording was automatically and individually numbered plus labeled with the date and time of the recording. Third, recordings could be stored in four selectable folders. The PI used these features to identify each recording. In addition, the audio digital hardware package included a

recorder-to-PC USB port and software (Sony PC Link Application “Digital Voice Editor”) for transferring the data to her laptop computer for purposes of analysis.

3.4.3. *PO Procedures*

The PI sought out opportunities to document samples of address usage among strangers. Some of these instances were successfully recorded. Others were drowned out by loud background noise, e.g. buses passing in the street, music in the stores, etc. On other occasions, address samples occurred before the recorder was running. Anticipating such complications, the PI made handwritten field notes on her note pad regarding each recording: data description (date, time, recorder folder, and number), location/situation, the demographics of the speaker/interlocutor dyad (gender, approximate age, role), and the address forms used in the interaction.

The PI observed initial interactions among strangers—typically between her husband and a store clerk, a passer-by, or a passenger. In other cases, the PI observed the interactions between a family member with a stranger and/or a friend with a stranger. In addition the PI occasionally performed the dual role of participant and observer. The fact that the PI was a foreigner speaking Spanish as a second language did not appear to result in her being treated differently from any other over-50 female by strangers of either gender and/or age group. In fact, on multiple occasions the PI was addressed informally—much to her husband’s surprise.

The PI transferred the digital audio recordings to her PC using the hardware and software provided with the recorder and typed her field notes into a spreadsheet. While doing her field work, she manually tracked her accumulation of natural data observations by generation/gender dyads to ensure that the collection of samples represented as many of the dyads as possible.

3.4.4. PO Data Collected

The PI gathered 275 samples of address form usage via participant observation. See Table 3.12 below for categorization of the data by generation/gender dyads. The PI entered the interlocutors' demographic and address data into an MS Excel® spreadsheet for data analysis. She treated each interlocutor in a dyad as a speaker because survey and interview data had shown that the large majority of interlocutors used spontaneous address.

Table 3.12 PO: Samples by Generation/Gender Dyads

Generation Dyads		Gender Dyads				Total
Speaker	Hearer	f – f	f – m	m – f	m – m	
Jr	Jr	4	1	1	0	6
	Mi	1	1	3	1	6
	Sr	9	21	4	10	44
	<i>Total</i>	14	23	8	11	56
Mi	Jr	2	3	0	2	7
	Mi	4	3	3	3	13
	Sr	5	12	5	19	41
	<i>Total</i>	11	18	8	24	61
Sr	Jr	8	4	19	11	42
	Mi	4	4	13	24	45
	Sr	17	11	12	31	71
	<i>Total</i>	29	19	44	66	158
Total		51	60	60	101	275

Chapter 4 contains the statistical analysis and results plus several anecdotal experiences that were observed by the PI.

3.5 TV News Reports (TV)

The Argentine TV news enabled the PI to observe additional naturally-occurring speech interaction between news reporters and the public. As a fourth mode of data collection, video taping TV news reports enabled the PI to see interlocutor demographic details (i.e. gender and approximate age) plus capture natural speech in emotional settings. This methodology,

therefore, had several advantages over using live radio talk shows as sources of natural speech data.²⁶

3.5.1 TV Participants

Argentine TV news reporters included males and females who appeared to range in age from approximately 25 to 40. They interviewed children and adults of both genders.

3.5.2 TV Instruments

During the months of August, September and October 2006, the PI observed and video taped the noon and evening Argentine TV news programs which were available at her home in Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas, via satellite and the DISH Latino network. Later the tapes were manually converted from VHS to PC video files using converter hardware/software initially provided by the UTA Digital Studio and later via converter hardware/software that the PI's husband made available at home.

3.5.3 TV Procedures

At the same time that the PI was video taping these 60-90 minute news programs in their entirety, she observed and noted which interviews illustrated address form usage between strangers. Fortunately, the news program displayed a timestamp in the lower right-hand corner of the screen which facilitated identifying, logging, and locating particular video-taped interviews. The scenarios typically involved emotional situations where the reporter was interviewing the victim (or family member) of a crime, accident, tragedy, etc.

There may be some debate over the authenticity of the interlocutors' speech considering that they know they are on camera. In the case of the interviewee, one can cite Labov's strategy of asking informants to describe an emotional event as a technique for obtaining natural speech (1991:209-210). In the case of TV news reporters, however, their use of address could be suspect from several perspectives. First, they could use informal to create a feeling of closeness with the interviewee so that she/he would share more personal

²⁶ For more information on using data from radio talk shows, see Hughson 2005.

information. Second, they might use informal because they too got caught up in the emotion of the event/tragedy. Third, they could choose to use formal address to appear more professional, distant, and/or respectful. The PI, therefore, decided to treat reporters' speech as natural as the interviewees'. The PI did not focus on reciprocity of address but, instead, treated each interlocutor in the initial interaction as a speaker within the context of a gender/generation dyad.

3.5.4 TV Data Collected

The PI reviewed the video tapes and typed the interlocutors' demographic and address data into an MS Excel spreadsheet. From the hours of news recordings, the PI extracted a total of 329 address cases for analysis. These are categorized by generation/gender dyads in Table 3.13 below. Some of the dyads in the table contain 0 i.e. "no data". This occurred especially in dyads involving Senior speakers. This is not surprising considering the majority of Argentine TV news reporters working with the public (as opposed to TV news anchors) appear to be younger than 49.

Table 3.13 TV: Total Cases by Generation/Gender Dyads

Generation Dyads		Gender Dyads				Total
Speaker	Hearer	f – f	f – m	m – f	m – m	
Jr	Jr	0	3	1	3	7
	Mi	12	10	8	6	36
	Sr	1	0	0	1	2
	<i>Total</i>	13	13	9	10	45
Mi	Jr	22	9	18	13	62
	Mi	34	30	32	45	141
	Sr	6	8	9	18	41
	<i>Total</i>	62	47	59	76	244
Sr	Jr	3	0	0	1	4
	Mi	5	5	7	19	36
	Sr	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>Total</i>	8	5	7	20	40
Total		83	65	75	106	329

3.6 Summary Comments

The table below compiles the results of using the four methodologies. In the case of quantitative data, the PI collected twenty-four hundred samples of speaker address. In addition she gathered qualitative data from 95 IV informants—many of whom had participated in the SQ.

Table 3.14 Mixed Methodologies: Address Samples and Informants

Types and Source of Data	Quantitative Data	Qualitative Data	Speaker Address Samples	Informants
Natural Speech				
1. PO	√	√	275	1
2. TV	√		329	
Reported Speech				
3. SQ	√			
-Conversation 911				
-Service <u>885</u>				
1,796			1796	
4. IV		√		95
<i>Total</i>			2400	

In Chapter 4 the quantitative data are statistically analyzed using inferential and descriptive software, and the results are presented. Qualitative data extracted from the IV feedback is highlighted. In Chapter 5, the quantitative data are triangulated and discussed; then the quantitative/qualitative findings are applied to the research questions.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter analyzes the data gathered via the four methodologies and contains the following sections: 4.1 describes the key output reports using SAS inferential analysis of the SQ, PO, TV data; 4.2 displays the descriptive reports generated by SPSS Cross-tabulations with the three sources of quantitative data; 4.3 relates several anecdotes documented via participant observation; and 4.4 summarizes highlights of informants' feedback to the interview questions.

4.1 Inferential Analysis and Results of SQ, PO, and TV Data

The PI's MS Excel spreadsheets for the three data sources were imported into SAS for the purpose of using the GLIMMIX Procedure to analyze binomial logistic regression with repeated measures and produce inferential models of the odds of informal address usage by the population of Buenos Aires. For each source of quantitative data, a pair of tables is displayed to provide a generalized linear mixed model with repeated measures. The first table is entitled "Type III Tests of Fixed Effects," and it lists in the *Effect* column the gender and generation variables for informants/speakers plus the gender and generation variables for the photo interlocutors/hearers/addressees. This table indicates there is a difference in informal usage when the value in the $Pr > F$ column is less than 0.05. The second table is entitled "Estimates," and it contains eight comparisons which are summarized in Table 4.1 below. The first three rows compare generational pairs of informants/speakers using informal with all generations. Rows four through six compare generational pairs of photo interlocutors/hearers/addressees receiving informal address from all the generations. Row seven compares genders of informants/speakers using informal address with all genders; and

row eight compares genders of photo interlocutors/hearers/addressees receiving informal from all genders.

Table 4.1 Inferential SAS Models Comparing Odds of Informal Address Usage

Generational Dyads: Informants/Speakers		Combined Dyads
1. Jr vs. Mi	S =>	Jr + Mi + Sr
2. Jr vs. Sr	S =>	Jr + Mi + Sr
3. Mi vs. Sr	S =>	Jr + Mi + Sr
Photo Interlocutors/Hearers/Addressees		
4. Jr vs. Mi	H <=	Jr + Mi + Sr
5. Jr vs. Sr	H <=	Jr + Mi + Sr
6. Mi vs. Sr	H <=	Jr + Mi + Sr
Gender Dyads: Informants/Speakers		
7. f vs. m	S =>	f + m
Photo Interlocutors/Hearers/Addressees		
8. f vs. m	H <=	f + m

When the number in the second table's $Pr > [t]$ column is ≥ 0.05 , there is no significant difference in the data for the odds of informal address. When the number is < 0.05 , then the value in the *Exponentiated Estimate* column indicates the odds for informal address. A value > 1 increases the odds of informal use by the indicated amount. A value < 1 decreases the odds of informal use by that amount. To facilitate the use of these inferential results, the PI has included an interpretation and a summary following each pair of tables.

4.1.1 SQ – Survey Questionnaire

4.1.1.1 SQ Address

The first pair of tables describes the odds of informal address being used by the Buenos Aires population in a conversational encounter. In Table 4.2 the underscoring in the first two rows plus the last row indicates that there are differences in the use of informal address for three of the four variables listed in the *Effect* column: (i) informant gender, (ii) informant generation, and (iii) photo interlocutor generation.

Table 4.2 SQ Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects

Effect	Num DF	Den DF	F Value	Pr > F
x_InfmtGndr1	1	88	17.16	<.0001
G_InfmtGnrtn1	2	88	8.06	0.0006
x_PhotoGndr2	1	88	0.16	0.6944
G_PhotoGnrtn2	2	88	38.54	<.0001

In Table 4.3, the underscoring in rows two through seven indicates the specific variable pairs having a significant difference in the odds of informal address usage as specified in the last two columns.

Table 4.3 SQ Address: Estimates

ID	Label	Estimate	Standard Error	DF	t Value	Pr > t	Exponentiated Estimate
1)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-JvM	0.01146	0.2257	88	0.05	0.9596	1.0115
2)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-JvS	-0.9175	0.2541	88	-3.61	0.0005	0.3995
3)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-MvS	-0.9290	0.2581	88	-3.60	0.0005	0.3950
4)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-JvM	0.9154	0.1817	88	5.04	<.0001	2.4979
5)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-JvS	2.5854	0.2970	88	8.71	<.0001	13.2688
6)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-MvS	1.6700	0.2198	88	7.60	<.0001	5.3120
7)	InfmtGndr1-fvm	0.8361	0.2018	88	4.14	<.0001	2.3074
8)	PhotoGndr2-fvm	0.04636	0.1176	88	0.39	0.6944	1.0475

Table 4.4 interprets each row of Table 4.3 in terms of the estimated odds of informal address occurring in the Buenos Aires population.

Table 4.4 SQ Address: Interpretation of Estimates

(ID)	Generation of Informants/Speakers Using Informal
(1)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of informal address usage by speakers in the J category vs. M age category when addressing everyone and all variables are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior speakers use informal address more than Middle speakers when addressing all the photo interlocutors.
(2)	The odds of a speaker in the J age category using informal address is <u>reduced</u> to a factor of 0.3995 times the odds of someone in the S age category using informal address when all other variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Juniors speakers are less likely to use informal address than Senior speakers when addressing all photo interlocutors

Table 4.4 – Continued

(3)	The odds of a speaker in the M age category using informal address is <u>reduced</u> to a factor of 0.3950 times the odds of someone in the S age category using informal address when all other variables under consideration in the model are held constant; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Middle speakers are less likely to use informal address than Senior speakers when addressing all photo interlocutors.
<u>Generation of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers Receiving Informal</u>	
(4)	The odds of a photo interlocutor in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 2.4979 times the odds of someone in the M age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Junior photo interlocutors are more likely to receive informal address than Middle photo interlocutors.
(5)	The odds of a photo interlocutor in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 13.2688 times the odds of someone in the S age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” is less than 0.05, Junior photo interlocutors are more likely to receive informal address than Senior photo interlocutors..
(6)	The odds of a photo interlocutor in the M age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 5.3120 times the odds of someone in the S age category receiving informal when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Middle photo interlocutors are more likely to receive informal address than Seniors.
<u>Gender of Informants/Speakers Using Informal</u>	
(7)	The odds of a speaker in the “f” (female) gender category using informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 2.3074 times the odds of a speaker in the “m” (male) gender category using informal address when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, females are more likely to use informal address than males when addressing all photo interlocutors.
<u>Gender of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers Receiving Informal</u>	
(8)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of receiving informal address by photo interlocutors in either the “f” (female) or “m” (male) gender categories; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05 one cannot conclude that there is a difference in the receipt of informal address by the two genders of photo interlocutors.

Table 4.5 below provides a more succinct summary of the inferential models for SQ address data in a conversational encounter.

Table 4.5: SQ Address: Summary of Estimates

<u>SQ Address Data</u>	<u>Odds of Informants/Speakers Using Informal with All</u>	<u>Odds of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers Receiving Informal from All</u>
Jr vs. Mi	1) No significant difference	4) ↑ by factor of 2.4979
Jr vs. Sr:	2) ↓ by factor of 0.3995	5) ↑ by factor of 13.2688
Mi vs. Sr	3) ↓ by factor of 0.3950	6) ↑ by factor of 5.3120
female vs. male	7) ↑ by factor of 2.3074	8) No significant difference

The models imply that the odds are greatest for the Senior generation of speakers to use informal when addressing all the generations, i.e. the Senior generation does have the largest audience of younger photo interlocutors/hearers. In terms of gender, the odds imply that females are more likely to use informal address than males.

4.1.1.2 SQ Settings

This subsection describes the inferential odds for the Buenos Aires population to use the same address forms in both SQ conversational and service settings. In Table 4.6 the underscoring in the first row indicates that the only variable with significant odds of differences in informal address use is the informant gender listed in the *Effect* column.

Table 4.6 SQ Settings: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects

<u>Effect</u>	Num <u>DF</u>	Den <u>DF</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Pr > F</u>
<u>x_InfmtGndr1</u>	1	85	4.06	<u>0.0471</u>
G_InfmtGnrtn1	2	85	0.81	0.4466
x_PhotoGndr2	1	85	0.34	0.5620
G_PhotoGnrtn2	2	85	0.62	0.5414

In Table 4.7, the underscoring in row seven indicates that only the informant gender has a significant difference in the odds of informal address usage as specified in the last two columns.

Table 4.7 SQ Settings: Estimates

<u>ID</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Estimate</u>	Standard <u>Error</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>Pr > t </u>	Exponentiated <u>Estimate</u>
1)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-JvM	0.1840	0.5250	85	0.35	0.7268	1.2020
2)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-JvS	0.5469	0.4529	85	1.21	0.2306	1.7279
3)	G_InfmtGnrtn1-MvS	0.3629	0.4578	85	0.79	0.4301	1.4375
4)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-JvM	0.4177	0.3998	85	1.04	0.2991	1.5184
5)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-JvS	0.2792	0.5415	85	0.52	0.6075	1.3220
6)	G_PhotoGnrtn2-MvS	-0.1385	0.3650	85	-0.38	0.7052	0.8706
7)	<u>x_InfmtGndr1-fvm</u>	<u>0.7382</u>	<u>0.3665</u>	85	<u>2.01</u>	<u>0.0471</u>	<u>2.0921</u>
8)	x_PhotoGndr2-fvm	-0.1200	0.2061	85	-0.58	0.5620	0.8869

Table 4.8 interprets each row of Table 4.7 in terms of the estimated odds of the same address form being used by the Buenos Aires population in both the conversational and service settings.

Table 4.8 SQ Settings: Interpretation of Estimates

(ID)	<u>Generation of Informants/Speakers Using Same Address in Both Settings</u>
(1)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being used in both settings by speakers in the J age category vs. M age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Middle speakers are different.
(2)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being used in both settings by speakers in the J age category vs. S age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Senior speakers are different.
(3)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being used in both settings by speakers in the M age category vs. S age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Middle and Senior speakers are different.
	<u>Generation of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers Receiving Same Address in Both Settings</u>
(4)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being received in both settings by photo interlocutors in the J age category vs. M age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Middle photo interlocutors are different.
(5)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being received in both settings by photo interlocutors in the J age category vs. S age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Senior photo interlocutors are different.
(6)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the same address form being received in both settings by photo interlocutors in the M age category vs. S age category; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Middle and Senior photo interlocutors are different.
	<u>Gender of Informants/Speakers Using Same Address in Both Settings</u>
(7)	The odds of a speaker in the “f” (female) gender category using informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 2.0921 times the odds of a speaker in the “m” (male) gender category using informal address when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” is less than 0.05, female speakers are more likely than males to use the same address forms in both settings.
	<u>Gender of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers Receiving Same Address in Both Settings</u>
(8)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds that either the same vs. different address forms will be received by “f” (female) or “m” (male) gender photo interlocutors; i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that female and male photo interlocutors are different.

Table 4.9, below, provides a more succinct summary of the inferential models for the SQ Settings data.

Table 4.9 SQ Settings: Summary of Estimates

<u>SQ Settings</u> <u>Address Data</u>	<u>Odds of Informants/Speakers</u> <u>Using Informal with All</u>	<u>Odds of Photo Interlocutors/Hearers</u> <u>Receiving Informal from All</u>
Jr vs. Mi	1) No significant difference	4) No significant difference
Jr vs. Sr:	2) No significant difference	5) No significant difference
Mi vs. Sr	3) No significant difference	6) No significant difference
Female vs. male	7) ↑ by factor of 2.0921	8) No significant difference

These models imply that one cannot conclude that the generational usage of the same address form in both encounters was significantly different; however, the odds indicate that female speakers are more likely to use the same address form in both encounters.

4.1.2 PO Data

Because the SAS Glimmix analysis does not lend itself to the possibility of three address forms, i.e. formal, informal, and alternate, the analysis was run as if there were no Alternate option. The underscoring in Table 4.10 indicates that the only variable with a significant difference in the use of informal address was the Addressee/Hearer generations receiving informal address.

Table 4.10 PO Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects

<u>Effect</u>	<u>Num</u> <u>DF</u>	<u>Den</u> <u>DF</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Pr > F</u>
x_SpkrGndr1	1	26	0.04	0.8504
G_SpkrGnrtn1	2	35	0.45	0.6442
x_AddrseeGndr2	1	24	0.47	0.4989
<u>G_AddrseeGnrtn2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>9.58</u>	<u>0.0005</u>

In Table 4.11 the underscoring in rows four through six indicates that the address/hearer generation variable pairs display significant differences in the odds of informal address usage as specified in the last two columns.

Table 4.11 PO Address: Estimates

ID	Label	Estimate	Standard Error	DF	t Value	Pr > t	Exponentiated Estimate
1)	G_SpkrGnrtn1-JvM	-0.1286	0.5166	35	-0.25	0.8049	0.8793
2)	G_SpkrGnrtn1-JvS	-0.4070	0.4853	35	-0.84	0.4073	0.6656
3)	G_SpkrGnrtn1-MvS	-0.2784	0.4040	35	-0.69	0.4952	0.7570
4)	G_AddreseeGnrtn2-JvM	1.7700	0.6778	32	2.61	0.0136	5.8709
5)	G_AddreseeGnrtn2-JvS	2.5865	0.6227	32	4.15	0.0002	13.2831
6)	G_AddreseeGnrtn2-MvS	0.8165	0.3944	32	2.07	0.0466	2.2626
7)	x_SpkrGndr1-fvm	0.06864	0.3603	26	0.19	0.8504	1.0711
8)	xx_AddreseeGndr2-fvm	-0.2285	0.3328	24	-0.69	0.4989	0.7957

Table 4.12 interprets each row of Table 4.11 in terms of the estimated odds of informal address occurring in the Buenos Aires population.

Table 4.12 PO Address: Interpretation of Estimates

(ID)	<u>PO Address: Generation of Speakers Using Informal</u>
(1)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of informal address usage by speakers in the J category vs. M age categories, i.e. because the Pr > t value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Middle speakers are different.
(2)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of informal address usage by speakers in the J category vs. S age categories, i.e. because the Pr > t value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Junior and Senior speakers are different.
(3)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of informal address usage by speakers in the M category vs. S age categories, i.e. because the Pr > t value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that Middle and Senior speakers are different
	<u>PO Address: Generation of Addressees Receiving Informal</u>
(4)	The odds of an addressee in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 5.8709 times the odds of someone in the M age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant; i.e. because Pr > t value is less than 0.05, Junior addressees are more likely to receive informal address compared to Middle.
(5)	The odds of an addressee in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 13.2831 times the odds of someone in the S age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because Pr > t value is less than 0.05, Junior addressees are more likely to receive informal address compared to Senior.
(6)	The odds of an addressee in the M age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 2.2626 times the odds of someone in the S age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because Pr > t value is less than 0.05, Middle addressees are more likely to receive informal address compared to Senior.
	<u>PO Address: Gender of Speakers Using Informal</u>
(7)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of informal address being used by a speaker in either the female or male gender categories; i.e. because the Pr > t value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that female and male speakers are different.

Table 4.12 – *Continued*

<u>PO Address: Gender of Addressees Receiving Informal</u>	
(8)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of receiving informal address by addressees in either the “f” (female) or “m” (male) gender categories, i.e. because the $Pr > t $ value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that female and male addressees are different.

Table 4.13 below provides a more succinct summary of the inferential models for PO address data.

Table 4.13 PO Address: Summary of Estimates

<u>PO Address Data</u>	<u>Odds of Speakers Using Informal with All</u>	<u>Odds of Addressees Receiving Informal from All</u>
Jr vs. Mi	1) No significant difference	4) ↑ by factor of 5.8709
Jr vs. Sr:	2) No significant difference	5) ↑ by factor of 13.2831
Mi vs. Sr	3) No significant difference	6) ↑ by factor of 2.2626
Female vs. male	7) No significant difference	8) No significant difference

These models imply that among the generations of speakers as well as the genders of informants and addressees, one cannot conclude that there are significant differences in informal address. Only the generational pairs of addressees display significant differences in the receipt of informal address; and in this particular case, Junior addressees receive informal the most.

4.1.3 TV Data

As was the case with the PO data, because the SAS Glimmix analysis only lends itself to two variables, the inferential model ignored the alternate address and only indicated the odds of informal address being used versus formal. The underscoring in Table 4.14 indicates that generations of both speakers and addressees display significant differences in the use of informal address.

Table 4.14 TV Address: Type III Tests of Fixed Effects

<u>Effect</u>	<u>Num DF</u>	<u>Den DF</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Pr > F</u>
x_SpkrGndr1	1	29	0.71	0.4075
G_SpkrGntn1	2	37	12.66	<.0001
x_AddrseeGndr2	1	33	0.19	0.6635
G_AddrseeGntn2	2	44	18.86	<.0001

In Table 4.15 the underscoring in rows one through six indicates that the generational variable pairs of speakers and addressees display significant differences in the odds of informal address usage as specified in the last two columns.

Table 4.15 TV Address: Estimates

<u>ID</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Estimate</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>Pr > t </u>	<u>Exponentiated Estimate</u>
1)	G_SpkrGntn1-JvM	2.8505	0.5738	37	4.97	<.0001	17.2966
2)	G_SpkrGntn1-JvS	1.9258	0.6154	37	3.13	0.0034	6.8604
3)	G_SpkrGntn1-MvS	-0.9247	0.4313	37	-2.14	0.0386	0.3966
4)	G_AddreseeGntn2-JvM	2.5214	0.5275	44	4.78	<.0001	12.4459
5)	G_AddreseeGntn2-JvS	4.4887	0.7555	44	5.94	<.0001	89.0070
6)	G_AddreseeGntn2-MvS	1.9673	0.6133	44	3.21	0.0025	7.1515
7)	x_SpkrGndr1-fvm	-0.2268	0.2698	29	-0.84	0.4075	0.7971
8)	x_AddrseeGndr2-fvm	0.1189	0.2708	33	0.44	0.6635	1.1263

Table 4.16 interprets each row of Table 4.15 in terms of the estimated odds of informal address occurring in the Buenos Aires population based on the TV address data.

Table 4.16 TV Address: Interpretation of Estimates

(ID)	<u>Generation of Speakers Using Informal</u>
(1)	The odds of a speaker in the J age category using informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 17.2966 times the odds of someone in the M age category using informal address when all other variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > [t]” value is less than 0.05, Junior speakers are more likely to use informal address than Middle speakers when addressing all interlocutors.
(2)	The odds of a speaker in the J age category using informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 6.8604 times the odds of someone in the S age category using informal address when all other variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > [t]” value is less than 0.05, Junior speakers are more likely to use informal address than Senior speakers when addressing all interlocutors

Table 4.16 – *Continued*

(3)	The odds of a speaker in the M age category using informal address is <u>reduced</u> to a factor of 0.3966 times the odds of someone in the S age category using informal address when all other variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Middle speakers are less likely to use informal address than Senior speakers when addressing all interlocutors.
<u>Generation of Addressees Receiving Informal</u>	
(4)	The odds of an addressee in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 12.4459 times the odds of someone in the M age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Junior addressees are more likely to receive informal address than Middle.
(5)	The odds of an addressee in the J age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 89.0070 times the odds of someone in the S age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Junior addressees are more likely to receive informal address than Senior.
(6)	The odds of an addressee in the M age category receiving informal address is <u>increased</u> to a factor of 7.1515 times the odds of someone in the S age category when all variables under consideration in the model are held constant, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is less than 0.05, Middle addressees are more likely to receive informal address than Senior.
<u>Gender of Speakers Using Informal</u>	
(7)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of the use of informal address by speakers in either the “f” (female) or “m” (male) gender categories, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” value is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that female and male speakers are different.
<u>Gender of Addressees Receiving Informal</u>	
(8)	There is <u>no</u> significant difference in the odds of receiving informal address by addressees in either the “f” (female) or “m” (male) gender categories, i.e. because the “Pr > t ” is not less than 0.05, one cannot conclude that female and male addressees are different.

Table 4.17 below provides a more succinct summary of the inferential models for informal in TV address data.

Table 4.17 TV Address: Summary of Estimates

<u>TV Address Data</u>	<u>Odds of Speakers Using Informal with All</u>	<u>Odds of Addressees Receiving Informal from All</u>
Jr vs. Mi	1) ↑ by factor of 17.2966	4) ↑ by factor of 12.4459
Jr vs. Sr:	2) ↑ by factor of 6.8604	5) ↑ by factor of 89.0070
Mi vs. Sr	3) ↓ by factor of 0.3966	6) ↑ by factor of 7.1515
Female vs. male	7) No significant difference	8) No significant difference

These models imply that the Junior generation of speakers has the greatest odds of using informal address with all. This finding contradicts the inferential model for the SQ Address section; however, in light of the fact that the TV Senior-to-Senior dyads have no data, this contradiction is not valid. In terms of gender, one cannot conclude that female and male speakers are different.

4.2 Descriptive Analysis and Results of SQ, PO, and TV Data

The PI's spreadsheets for the three data sources were imported into SPSS to use Cross-tabulations to generate descriptive reports that categorize the data samples into the nine generational dyads illustrated in Figure 4.1 below.

Speakers ↓ & Hearers ⇒	Jr (18-29)	Mi (30-49)	Sr (50 +)
Sr (50 +)	Sr ↓ Jr	Sr ↓ Mi	Sr ⇒ Sr
Mi (30-49)	Mi ↓ Jr	Mi ⇒ Mi	Mi ↑ Sr
Jr (18-29)	Jr ⇒ Jr	Jr ↑ Mi	Jr ↑ Sr

Figure 4.1 Nine Generational Dyads

The SPSS Cross-tabulations reports also categorized the address data into the four gender dyads illustrated in Figure 4.2 below.

Speakers ↓ & Hearers ⇒	female (f)	male (m)
female (f)	f – f	f – m
male (m)	m – f	m – m

Figure 4.2 Four Gender Dyads

Combining Figures 4.1 and 4.2 produced thirty-six possible generational/gender dyads that can be displayed in a matrix similar to the one shown earlier in Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3. SPSS Cross-tabulations generated reports that produced counts and percentages of address forms used (i.e. formal, informal, and alternate) per generation/gender dyad. Figure 4.3 below is a partial conceptual illustration of the SPSS Cross-tabulations reports in Tables 4.18, 4.25, 4.32,

and 4.39. The first column (labeled “1G”) represents the speaker generations (Jr, Mi, and Sr), and the second column (labeled “2G”) represents the hearer generations. Each generational dyad (i.e. 1G-to-2G) shows the number, percentage, and total of address forms used by each gender dyad: f-f, f-m, m-f, and m-m.

1G	2G	Address	Total / %	f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m
Jr (18-29)	Jr	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Mi	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Sr	Formal Informal Alternate					
Mi (30-49)	Jr	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Mi	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Sr	Formal Informal Alternate					
Sr (50 +)	Jr	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Mi	Formal Informal Alternate					
	Sr	Formal Informal Alternate					

Figure 4.3 Conceptual Illustration of Descriptive SPSS Cross-tabulations Output

In subsections 4.2.1 through 4.2.3 the SPSS Cross-tabulations Tables (4.18, 4.25, 4.32, and 4.29) display address data by sequential generational dyads:

1. Junior speakers: Jr \Rightarrow Jr Jr $\hat{=}$ Mi Jr $\hat{=}$ Sr
2. Middle speakers: Mi \Downarrow Jr Mi \Rightarrow Mi Mi $\hat{=}$ Sr
3. Senior speakers: Sr \Downarrow Jr Sr \Downarrow Mi Sr \Rightarrow Sr

To focus on speakers' use of informal address, the PI follows each Cross-tabulations table with manually plotted tables that compare informal use by generational dyads in sequential order, i.e. line items 1 through 3 above). To view the informal data from a different perspective for the purpose of revealing usage trends, the PI manually plotted the informal data in the three symmetrical/asymmetrical generational relationships listed below:

- 4. Symmetrical: Jr ⇒ Jr Mi ⇒ Mi Sr ⇒ Sr
- 5. Older-to-Younger: Mi ↓ Jr Sr ↓ Jr Sr ↓ Mi
- 6. Younger-to-Older: Jr ↑ Mi Jr ↑ Sr Mi ↑ Sr

4.2.1 SQ Data

4.2.1.1 SQ Address

The table below displays the counts, totals, and percentages of informant's reported address, i.e. informal versus formal, by generational/gender dyads in conversational encounters.

Table 4.18 SQ Address: Conversational Encounter

Cross-tabulation of Survey Questionnaire Data on Formal vs. Informal Address									
1G	2G				Gender to Gender				
					f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m	Total
J	J	Addr	For	Count	1	0	2	0	3
				%	5.0%	.0%	13.3%	.0%	6.7%
			Inf	Count	19	5	13	5	42
				%	95.0%	100.0%	86.7%	100.0%	93.3%
			Total	Count	20	5	15	5	45
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	M	Addr	For	Count	11	14	11	10	46
				%	42.3%	35.9%	55.0%	38.5%	41.4%
			Inf	Count	15	25	9	16	65
				%	57.7%	64.1%	45.0%	61.5%	58.6%
			Total	Count	26	39	20	26	111
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	S	Addr	For	Count	17	20	10	14	61
				%	89.5%	95.2%	100.0%	100.0%	95.3%

Table 4.18 - Continued

			Inf	Count	2	1	0	0	3
				%	10.5%	4.8%	.0%	.0%	4.7%
			Total	Count	19	21	10	14	64
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
M	J	Addr	For	Count	0	0	3	0	3
				%	.0%	.0%	15.0%	.0%	5.4%
			Inf	Count	20	8	17	8	53
				%	100.0%	100.0%	85.0%	100.0%	94.6%
			Total	Count	20	8	20	8	56
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	M	Addr	For	Count	9	9	10	10	38
				%	26.5%	24.3%	27.0%	22.2%	24.8%
			Inf	Count	25	28	27	35	115
				%	73.5%	75.7%	73.0%	77.8%	75.2%
			Total	Count	34	37	37	45	153
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	S	Addr	For	Count	17	22	21	25	85
				%	85.0%	88.0%	91.3%	92.6%	89.5%
			Inf	Count	3	3	2	2	10
				%	15.0%	12.0%	8.7%	7.4%	10.5%
			Total	Count	20	25	23	27	95
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
S	J	Addr	For	Count	1	1	7	1	10
				%	3.1%	14.3%	20.6%	10.0%	12.0%
			Inf	Count	31	6	27	9	73
				%	96.9%	85.7%	79.4%	90.0%	88.0%
			Total	Count	32	7	34	10	83
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	M	Addr	For	Count	1	10	13	12	36
				%	2.3%	17.9%	31.7%	24.5%	19.0%
			Inf	Count	42	46	28	37	153
				%	97.7%	82.1%	68.3%	75.5%	81.0%
			Total	Count	43	56	41	49	189
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	S	Addr	For	Count	9	23	15	25	72
				%	36.0%	62.2%	83.3%	71.4%	62.6%
			Inf	Count	16	14	3	10	43
				%	64.0%	37.8%	16.7%	28.6%	37.4%
			Total	Count	25	37	18	35	115
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Count of Survey Cases on Formal/Informal Address = 911									

The following three tables (4.19 through 4.21) display the use of informal address in sequential generational dyads subcategorized by gender dyads which are represented as separate horizontal bars each containing the percent of informal address used.²⁷ Based on Table 4.19, one can conclude that the relative ages of the interlocutors is a key criterion influencing the choice of address forms. For example, Junior speakers used informal address the most when addressing their generational peers, i.e. usage of informal was 100% in the case of female-to-male and male-to-male interaction. Junior informants reported reduced use of informal address with the next oldest (i.e. Middle) generation and practically none with the oldest (i.e. Senior) generation. In terms of gender, it is interesting to note that male-to-female dyads use informal address the least when Juniors are the speaker.

Table 4.19 SQ Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ⇒ Jr											
f ⇒ f											
f ⇒ m	95										
m ⇒ f	100										
m ⇒ m	87										
Jr ↑ Mi											
f ↑ f	58										
f ↑ m	64										
m ↑ f	45										
m ↑ m	62										
Jr ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f	11										
f ↑ m	5										
m ↑ f	0										
m ↑ m	0										

Table 4.20 below indicates that Middle informants use informal address 100% of the time with the younger (i.e. Junior) generation with the exception of male-to-female dyads which is only 85%. The Middle speakers address their generational peers close to 75%; however, they use informal significantly less with the older generation.

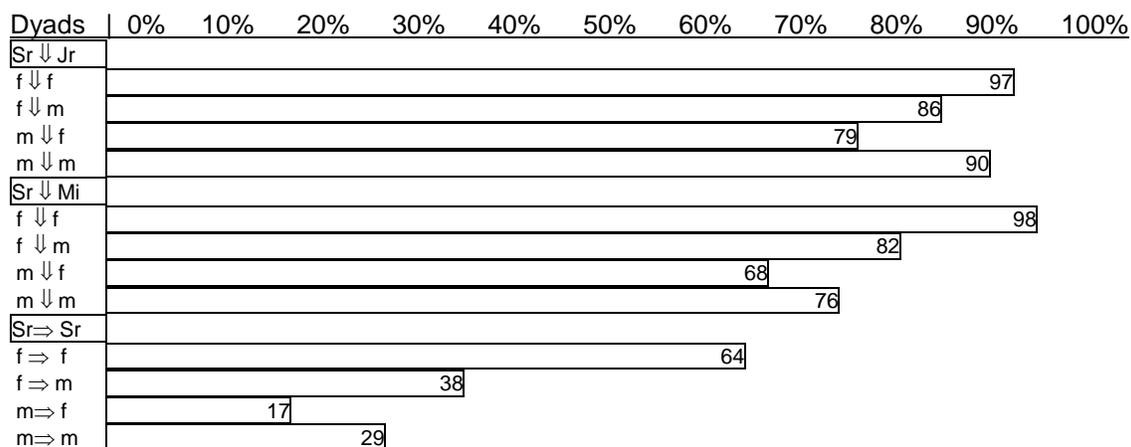
²⁷ See Appendix D for details on SQ Address: informal versus formal usage.

Table 4.20 SQ Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers



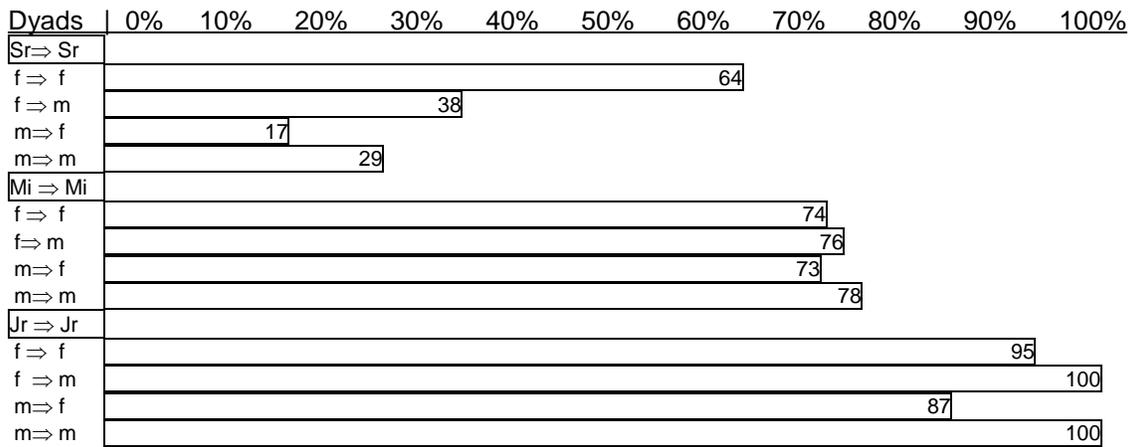
Table 4.21 below reinforces the pattern first seen in Table 4.20 above, i.e. older Buenos Aires speakers tend to use informal with younger (i.e. Junior and Middle) interlocutors. Gender is influential in two contexts: (i) when addressing their generational peers, female-to-female dyads use informal more than 50% of the time; and (ii) in all generational dyads, male-to-female dyads consistently use less informal.

Table 4.21 SQ Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers



For a different perspective, the same data in Tables 4.19 through 4.21 is regrouped into symmetrical and asymmetrical (i.e. older-to-younger and younger-to-older) relationships in Tables 4.22 through 4.24. The display of symmetrical generational relationships indicates that informal address is popular to (i) the greatest extent among the youngest (i.e. Junior) generation; (ii) somewhat less popular among Middle peers; and (ii) the least among the Senior peers. It appears that speakers consciously or unconsciously choose their address forms based on the relative age difference between the interlocutors compared to their own age.

Table 4.22 SQ Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads



In asymmetrical dyads, older speakers in Table 4.23 reported using informal address with younger strangers between 68% and 100% of the time. Once again, male-to-female dyads use informal address the least regardless of speaker generation.

Table 4.23 SQ Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads

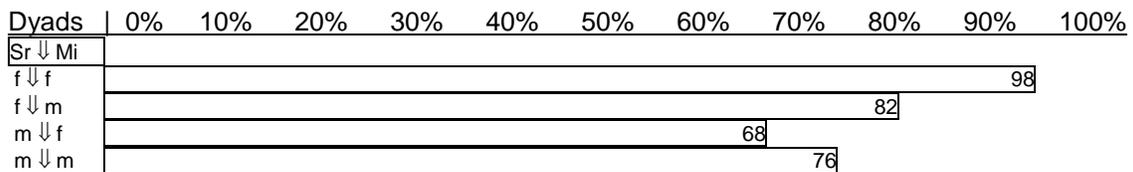


Table 4.23 – Continued

Sr ↓ Jr	
f ↓ f	97
f ↓ m	86
m ↓ f	79
m ↓ m	90
Mi ↓ Jr	
f ↓ f	100
f ↓ m	100
m ↓ f	85
m ↓ m	100

In asymmetrical dyads involving younger-to-older interaction, Table 4.24 indicates that the oldest (i.e. Senior) interlocutors received the least informal address and presumably the most formal address. This prescriptive pattern of address contrasts sharply with Junior speakers who used informal 45-64% of the time when addressing Middle generation strangers. In other words the prescriptive guidelines of not using informal applies to Senior addressees rather than simply older addressees as evidenced by Juniors' continued use of formal with Senior interlocutors versus Juniors' reports of using informal address with almost 50% or more of Middle interlocutors. It is interesting to note that informal address lags in male-to-female dyads of Juniors speakers addressing Middle interlocutors.

Table 4.24 SQ Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f		11									
f ↑ m		5									
m ↑ f		0									
m ↑ m		0									
Mi ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f		15									
f ↑ m		12									
m ↑ f		9									
m ↑ m		7									
Jr ↑ Mi											
f ↑ f						58					
f ↑ m							64				
m ↑ f					45						
m ↑ m							62				

The following observations can be made concerning reported informal address in conversational encounters: (i) in symmetrical generational dyads, the Junior generation uses informal address the most; (ii) in older-to-younger generational dyads, older generations in general use informal address with younger generations; but the male-to-female dyads use informal the least; and (iii) in younger-to-older generational dyads almost 50% of Junior speakers address Middle interlocutors informally.

4.2.1.2 SQ Settings

This section displays informant generational and gender dyads that indicate whether or not the same address form would be used in conversational and service encounters. The Cross-tabulations table (4.25) below indicates the count, percentages, and total number of informants who reported using different 'd' versus the same 's' address in both settings.

Table 4.25 SQ Settings: Same vs. Different Address in Conversational & Service Encounters

Cross-tabulation of Survey Questionnaire Data on Address in Conversation vs. Service Encounters									
1G	2G	d (different) vs. s (same)	Gender to Gender						
			f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m	Total		
J	J	V1	d	Count	3	2	0	0	5
				%	15.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	11.1%
		s	Count	17	3	15	5	40	
			%	85.0%	60.0%	100.0%	100.0%	88.9%	
		Total	Count	20	5	15	5	45	
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	M	V1	d	Count	6	6	1	0	13
				%	23.1%	15.4%	5.0%	.0%	11.7%
		s	Count	20	33	19	26	98	
			%	76.9%	84.6%	95.0%	100.0%	88.3%	
		Total	Count	26	39	20	26	111	
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
S	V1	d	Count	1	0	1	3	5	
			%	5.3%	.0%	10.0%	21.4%	7.8%	
	s	Count	18	21	9	11	59		
		%	94.7%	100.0%	90.0%	78.6%	92.2%		

Table 4.25 – Continued

			Total	Count	19	21	10	14	64
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
M	J	V1	d	Count	2	1	1	0	4
				%	11.1%	12.5%	5.6%	.0%	7.7%
			s	Count	16	7	17	8	48
				%	88.9%	87.5%	94.4%	100.0%	92.3%
			Total	Count	18	8	18	8	52
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	M	V1	d	Count	6	4	2	5	17
				%	18.8%	10.8%	6.1%	12.2%	11.9%
			s	Count	26	33	31	36	126
				%	81.2%	89.2%	93.9%	87.8%	88.1%
			Total	Count	32	37	33	41	143
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
S	V1	d	Count	1	3	0	1	5	
			%	5.0%	12.0%	.0%	3.8%	5.6%	
		s	Count	19	22	19	25	85	
			%	95.0%	88.0%	100.0%	96.2%	94.4%	
		Total	Count	20	25	19	26	90	
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
S	J	V1	d	Count	0	0	8	0	8
				%	.0%	.0%	23.5%	.0%	10.0%
			s	Count	30	6	26	10	72
				%	100.0%	100.0%	76.5%	100.0%	90.0%
			Total	Count	30	6	34	10	80
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	M	V1	d	Count	3	1	5	8	17
				%	7.3%	1.9%	11.6%	16.3%	9.1%
			s	Count	38	53	38	41	170
				%	92.7%	98.1%	88.4%	83.7%	90.9%
			Total	Count	41	54	43	49	187
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	S	V1	d	Count	3	3	3	9	18
				%	12.5%	8.6%	16.7%	25.0%	15.9%
			s	Count	21	32	15	27	95
				%	87.5%	91.4%	83.3%	75.0%	84.1%
			Total	Count	24	35	18	36	113
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Count of Survey Cases on Same/Different Address in Conversational/Service Encounters = 885									

To focus on the use of the same address forms in both the conversational and service settings, the percentages from the Cross-tabulations table above (4.25) are displayed in the three tables below—one for each speaker generation: Junior, Middle, and Senior.²⁸ Table 4.26 indicates that 60% or more of the Junior speakers used the same address form in both settings.

Table 4.26 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Junior Speakers

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
Jr ⇒ Jr												
f ⇒ f											85	
f ⇒ m						60						
m ⇒ f											100	
m ⇒ m											100	
Jr ↑ Mi												
f ↑ f								77				
f ↑ m									85			
m ↑ f										95		
m ↑ m											100	
Jr ↑ Sr												
f ↑ f										95		
f ↑ m											100	
m ↑ f									90			
m ↑ m							79					

Table 4.27 shows that 81% or more of the Middle speakers used the same address form in both settings.

Table 4.27 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Middle Speakers

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Mi ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f											89
f ↓ m										88	
m ↓ f											94
m ↓ m											100
Mi ⇒ Mi											
f ⇒ f									81		
f ⇒ m										89	
m ⇒ f											94
m ⇒ m							88				

²⁸ See Appendix E for details on SQ Settings: same versus different address forms in both conversational and service settings.

Table 4.27 – Continued

Mi ↑ Sr	
f ↑ f	95
f ↑ m	88
m ↑ f	100
m ↑ m	97

Table 4.28 indicates that 75% or more of the Senior speakers used the same address form in both settings.

Table 4.28 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Senior Speakers

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Sr ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f											
f ↓ m											
m ↓ f											
m ↓ m											
Sr ↓ Mi											
f ↓ f											
f ↓ m											
m ↓ f											
m ↓ m											
Sr ⇒ Sr											
f ⇒ f											
f ⇒ m											
m ⇒ f											
m ⇒ m											

To provide a different perspective, the same data are displayed in symmetrical/asymmetrical generational dyads. Table 4.29 shows that 60% or more of symmetrical dyads reported using the same address form in both conversational and service encounters.

Table 4.29 SQ Settings: Same Address Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ⇒ Jr											
f ⇒ f											
f ⇒ m											
m ⇒ f											
m ⇒ m											

Table 4.29 – Continued

Mi ⇒ Mi	
f ⇒ f	81
f ⇒ m	89
m ⇒ f	94
m ⇒ m	88
Sr ⇒ Sr	
f ⇒ f	88
f ⇒ m	91
m ⇒ f	83
m ⇒ m	75

Table 4.30 indicates that 77% or more of older-to-younger dyads reported using the same address form in both conversational and service encounters.

Table 4.30 SQ Settings: Same Address Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Mi ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f	89										
f ↓ m	88										
m ↓ f	94										
m ↓ m	100										
Sr ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f	100										
f ↓ m	100										
m ↓ f	77										
m ↓ m	100										
Sr ↓ Mi											
f ↓ f	93										
f ↓ m	98										
m ↓ f	88										
m ↓ m	84										

Table 4.31 shows that 77% or more of younger-to-older dyads used the same address.

Table 4.31 SQ Settings: Same Address Used by Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ↑ Mi											
f ↑ f	77										
f ↑ m	85										
m ↑ f	95										
m ↑ m	100										

Table 4.31 – *Continued*

Jr ↑ Sr	
f ↑ f	95
f ↑ m	100
m ↑ f	90
m ↑ m	79
Mi ↑ Sr	
f ↑ f	95
f ↑ m	88
m ↑ f	100
m ↑ m	97

For further analysis and discussion of same versus different address forms being used in conversational and service encounters, see section 5.1 entitled “Using SQ Settings to Justify Triangulating Mixed Methodologies”.

4.2.2 *PO Data*

In addition to formal versus informal address, the PO data revealed a third option which the PI labeled Alternate ‘Alt’. This is an umbrella term used to describe address avoidance strategies employed by speakers who possibly felt uncertain whether to use formal ‘For’ or informal ‘Inf’ address. Strategies included using (i) indirect address by referring to “one”, (ii) first person plural address, e.g. “we,” and/or (iii) a head gesture with or without spoken address.

Table 4.32 below displays Cross-tabulations output for the PO data samples

Table 4.32 PO Address: Descriptive Table of Data Samples

Cross-tabulation of Participant Observation Data on Address Categorized by Generation/Gender Dyads									
1 G	2 G				Gender to Gender				
					f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m	Total
J	J	Addr	Alt	Count	2	1	0		3
				%	50.0%	100.0%	.0%		50.0%
			Inf	Count	2	0	1		3
				%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%		50.0%
			Total	Count	4	1	1		6
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%

Table 4.32 – Continued

	M	Addr	Alt	Count	0	0	2	1	3
				%	.0%	.0%	66.7%	100.0%	50.0%
			For	Count	1	0	1	0	2
				%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	33.3%
			Inf	Count	0	1	0	0	1
				%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	16.7%
	Total	Count	1	1	3	1	6		
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
	S	Addr	Alt	Count	4	8	0	7	19
				%	44.4%	38.1%	.0%	70.0%	43.2%
			For	Count	4	7	2	1	14
				%	44.4%	33.3%	50.0%	10.0%	31.8%
Inf			Count	1	6	2	2	11	
			%	11.1%	28.6%	50.0%	20.0%	25.0%	
Total	Count	9	21	4	10	44			
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			
M	J	Addr	Alt	Count	1	1		0	2
				%	50.0%	33.3%		.0%	28.6%
			Inf	Count	1	2		2	5
				%	50.0%	66.7%		100.0%	71.4%
			Total	Count	2	3		2	7
				%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%
	M	Addr	Alt	Count	2	1	2	2	7
				%	50.0%	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	53.8%
			For	Count	0	0	1	1	2
				%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	15.4%
			Inf	Count	2	2	0	0	4
				%	50.0%	66.7%	.0%	.0%	30.8%
	Total	Count	4	3	3	3	13		
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
	S	Addr	Alt	Count	1	4	1	5	11
				%	20.0%	33.3%	20.0%	26.3%	26.8%
For			Count	2	5	1	9	17	
			%	40.0%	41.7%	20.0%	47.4%	41.5%	
Inf			Count	2	3	3	5	13	
			%	40.0%	25.0%	60.0%	26.3%	31.7%	
Total	Count	5	12	5	19	41			
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			
S	J	Addr	Alt	Count	3	1	4	2	10
				%	37.5%	25.0%	21.1%	18.2%	23.8%

Table 4.32 – Continued

		For	Count	1	0	2	0	3	
			%	12.5%	.0%	10.5%	.0%	7.1%	
		Inf	Count	4	3	13	9	29	
			%	50.0%	75.0%	68.4%	81.8%	69.0%	
		Total	Count	8	4	19	11	42	
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	M	Addr	Alt	Count	0	2	2	9	13
				%	.0%	50.0%	15.4%	37.5%	28.9%
			For	Count	2	0	4	3	9
				%	50.0%	.0%	30.8%	12.5%	20.0%
			Inf	Count	2	2	7	12	23
				%	50.0%	50.0%	53.8%	50.0%	51.1%
Total	Count	4	4	13	24	45			
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			
S	Addr	Alt	Count	4	3	2	15	24	
			%	23.5%	27.3%	16.7%	48.4%	33.8%	
		For	Count	4	6	6	7	23	
			%	23.5%	54.5%	50.0%	22.6%	32.4%	
		Inf	Count	9	2	4	9	24	
			%	52.9%	18.2%	33.3%	29.0%	33.8%	
		Total	Count	17	11	12	31	71	
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Summary Participant Observation Cases: Count = 275 and Percent Valid 100%									

The three tables below contrast the use of informal address in the PO data. Several of the generational/dyads had no data which may be explained by the fact that informal address was competing with formal and alternate address.²⁹ In Table 4.33 the available data indicate the popularity of informal address when Junior speakers addressed Junior, Middle, and even Senior interlocutors.

²⁹ See Appendix F for details on PO Address: informal, formal, and alternate usage.

Table 4.33 PO Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers

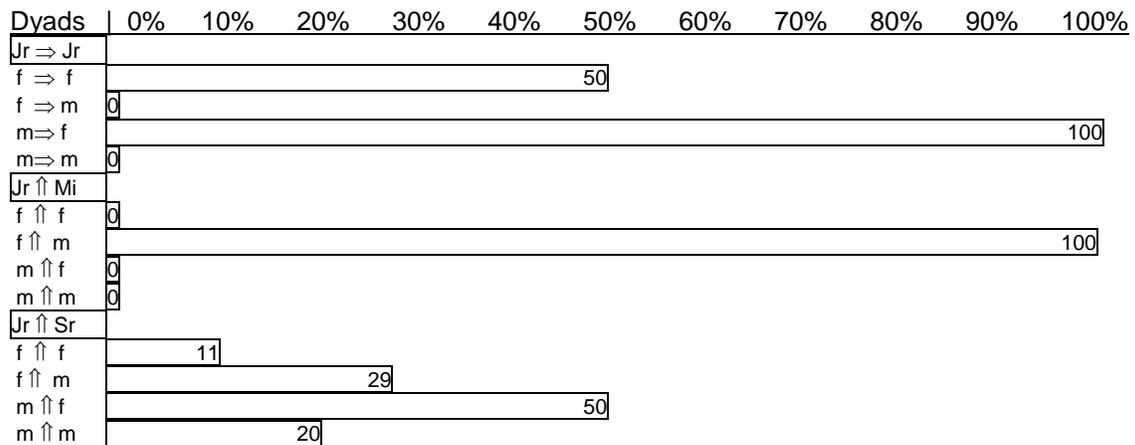


Table 4.34 shows that Middle speakers used informal the most when addressing a younger (i.e. Junior) generation. When addressing their peer age group or older (i.e. Senior) generation, Middle speakers' use of informal address ranged from a maximum of 60-67%.

Table 4.34 PO Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers

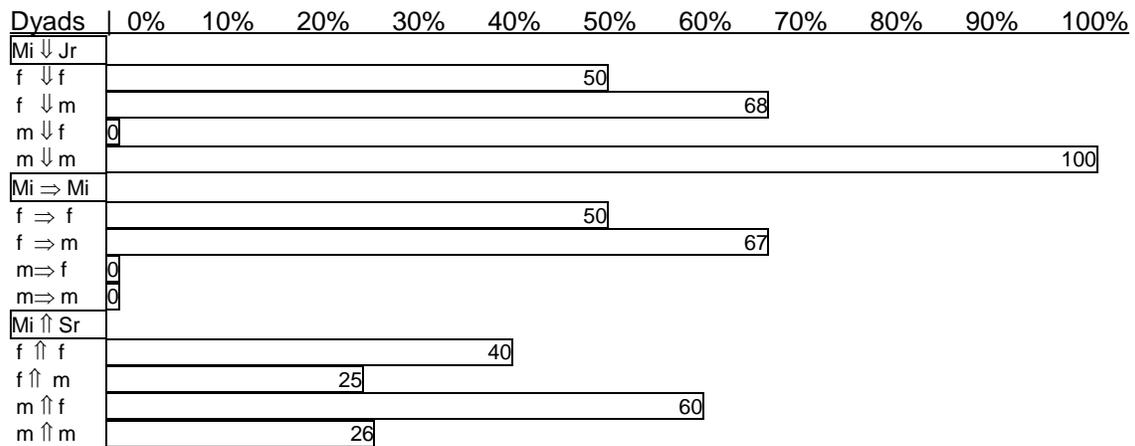
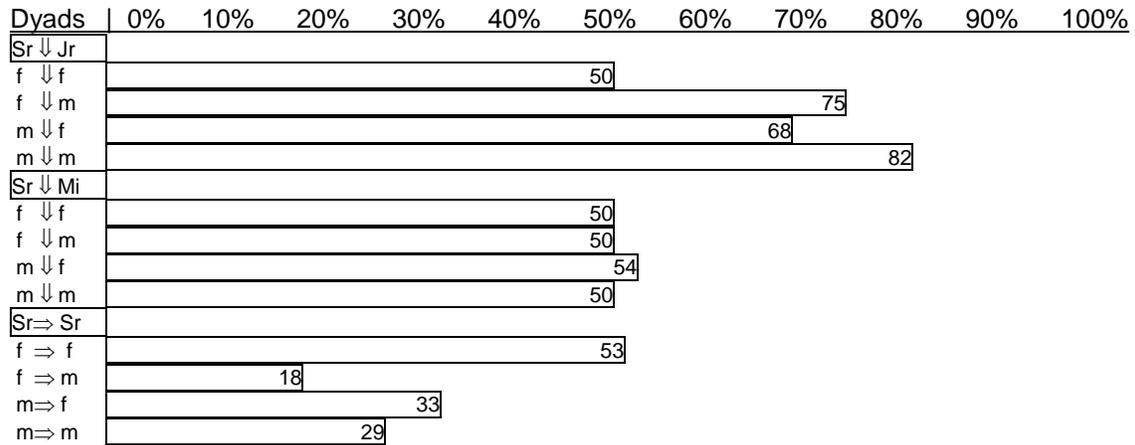


Table 4.35 indicates that Senior speakers used informal the most when addressing the youngest (i.e. Junior) generation, less with the Middle generation, and the least with their peer age group..

Table 4.35 PO Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers



The next three tables regroup the PO data to display symmetrical/asymmetrical perspectives. Table 4.36, which compares symmetrical generations, reveals that Junior-to-Junior generations used informal the most, the Middle-to-Middle generations somewhat less, and the Senior-to-Senior generations the least.

Table 4.36 PO Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads

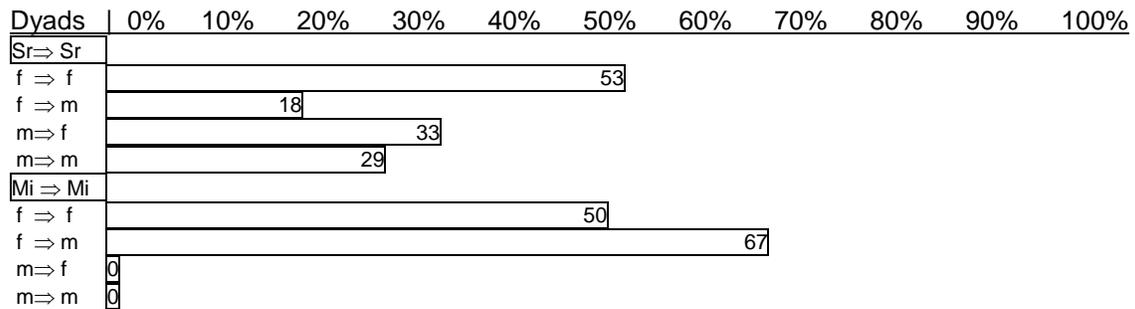


Table 4.36 – Continued

Jr ⇒ Jr	
f ⇒ f	50
f ⇒ m	0
m ⇒ f	100
m ⇒ m	0

Table 4.37 reveals that Middle-to-Junior generations used informal the most, the Senior-to-Junior generations somewhat less, and the Senior-to-Middle generations the least.

Table 4.37 PO Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Sr ↓ Mi											
f ↓ f											
f ↓ m											
m ↓ f											
m ↓ m											
Sr ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f											
f ↓ m											
m ↓ f											
m ↓ m											
Mi ↓ Jr											
f ↓ f											
f ↓ m											
m ↓ f											
m ↓ m											

Table 4.38, which compares younger-to-older generations, reveals that Junior-to-Middle generations used informal the most, the Middle-to-Senior generations somewhat less, and the Junior-to-Senior generations the least.

Table 4.38 PO Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f											
f ↑ m											
m ↑ f											
m ↑ m											

Table 4.38 – Continued

Mi ↑ Sr	
f ↑ f	40
f ↑ m	25
m ↑ f	60
m ↑ m	26
Jr ↑ Mi	
f ↑ f	0
f ↑ m	100
m ↑ f	0
m ↑ m	0

Several of the tables above did not have data for all of the dyads; therefore, conclusions are made on a best-effort basis. In terms of generations, the Junior speakers used informal the most with their own generation and the next oldest generation.

4.2.3 TV Data

Similar to the PO data, the collection of natural speech from Argentine TV news programs displayed in Table 4.39 below revealed the usage of three address options: informal, formal, and alternate. Compared to SQ and PO sources, the TV data had more dyads with zero data especially in terms of Senior speakers addressing their generational peers. This may be due to the fact that TV news reporters appear to be in the Junior and/or Middle generations

Table 4.39 TV Address: Descriptive Table of Data Samples

Cross-tabulation of TV Address Data Categorized by Generation/Gender Dyads									
1 G	2 G	Gender to Gender Dyads							
		f-f	f-m	m-f	m-m	Total			
J	J	Addr	Alt	Count		1	0	0	1
				%		33.3%	.0%	.0%	14.3%
			Inf	Count		2	1	3	6
				%		66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	85.7%
			Total	Count		3	1	3	7
				%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.39 – Continued

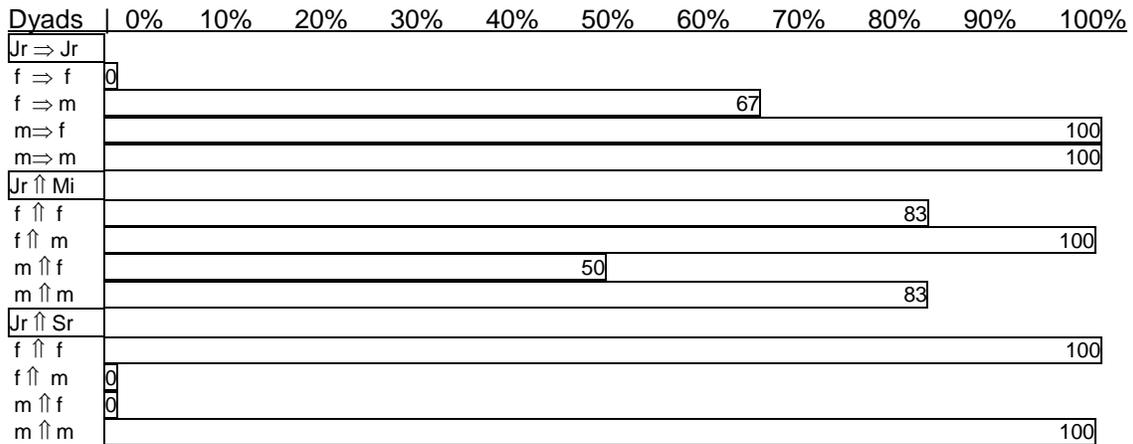
	M	Addr	Alt	Count	2	0	3	1	6	
				%	16.7%	.0%	37.5%	16.7%	16.7%	
			For	Count	0	0	1	0	1	
				%	.0%	.0%	12.5%	.0%	2.8%	
			Inf	Count	10	10	4	5	29	
				%	83.3%	100.0%	50.0%	83.3%	80.6%	
			Total	Count	12	10	8	6	36	
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	S	Addr	For	Count	1			1	2	
				%	100.0%			100.0%	100.0%	
				Total	Count	1			1	2
					%	100.0%			100.0%	100.0%
M	J	Addr	Alt	Count	0	1	0	0	1	
				%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	1.6%	
			For	Count	3	0	1	1	5	
				%	13.6%	.0%	5.6%	7.7%	8.1%	
			Inf	Count	19	8	17	12	56	
				%	86.4%	88.9%	94.4%	92.3%	90.3%	
			Total	Count	22	9	18	13	62	
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	M	Addr	Alt	Count	1	3	3	1	8	
				%	2.9%	10.0%	9.4%	2.2%	5.7%	
			For	Count	18	19	18	23	78	
				%	52.9%	63.3%	56.2%	51.1%	55.3%	
			Inf	Count	15	8	11	21	55	
				%	44.1%	26.7%	34.4%	46.7%	39.0%	
	Total	Count	34	30	32	45	141			
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			
	S	Addr	Alt	Count	0	3	0	0	3	
				%	.0%	37.5%	.0%	.0%	7.3%	
			For	Count	6	5	7	15	33	
				%	100.0%	62.5%	77.8%	83.3%	80.5%	
Inf			Count	0	0	2	3	5		
			%	.0%	.0%	22.2%	16.7%	12.2%		
Total	Count	6	8	9	18	41				
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%				
S	J	Addr	Alt	Count	1			0	1	
				%	33.3%			.0%	25.0%	
			For	Count	0			1	1	
				%	.0%			100.0%	25.0%	

Table 4.39 – Continued

		Inf	Count	2			0	2		
			%	66.7%			.0%	50.0%		
		Total	Count	3			1	4		
			%	100.0%			100.0%	100.0%		
		M	Addr	Alt	Count	0	1	2	1	4
					%	.0%	20.0%	28.6%	5.3%	11.1%
	For		Count	0	2	3	5	10		
			%	.0%	40.0%	42.9%	26.3%	27.8%		
	Inf		Count	5	2	2	13	22		
			%	100.0%	40.0%	28.6%	68.4%	61.1%		
	Total	Count	5	5	7	19	36			
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%			
Case Processing Summary of TV Data Cases: Count = 329										

The following tables highlight the use of informal address in TV news programs. Table 4.40 shows the Junior speakers using informal address the most with their peer age group and in surprisingly large percentages with older (i.e. Middle and Senior) generations. As was the case with the PO data, speakers in the TV data also had the option of using formal or alternate address.³⁰

Table 4.40 TV Address: Informal Used by Junior Speakers



³⁰ See Appendix G for details on TV Address: informal, formal, and alternate usage.

Table 4.41 indicates that Middle speakers used informal the most when addressing a younger generation, a little less with their own generation, and the least with an older generation.

Table 4.41 TV Address: Informal Used by Middle Speakers

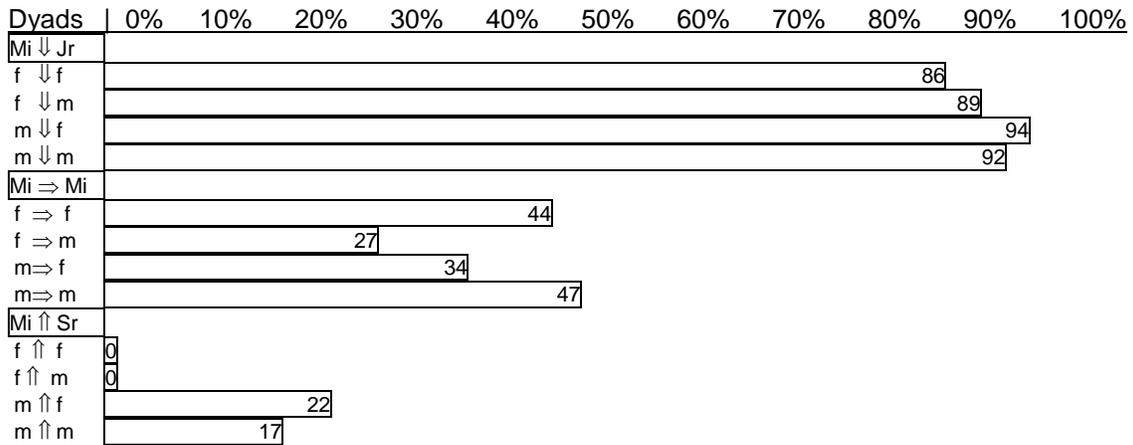
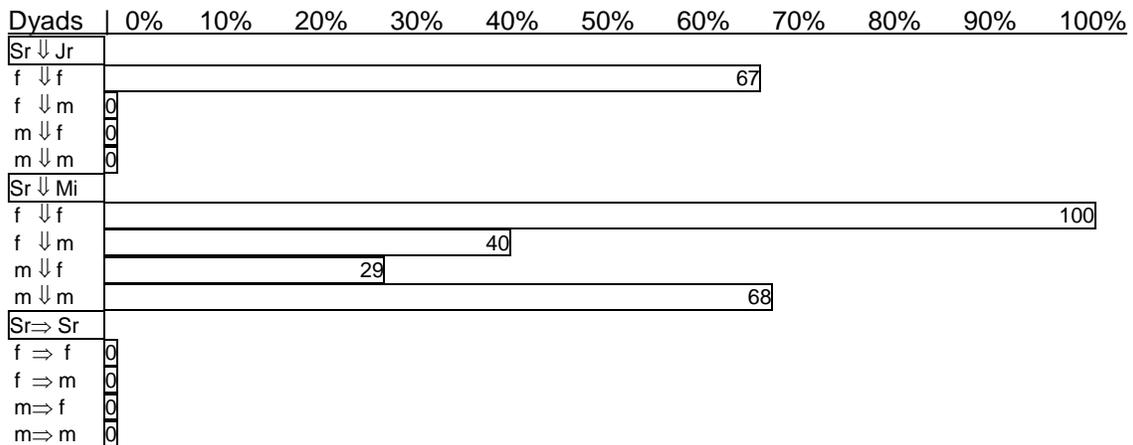


Table 4.42 shows that Senior speakers used informal the most to address the youngest then the next youngest generations.

Table 4.42 TV Address: Informal Used by Senior Speakers



To provide a different perspective, the informal data is regrouped and displayed by the generational relationship: symmetrical, older-to-younger, and younger-to-older. Table 4.43 reveals that the Junior generation uses informal the most when addressing its own generation followed by the Middle generation addressing its peers.

Table 4.43 TV Address: Informal Used in Symmetrical Generational Dyads

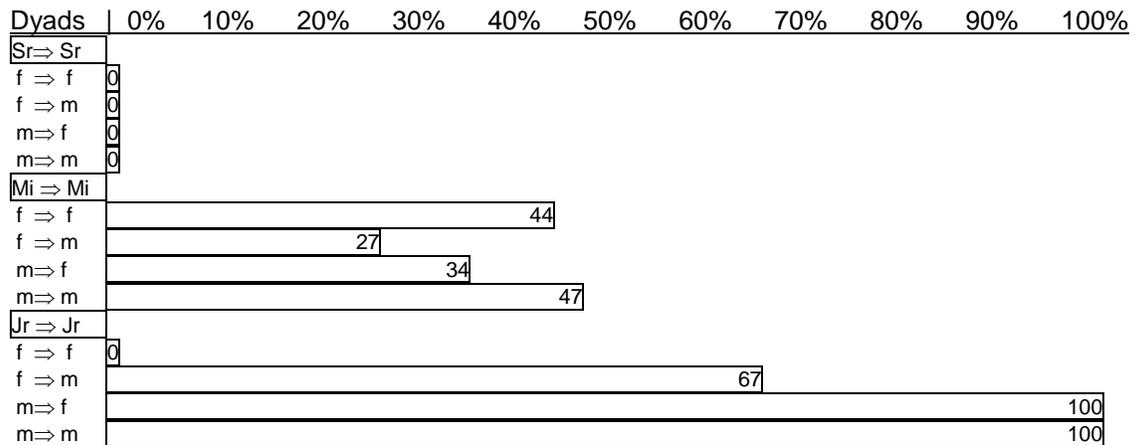


Table 4.44 reinforces the observation that older generations tend to use informal address with younger generations.

Table 4.44 TV Address: Informal Used in Older-to-Younger Generational Dyads

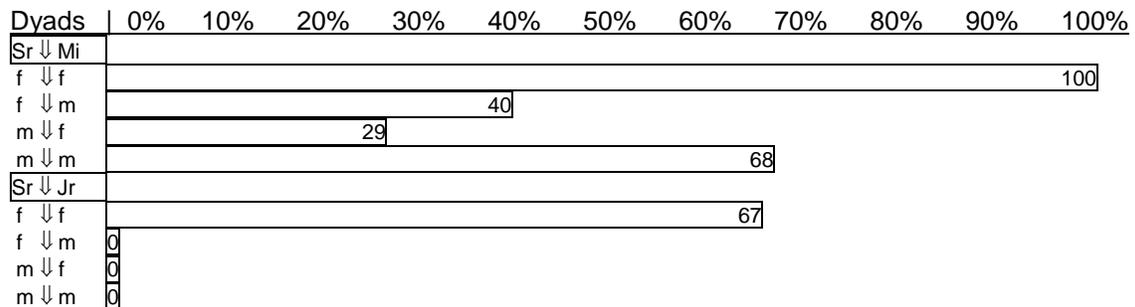


Table 4.44 – *Continued*

Mi ↓ Jr	
f ↓ f	86
f ↓ m	89
m ↓ f	94
m ↓ m	92

Table 4.45 reveals the surprising frequency with which the Junior generation uses informal address with an older (i.e. Middle) generation.

Table 4.45 TV Address: Informal Used in Younger-to-Older Generational Dyads

Dyads	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Jr ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f	0										
f ↑ m	0										
m ↑ f	0										
m ↑ m	0										
Mi ↑ Sr											
f ↑ f	0										
f ↑ m	0										
m ↑ f										22	
m ↑ m										17	
Jr ↑ Mi											
f ↑ f										83	
f ↑ m											100
m ↑ f										50	
m ↑ m											83

The TV data displayed unique characteristics compared to the SQ and PO data. On the one hand, the TV data had the fewest samples. Several of the quadrants had 0/no data—especially those involving the Senior generation. The following observations, therefore, are made on a ‘best-effort basis’ with the data available. From a generational perspective, the older generations use informal address with younger generations. In terms of the Junior speakers, (i) their use of informal with their peer generation is larger than the other two, and (ii) the Junior speakers use a surprising amount of informal when addressing both older generations. That last fact plus the lack of Senior-to-Senior dyad data, makes it difficult to claim that the TV data shows the Senior generation using informal the most with all generations which was the case

with the SQ and PO data. In terms of gender, informal address is heavily used in male-to-male dyads in all of the generational relationships.

On the other hand, the TV News data revealed the most occurrences of 100% informal address. The Junior generation of speakers used 100% informal when addressing their peer generation, and surprisingly some older generation-gender dyads, e.g. (i) Junior females addressing Middle males plus (ii) Senior females and Junior males addressing Senior males. While it is typical for older generations to address younger generations informally, this TV data showed Senior females using informal 100% of the time with Middle females. It should be kept in mind that the lack of data for some of the generation/gender dyads was probably due to speakers having two other address options: formal and alternate

4.3 Assorted PO Anecdotes

During the process of observing and interacting with native Spanish speakers, the PI experienced/witnessed the following anecdotes that may provide some qualitative insight into the quantitative results. These anecdotes illustrate spontaneous uses of informal address.

1) One late morning several members of a family were chatting while standing outside the front of their family-owned clothing shop. A male stranger, between Middle and Senior generations and dressed in casual somewhat rumpled clothes, approached the group asking:

Stranger (m Mi/Sr) *Señor, ¿dónde haya un kiosko?*
“Sir/Mister, where is there a kiosk?”

Husband (m Sr): *¿Qué querés comprar?*
“What do you [2pS-Inf] want to buy?”

Stranger (m Mi/Sr): *Una bebida*
“Something to drink”

Sister-in-law (f S) *Te recomiendo.....*
“I recommend that you [2pS-Inf] ...” (f Jr 20081213-1145)

2) The PI and her husband were walking through a neighborhood shopping mall in Lugano looking for opportunities to interact with clerks and other customers in order to see which address forms they used. The two entered a mattress store where the male Middle

generation salesman began to explain the virtues of the different brands of mattresses. He consistently used formal address with the PI's husband, with the exception of the one time he slipped into informal address but immediately returned to using formal address. (f Jr 20081213-1145).

3) One hot afternoon the PI was riding in a standing-room-only bus in Buenos Aires and hanging on to the overhead strap with difficulty. Suddenly a seat became available, and the young woman standing next to the empty seat offered it to the PI by saying *Sientase* "Sit [you 2pS-For] down." The PI asked *¿Estás segura?* "Are you [2pS-Inf] sure?" The young woman replied the same way *Sientase* "Sit [you 2pS-For] down." When the PI asked her a second time if she were sure, the young woman switched to the informal and said *Sentate* "Sit [you 2pS-Inf] down. (f Jr 20081213-1145)

4) The taxi driver's facial expression, as seen by the PI in the rear-view mirror, grew increasingly nervous as the PI inched closer behind his seat to better capture his speech on her 'covert' audio digital recorder. The PI's husband, who was also traveling in the back of the taxi, claimed that the PI had scared the driver and that she should not use that method of gathering data.

5) The young woman standing eighth in line at a mall ATM machine seemed to become very ill at ease when the PI, who was ninth in line, asked her to participate in the survey questionnaire while they were waiting. The lady held the photo interlocutor prompter sheet, and in a flat tone of voice she gave very brief responses saying that she would formally address all strangers, and she expected reciprocal formal response in return. While the PI's husband acknowledged that this interview approach had worked successfully earlier in a long line at a large hardware store, he told her that it was a poor idea to conduct research in a location where money transactions occurred in light of the heightened feelings of person insecurity in the city.

6) The PI initiated a friendly conversation with a female stranger in her 40's who was seated next to her in a downtown Buenos Aires theater concert starring Mercedes Sosa, a

famous Argentine folk singer. While waiting for the concert to begin, the PI invited the lady to pass the time by participating in a survey explaining that she was an American doctoral student, married to an Argentine and spending three months in Argentina to observe how strangers addressed each other since she herself always felt unsure whether to address strangers formally or informally. The lady responded that she normally used formal with strangers, but due to the fact that she and the PI were both attending the same event, she felt a sense of 'affinity' (*afinidad*) and thus would use informal address with the PI. Considering that the PI's husband had forewarned the PI on numerous occasions that no Argentine would use informal address with a foreign stranger, this "informal" experience seemed all the more remarkable. The PI felt as if a 'connection' between two strangers had occurred instead of simply an 'interaction'.

7) The PI sat next to a graduate student (29f) in the lobby of the ferry building. As they were both waiting, the PI started a conversation. The graduate student's manner of addressing the PI evolved through three stages: first, she used no address form; second, she used formal; and third she switched to informal. The student mentioned that she was from Buenos Aires, but she still says *Buenos Días* 'Good morning' to people.

4.4 Highlights of IV Feedback

This section contains paraphrased feedback from informants who participated in the interviews and surveys. Their ethnographic data is categorized by informants' generation/gender and includes their occupation, age, and gender. This approach enables the PI and the reader to refer back to the informants' demographic details in section 3.3. The PI consolidated the interview feedback into six topics/sections: 4.4.1 the criteria for address form usage; 4.4.2 address tendencies in conversational versus service encounters; 4.4.3 young adults' address in the present, past, and future; 4.4.4 address tendencies in large cities of Latin America and Spain; 4.4.5 address change in Buenos Aires over the past twenty-five years; and 4.4.6 explanations and anecdotes of address form usage.

4.4.1 IV: *Criteria for Address Form Usage*

4.4.1.1 Junior females

The primary criterion was relative interlocutor age; situation and ambiance were secondary criteria. A homemaker (24f) indicated that she used formal address with people 60 and above to show respect. A student (18f) reported that in situations of respect (i.e. work, and where people wear business suits) then formal is appropriate. She also explained that ambiance is important because when there was a feeling of evenness/equality between the speakers then informal was natural.

4.4.1.2 Junior males

The primary criterion was relative interlocutor age; aspect and custom were secondary. A veterinarian (29m) felt that the topic of address was generational; for example young people no longer used formal when talking among themselves. An engineering student (19m) reported that he used informal when he did not know someone at the university. An employee (23m) explained that the age difference was a key factor; then he referred to the custom of not addressing older people informally. Another employee (28m) indicated that it depended on how old the other person looked, and he gave the following examples. He used formal address with people who were 45 or older regardless of gender, profession, etc. Even if he knew that a 22-year old man was a lawyer, he would use informal. He used informal when addressing his 25-year old manager at work.³¹ Two other Junior males gave different starting points for using formal. The first employee (19m) indicated that he would switch to formal with interlocutors 30 and above. The second employee (27m) reported that he used formal with people who were 35 or older to show respect. In addition to age, an employee (25m) indicated that the countenance and/or aspect of the interlocutor influenced his decision.

An employee (19m) explained that it was a question of custom; for example, even within the same family, brothers may use different address forms with strangers. Another

³¹ This could also be due to the fact that the interlocutors already knew each other.

employee (26m) reported that working at a large electric appliance store had taught him two things: the customer was always right and to be formal—at least at the start. He indicated that --assuming he was the first to speak--it was his custom to use formal address with all people that he did not know with the exception of speaking to adolescents, e.g. 13-15. Regardless if it were a work or a social situation, he would begin by using formal address. He felt that it gave a better impression. He also pointed out that one did not go about watching what the other person used; but to avoid disharmony, if the interlocutor responded with informal, then he would switch to informal.

4.4.1.3 Middle females

The primary criterion was relative interlocutor age. Secondary criteria, listed in alphabetical order, included affinity, gender, role/situation, and/or upbringing. A student (31f) explained that she used formal to show respect when interlocutors were older. A homemaker (33f) said that tradition and respect influenced her decision to use formal address when an older person seemed to be of a different generation. In contrast, a teacher (45f) claimed that informal was natural, and its use did not imply a loss of respect. A homemaker (48f) also said that she used informal with everyone, and she felt it did not indicate a lack of respect. A director of studies at a language institute explained that using informal address signified that an equal was speaking to an equal...except to lower social classes. A graduate student (46f) explained it very dramatically by indicating that using informal address put the other person on the same level as you. In reality this equality did not exist; and it was not necessary to force it. If one used informal address with a stranger, the next day that person would feel free to put his/her feet up on your table or to open your refrigerator. If you give someone a hand, he/she takes an arm.

In terms of the secondary criteria, a teacher (45f) mentioned gender, and a librarian (35f) indicated role/situation plus the upbringing of the speaker. Two other Middle females provided more elaborate explanations. A teacher (30f) explained that her criteria for selecting an address

form were (i) generation, (ii) *cultural—educación* ‘culture—upbringing’, and (iii) a *feeling*—facial expression, gestures. A theater attendee (45f) claimed that affinity influenced her decision to use informal with strangers in conversational encounters, i.e. she felt an affinity with the other people seated in the theater; but on the street she would not use informal with a stranger.

4.4.1.4 Middle males

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion; secondary criteria included the interlocutor’s aspect as well as how one was brought up/raised. An employee (45m) explained that the key was age which inferred respect and generated distance. A teacher/librarian (35m), an employee (39m), and a priest (46m) all mentioned that one’s *formación, educación* ‘upbringing’ taught you to address older people formally (and they will respond informally). In addition the priest explained that he used the Franciscan way of speaking: formal with all females and informal with males of similar age or younger assuming there was no formality. A software engineer (47m) indicated that he was influenced by the interlocutor’s aspect, i.e. it depended on dress, attitude, smile, youthfulness, informality. Only one informant, a flight attendant (48m) for a major Argentine airline, indicated that he did not use informal with someone he did not know; however, if a young person were to speak to him first using informal address, he would respond with informal. He added that other young people had better manners and addressed him as *señor* ‘sir’. This informant was one of the very few who said he believed that the second speaker matched the address of the first speaker.

4.4.1.5 Senior females

One of the most original observations came from a university psychiatrist (59f). She explained that she used the term “Argentine Light” to label the use of informal as a less judgmental/prejudicial type of language. It differed from the traditional, prescriptive approach to language which made distinctions between people, i.e. based on age, gender, etc. Formality and distance were less important and not used as criteria for address forms.

Other informants indicated that interlocutor age was the primary criterion. Secondary criteria included (in alphabetical order) affinity, aspect, and gender. Regarding the criterion of aspect (e.g. dress, appearance, friendly face), two homemakers (52f and 59f), an employee (61f), and a librarian/teacher (61f) all said that it was an influential factor; while one homemaker (65f) said only age was a factor and not appearance.

An office worker (54f) felt that the younger the interlocutor the more affinity there was. . A psychiatrist (59f) claimed that women used informal between women, especially women of the same age. An executive secretary (65f) explained that informal address made you closer to a person. In her case she reported using informal with females and males in their 20's, 30's, and 40's; plus she confessed that she used informal with strangers more now than before. She felt that formal address marked a distance. She claimed that address forms marked distance...based on age, work position. She also added that nowadays, people no longer greeted each other saying "Good morning" as they should. A business owner (65f) shared her perspective on aging explaining that she considered people up to 50 to be young, and people in their 70's were young of a different generation because they had accumulated a large quantity of youth.

In terms of using formal address, an office worker (57f) explained if you had no intention of establishing closeness, lengthier conversation or communication, then you would set limits via the use of formal address. An accountant (59f) claimed that informal indicated neither lack of respect nor *confianza* 'trust'; and she insisted that the intention of not using, i.e. avoiding either formal or informal address did not exist—it just happened. She illustrated her use of formal address with several examples. First, using formal implied putting a distance between yourself and the interlocutor e.g. with the maid or between men and women. Second, she used formal with people she did not want to know. Third, she used the term *aspetto* 'aspect/appearance' to distinguish between two types of older strangers: those that looked

'modern' with whom she would use informal versus those that appeared 'formal' with whom she would use formal address.

4.4.1.6 Senior males

With the exception of an accountant (56m) who claimed if you did not know someone then the correct address form was formal, relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion with situation, aspect, and gender as secondary. A barber (71m) explained it was easier for older people to use informal with younger people. A systems engineer (62m) echoed the barber indicating that the younger the interlocutor, the more he felt he could be informal; and the reverse was true, i.e. use formal with older interlocutors. He added that with few exceptions an older person would never use informal with a stranger on the street; however, the older person might switch to informal in the second or third exchange.

An employee (54m) provided several new insights. First, he explained that one can use formal to elevate the status of someone. Second, he claimed that people who are 45 and younger used informal. Third, he added that with people who were closest to one's age, one used informal regardless of gender. Fourth, it was his opinion that Argentines used informal with Americans because to him it made more common sense; but Argentines used formal with Europeans as a way to maintain personal protocol; and Argentine used neutral with Asians.

One 61-year old male had a novel way of casually talking to males he did not know. He explained that he used nicknames when addressing male strangers, e.g. *Che tío* "Hey uncle". Because he had white hair, he expected people to address him formally. A manager (67m) made the following age-based distinctions. The first concerned his own age indicating that in order to seem younger, he would use informal with young interlocutors. The second concerned the interlocutor generation explaining that he would use formal when addressing people in their 40s-60s because they were older even though they might be younger or equal to his own age.

In terms of aspect, gender and/or situation, the feedback varied. An employee (72m) qualified his criteria for interlocutors explaining that he would use informal with males in their 40s if they had a modern, friendly-looking aspect. An engineer (70m) indicated that among intelligent people there were more restrictions, i.e. less use of informal. A military employee (55m) claimed that men used informal more when talking to men. An employee (54m) explained that he transmitted respect by using formal first with the opposite sex. A railroad employee (72m) reported that people used formal when there was a lot of hierarchy; for example, he would use informal with a bank employee but formal with the bank manager in order to maintain the manager's status. He claimed to use formal with older women such as those in their 40's and above. A systems engineer (62m) echoed the railroad employee's approach by advising when in a mixed gender dyad, care should be taken to use formal to avoid suggesting the intention of *levantarse* 'picking up' the opposite sex. He added if a woman used informal with a female stranger, she would also use it with males.

4.4.2 IV: Address Tendencies in Conversational and Service Encounters

The feedback below came from the survey questionnaire, and most of the informants were referring to the photo interlocutor sheet. Some informants also made generalizations. The majority of these reinforced the primary and secondary criteria specified in the previous section. Informant responses ranged from (i) some who claimed that conversational and service encounters were the same, (ii) others who indicated that the work environment was more formal; and (iii) some who reported that the conversational encounter was more formal than the service encounter.

4.4.2.1 Junior females

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion with aspect and/or setting (i.e. conversational versus business) as secondary. A secretary (25f) indicated that gender influenced her selection of address form. In contrast an employee (26f) responded that gender made no difference; and she added that someone in their 40s seemed to be her starting point to

switch from informal to formal address. A teacher (25f) explained that she would use informal with the 51-year old male photo interlocutor because of the way he looked, but she would not use informal with the 57-year old female photo interlocutor because she looked very formal.

Specifically in terms of service encounters, an employee (25f) felt that the business setting in a hardware store was more formal than a conversation encounter in a waiting area. Two 26-year old employees agreed explaining that the business setting merited more respect than the conversational encounter. One of them added that her behavior in the business location would be different from the conversation encounter due to the fact that she was dealing with business. A student (18f) indicated that 40s was about the dividing line for starting to use formal in a work situation, but in a conversational encounter 50 was about the dividing line for starting to use formal. She added that she would say *Señora* and use formal when talking to the oldest female photo interlocutor. A secretary (25f) felt that in a work setting gender did not influence selection of address form; instead the situation made her use more formal address. A student (25f) believed that a business was more formal; yet in the service encounter, she reported using informal with the 25 year-old male, but formal with the 23 year-old male—presumably due to differences in aspect.

4.4.2.2 Junior males

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion with aspect and/or setting (i.e. conversational versus business) as secondary. An employee (23m) explained that the cut off for stopping informal address and starting formal address was about 43. This was because of the difference in age and the custom of not addressing older people informally. An employee (25m) indicated that he would use informal with the 38-year old photo interlocutor because his face was the friendliest and suggested more ‘trust’ *confianza* than either the 34- or 40-year old photo interlocutors--with whom he would use formal address. An engineering student (19m) reported using formal with the oldest male and female photo interlocutors as well as the next-to-

oldest male, and he expected informal address in response. With the remaining photo interlocutors, however, reciprocal informal address would be used.

Specifically in terms of service encounters there was a difference in opinion. An employee (25m) expressed that one was going to use informal more in the service encounter than in the conversation encounter, i.e. *Vas a vosear más* 'You [2pS-Inf] are going to use the voseo [informal] more.' On the other hand, another employee (26m) felt that the setting would not make a difference, i.e. he would treat people in a conversational encounter the same way he would in a service encounter. Another employee (28m) echoed this attitude indicating that he felt nothing would change just because the setting and roles changed.

4.4.2.3 Middle females

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion; aspect, gender, and/or setting were secondary criteria. Feedback from an accountant (43f) explicitly supported the primary criterion explaining that age limited the use of informal address; and she added when you were similar in age, informal address was used. An employee (30f) indicated that she used informal when addressing the 30-year old male photo interlocutor because they were the same age; but she would use formal with the 55-year old female to show 'good manners' i.e. *educación*. An administrator (35f) explained that she would use formal address with the 60-year old photo interlocutor in order not to be perceived as disrespectful. A homemaker (33f) indicated that she would use formal address just to be on the safe side; however, if the interlocutor were similar in age, she explained that she would use an alternate strategy combining a formal title with informal address, e.g. *¿Señora, dónde vivís?* 'Mrs/Ma'am, where do you [2pS-Inf] live?'

A graduate student (46f) explained that she made her address decisions based on age (i.e. if the interlocutor is younger versus older) and gender. She added that her generation was not brought up to use informal when addressing older people. An administrator (45f) claimed that both age and the facial expressions of the photo interlocutors influenced her decision to use address; for example, she would use (i) informal with the 40-year old female because they were

the same generation, (ii) formal with the 45-year female because of her very serious, distant-looking facial expression, and (iii) formal with the 53-year old female because she was older. A teacher (45f) indicated that she would use informal with all photo interlocutors and expect it in return; whereas another 45-year old teacher gave a different response saying that she would use informal with all the photo interlocutors except the oldest male because of his age and gender. In terms of responses, she anticipated that all of the males would address her formally with the exception of the 55-year old male because of their similar ages. An employee (34f) explained that all photo interlocutors would address her informally with the exception of the Junior female and male who would address her formally when they saw she had a baby with her.

Specifically in terms of service encounters the majority of informants expressed their belief that a service encounter was more formal than a conversational encounter. A teacher (30f) felt that a business was more formal than a waiting area; thus she used informal with the youngest female and male but formal with the rest of the photo interlocutors. A librarian (35f) considered business to be different; thus she tended to maintain her distance, as in the case of working with young library clerks who tended to use informal. A teacher (45f) explained that she would use informal with all the photo interlocutors with the exception of the oldest male because of his age and gender. In terms of responses, all of the males would address her formally with the exception of the 55-year old because of their similar ages. A director (45f) of studies at a language institute believed that the customer had a higher status than the employee; thus when she was the customer, she used informal with younger people and those of the same age. A teacher/graduate student (46f) explained that she used formal due to age differences and the customer-clerk roles. She added that the customer had a wider margin to use informal with a clerk; the clerk, on the other hand, showed respect to the customer to ensure a sale.

Lastly only one informant, a secretary (35f), indicated that a waiting area was more formal than a hardware store because in the store the clerk wanted to sell something and thus used informal address to create a feeling of *confianza* 'trust' with the customer. She equated the situation to a news reporter who used informal address when interviewing strangers in hopes of getting more inside information.

4.4.2.4 Middle males

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion; setting and/or gender were secondary criteria. An employee (45m) indicated that he used informal with people up to 40-years old regardless of gender; but he used formal with women and men who were 45 or older. In terms of anticipated response, he claimed that both genders of the older generation would use informal to address both genders of young people. A flight attendant (48m) explained when he formally addressed the older male photo interlocutors, they would respond with informal, e.g. as would a grandfather speaking to his grandson. He also added that he considered the waiting room and the hardware store settings to be the same. He used formal when talking to an employee and expected it in return. The exception was if the employee spoke first and used informal address, the informant would use informal also. Two 45-year old employees plus a manager/administrator (45m) claimed that the two settings were similar in terms of address. A software engineer (47m) said that he would use informal with the first four rows of males and females in a conversational encounter but just the first three rows of males and females in a service encounter. He would use formal with the rest in order to conserve/maintain an emotional distance. Lastly, a librarian (42m) confessed that he would use informal address with all of the male photo interlocutors even though he used formal with taxi drivers and waiters.

4.4.2.5 Senior females

Relative interlocutor age was the primary criterion; appearance/aspect, gender and/or situation were secondary criteria. An office worker (58f) indicated that she would use informal with other Senior females because they were the same ages, i.e. equal. A homemaker (65f)

simply reported that she used informal with everyone and expected formal from everyone. A business owner (72f); however, definitively claimed that she did not use informal with males in order to avoid appearing 'overly close' *evitar dar confianza*. Formal address marked a distance based on age, work position, etc. When talking to older interlocutors, multiple Senior female informants indicated that they would continue using informal with older females but use formal with older males.

The influence of aspect/appearance was illustrated by several informants. An employee (61f) explained that she would use formal with a 52-year old male if he were nicely dressed, i.e. looked like a professional, or wearing elegant sport attire; but if he were informally dressed, she would use informal. She added if a 64-year old male looked *simpático* 'friendly', she would use informal address. A 61-year old female informant explained that she would use informal with a 65-year old female interlocutor if the aspect of the stranger indicated that she was *amplia, abierta* "approachable, open." Another discriminating informant, a homemaker (59f), indicated that even though she estimated the youngest male photo interlocutor to be about 35, she would use formal because there was an aspect or something about him that made him look stand-offish.

In terms of situation as a criterion, a library director (55f) explained that in casual interactions (i.e. a less formal acts) interlocutors would wonder what was wrong if she used formal address with them.

Most Senior female informants claimed that they expected males to address them formally. A 65-year old homemaker explained that men used formal to show respect, and added that after a woman is 50, men in general would use formal. An office worker (58f) anticipated informal address from all the photo interlocutors with the exception of the oldest female and male from whom she expected formal address. A female 78-year old retired manager provided several observations. She anticipated informal from (i) a female in her 20's because she was not even aware that she was doing it; (ii) a male in his late 30's because he

was the new generation, and (iii) a female in her 40's--but she might feel doubtful and use formal instead to show respect. The only instance where the informant anticipated formal address was from a male in his late 40's, but that was assuming he was *educado* "well-mannered".

Specifically in terms of service encounters there was a difference of opinion regarding the formality of the two settings. One Senior female (69f) claimed that she used the same address form in both conversation and service encounters, i.e. nothing changed. An office worker (54f) expressed that she would feel more *confianza* 'trust' in the neighborhood hardware store—even considering that the employees were strangers. A homemaker (65f) felt that a waiting room was more dry and serious than a hardware store because in the waiting room you did not *saludar* 'greet' people; you felt more *alejado* 'distant and distrustful'. She explained that when you walked into a store, you greeted the employee; although she confessed that sometimes she did strive to be neutral and avoid using either informal or formal. Plus she did not consider it disrespectful for the employee to use informal when saying "You [2pS-Inf] know, I have some lovely merchandise to show you [2pS-Inf]". A shop owner (56f) indicated that she would use the same form of address with the store owner and the employee because it is the same.

Two informants described a different attitude. An office worker (57f) considered an *empleado* 'clerk/employee' to be equivalent to a servant. She gave several examples. She used (i) formal address with the oldest female photo interlocutor; (ii) formal address with all the males, minus the youngest, to set limits; and (iii) informal with the youngest male. She explained that the address form she would receive varied by age and gender of the interlocutor. Lastly, a homemaker (77f) admitted that sometimes in a business, a young person addressed her informally, and it did not feel right.

4.4.2.6 Senior males

Interlocutor age and gender are the primary criteria with aspect and tradition as secondary criteria. An employee (54m) was the only one who claimed that in the case of the Middle generation photo interlocutors, he would wait to see how they addressed him. A supervisor (58m) insisted that he first he would try to use nothing (i.e. avoidance), but would use informal address with female interlocutors up to the age of 33 and male interlocutors up to the age of 35. A manager (65m) explained that in a conversational encounter he would use informal address with younger photo interlocutors and formal with older ones. In the case of the third oldest female, he would address her informally, and she would respond formally.

A retired male (65m) claimed that he would use informal with all the photo interlocutors with the exception of the oldest female and the next-to-the oldest male with whom he would use formal address. The male photo interlocutors would respond with reciprocal address, and the female photo interlocutors would respond with matching address. He added that he liked to use nicknames with both genders. For example with the third oldest female photo interlocutor, he might say *Hermosa* “beautiful” and with the fourth oldest he might say *Chica* “girl”; but with the others he would use titles such as *Señorita* “Miss” with the second youngest and *Señora* ‘Mrs. or Ma’am’ with the oldest. The nicknames he used with males photo interlocutors included *muchacho* ‘boy’ for the second youngest and *Che tío* ‘Hey uncle’ for all the rest with the exception of the oldest with whom he did would not use a nickname.

A manager (67m) explained he would use informal with younger female photo interlocutors (24-32) to seem younger, but all women would respond to him using formal. He added that only the two oldest male photo interlocutors would respond with informal even though he had used formal. An employee (72m) had a strategy for addressing the next to the oldest female and male photo interlocutors--first he would use formal address then switch to informal.

Regarding gender there was a difference of opinion. A supervisor (58m) felt that gender made no difference when addressing Middle generation photo interlocutors.. A railroad employee (72m) explained he would use informal address with all photo interlocutors in the conversational encounter with the exception of the oldest female (in her 40s) to show respect because she was older.

A systems engineer (62m) first indicated that he would use formal with all women; but then he said he could use either informal or formal with the three youngest (20-28). He explained that he would use formal with the two oldest female and male photo interlocutors in a conversational encounter; but added that during subsequent interactions he would switch to informal. An employee (54m) provided the most elaborate answer concerning the youngest female photo interlocutor explaining that (i) he would start by using no address form, (ii) if she were with her husband, the informant would use formal, but (iii) if she were alone, he would use informal.

In terms of aspect a graphics designer (65) explained that the youngest female photo interlocutor was the same age as his daughter; thus he would use informal address. He also indicated that there was something about the face/gesture of the youngest male photo interlocutor (33m) which caused him to use formal address even though he would use informal with the 40- and 43-year old male photo interlocutors. An engineer (70m) indicated that he would use formal with the second youngest female photo interlocutor because she looked cold and serious.

There was a difference of opinion on address in service encounters. Only one informant, an employee (72m) felt that the service encounter was more formal than the conversational indicating that roles distinguished how you addressed someone; therefore, one must be careful. He would use formal address with all because of their service/business roles. Four informants considered the two encounters to be basically the same. The first, an iron worker (59m), claimed that his address would be the same in both the conversational and

service counters, but the responses would differ. The second, a manager (67m), indicated that both the conversational and the service encounters were the same because they both involved strangers. He claimed that he treated the two situations somewhat differently but did not elaborate except to say that typically he used formal if he did not know the person. The third, a barber (71m), considered both the conversational and service encounters to be of equal informality. The fourth, a railroad employee (72m,) indicated that he would treat the photo interlocutors the same way in both encounters using informal address with all except the oldest female photo interlocutor whom he would address formally. In addition in the service encounter he would also use *che* "hey you" with anyone he addressed informally.

The remaining informants indicated that they considered the service encounter in a hardware store to be less formal than the conversational encounter in a waiting area. Such was the case for one accountant (56m). A systems engineer (62m) felt that he was more informal in the service encounter. He was only formal with the oldest female (55) photo interlocutor, and she would respond using formal. He would use informal with all others, and it would be reciprocated. A graphics designer (65m) explained that he would use informal in the service encounter with all the male photo interlocutors, and they would all respond with reciprocal informal because he had used informal address. A manager (65m) indicated that in a service encounter he used informal address with all photo interlocutors. Lastly a retired male informant (65m) claimed that he was more informal in a hardware store where he used informal address with everyone but anticipated receiving formal address in reply.

Lastly, only one informant gave a purely prescriptive/traditionalist response. A taxi owner/driver (63m) stressed that he always used formal with everyone he did not know in order to maintain distance. He claimed that he would never use informal with anyone.

4.4.3 IV: *Young Adults' Address--Present, Past, and Future*

4.4.3.1 Junior females

In terms of the present a student (18f) confirmed young people use informal. An employee (26f) reported that the use of informal address had increased.

4.4.3.2 Junior males -- No feedback was collected by the PI.

4.4.3.3 Middle females

When comparing the present with the past a director of studies at a language institute (45f) confirmed that young people tend to use informal. She felt that *vos* 'you [2pS-Inf]' was friendly and young. In the 1960's, however, *vos* 'you [2pS-Inf]' was not trendy among strangers or with family; in fact her father addressed both of his parents formally. Now *vos* 'you [2pS-Inf]' was fashionable in Buenos Aires. In terms of the present, a graduate student (46f) explained that adolescence lasted until 35 years old. They lived with their parents, and they were chronic students in order not to change their status. 18-30 year olds were symmetrical. Lastly, when comparing the present and the future a teacher (45f) explained that in secondary school the students did not make a distinction via address forms; but as they grew older and went to the university they would become more aware/conscious of the use of formal.

4.4.3.4 Middle males

A teacher/librarian (35m) felt that in the past young people used to distinguish between people of different ages. Now everyone is equal; but she added that it also represents the loss of good manners, customs, and quality of life. An employee (45m) claimed that 14-15-year olds even used informal with older people.

4.4.3.5 Senior females

Regarding usage today a shop owner (56f) explained that young people used informal with more age groups because *Los jóvenes, <40, tienen menos perjuicios* 'Young people, < 40, make fewer distinctions [between age groups]'. A librarian/teacher (61f) claimed that all the young people, e.g. 26-28, who worked in the kiosks used informal with everyone. An executive

secretary (65f) indicated that the younger the speaker the more likely he/she would address you informally. A homemaker (77f) felt that young people did not respect a difference in age (i.e. they did not distinguish between older and younger); they were very open/free/casual.

When comparing the past with today an accountant (59f) indicated that when she was in secondary school, she addressed her teachers formally. Today secondary and university students use informal with their professors. In terms of the future, a housewife (65f) explained that your 20-40-year old speakers were the informal users. They were not going to change except when speaking to the very old.

4.4.3.6 Senior males

When asked about young peoples' use of address today, a military employee (55m) explained that lower class young people used informal address and that this was not appropriate. A supervisor (58m) claimed that young people addressed him informally. An accountant (56m) felt that address was more conservative in the past, but then asked the PI if that was necessarily better. A national library employee (64m) explained that when he was 18, he addressed all men formally. Thirty years ago, more or less, there was an unspoken code that strangers who were 30 or older were addressed formally. Today all people used informal. He felt it was not appropriate for a 15-year old to address an older man informally; instead the young person should begin with prudence, and after a bit ask if he might switch to informal.

A manager (65m) explained that a 20-year old male would make an effort to address him formally, but informal address would slip out, i.e. escape him. In the past Argentines were more formal, saying *Señor policía* 'Mr. Policeman'. Now Argentina is relaxed, informal, and people use informal address. Another manager (67m) explained that each generation was more informal; for example, he used to use formal with his grandfather. An engineer (70m) compared the present with the past claiming that young people tended to use informal with older people; in the past that was prohibited. Regarding the future a military employee (55m)

acknowledged that informal was typical of youth and that they would not change to formal as they matured.

4.4.4 IV: Trends in Large Cities of Latin America and Spain

4.4.4.1 Junior females

Several informants made comparisons with cities in Argentina, Chile, and Spain. A student (18f) claimed that Argentina was the most informal adding that Chile was somewhat informal, but Spain was even less formal. A secretary (26f) felt that people in Buenos Aires province were more informal than people in other Argentine provinces. In contrast, a secretary (25f) indicated that address in the Argentine city of Córdoba, capital of the province of Córdoba, was the same as Buenos Aires.

4.4.4.2 Junior males

Of all the people that the PI asked about the possible influence of globalization on address usage, the following secretary (28m) responded with an on-target observation. He explained that in the interior of Argentina, kids used formal when addressing older people. These kids saw the same TV, movies, and Internet as kids in Buenos Aires. The difference, therefore, was in the amount of freedom that their parents gave them.

4.4.4.3 Middle females

Three informants made similar observations when comparing the city of Buenos Aires to towns and cities in the interior provinces of Argentina. A secretary (30f) and a teacher (45f) claimed that informal address was characteristic of Buenos Aires, but in the provinces or small towns of Buenos Aires province, formal address was used. A graduate student (46f) explained that in the interior of the country, the people were more reserved and used formal a lot and informal a little. It was the tradition of respect.

4.4.4.4 Middle males

One informant, a teacher/librarian (35m), described address usage in Argentina saying that *Che* 'Hey you [2pS-INF]' was used more in Buenos Aires while formal was used in the north

of Argentina. Two informants made observations from a more international perspective. An engineer (47m) indicated that Latin American chat/forums used the informal, *tú* 'you-[2pS-Inf]' and Argentines used the informal *vos* 'you-[2pS-Inf]'. A librarian (42m) explained that in Costa Rica formal and informal address were used interchangeably, and age did not matter.

4.4.4.5 Senior females

Comparing cities in Argentina, a homemaker (65f) claimed that in San Martín de los Andes (a popular tourist town in western Argentina), the shop clerks were more familiar/informal than in Buenos Aires. A different homemaker (65f) felt that in the provinces the people were more respectful; but in Buenos Aires they were disrespectful and *confianzudo* 'overly close/in your face'. A librarian/teacher (58f) agreed with both observations of the second informant indicating that the north of the country was more formal. In terms of comparing Chileans and Argentines, she claimed that Chileans were more distant while Argentines were more *confianzudos* 'in your face'. From a more international perspective, the first homemaker (65f) believed that in Spain during the Franco years the people were more formal; but after Franco, they became more open and relaxed.

4.4.4.6 Senior males

When describing Buenos Aires and comparing it with other cities in Argentina, a manager (65m) explained that in big Argentine cities, such as Buenos Aires, if someone said "Good Morning" to you, you would get suspicious that he/she wanted to trick you or was up to something.

In terms of the interior of Argentina, an accountant (56m) explained that in the case of San Martín de los Andes, a small popular resort town in the west of Argentina, it was actually a conglomerate of the country. Its location in the interior was not a factor in terms of the use of address as it was in some cities in the interior, such as Chipoleto in the province of Neuquén, where formal address was used more; there was more respect.

Three informants made comparisons with Chile. The first, an accountant (56m), felt that the people of Chile were more formal, structured, and cared about appearances. The second, a systems engineer (62m), thought that in Chile the people were more proper, i.e. they used formal address more with strangers. The third, a manager (67m), believed that Chile was much more serious than Argentina where there was *libertinaje* 'liberation to the extremes, i.e. anything goes'. Lastly, in international comparisons of Buenos Aires with other countries, a manager (67m) claimed that Buenos Aires was like New York City. A military employee (55m) made a very broad comparison when he indicated that he believed that in Spain they used informal; whereas in Latin America they used formal address.

4.4.5 IV: When/Why/How Address Has Changed in Buenos Aires

4.4.5.1 Junior females

There was minimal feedback from Junior females. The PI thought this might be due to the fact that they were too young to have noticed much of a change in address usage. A student (18f) said it seemed normal to her that older people addressed her informally and that young people addressed older people formally. An employee (26f), however, did report that the use of informal address had increased.

4.4.5.2 Junior males

There was no feedback from Junior males perhaps for the same reason given by the PI for Junior females above.

4.4.5.3 Middle females

These informants attributed the loss of formality between strangers to a decline in the country. An accountant (43f) responded that there had been a change in human values...for the worse....a decadence. A graduate student (46f) felt that the change was due to the loss of traditions and the breaking of formalities--all of which started in the 1960's with the anti-establishment movement. She added that no longer saying 'Thank you, Please, and Good day' were examples of the loss/degradation of important values.

4.4.5.4 Middle males

These informants basically agreed with their female counterparts, for example a flight attendant (48m) felt that the change to address strangers informally began 15-20 years ago; and he added that everything changed, i.e. values.

Perhaps one of the most insightful explanations was provided by a software engineer (47m) when he said:

Everything political and economical in Argentina causes address to be less important. Superficial things were less important. Due to the crisis of today, superficial things will matter even less in the future. Crisis made things fall apart...formalism had declined. Argentines used less respectful language. Formal was only for artificial situations.

He gave an example of the *libertinaje* 'excessive freedom' allowed by the government by pointing out the fact that the government had permitted homeless people to occupy a new police headquarters in La Boca just before it was scheduled to be officially opened.

A neighborhood barber (46m) gave one of the most thorough explanations when he made the following points (not in order of priority):

- (i) He felt that a big change happened in the 90's or late 80's. When the government changed from being military, so did the control of the people. The loss of respect for the individual began. 'Liberty became extreme freedom' *libertad pasó a libertinaje* due to the defenders of human rights. With a democratic government, you could do whatever you wanted to do to get ahead, i.e. *¡Viva la pepa!* 'Anything goes!'
- (ii) The government created a lot of freedom i.e. do whatever feels good; and with each generation it got worse. Human rights were for the criminals, the lazy, and the shameless. With the arrival of a democratic government, it was everybody for themselves, i.e. *sálvese quien pueda* 'save yourself if you can'.
- (iii) When the military government changed, schools used to be places where you went to learn; now students go just for the sake of going—not for

learning. There was no more respect for the teachers. During the past number of years the primary school teacher was no longer important.

- (iv) Everything changed as the government became less controlling. Politicians were all corrupted. Parents saw what one could get away with, i.e. how one could take advantage of the situation. The children witnessed this and developed an anything goes attitude.
- (v) During the TV news programs, they showed out of control adolescents and that the government was doing nothing about it. Kids were delinquents at the age of 12 and were untouchable by the law. Kids could get drugs/alcohol, and the government did nothing about enforcing non-sale to minors. There was no code of law as there was in the past. Parents did not set limits for their children.
- (vi) During the 90's, the president eliminated the mandatory military service which was where young people had learned to be respectful to their military superiors and to older people. The military service had molded the person and squelched rebellion. He acknowledged that the military had done some bad things, i.e. people disappeared; but the military did good things too such as education and teaching respect for the individual. During the military era, everyone showed more respect.
- (vii) He gave several examples of what he considered to be a total lack of respect: The first situation involved policemen who were on duty at one of the neighborhood police stations. They refused to file a citizen's report of a robbery because they were in the middle of eating a pizza and watching a soccer game on TV. The second situation concerned a cemetery where someone had started selling water—10 pesos for a small container and 25 pesos for a large one.

4.4.5.5 Senior females

This generation/gender of informants agreed with the views of the Middle generation, and added their own explanations and examples. A teacher (63f) pointed to the generation that is in its 30-40s now citing that the military service ended with President Menem. Before him was Alfonsín. Democracy exploded in all senses. During the military era, everything had been very rigid, for example a female doctor or health-related worker could not (i.e. dared not) wear pants; however once the rigid military government ended, people stopped treating each other with respect.

An accountant (59f) claimed that the change began with Alfonsín in 1983 as a reaction to what had come before, i.e. the 1950's with Perón in power, the 1960's with the hippies, and the 1970's with the rigid military that even insisted that men wear suits, ties, and short hair. With Alfonsín *la sociedad empieza ser más permisiva en todo* 'society began to be more permissive in every way'.

Two Senior female informants took a less political position. The first, a homemaker (65f), mentioned that on TV the news anchors were less formal than in earlier days when the news used to be read by the anchor. She did add that even in Italy, she suspected that announcers were more informal than 20 years ago.³² The second informant, a retired manager (78m), attributed the change to several socio-economic factors. Until the 1970's or 1980's, mothers did not have to work. The economic problems of the 1980's and 1990's forced many wives/mothers to work while their children were being taken care of by someone similar to their age resulting in the mutual use of informal address between the children and the care-giver. Personal home education/training/manners were lost including respect for the parents. Kids were eating without their parents. They no longer experienced eating in a structured home. In terms of school, teachers were young, and they used informal with their students. She also mentioned the change in the role of women when they began to feel liberated. She added it

started with the equality of men and women, and working women taking their children to daycare centers. Others felt that the change occurred with the legalization of divorce. Women wanted to work and earn money, so they hired a servant and the children were raised by a hired stranger. There was a difference.

4.4.5.6 Senior males

Everyone agreed that there had been a change. Some attributed it to socio-economic-political reasons while the rest provided descriptions of what had changed. In the first case, an engineer (70m) attributed the change to the May 19, 1968, revolution of young people in France which lasted fifteen days. It was a demonstration of their rebellion. There were efforts to suppress it, but it expanded. In the 70's the tendency began for youth to address older people informally.

A systems engineer (62m) indicated that the country was declining and that there was no justice and no law. Adults did not show respect to anything. Children, emulating adults, did not show respect either. It was due to drugs, alcohol, and corruption in all aspects of daily life – lack of justice – all of these pulled the country down.

A library employee (64m) explained that in the 1970's address began to change and in the 1980's it became entrenched in the use of foul language on a daily basis. This had formerly been reserved for anger and used by the lower social classes. The country had changed. In the 1930's there were poor people, but there was no misery. Argentina was extremely European, especially Italian. The middle class lived better.

A doctor (55m) felt that the change to addressing strangers informally began 15-20 years ago. Everything changed, i.e. values. He explained that he used formal with his parents and grandparents, but they used informal with him. He indicated that most Argentine patients addressed him formally, but Paraguayan patients would address him informally, e.g. *Mirá doctor, acá te traigo...* "Look [you 2pS-Inf] doctor, here I bring you [2pS-Inf]..." In his clinic,

³² The PI noted that Argentine TV news anchors used tele-prompters, but occasionally

where he was the director, the new, young doctors addressed him formally; but colleagues who were closer in age used informal address. In terms of everyday address where there was more of a relationship, informal was used, e.g. *che vos*.

A military employee (55m) explained that globalization did not influence address; and formal address continued to be used. On the other hand, an accountant (56m) felt that globalization was a factor, i.e. the communication media (e.g. Internet, television) had brought people closer together via technology. Now we knew what was happening in the world. A manager (65m) indicated that in the past 15 years, life had become more informal. Another manager (67m) acknowledged that today there was more communication: video, TV, Internet. He added that radio was quite informal (i.e. they joked around) and the news shows were too.

4.4.6 IV: *Explanations/Anecdotes of Address*

4.4.6.1 Junior Generation

(i) A secretary (25f) felt that *porteños* (residents of Buenos Aires) were very polite to foreigners, but not necessarily with other Argentines. Then she added two things about address in Buenos Aires that she disliked. She understood why a younger employee might address her formally, but she did not understand why an older employee formally addressed both female and male Junior generations. She hated it in shops and/or businesses, when the employees said *Gracias, señora* 'Thank you Mrs/Ma'am'. She had to swallow her desire to correct them saying *Señorita* 'Miss'.

(ii) An employee (28m) explained that informal was for people you trusted, such as the family; but even within the family there could be distinctions. He used himself as an example. He was raised by his maternal grandmother, and he used informal with her because she was like his mother. He used formal when addressing his great grandmother due to her age, and she used informal with him. Because his parents were separated, he did not have much contact with his paternal grandmother; consequently he used formal address with her.

exchanged remarks during parts of the news program.

4.4.6.2 Middle Generation

(i) An accountant (43f) reported that according to her older friend, informal address can show respect, but without the use of *che* 'Hey you {2pS-Inf}'. *Che* would be a sign of disrespect.

(ii) An employee (30f) indicated that when a 21-year old speaker addressed her formally, she responded "Don't address me formally; it makes me feel old".

(iii) An employee (34f) explained that a child used formal with his parents if he/she were raised that way; however, she claimed that using informal address did not mean a lack of respect. There was no problem with using informal address, and she gave the example of a 99-year old person who was *canchera/actualizada* 'modern' by using informal instead of staying with the old ways. She did provide several examples of formal address. First, when her baby was present, the Junior generation addressed her formally. Second, she used formal address with her father-in-law but informal address with her mother-in-law. Third, her husband (also in the Middle generation) used formal with older generations (i.e. with his in-laws and family friends of his in-laws) to show respect; however he used informal address with his brother-in-law.

(iv) A teacher (45f) claimed that her in-laws are from the interior (of the country), and they address each other formally.

(v) A teacher (30f) explained that in her secondary classroom of students who were 13 and older, she insisted that the students address her formally. However, it was OK if a student said "*Che, Profe (or Señor)*" if the student used the right tone.

(vi) A teacher/graduate student (46f) gave several examples of real address form usage. First, she addressed the rector of the school formally. Second, she permitted her students to address her as *Profe....Ud.* "Teacher/Professor...you [2pS-For]" because she felt it was healthy in secondary school to maintain a distance between the teacher and the students. If a student addressed her informally, she responded "I don't hear you [2pS-For] well. Addressing a person formally had an intrinsic value for teachers. Third, she addressed her

thesis advisor formally even though he was just two years older than she was because there was an intellectual and experience distance between them. She explained that he knew more, and she was raised to show respect. Fourth, she indicated that not knowing someone well was a good reason for using formal address.

4.4.6.3 Senior Generation

(i) A university psychiatrist (59f) explained that she used the term “Argentine “light” to label a less judgmental/prejudicial type of language that differed from the traditional, prescriptive approach to language that made distinctions between people, i.e. based on age, gender, etc. Formality and distance were less important and not used as criteria for address.

(ii) A homemaker (59f) reported that she was shocked when a 20-year old clerk addressed her informally. When the PI asked the informant if she had protested, she explained that she had not and that you got accustomed to it.

(iii) An accountant (59f) reported that six years ago she took her 90-year old father who was using a walker to a shopping mall to buy some bedroom slippers. She was shocked when the 18-year old male sales clerk used informal address to ask her father:

‘Do you [2pS-Inf] like these? Try [you 2pS-Inf] them on’.
Te gustan estas? Probátelas

(iv) A librarian/teacher (61f) admitted that sometimes she used and expected formal address to establish a distance between her and the interlocutor, as in the case of a student’s mother...at least at first.

(v) A business owner (65f) explained that with the young male workers in her factory workshop, she used formal because it was useful for maintaining distance. She also said that the older people with whom she used formal address were now gone. She added that those she had addressed informally, she continued to do so.

(vi) A homemaker (65f) shared that in general, women used informal more with other women. Men, on the other hand, were more careful when they talked to women. She felt that the older generation of men tended to show more respect.

(vii) A retired executive secretary (65f) gave several examples: First, she made a contrast by saying that she used informal address with the 33-year old handy man, but she used formal with the president of the social-cultural club (a man who is a little older and rather formal) in order to maintain a distance even though they have known each other all their adult lives. Second, a particular employee at work addressed her as *Señora nombre* “Mrs. First-name” when they were in the presence of other employees; but when the two of them were alone, this employee would address the informant by just her first name. She explained that informal address made you closer to a person. Formal address marked a distance. Address forms mark distance...based on age, work position. She also added that nowadays, people no longer greet each other saying “Good morning” as they should.

She made some comparisons with the past. First, fifteen years ago, if young people addressed an older person informally, the older person got angry, but not now. Second, at the age of ten, she used informal when talking to her aunt. Her parents got so angry with her that she stopped talking to that aunt. Third, twenty-five years ago she was shocked when her 10-year old daughter used informal address when asking the kiosk man for gum. She also described public school by offering two comparisons with the past. First, in the case of primary school, one addressed the teacher as *Señorita*; but in the more recent past, children in elementary school addressed their teacher informally and used the term *Señor* or the teacher’s first name. Second, in secondary school fifty years ago, one addressed the teacher formally using the term *Profesor*, and the teacher addressed the students formally using the term *señor*.

(viii) A homemaker (68f) shared a story with the PI to demonstrate, even as far back as 1986 when her son was in secondary school, that students used impolite/offensive language in the classroom with the teacher present.

- Classmate A to B: *¿Boludo, me pasás la lapicera?*
“Idiot (but cruder) can you [2pS-Inf] pass me a pen?”
- Teacher: *Pero estas cosas no se...*
“But these things one doesn’t...”

¿Pero qué estás diciendo alumno?
“But what are you [2pS-Inf] saying, student?”

- o Classmate A to B: *¿Pero yo qué dije, boludo?*
“But what did I say, idiot?”

(ix) A retired 69-year old female described a conversation that happened on a city bus in 2004. The scenario involved two young men who were talking to each other plus an older woman seated behind them who overheard their conversation.

- Young man A to B: *¿Boludo, qué hacés?*
‘Idiot (but cruder) what’cha [you 2ps-Inf] doing?’

- Young man B to A: *¿Boludo, cómo te vas?*
‘Idiot, how are you [2pS-Inf] doing?’

- Older woman to A as she stood up to get off. *Permiso, boludo (para pasar)*
‘Pardon, idiot (in order to pass)’

¿Cómo no es tu nombre?
“That’s your [2pS-Inf] name, isn’t it?”

(x): A Senior man in his sixties who was on the phone with a young caterer was becoming increasingly annoyed that the young caterer addressed him informally. The Senior man finally challenged the man by asking him why he was using informal address and whether or not they knew each other.

(xi) According to a retired railroad employee (72m) if a man used informal with an old(er) woman, she might protest saying: “Take care, I didn’t sleep with you. Do not address me informally”.

(xii) A graphics designer (65m) explained that nobody knows how the other person is going to respond in terms of address. If you said “Good Morning” when you got on an elevator or entered a business, only two out of ten responded. Nurses in hospitals addressed patients by their first names. Anybody used informal address to establish a social closeness. On the other hand, older people continued feigning/pretending to show respect until they felt close to each other. In terms of TV, he acknowledged that TV journalists still wore suits and ties and

continued speaking correctly; but he disliked watching TV talk shows because the people used bad words, a very limited vocabulary, and made grammar mistakes.

(xiii) Recently, a Senior female friend originally from Rosario, Argentina, described a change that occurred in the Argentine national elementary school in Rosario in 1970. In that year the school became co-ed, and she explained that the students felt like they were brothers and sisters. She was not sure, however, what year the national elementary schools had become co-ed in Buenos Aires.

4.5 Summary Comments

Some observations concerning the inferential and descriptive analyses have already been made for each quantitative source of data. The following chapter triangulates the data then discusses the application of the quantitative and qualitative findings to the research questions.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Based on the data analysis and results in Chapter 4, this chapter discusses the patterns of informal address. Section 5.1 uses the findings from the SQ Settings to justify triangulating the mixed methodologies gathering quantitative data. Section 5.2 summarizes, triangulates, and discusses the informal quantitative data from two perspectives--first the inferential results in 5.2.1 and second the descriptive results in 5.2.2 subcategorized to show the generational hierarchies and gender ranking for SQ data in 5.2.2.1, PO data in 5.2.2.2, and TV data in 5.2.2.3., plus compiled generational hierarchies in 5.2.2.4, and pervasiveness of informal address in 5.2.2.5. Section 5.3 applies the quantitative/qualitative findings to the research questions; and section 5.4 provides summary commentssums up the results of the answers to the research questions.

5.1 Using SQ Settings to Justify Triangulating Mixed Methodologies

The PI's survey questionnaire revealed that the majority of the participants/informants used the same address forms in both the conversational and service encounters. The PI manually plotted the four figures below to illustrate that point. Figure 5.1 documents Junior speakers, 5.2 Middle speakers, 5.3 Senior speakers, and Figure 5.4 compiles the data from the previous three figures. Each figure displays gender dyads stacked as bars to illustrate the distribution of dyads that use the same address form in both the conversational and service settings. In the case of the twelve Junior speaker/informant dyads illustrated in Figure 5.1, the distribution ranges from 60% to 100% when addressing all generations.

Junior Gender Dyads	Jr-Jr f-m 60%	Jr-Sr m-m 79%	Jr-Mi f-m 85%	Jr-Sr m-f 90%	Jr-Sr f-f 95%	Jr-Sr f-m 100%	Jr-Mi m-m 100%	Jr-Jr m-m 100%
	60%	70%	80%	90%	95%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 5.1 Junior speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address

Figure 5.2 below shows that the distribution of the same address used by Middle speakers ranged from 80% to 100% when addressing all generations of hearers. The Middle generation displayed the highest distribution of the same address compared to the other two generations.

Middle Gender Dyads			Mi-Sr f-m 88%					
			Mi-Mi m-m 88%					
			Mi-Mi f-m 89%	Mi-Sr m-m 97%				
			Mi-Mi f-f 81%	Mi-Sr f-f 95%				
			Mi-Jr f-m 88%	Mi-Mi m-f 94%	Mi-Sr m-f 100%			
			Mi-Jr f-f 89%	Mi-Jr m-f 94%	Mi-Jr m-m 100%			
	60%	70%	80%	90%	90%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 5.2 Middle speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address

Figure 5.3 shows that the Senior distribution of the same address ranged from 70% to 100%.

Senior Gender Dyads				Sr-Sr m-f 83%				
				Sr-Sr f-f 88%	Sr-Sr f-m 91%			Sr-Jr m-m 100%
		Sr-Sr m-m 75%		Sr-Mi m-m 84%	Sr-Mi f-m 98%			Sr-Jr f-m 100%
		Sr-Jr m-f 77%		Sr-Mi m-f 88%	Sr-Mi f-f 93%			Sr-Jr f-f 100%
	60%	70%	80%	80%	90%	90%	100%	100%

Figure 5.3 Senior speakers: Distribution of twelve gender dyads using the same address

Figure 5.4 below compiles the three previous figures to show the distribution of all thirty-six generational dyads using the same address in both conversational and service encounters. It quickly becomes obvious that the majority of informants, i.e. 80% or more, did use the same address forms.

			Sr-Sr m-f 83%		
			Sr-Sr f-f 88%		
			Sr-Mi m-m 84%	Sr-Mi f-m 98%	
			Sr-Mi m-f 88%	Sr-Mi f-f 93%	Sr-Jr f-f 100%
			Mi-Mi m-m 88%	Sr-Sr f-m 91%	Sr-Jr m-m 100%
			Mi-Mi f-m 89%	Mi-Sr m-m 97%	Sr-Jr f-m 100%
			Mi-Jr f-m 88%	Mi-Mi m-f 94%	Mi-Sr m-f 100%
			Mi-Jr f-f 89%	Mi-Jr m-f 94%	Mi-Jr m-m 100%
		Sr-Sr m-m 75%	Mi-Mi f-f 81%	Mi-Sr f-f 95%	Jr-Sr f-m 100%
All		Sr-Jr m-f 77%	Mi-Sr f-m 88%	Jr-Sr m-f 90%	Jr-Mi m-m 100%
Gender		Jr-Sr m-m 79%	Jr-Mi f-m 85%	Jr-Sr f-f 95%	Jr-Jr m-m 100%
Dyads	Jr-Jr f-m 60%	Jr-Mi f-f 77%	Jr-Jr f-f 85%	Jr-Mi m-f 95%	Jr-Jr m-f 100%
	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Count / %	n=1 (3 %)	n=4 (11 %)	n=12 (33 %)	n=10 (28 %)	n=9 (25 %)

Figure 5.4 Total speakers: Distribution of thirty-six gender dyads using the same address

Because the large majority of speakers used the same address form in both encounters, the PI felt that this validated combining/comparing reported speech from survey questionnaires with natural speech data gathered in a variety of casual locations via participant observation and TV news programs.

5.2 Summarizing and Triangulating Informal Quantitative Data

5.2.1 Inferential Results

The two tables below triangulate the inferential results for the use of informal address from the three sources of quantitative data: SQ, PO, and TV. Table 5.1 compares generations of speakers and hearers. Rows one through three focus on generational pairs of speakers using informal address with all interlocutors; however, in four cases there was ‘no significant data difference’ (*n.s.d.d.*) and in two cases there was “insufficient data”. Rows four through six describe hearers. The underscores highlight the fact that within each row the same inferential findings display regardless of the source of the data. For example, in line 4. Jr vs. Mi all three sources of data (SQ, PO, and TV) indicate Jr > Mi, i.e. that the Junior generation receives more informal address from all interlocutors than the Middle generation of hearers. This triangulation validates the reported (i.e. SQ) and the natural (i.e. PO and TV) speech data

Table 5.1 Triangulation of Inferential Use of Informal by Generation

Generations	SQ	PO	TV
Speakers:			
1. Jr vs. Mi	<i>n.s.d.d</i>	<i>n.s.d.d</i>	Jr > Mi
2. Jr vs. Sr	Jr < Sr	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>	<i>insufficient data</i>
3. Mi vs. Sr	Mi < Sr	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>	<i>insufficient data</i>
Hearers:			
4. Jr vs. Mi	<u>Jr > Mi</u>	<u>Jr > Mi</u>	<u>Jr > Mi</u>
5. Jr vs. Sr	<u>Jr > Sr</u>	<u>Jr > Sr</u>	<u>Jr > Sr</u>
6. Mi vs. Sr	<u>Mi > Sr</u>	<u>Mi > Sr</u>	<u>Mi > Sr</u>

Table 5.2 concentrates on gender comparisons. Most of dyads for both speakers and hearers contain no significant data differences (*n.s.d.d.*).

Table 5.2 Triangulation of Inferential Use of Informal by Gender

Gender	SQ	PO	TV
Speaker:			
7. f vs. m	f > m	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>	<i>n.s.d.d</i>
Hearer:			
8. f vs. m	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>	<i>n.s.d.d.</i>

The two tables above predict the odds of informal address use by the population of Buenos Aires. Based on Table 5.1's first three rows, one can conclude that the Senior speakers use informal the most when addressing the combination of generational dyads. This is logical considering two factors: (i) Older speakers in Buenos Aires have the option of addressing younger generations informally; and (ii) Senior speakers have the largest audience of younger interlocutors. It is difficult to conclude any additional patterns because two-thirds of the speaker dyads either showed no significant difference in data (*n.s.d.d.*) or contained insufficient data. In

terms of hearers, rows four through six indicate that younger hearers receive more informal address than older hearers. Regarding gender, one can conclude that gender is not a significant criterion for most of the population of Buenos Aires.

5.2.2 Descriptive Results

The three tables below summarize the patterns of informal usage which the PI concluded based on the data from the SPSS Cross-tabulations tables in Chapter 4. There is a table for each of the three sources of quantitative data: Table 5.3 SQ, Table 5.4 PO, and Table 5.5 TV. In each table, the gender dyads are ranked from high to low in their use of informal address. Some of the gender dyads have zero (0) data. Table 5.6 compiles the previous three tables to reveal the hierarchical generational patterns of contemporary address.

5.2.2.1 SQ Results

Table 5.3 presents the hierarchy of SQ informants reporting the use of informal in symmetrical and asymmetrical generational relationships in conversational encounters. Beneath each generational dyad, the gender dyads are listed in decreasing order based on the percentage of informal address used.

Table 5.3 SQ Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings

-Symmetrical	<u>Jr ⇒ Jr</u>	>	<u>Mi ⇒ Mi</u>	>	<u>Sr ⇒ Sr</u>	
	f-m	100%	m-m	78%	f-f	64%
	m-m	100%	f-m	76%	f-m	38%
	f-f	95%	f-f	74%	m-m	29%
	m-f	87%	m-f	73%	m-f	17%
-Older-to-Younger	<u>Mi ↓ Jr</u>	>	<u>Sr ↓ Jr</u>	>	<u>Sr ↓ Mi</u>	
	f-f	100%	f-f	97%	f-f	98%
	f-m	100%	m-m	90%	f-m	82%
	m-m	100%	f-m	86%	m-m	78%
	m-f	85%	m-f	79%	m-f	68%
-Younger-to-Older	<u>Jr ↑ Mi</u>	>	<u>Mi ↑ Sr</u>	>	<u>Jr ↑ Sr</u>	
	f-m	64%	f-f	15%	f-f	11%
	m-m	62%	f-m	12%	f-m	5%
	f-f	58%	m-f	9%	m-f	0%
	m-f	48%	m-m	7%	m-m	0%

In Table 5.3 above the following address patterns can be distinguished. In terms of generation, there are three patterns. First, all symmetrical generation dyads are likely to use informal address ranging from Jr ⇒ Jr dyads (87-100%), to Mi ⇒ Mi (almost 75%), to Sr ⇒ Sr dyads of females (almost 66%). Second, older speakers commonly use informal when addressing younger speakers. Third, the rule of not addressing older people informally is still evident when younger speakers address the oldest generation; however, the Junior generation has expanded its use of informal to almost 50% of the Middle generation and to more than 10% in female-to-female gender dyads. In terms of gender patterns, males tend to use informal the least when addressing females. This is definitely the case in all of the symmetrical and older-to-younger dyads, but also occurs in the younger-to-older dyads. Based on interview feedback, the PI suspects that this pattern of address occurs because male speakers are trying to avoid being misinterpreted.

5.2.2.2 PO Results

Table 5.4 presents the hierarchy of informal address users based on participant observation in Buenos Aires. Beneath each generational dyad, the gender dyads are listed in decreasing order based on the percentage of informal address used.

Table 5.4 PO Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings

-Symmetrical	<u>Jr ⇒ Jr</u>	>	<u>Mi ⇒ Mi</u>	>	<u>Sr ⇒ Sr</u>	
	m-f	100%	f-m	67%	f-f	53%
	f-f	50%	f-f	50%	m-f	33%
	f-m	0%	m-f	0%	m-m	29%
	m-m	0%	m-m	0%	f-m	18%
-Older-to-Younger	<u>Mi ↓ Jr</u>	>	<u>Sr ↓ Jr</u>	>	<u>Sr ↓ Mi</u>	
	m-m	100%	m-m	82%	m-f	54%
	f-m	68%	f-m	75%	f-f	50%
	f-f	50%	m-f	68%	f-m	50%
	m-f	0%	f-f	50%	m-m	50%
-Younger-to-Older	<u>Jr ↑ Mi</u>	>	<u>Mi ↑ Sr</u>	>	<u>Jr ↑ Sr</u>	
	f-m	100%	m-f	60%	m-f	50%
	f-f	0%	f-f	40%	f-m	29%
	m-f	0%	m-m	26%	m-m	20%
	m-m	0%	f-m	25%	f-f	11%

In the PO Address table above, the generational patterns of informal use are similar to those in the SQ Address table. Whereas survey informants used either informal or formal address, some of the PO speakers used an alternate address form which was typically an avoidance strategy. The sizes of some of the PO percentages of informal address are, therefore, somewhat smaller than the SQ data. There was no distinct gender pattern in the PO data.

5.2.2.3 TV Results

Table 5.5 presents the hierarchy of informal address users based on observation of Argentine TV news programs. Beneath each generational dyad, the gender dyads are listed in decreasing order based on the percentage of informal address used.

Table 5.5 TV Informal Address Dyads: Generational Hierarchies and Gender Rankings

-Symmetrical	$Jr \Rightarrow Jr$	>	$Mi \Rightarrow Mi$	>	$Sr \Rightarrow Sr$	
	m-f	100%	m-m	47%	f-f	0%
	m-m	100%	f-f	44%	f-m	0%
	f-m	67%	m-f	34%	m-f	0%
	f-f	0%	f-m	27%	m-m	0%
-Older-to-Younger	$Mi \Downarrow Jr$	>	$Sr \Downarrow Mi$	>	$Sr \Downarrow Jr$	
	m-f	94%	f-f	100%	f-f	67%
	m-m	92%	m-m	68%	f-m	0%
	f-m	89%	f-m	40%	m-f	0%
	f-f	86%	m-f	29%	m-m	0%
-Younger-to-Older	$Jr \Uparrow Sr$	>	$Jr \Uparrow Mi$	>	$Mi \Uparrow Sr$	
	f-f	0%	f-m	100%	m-f	22%
	m-m	0%	f-f	83%	m-m	17%
	f-m	0%	m-m	83%	f-f	0%
	m-f	0%	m-f	50%	f-m	0%

In the TV Address table above, the generational patterns of informal use in the symmetrical and older-to-younger dyads are similar to those in the SQ and PO Address tables. The younger-to-older dyads do not match at all. This may be partially explained by an uneven distribution of data especially in terms of a shortage of data for the Senior generation. From a gender

perspective, it is interesting to note that male speakers used informal the least when addressing females in Sr ↓ Mi and Jr ↑ Mi generational dyads. This was a gender pattern seen in the SQ address data.

5.2.2.4 Compiled Generational Hierarchies

Table 5.6 compiles the generational hierarchies from the three sources of data so that their informal address patterns can be triangulated. All symmetrical and asymmetrical generational dyads display the same hierarchies with only the one exception--the TV data in the Younger-to-Older Generations.

Table 5.6 SQ, PO, and TV Informal Address: Compiled Generational Hierarchies

Symmetrical Generations					
<u>Overall Hierarchy:</u>	Jr ⇒ Jr	>	Mi ⇒ Mi	>	Sr ⇒ Sr
<u>Data Sources:</u>					
-Reported: SQ:	Jr ⇒ Jr	>	Mi ⇒ Mi	>	Sr ⇒ Sr
-Natural: PO:	Jr ⇒ Jr	>	Mi ⇒ Mi	>	Sr ⇒ Sr
TV:	Jr ⇒ Jr	>	Mi ⇒ Mi	>	Sr ⇒ Sr*
Older-to-Younger Generations					
<u>Overall Hierarchy:</u>	Mi ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Mi
<u>Data Sources:</u>					
-Reported: SQ:	Mi ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Mi
-Natural: PO:	Mi ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Mi
TV:	Mi ↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓ Mi	>	Sr ↓ Jr
Younger-to-Older Generations					
<u>Overall Hierarchy:</u>	Jr ↑ Mi	>	Mi ↑ Sr	>	Jr ↑ Sr
<u>Data Sources:</u>					
-Reported: SQ:	Jr ↑ Mi	>	Mi ↑ Sr	>	Jr ↑ Sr
-Natural: PO:	Jr ↑ Mi	>	Mi ↑ Sr	>	Jr ↑ Sr
TV:	Jr ↑ Mi	>	Mi ↑ Sr	>	Jr ↑ Sr*

Legend: * = no data

The compiled hierarchies of informal address usage in Table 5.6 above are summarized below:

Symmetrical:	Jr ⇒ Jr	>	Mi ⇒ Mi	>	Sr ⇒ Sr
Asymmetrical:					
-- Older-to-Younger	Mi ↓↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓↓ Jr	>	Sr ↓↓ Mi
-- Younger-to-Older	Jr ↑↑ Mi	>	Mi ↑↑ Sr	>	Jr ↑↑ Sr

The following conclusions regarding informal address among strangers in Buenos Aires can be posited: (i) Junior speakers use more informal address than any other symmetrical generation; (ii) Junior speakers have expanded their use of informal address to the next older generation, i.e. Middle generation; and (iii) Junior hearers receive the most informal address.

5.2.2.5 Pervasiveness of Informal Address

Another way to view the data is from the perspective of which generation/gender dyads used informal address the most regardless of quantitative data source. Table 5.7 highlights by symmetrical and asymmetrical generational relationships, which gender dyad(s) had the largest percent of informal address users (and the data source), i.e. (i) in symmetrical generation dyads, the biggest users of informal ranged from 64-100%; (ii) in older-to-younger dyads, the biggest users ranged from 97-100%; and (iii) in younger-to-older dyads, the biggest users ranged from 50-100%. In terms of gender dyads, it is interesting to note that the older-to-younger m-f quadrant is empty which is not surprising based on older males' concern with being misinterpreted by younger females. Based upon Table 5.7, one can conclude that informal address among strangers is entrenched in Buenos Aires today.

Table 5.7 Most Pervasive Generation/Gender Dyads Using Informal Address

	f-f			f-m			m-f			m-m		
	SQ	PO	TV									
Symmetrical												
Jr ⇒ Jr 100%				SQ			PO	TV		SQ		TV
Mi ⇒ Mi 78%										SQ		
Sr ⇒ Sr 64%	SQ											
Older-to-Younger												
Sr ↓↓ Mi 100%			TV							SQ	PO	
Mi ↓↓ Jr 100%	SQ			SQ								
Sr ↓↓ Jr 97%	SQ											

Table 5.7 – Continued

Younger-to-Older			
Jr ↑ Sr 50%		PO	
Jr ↑ Mi 100%		PO	
Mi ↑ Sr 60%			PO

Another way to display the pervasiveness of informal address is via the two-part figures below which highlight by generational/gender dyad those that use informal address 50% or more in chart (a) and those that use it 70% or more in chart (b). The symmetrical generational relationships in Figure 5.5 show that the Jr-Jr generation dyad is the highest user of informal.

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	INF 95% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J	INF 87% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J
J ⇒ J	PO	INF 50% J ⇒ J	-	INF 100% J ⇒ J	-
	TV	-	INF 67% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J
	SQ	INF 74% M ⇒ M	INF 76% M ⇒ M	INF 73% M ⇒ M	INF 78% M ⇒ M
M ⇒ M	PO	INF 50% M ⇒ M	IN 67% M ⇒ M	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	INF 64% S ⇒ S	-	-	-
S ⇒ S	PO	INF 53% S ⇒ S	-	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-

(a)

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	INF 95% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J	INF 87% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J
J ⇒ J	PO	-	-	INF 100% J ⇒ J	-
	TV	-	-	INF 100% J ⇒ J	INF 100% J ⇒ J
	SQ	INF 74% M ⇒ M	INF 76% M ⇒ M	INF 73% M ⇒ M	INF 78% M ⇒ M
M ⇒ M	PO	-	-	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	-	-	-	-
S ⇒ S	PO	-	-	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-

(b)

Figure 5.5 Symmetrical generations using informal: (a) ≥ 50% and (b) ≥ 70%

Figure 5.6 displays older-to-younger generational relationships. A quick glance at charts (a) and (b) reveals the pervasiveness of informal when older generations address younger generations regardless of gender dyad.

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	INF 98% S ↓ M	INF 82% S ↓ M	INF 68% S ↓ M	INF 76% S ↓ M
S ↓ M	PO	INF 50% S ↓ M	INF 50% S ↓ M	INF 54% S ↓ M	INF 50% S ↓ M
	TV	INF 100% S ↓ M	-	-	INF 68% S ↓ M
	SQ	INF 97% S ↓ J	INF 86% S ↓ J	INF 79% S ↓ J	INF 90% S ↓ J
S ↓ J	PO	INF 50% S ↓ J	INF 75% S ↓ J	INF 68% S ↓ J	INF 82% S ↓ J
	TV	INF 67% S ↓ J	-	-	-
	SQ	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 85% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J
M ↓ J	PO	INF 50% M ↓ J	INF 67% M ↓ J	-	INF 100% M ↓ J
	TV	INF 87% M ↓ J	INF 89% M ↓ J	INF 94% M ↓ J	INF 92% M ↓ J

(a)

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	INF 98% S ↓ M	INF 82% S ↓ M	-	-
S ↓ M	PO	-	-	-	-
	TV	INF 100% S ↓ M	-	-	-
	SQ	INF 97% S ↓ J	INF 86% S ↓ J	INF 79% S ↓ J	INF 90% S ↓ J
S ↓ J	PO	-	INF 75% S ↓ J	-	INF 82% S ↓ J
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 85% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J
M ↓ J	PO	-	-	-	INF 100% M ↓ J
	TV	INF 87% M ↓ J	INF 89% M ↓ J	INF 94% M ↓ J	INF 92% M ↓ J

(b)

Figure 5.6 Older-to-Younger generations using informal: (a) $\geq 50\%$ and (b) $\geq 70\%$

Figure 5.7 shows that among younger-to-older generation dyads, senior interlocutors are typically not addressed informally by most Junior and Middle speakers, i.e. the tradition of formally addressing older people is still evident in terms of Senior addressees. In the case of Junior speakers addressing Middle interlocutors, however, the situation is quite different. As chart (a) indicates, more than half of the Junior speakers use informal when addressing Middle generation interlocutors. Chart (b) indicates that (i) Junior females use informal 100% of the

time when addressing Middle males; and (ii) both Junior females and males use informal 83% of time to address the Middle generation when the interlocutors are gender peers.

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	-	-	-	-
J ↑ S	PO	-	-	INF 50% J ↑ S	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	-	-	-	-
M ↑ S	PO	-	-	INF 60% M ↑ S	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	INF 58% J ↑ M	INF 64% J ↑ M	INF 64% J ↑ M	INF 62% J ↑ M
J ↑ M	PO	-	INF 100% J ↑ M	-	-
	TV	INF 83% J ↑ M	INF 100% J ↑ M	INF 50% J ↑ M	INF 83% J ↑ M

(a)

Dyad	Data	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
	SQ	-	-	-	-
J ↑ S	PO	-	-	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	-	-	-	-
M ↑ S	PO	-	-	-	-
	TV	-	-	-	-
	SQ	-	-	-	-
J ↑ M	PO	-	INF 100% J ↑ M	-	-
	TV	INF 83% J ↑ M	INF 100% J ↑ M	-	INF 83% J ↑ M

(b)

Figure 5.7 Younger-to-Older generations using informal: (a) $\geq 50\%$ and (b) $\geq 70\%$

5.3 Applying Quantitative/Qualitative Results to Research Questions

This section applies the quantitative and qualitative findings to the six research questions which are discussed in the following subsections: 5.3.1 What is the hierarchy of informal address users?; 5.3.2 Who are the most pervasive users of informal address?; 5.3.3 What are the criteria for informal address?; 5.3.4 What affected address in the past twenty-five (plus) years?; 5.3.5 How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1960 prediction of increasing informality?; and 5.3.6 How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1989 dimension of 'affect'?

5.3.1 What is the hierarchy of informal address users?

There is not one hierarchy because the use of address forms is influenced by the symmetrical versus asymmetrical generational relationship of the dyad. In the case of symmetrical generational dyads, interlocutors in the $Jr \Rightarrow Jr$ dyad lead in the use of informal. In younger-to-older generational relationships, once again Junior speakers in $Jr \Rightarrow Mi$ dyads are the leaders. In terms of older-to younger generational relationships, all older generations tend to address younger generations informally. The figure below summarizes these hierarchies.

<u>Generational Relationships</u>	<u>Hierarchies</u>
Symmetrical:	$Jr \Rightarrow Jr > Mi \Rightarrow Mi > Sr \Rightarrow Sr$
Younger-to-Older:	$Jr \uparrow Mi > Mi \uparrow Sr > Jr \uparrow Sr$
Older-to-Younger:	$Mi \downarrow Jr > Sr \downarrow Jr > Sr^* \downarrow Mi$

* Sr females use informal in all gender dyads; while Sr males use less informal with Mi females

Figure 5.8 Summary of Generational Hierarchies

5.3.2 Who are the most pervasive users of informal address?

Older speakers typically address younger interlocutors informally. The Junior generation uses it among themselves, and this use is expanding to addressing Middle interlocutors. As one Senior female retired manager indicated, "The young people don't even know that they are doing it [i.e. using informal address with older people]."

5.3.3 What are the criteria for informal address?

All generations and genders agreed that interlocutor age was the primary criterion. As an over-simplified rule of thumb, older generations addressed younger generations informally

and conversely younger generations addressed older generations formally. The following paragraphs summarize usage by generation.

The Junior generation used informal address with their peers and with a percentage of the next generation, i.e. Middle interlocutors; however, there is still evidence that the Junior generation formally addresses the Senior generation. The most common answer when the PI asked Junior informants when/why they used formal address, the typical responses included (a) to show respect, (b) to show good manners, and (c) to behave the way they were brought up.

The Middle generation typically used informal with the Junior generation and formal with the Senior generation. In terms of initial interactions with strangers similar in age, some would use informal if the strangers had a friendly face or if there were a feeling of affinity.

The Senior generation typically uses informal with younger generations. Perhaps one of the most remarkable insights was provided by a Senior female psychiatrist (59f) who explained that she used the label “Argentine Light” to describe her use of informal in initial/brief interactions/transactions with strangers. The PI concluded that casual initial interaction between strangers did not need to be treated as a mini-ceremony of formality and distance. Using “Argentine Light” offered a neutral alternative..

Senior males, in particular, tended to use formal to address Senior and Middle generation females to avoid any misunderstanding. A very small number of Senior males claimed that they used formal with all adult strangers because they did not know the person well. A very few indicated that they waited to see what the other person used. A Senior female accountant (59f), on the other hand, insisted that the intention of not using, i.e. avoiding, either formal or informal address did not exist—it just happened. Some Senior females claimed that they used informal with everyone. Other females indicated two additional factors. The first was visual, i.e. the physical “aspect” (*aspecto*), appearance, dress, demeanor, level and/or station of an interlocutor as perceived by the informant. The second was a subtle feeling within the dyad which the PI labeled as the affinity factor. In terms of expectations, Senior females’ attitudes

ranged from expecting formal to insisting on informal because it made them feel younger. To over generalize (1) Senior females have it easiest because they can address everyone informally and (2) the Junior generation has it easiest because they can use informal with their peers.

5.3.4 What affected address in the past twenty-five (plus) years?

Middle and Senior informants agreed that address has become more informal, and they provided many detailed reasons for the change. Many correlated the end of a military government plus the end of mandatory military service with the increase in the loss of respect in interpersonal relations. With the end of the military government, some claimed that the life style had become less formal and more relaxed over the years.

One informant reported that the crises of the times make formality irrelevant. Supporting this idea, Clyne et al. (2009) posited that a country's internal sociopolitical events can be the basis for linguistic change instead of simply external factors. Even though they were describing changes in three European countries (Sweden, Germany, and France), their explanation seems to apply to Argentina as well.

While one Senior male cited the May 19, 1968 rebellion of students in France as the turning point, the large majority of informants blamed the change on internal changes not external factors. When asked if the change was due to globalization, one Middle male informant challenged the PI asking how one explains the fact that people in the interior still use formal address, and they have access to the same global media as the people of Buenos Aires. This informant credited parents for maintaining standards and control.

Those who claim that the topic of address is generational may be suggesting that traditions of formal address to show respect will fade along with the older generation. The void will be filled by younger generations who are already using informal in casual daily interactions, i.e. "Argentine Light." Among the Middle and Junior generations there already is minimal differentiation made for gender; perhaps gradually the generational distinction will also fade.

5.3.5 How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1960 prediction of increasing informality?

This dissertation posits that in the case of Buenos Aires, Brown and Gilman's 1960 prediction has come true as evidenced by the pervasiveness of informal address among strangers. The future of Argentine *Licht* as a neutral form of address looks promising considering its present degree of entrenchment and the fact that it can be made more versatile via the use of formal titles.

5.3.6 How relevant is Brown and Gilman's 1989 dimension of 'affect'?

The PI intentionally focused this sociolinguistic experiment on casual initial interactions among strangers in order to minimize the influence of Brown and Gilman's dimensions of power and solidarity on address form selection (1960). In 1989 they changed the name of their dimension 'solidarity' to 'distance' plus added the dimension of 'affect'. The current study suggests that these were useful revisions. In general, strangers in initial interactions have minimal common ground unless they sense a feeling of similarity due to their mutual generation, gender, setting, etc. The combination of a friendly, open, modern aspect of goodwill lends itself to feelings of positive 'affect' and could explain strangers' spontaneous use of informal address.

5.4 Summary Comments

This chapter has addressed the six research questions. The triangulation of the quantitative data has demonstrated the validity of reported and natural data. In addition, the discussion of data analysis shows that informal address is entrenched in varying degrees in all generations in Buenos Aires today. The next chapter explores whether this language shift in address patterns is unique to Buenos Aires in 6.1, then summarizes the benefits of the research in 6.2, and proposes topics for future research in 6.3.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation began with a review of theories, methodologies, and empirical research related to the study of address variation that provided a foundation for this sociolinguistic experiment. Via the collection and analysis of natural and reported speech data, this research quantitatively and qualitatively proves the pervasiveness of informal address in Buenos Aires. Counter the prescriptive statements such as those seen in Solé (1978), interactions between strangers were shown to be more nuanced than simply using *Ud.* in all exchanges. In addition, the study validates Brown and Gilman's 1960 prediction that mutual informal address would increase and their 1989 addition of *affect* to their dimensions influencing address form selection. In this final chapter, section 6.1 expands the description of the use of informal in Buenos Aires and highlights the popularity of informal address in other Spanish-speaking countries as well as other languages; section 6.2 describes the benefits of this research; and section 6.3 suggests topics for future research.

6.1 The Present Presence of Informal Address

This research provides a contemporary synchronic snapshot of casual initial interactions among strangers in Buenos Aires. The findings indicate that informal address is pervasive—more so among the young but nevertheless to some degree in each generation. In addition Argentines use the combination of formal title with informal verb morphology. Rigatuso documented the use of this strategy by Argentine store clerks and customers (2000:293-344). The PI also became aware of this strategy via the following anecdote related to her by a Senior female Argentine friend.

The 60+ year old friend and her husband were meeting with a young male lawyer in Argentina. During the meeting, she suddenly realized that she had been addressing the young lawyer informally. She concluded that it was too late to change to formal address, so she made a point to use the title '*Doctor*'³³ each time she addressed him.

The PI concludes that the following factors influenced the popularity of informal address in Buenos Aires. First, informal was widely used by older generations addressing younger interlocutors. Second, many Argentines of all generations and genders claimed that using informal address no longer represented a lack of respect; in fact, it made some of them feel younger. Third, according to many informants the spread of informal address was due to twenty-five years of internal problems in the country and not to any external factors. Nonetheless, as the following subsections, 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, show, the shift to informal address is not unique to Buenos Aires. Indeed, this change is occurring in other urban areas of the Spanish-speaking world as well as in other languages.

6.1.1 Spanish

To represent the changes in other forms of the Spanish language, informal address is first highlighted in Spain then in Chile. For Spain, work by two twenty-first century scholars is cited. First, Amy Rossomondo (2002) describes informal address in her 2002 paper, entitled "Pronominal Address Forms in Madrid," for the 4th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium stating that "[t]he fact that studies conducted on the actual usage of these pronouns of address over the last twenty years have found more reported use of *tú* than expected...suggest that the use of *tú* is increasing" (116). Based on her own study of 47 female and 30 male residents of Madrid ages 18-65 (118), she made the following observations:

The gender of the participant was not found to be significant...when compared to other factors...However, the age of the participant was found to be significant with older speakers (46-65) using *Ud.* more frequently. As age decreases, so does the overall usage of *Ud.*...The level of education of the participant was also found to be significant...with informants with a university-level education...using *Ud.* less often than other informants...Speakers from Madrid use *Ud.* significantly less often than speakers from other regions of Spain who live in Madrid (122-123).

³³ The informant explained that in Argentina the title '*Doctor*' is used to address lawyers.

Second, Leo Hickey (2005) provides the following description of address in Spain in his chapter entitled “Politeness in Spain: Thanks But No ‘Thanks’”:

The second-person [informal] is used among relatives, friends, colleagues, young people and others of equal ‘status’, whether acquainted or not, while the third-person [formal] prevails in formal situations or among strangers of, say, 50 upwards who do not envisage having any personal relationship with one another. The usage is not necessarily reciprocal: older persons may use *tú* to youngsters, who in turn use *usted* (319).

In the case of Chile, Kelley Bishop and Jim Michnowicz indicate that (i) according to Uber (2004) “[informal] is the most common form of address...”; similarly, (ii) according to “Torrejón (1991) the system of forms of address is becoming more simplified and egalitarian;” and (iii) based on their own research “...informal pronouns are generally used more frequently than formal *usted*” (2010:415-17).

6.1.2 Other Languages

Besides this range of evidence about the spread of informal address in Spanish, the popularity of informal address is expanding in other languages as well. This subsection highlights the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Estonia (to name just a few of the areas in which this trend has been reported). First, Nekvapil and Neustupný provide the following observations on the use of informal address in the Czech Republic:

In a recent article, Jurman (2001) reports on a questionnaire he administered to university students and company employees, asking about their pronominal preferences....In Jurman’s data *ty* [informal] seems to be gaining ground from *vy* [formal] among young speakers. In the case of university students speaking to their colleagues, reciprocal *ty* had already become the only pronoun in use by the beginning of the 1950s (see also Vachek 1987:281). Should we believe the trend discernible in Jurman’s study, the practice has further extended and possibly now includes all first-time encounters between all young speakers, irrespective of gender (2005:251).

Second, in the case of Hungary, “[t]here is one informal and intimate mode of address...: *te*.... In the newer cultural paradigm, *te* tends to be the standard and is becoming increasingly neutral” (Bencze 2005:242). Lastly, in the Baltic country of Estonia:

In accordance with the trend towards informality in the Estonian speech community, universal T seems to be spreading....At university, symmetrical T may be used between students and younger teachers. The new corporate culture also apparently involves

addressing every insider as T, a pattern that is unfamiliar and sometimes uncomfortable for the older generation. The spread of T may be supported by the two most popular languages at the moment—Finnish and English, that only have one address pronoun (as opposed to Russian, the previously most common second language) (Keevallik 2005:206)

Based on the repeated message from these scholarly citations, one can posit that the popularity of informal address is not unique to Buenos Aires; while it was affected by specific internal political and economic changes, a similar direction of change is seen in various speech communities across the globe—much in keeping with what Brown and Gilman predicted.

6.2 Benefits of Research

This combined empirical and ethnographic study of address among strangers in Argentina serves as a 21st century benchmark for future synchronic and diachronic sociolinguistic studies of address. The creation/use of a new tool, the photo interlocutor prompter sheet, made the survey/interview process more realistic and the data collected more authentic. The mixed-methodologies for collecting reported and natural speech plus data triangulation enhance the validity of the quantitative results. The focus on symmetrical/asymmetrical dyads revealed the primary role of relative generation on address patterns. In addition, the qualitative research brought to light the fact that more subtle factors such as affect, affinity, and aspect influence interlocutors' choices of address forms—a position posited by Brown and Levinson (1987), Slugoski and Turnbull (1988), and Brown and Gilman (1989). The ethnographic interviews and the PI's personal experiences during participant observation helped to provide insights into the current use of address including the conclusion that feelings of affinity can transform an interaction into a personal connection.

This research, which focused on initial interactions among strangers, offers a new synchronic approach to studying address variation which could be labeled 'litmus testing' because it provides a quick test. Methodologically, the introduction of the new photo interlocutor prompter sheet enriches the sociolinguist's toolkit. Using the prompter sheet and asking informants to assign their own age estimates to the photo interlocutors proved to be a

very effective way of engaging informants and producing spontaneous, 'gut'-level responses. Besides reacting to the gender and approximate age of the photo interlocutors, informants repeatedly revealed the impact of the aspect of the person in the photo, i.e. whether or not they felt an affinity with the person. The PI highly recommends the use of this realistic tool over the traditional approach of simply asking informants to indicate how they would address a female or male interlocutor who is older, younger, or approximately the same age. In terms of natural data collection, in addition to participant observation, the PI recommends video taping news reporters interviewing the public in the context of an emotional event, i.e. crime, accident, etc. The video tapes allowed the PI to see the generation/gender dyads in their roles. These are just a few of the advantages over collecting audio speech samples via radio call-in talk shows.

Lastly, this sociolinguistic experiment has several pedagogical benefits. The inclusion of anecdotes and ethnographic interviews provides opportunities for Spanish second-language teachers and students to explore and perhaps even vicariously experience different cultural values and distinctions. This can be a helpful resource for sensitizing and developing language competency for students, i.e. English speakers, who only know one "you". It can aid students who are striving for near-native Spanish proficiency and enhance their chances of connecting not just interacting with new people.

6.3 Future Areas of Research

Because the PI posits that Argentine Light is entrenched in Buenos Aires as a neutral form of casual address among strangers, she proposes the following topics (not listed in order of importance) for future research:

1. How does address vary when comparing complete initial conversations instead of just the initial exchange, i.e. how many gender/generation dyads employ the "play-it-safe" strategy of initially interacting with formal address then changing to informal?

2. What is the correlation between the popular use of informal address and the transition in national elementary schools from single-gender to co-ed classes approximately thirty years ago? According to a Senior female Argentine friend, boys and girls in the co-ed classes felt like brothers and sisters; therefore, the PI ponders if this change could have helped to set the stage for using informal with generational peers regardless of gender.
3. What are the chances that Argentine Light will become the unmarked form of address for initial casual interactions/transactions among strangers?
4. What is the pervasiveness of informal address in other large urban areas where the traditional hierarchy has been or is in the process of being replaced by a more egalitarian society?
5. What would be the social-political-economic ramifications of informal address expanding in Buenos Aires and other large urban cities?
6. What is the impact of affect on dyads of strangers in other locations and languages?
7. How will quantitative/qualitative results differ assuming this research is repeated in the future, i.e. five, ten, or twenty years from now?
8. How does the use of a photo interlocutor prompter sheet to collect reported speech result in the gathered data more closely aligning with natural speech data?

This dissertation has indicated that extensive resources are available on the subject of address variation and has highlighted relevant works concerning theories, methodologies, and previous studies. Some might suggest that this topic has been over-researched. The PI posits just the opposite. Because sociolinguists have the on-going opportunity to conduct litmus tests of address in other languages and regions, the study of address variation, therefore, is an attractive moving target for sociolinguistic research.

APPENDIX A
SQ PHOTO INTERLOCUTOR PROMPTER SHEET

f

m

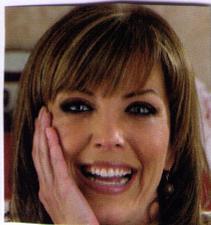
1)



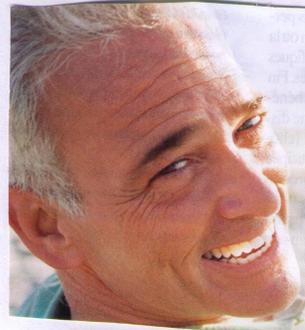
2)



3)



4)



5)



Figure A.1 Photo Interlocutor Prompter Sheet for Survey Questionnaire

APPENDIX B
SQ AND IV FORMS IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH

Página 1 – ENCUESTA

Preguntas demográficas

- a) ¿Ha vivido principalmente en Argentina y Buenos Aires? (sí) (no)
- b) Edad: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sexo: (f) (m)
- c) Educación comenzada (prim) (sec) (univ) otro _____ Ocupación _____
- d) Preferencias: Periódico (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacaciones _____

Instrucciones

- A) Mire las fotos de las 5 mujeres y 5 hombres y estime la edad de cada desconocido.
- B) Imagínese en la **sala de espera** (micro/tren/aeropuerto) y que desea preguntar dónde se puede comprar un periódico o Coca Cola.
- ¿Cómo tratará a cada desconocido? ¿Cómo se lo va a decir? ¿Usará un título?
- ¿Cómo piensa que responderá el desconocido? ¿Usará un título?

f

m

Hablando con 1-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 1-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 2-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 2-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 3-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 3-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 4-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 4-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 5-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 5-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Página 2 – ENCUESTA

Preguntas demográficas

- a) ¿Ha vivido principalmente en Argentina y Buenos Aires? (sí) (no)
- b) Edad: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sexo: (f) (m)
- c) Educación comenzada (prim) (sec) (univ) otro _____ Ocupación _____
- d) Preferencias: Periódico (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacaciones _____

Instrucciones

- A) Mire las fotos de las 5 mujeres y 5 hombres y estime la edad de cada desconocido.
- B) Imagínese en una **ferretería** local (del barrio) y pregunte a cada empleado dónde/cómo se puede hacer copias de unas llaves.
- ¿Cómo tratará a cada empleado? ¿Cómo se lo va a decir? ¿Usará un título?
- ¿Cómo piensa que responderá el empleado? ¿Usará un título?

f

m

Hablando con 1-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 1-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 2-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 2-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 3-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 3-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 4-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 4-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Hablando con 5-f (edad = _____)		Hablando con 5-m (edad = _____)	
usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-f responde: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	usa: (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____	1-m responde (tú) (vos) (Ud.) (0) Título _____

Página 3 – ENTREVISTA

Preguntas demográficas

- a) ¿Ha vivido principalmente en Argentina y Buenos Aires? (sí) (no)
- b) Edad: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sexo: (f) (m)
- c) Educación comenzada (prim) (sec) (univ) otro _____ Ocupación _____
- d) Preferencias: Periódico (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacaciones _____

Preguntas

1. En la(s) encuesta(s) indicar por qué usa el vos o Ud. con cada desconocido.
E=Edad; R=Respeto, T=Tradición (costumbre)
2. Tendencias en Buenos Aires:
- A. ¿En situaciones informales (ej. estación de micro/tren/aeropuerto) quién usa más el vos?
SEXO a SEXO GENERACIÓN a GENERACIÓN
- ¿mujeres mujeres/hombres?
- ¿hombres hombres/mujeres?
- B. ¿En situaciones como en la ferretería, quién usa más el vos?
SEXO a SEXO GENERACIÓN a GENERACIÓN
- ¿mujeres mujeres/hombres?
- ¿hombres hombres/mujeres?
- C. ¿Los/Las de 18-20 de hoy en día usan más el vos con la gente mayor comparado con previas generaciones?
- D. ¿El uso de vos es típico/característico de la juventud? ¿Cambiará cuándo maduren?
3. Tendencias fuera de Buenos Aires: ¿En qué es similar/diferente el tratamiento:
- A. En otras ciudades de Argentina?
- B. En otras ciudades grandes de Latino América o España?
4. ¿Cómo influye la globalización en la manera de tratar a desconocidos en situaciones públicas e informales (ej. satélite TV, Internet, cine, música, uso del teléfono celular para mandar mensajes de texto)?
5. Describa una experiencia personal u observada en que la forma de tratamiento fue sorprendente o inapropiado.

PAGE 1 – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questions

- a) Majority of life living in Argentina and residing in Bs. As. (Y) (N)
- b) Age: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sex: (f) (m)
- c) Education started (Elem) (Sec) (Univ) other _____ Occupation _____
- d) Preferences: Newspaper (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacation _____

Instructions

- A) Look at the photos of the 5 women and 5 men and estimate the age of each stranger.
- B) Imagine you are in the **waiting room** of a bus/train station/airport and you want to ask where you can buy a newspaper or a Coca Cola.
- How are you going to address each stranger? What will you say? Will you use a title?
 -- How will the stranger respond/address you? Will he/she use a title?

f

m

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 1) | Speaking with 1-f (age = _____) | | Speaking with 1-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 2) | Speaking with 2-f (age = _____) | | Speaking with 2-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 3) | Speaking with 3-f (age = _____) | | Speaking with 3-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 4) | Speaking with 4-f (age = _____) | | Speaking with 4-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 5) | Speaking with 5-f (age = _____) | | Speaking with 5-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |

PAGE 2 – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questions

- a) Majority of life living in Argentina and residing in Bs. As. (Y) (N)
- b) Age: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sex: (f) (m)
- c) Education started (Elem) (Sec) (Univ) other _____ Occupation _____
- d) Preferences: Newspaper (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacation _____

Instructions

- A) Look at the photos of the 5 women and 5 men and estimate the age of each stranger.
- B) Imagine you are a customer in a **local hardware store**, and you want to ask each employee where/how you can make copies of some keys.
- How are you going to address each employee? What will you say? Will you use a title?
- How will the employee address you? Will he/she use a title?

f

m

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1) | Speaking with 1-f (age = _____) | Speaking with 1-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 2) | Speaking with 2-f (age = _____) | Speaking with 2-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 3) | Speaking with 3-f (age = _____) | Speaking with 3-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 4) | Speaking with 4-f (age = _____) | Speaking with 4-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
-
- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 5) | Speaking with 5-f (age = _____) | Speaking with 5-m (age = _____) |
| | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ | 1-f responds:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | using:
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |
| | | 1-m responds
(tú)
(vos)
(Ud.)
(0)
Title _____ |

PAGE 3 – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic Questions

- a) Majority of life living in Argentina and residing in Bs. As. (Y) (N)
- b) Age: (18-29) (30-39) (40-49) (50-59) (60 +) _____ Sex: (f) (m)
- c) Education started (Elem) (Sec) (Univ) other _____ Occupation _____
- d) Preferences: Newspaper (Clarín) (La Nación) _____ Vacation _____

Questions

1. On the survey questionnaire, indicate why you used *vos* or *Ud.* with each stranger.
A=Age; R=Respect, T=Tradition (custom) O=Other
2. Tendencies in Buenos Aires:
- A. In informal situations, e.g. bus/train station/airport, who uses informal (*vos*) the most?
GENDER to GENDER GENERATION to GENERATION
- Women women/men?
- Men men/women?
- B. In the hardware store, who uses informal (*vos*) most?
GENDER to GENDER GENERATION to GENERATION
- Women women/men?
- Men men/women?
- C. Today do young adults use informal more with older strangers than previous generations?
- D. Is informal address a characteristic of young people? Will they change when they mature?
3. Trends beyond Buenos Aires: How and why are trends of address usage similar/different in:
- A. Other Argentine cities?
- B. Other large cities of Latin America or Spain?
4. What is the impact of globalization on the way strangers address each other in public informal Situations – e.g. satellite TV, Internet, movies, music, and 'texting' on a cell phone.
5. Describe a personal situation that you observed or experienced in which the form of address was surprising or inappropriate.

APPENDIX C

SQ TABLES: ADDRESS BOUNDARIES, GAPS, AND OVERLAPS

Using a photo interlocutor prompter sheet resulted in differing age estimates by the informants. This variation produced boundaries, gaps, and overlaps in the usage of informal and formal address. In each of the charts—one per gender dyad—the informants are categorized by generation and sequenced by age and date-time of the survey. The layout of the charts is described below.

Column one contains a unique ID for each informant indicating her/his gender, generation, survey date-time, and age. For example, the first informant in the first table is “f J 20090116-1330 **18**” which represents a female Junior surveyed January 16, 2009 1:30 pm, who was 18 years old. Subsequent columns provide a grid to document the age estimates of informants’ oldest informal addressee and youngest formal addressee, for example:

1. Oldest Informal Addressee: A series of horizontal green boxes labeled “**In**” and concluding with a number in the rightmost box, e.g. “**In In In In In In 40**”, indicates that 40 was the age of the oldest photo interlocutor that the informant addressed informally (and presumably did so with anyone younger).
2. Youngest Formal Addressee: A series of horizontal yellow boxes starting with a number and followed by “**Fo**” (e.g. “**57 Fo Fo**”) indicates the informant began using formal address with a 57 year old photo interlocutor (and presumably would continue doing so with anyone older).
3. Where there was an age gap between the oldest informal addressee and the youngest formal addressee, the table highlights this gap by blank boxes with an ascending diagonal slash. In the case of this first informant, there is a gap between the 40 year old informal addressee and the 57 year old formal addressee.
4. In a few cases one informant’s data requires two lines in order to display an overlap of informal/formal address with photo interlocutors of similar/different ages.

The four full-page tables begin on the next page.

Table C.1 SQ--Females Addressing Females: Boundaries/Gaps/Overlaps

<===== J =====> <===== M =====> <===== S =====>

Informant ID ↓ ↓ Females ↓ addressing ↓ female ↓ inter- ↓ locators ⇒	18 / 24	25	26 / 29	30 / 34	35	36 / 39	40 / 44	45	46 / 49	50 / 54	55	56 / 59	60 / 64	65 +	
female Junior 18-29															
f J 20090116-1330 18	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	40					57	Fo	Fo
f J 20081213-1145 24	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50				63	Fo
f J 20081222-2015 25	In	In	In	In	33					47	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090211-1730 25	In	In	In	In	60										
f J 20090214-1830 25	23		28	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1856 25	In	25						41	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1905 25	In	In	27					38	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1909 25	In	In	28			35	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090304-2330 25	In	In	In	30		38	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090304-2345 25	In	In	In	In	35		40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090129-2215 26	In	In	In	In	In	39				47	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090129-2300 26	In	In	28	33	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090226-2100 29	In	In	In	32			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
female Middle 30-49															
fM 20090118-1900 30	In	In	In	32			42	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090301-1500 30	In	In	In	30			45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090202-1400 31	In	In	In	In	In	In	42		46	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20081213-1100 33	In	In	In	In	In	39				50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20081204-1245 34	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	46					60	Fo
fM 20090202-1715 35	22					36	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090214-1815 35	In	In	In	In	In	In	40		47	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090301-1400 35	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50					60	Fo
fM 20090204-1900 42	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090111-1500 43	In	In	In	In	In	38					55	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20081209-2100 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	40								
fM 20090105-1230 45	In	In	In	60											
fM 20090212-1400 45	In	In	In	In	35		42	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090214-1930 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	40	45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
female Senior 50 +															
fS 20090127-1930 54	In	25										55	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090202-1630 55	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	57				
fS 20081202-1600 56	In	In	In	30								56	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090226-1600 56	In	In	In	In	In	39							62	Fo	Fo
fS 20081220-1830 57	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50					
fS 20081209-2000 59	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	58			
fS 20081213-1115 59	In	In	In	In	In	In	43								65
fS 20090212-1200 59	In	In	In	In	In	In	43								
fS 20090302-1300 61	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	48						68
fS 20090302-1310 61	In	In	In	64											
fS 20081204-1430 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	52					
fS 20081219-1630 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50					
fS 20081222-2030 65	In	In	In	In	65										
fS 20090212-1430 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50					
fS 20090221-1923 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50					70
fS 20090203-1252 68	In	In	In	In	In	65									
fS 20081225-1315 69	In	In	In	In	In	68									
fS 20081223-1400 70	In	In	In	In	In	In	40							60	Fo
fS 20090207-1800 77	In	In	In	In	In	65									
fS 20090207-1828 78	In	In	29									55	Fo	Fo	Fo

Table C.2 SQ--Females Addressing Males: Boundaries/Gaps/Overlaps

	<----- J ----->				<----- M ----->				<----- S ----->					
Informant ID ↓ ↓ Females ↓ addressing ↓ male ↓ inter- ↓ locators ⇒	18 / 24	25	26 / 29	30 / 34	35	36 / 39	40 / 44	45	46 / 49	50 / 54	55	56 / 59	60 / 64	65 +
female Junior 18-29														
f J 20090116-1330 18	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	42					60	Fo
f J 20081213-1145 24	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	52				67
f J 20081222-2015 25	In	In	In	In	In	37			46	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090211-1730 25	In	In	In	30			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1830 25				30	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1856 25	In	In	In	In	In	37	40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1905 25	In	In	In	30		37	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090214-1909 25	In	In	In	In	In	37	42	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090304-2330 25	In	In	In	30	35				48	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090304-2345 25	In	In	In	In	In	36				51	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090129-2215 26	In	In	In	In	In	39			49	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090129-2300 26	In	In	In	30 34			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
f J 20090226-2100 29	In	In	In	In	35	39	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
female Middle 30-49														
fM 20090118-1900 30	In	In	In	33			44	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090301-1500 30	In	In	In	30				45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090202-1400 31	In	In	In	In	In	In	41			52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20081213-1100 33	In	In	In	In	In	In	42				55	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20081204-1245 34	In	In	In	In	35		43	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090202-1715 35	In	In	27				40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090214-1815 35	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			53	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090301-1400 35	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	55		60	Fo
fM 20090204-1900 42	In	In	In	30			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090111-1500 43	In	In	In	In	In	In	42					57	Fo	Fo
fM 20081209-2100 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	42							
fM 20090105-1230 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	60	
fM 20090212-1400 45	In	In	In	In	35		42	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fM 20090214-1930 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	46	52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
female Senior 50 +														
fS 20090127-1930 54				32	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090202-1630 55	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	60	
fS 20081202-1600 56	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	42				56	62	Fo
fS 20090226-1600 56	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	42				58	Fo	Fo
fS 20081220-1830 57	In	In	In	In	In	In	44			50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20081209-2000 59	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	56		
fS 20081213-1115 59	In	In	In	In	In	35			50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090212-1200 59	In	In	In	In	35		43	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090302-1300 61	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	65
fS 20090302-1310 61	In	In	In	In	In	38			48	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20081204-1430 65	In	In	In	In	In	38		Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20081219-1630 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			In	In	In	60	Fo
fS 20081222-2030 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	65
fS 20090212-1430 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	55			
fS 20090221-1923 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	55			70
fS 20090203-1252 68	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	68
fS 20081225-1315 69	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20081223-1400 70	In	In	28						49	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
fS 20090207-1800 77	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	65
fS 20090207-1828 78	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	47	52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo

Table C.3 SQ--Males Addressing Females: Boundaries/Gaps/Overlaps

	<----- J ----->				<----- M ----->				<----- S ----->					
Informant ID ↓ ↓ Males ↓ addressing ↓ female ↓ inter- ↓ locators ⇒	18 / 24	25	26 / 29	30 / 34	35	36 / 39	40 / 44	45	46 / 49	50 / 54	55	56 / 59	60 / 64	65 +
male Junior 18-29														
mJ20090103-1630 19	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45					60	Fo
mJ20090129-2230 23	In	In	27	32	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090129-2334 23	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50				
mJ20090212-1330 25	In	In	In	In	In	In	40		46	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090214-1840 25	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090214-1850 25	24				35	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090129-2245 26		25	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090129-2315 27	In	In	26		35	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090101-1800 28	In	In	In	In	In	38		45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090304-2245 29	In	In	In	30			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
male Middle 30-49														
mM20090223-103035	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45					60	Fo
mM20090223-110035	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45						78
mM20090223-113035			28							52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090226-153035	In	In	In	32	In	In	41			50				
mM20090301-143035	23					37	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090226-180036	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	50			61	Fo
mM20090207-175239	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45			55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090304-230239	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090202-142742	In	In	In	30				45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090207-130045	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			53	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090214-191545	In	In	In	In	In	In	40							65
mM20081217-201546	16	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090209-180046	In	In	In	In	35					52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090304-180047	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45					60	Fo
mM20090116-140048	20	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
male Senior 50 +														
mS20090216-210054		29	Fo	Fo	Fo	36				53				
mS20090105-143055	In	In	In	In	In	In	42		48	53	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090223-100055	17		26	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090223-120055	In	In	28		35	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090111-162556	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	52				
mS20081202-163058	In	In	In	33			40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090212-193059	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	45		54	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090302-150059	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			50	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081203-173262	In	In	28				40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081213-113063	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090212-170064	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	49					
mS20090211-170065	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	42	45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081219-160065	In	In	In	In	In	37				53	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081222-204565	In	In	In	In	35						55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081204-150067	In	In	In	32		38	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090228-160070	In	In	26			36	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081225-133071		25		30	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	In	62	
mS20090101-130072	In	In	In	In	In	37	40	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090212-153072	In	In	28					45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo

Table C.4 SQ—Males Addressing Males: Boundaries/Gaps/Overlaps

	J				M					S				
Informant ID	18			30			40			50			60	
↓ Males	/			/			/			/			/	
↓ addressing	24	25	26	34	35	36	44	45	46	54	55	56	64	65
↓ Male			/			/			/			/		+
↓ inter-			29			39			49			59		
↓ locators →														
male Junior 18-29														
mJ20090103-1630 19	In	45					60	Fo						
mJ20090129-2230 23	In	In	27	32	Fo									
mJ20090129-2334 23	In	50												
mJ20090212-1330 25	In	In	In	In	In	In	40			46	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090214-1840 25	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090214-1850 25	24				35	Fo								
mJ20090129-2245 26		25	Fo											
mJ20090129-2315 27	In	In	26		35	Fo								
mJ20090101-1800 28	In	In	In	In	In	38			45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mJ20090304-2245 29	In	In	In	30			40	Fo						
male Middle 30-49														
mM20090223-1030 35	In	45					60	Fo						
mM20090223-1100 35	In	45						78						
mM20090223-1130 35	In	In	In	In	In	In	44			48	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090226-1530 35	In		50											
mM20090301-1430 35	23					37	Fo							
mM20090226-1800 36	In	50			61	Fo								
mM20090207-1752 39	In	45			55	Fo	Fo	Fo						
mM20090304-2302 39	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090202-1427 42	In	In	In	30				45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090207-1300 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				53	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090214-1915 45	In	In	In	In	In	In	40							65
mM20081217-2015 46	In	In	In	In	In	In	42			46	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090209-1800 46	In	In	In	In	35					52	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mM20090304-1800 47	In	45					60	Fo						
mM20090116-1400 48	20	Fo												
male Senior 50 +														
mS20090216-2100 54	In	51	55	Fo	Fo	Fo								
mS20090105-1430 55	In	In	In	In	In	In	42			48	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20090223-1000 55	17		26	Fo										
mS20090223-1200 55	In	In	28		35	Fo								
mS20090111-1625 56	In	52												
mS20081202-1630 58	In	In	In	33			40	Fo						
mS20090212-1930 59	In	45			54	Fo	Fo	Fo						
mS20090302-1500 59	In	In	In	In	In	In	40				50	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081203-1732 62	In	In	28				40	Fo						
mS20081213-1130 63	Fo													
mS20090212-1700 64	In	49												
mS20090211-1700 65	In	In	In	In	In	In	42	45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081219-1600 65	In	In	In	In	In	37					53	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081222-2045 65	In	In	In	In	35						55	Fo	Fo	Fo
mS20081204-1500 67	In	In	In	32		38	Fo							
mS20090228-1600 70	In	In	26			36	Fo							
mS20081225-1330 71	In	62												
mS20090101-1300 72	In	In	In	In	In	37	40	Fo						
mS20090212-1530 72	In	In	28					45	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo	Fo

APPENDIX D

SQ ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS

Legend: **J → J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **J ↑ M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J ↑ S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			For 100% J ↑ S	For 100% J ↑ S
90	For 90% J ↑ S	For 95% J ↑ S		
80				
70				
60				
50			For 55% J ↑ M	
40	For 42% J ↑ M			
30		For 36% J ↑ M		For 39% J ↑ M
20				
10			For 13% J → J	
0	For 5% J → J	For 0% J → J		For 0% J → J

(a)

INF %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J → J		INF 100% J → J
90	INF 95% J → J			
80			INF 87% J → J	
70				
60		INF 64% J ↑ M		INF 62% J ↑ M
50	INF 58% J ↑ M			
40			INF 45% J ↑ M	
30				
20				
10	INF 11% J ↑ S			
0		INF 5% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S

(b)

Figure D.1 SQ Address--Junior Informants Using: (a) “For” and (b) “INF” address

Legend: **M ↓ J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **M ⇒ M** = Middle-to-Middle (18-29) (50 +) **M ↑ S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50 +)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90			For 91% M ↑ S	For 93% M ↑ S
80	For 85% M ↑ S	For 88% M ↑ S		
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20	For 27% M ⇒ M	For 24% M ⇒ M	For 27% M ⇒ M	For 22% M ⇒ M
10			For 15% M ↓ J	
0	For 0% M ↓ J	For 0% M ↓ J		For 0% M ↓ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J		INF 100% M ↓ J
90				
80			INF 85% M ↓ J	
70	INF 74% M ⇒ M	INF 76% M ⇒ M	INF 73% M ⇒ M	INF 78% M ⇒ M
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10	INF 15% M ↑ S	INF 12% M ↑ S		
0			INF 9% M ↑ S	INF 7% M ↑ S

(b)

Figure D.2 SQ Address--Middle Informants Using: (a) "For" and (b) "INF" address

Legend: **S ↓ J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S ↓ M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49) **S ⇒ S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80			For 83% S ⇒ S	
70				For 71% S ⇒ S
60		For 62% S ⇒ S		
50				
40				
30	For 36% S ⇒ S		For 32% S ↓ M	
20			For 21% S ↓ J	For 25% S ↓ M
10		For 18% S ↓ M For 14% S ↓ J		For 10% S ↓ J
0	For 3% S ↓ J For 2% S ↓ M			

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90	INF 98% S ↓ M INF 97% S ↓ J			INF 90% S ↓ J
80		INF 86% S ↓ J INF 82% S ↓ M		
70			INF 79% S ↓ J	INF 76% S ↓ M
60	INF 64% S ⇒ S		INF 68% S ↓ M	
50				
40				
30		INF 38% S ⇒ S		
20				INF 29% S ⇒ S
10			INF 17% S ⇒ S	
0				

(b)

Figure D.3 SQ Address--Senior Informants Using: (a) "For" and (b) "INF" address

Legend: **J ⇒ J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **M ⇒ M** = Middle-to-Middle (30-49) (30-49) **S ⇒ S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80			For 83% S ⇒ S	
70				For 71% S ⇒ S
60		For 62% S ⇒ S		
50				
40				
30	For 36% S ⇒ S			
20	For 27% M ⇒ M	For 24% M ⇒ M	For 27% M ⇒ M	For 22% M ⇒ M
10			For 13% J ⇒ J	
0	For 5% J ⇒ J	For 0% J ⇒ J		For 0% J ⇒ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J ⇒ J		INF 100% J ⇒ J
90	INF 95% J ⇒ J			
80			INF 87% J ⇒ J	
70	INF 74% M ⇒ M	INF 76% M ⇒ M	INF 73% M ⇒ M	INF 78% M ⇒ M
60	INF 64% S ⇒ S			
50				
40				
30		INF 38% S ⇒ S		
20				INF 29% S ⇒ S
10			INF 17% S ⇒ S	
0				

(b)

Figure D.4 SQ Address–Symmetrical Generations Using: (a) “For” and (b) “INF” address

Legend: **M** ↓ **J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **S** ↓ **J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S** ↓ **M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30			For 32% S ↓ M	
20			For 21% S ↓ J	For 25% S ↓ M
10		For 18% S ↓ M For 14% S ↓ J	For 15% M ↓ J	For 10% S ↓ J
0	For 3% S ↓ J For 2% S ↓ M For 0% M ↓ J	For 0% M ↓ J		For 0% M ↓ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	INF 100% M ↓ J	INF 100% M ↓ J		INF 100% M ↓ J
90	INF 98% S ↓ M INF 97% S ↓ J			INF 90% S ↓ J
80		INF 86% S ↓ J INF 82% S ↓ M	INF 85% M ↓ J	
70			INF 79% S ↓ J	INF 76% S ↓ M
60			INF 68% S ↓ M	
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure D.5 SQ Address–Older-to-Younger Using: (a) “For” and (b) “INF” address

Legend: **J** \uparrow **M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J** \uparrow **S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50 +) **M** \uparrow **S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50 +)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			For 100% J \uparrow S	For 100% J \uparrow S
90	For 90% J \uparrow S	For 95% J \uparrow S	For 91% M \uparrow S	For 93% M \uparrow S
80	For 85% M \uparrow S	For 88% M \uparrow S		
70				
60				
50			For 55% J \uparrow M	
40	For 42% J \uparrow M			
30		For 36% J \uparrow M		For 39% J \uparrow M
20				
10				
0				

(a)

INF %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60		INF 64% J \uparrow M		INF 62% J \uparrow M
50	INF 58% J \uparrow M			
40			INF 45% J \uparrow M	
30				
20				
10	INF 15% M \uparrow S INF 11% J \uparrow S	INF 12% M \uparrow S		
0		INF 5% J \uparrow S	INF 9% M \uparrow S INF 0% J \uparrow S	INF 7% M \uparrow S INF 0% J \uparrow S

(b)

Figure D.6 SQ Address—Younger-to-Older Generations Using: (a) “For” and (b) “INF” address

APPENDIX E

SQ SETTINGS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS

Legend: **J ⇒ J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **J ↑ M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J ↑ S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+)

d %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40		d 40% J ⇒ J		
30				
20	d 23% J ↑ M			d 21% J ↑ S
10	d 15% J ⇒ J	d 15% J ↑ M	d 10% J ↑ S	
0	d 5% J ↑ S	d 0% J ↑ S	d 5% J ↑ M d 0% J ⇒ J	d 0% J ⇒ J d 0% J ↑ M

(a)

s %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		s 100% J ↑ S	s 100% J ⇒ J	s 100% J ⇒ J s 100% J ↑ M
90	s 95% J ↑ S		s 90% J ↑ S s 95% J ↑ M	
80	s 85% J ⇒ J	s 85% J ↑ M		
70	s 77% J ↑ M			s 79% J ↑ S
60		s 60% J ⇒ J		
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.1 SQ Settings – Junior Informants Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

Legend: **M ↓ J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **M ⇒ M** = Middle-to-Middle (18-29) (50 +) **M ↑ S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50 +)

d %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10	d 19% M ⇒ M d 11% M ↓ J	d 13% M ↓ J d 12% M ↑ S d 11% M ⇒ M		d 12% M ⇒ M
0	d 5% M ↑ S		d 6% M ↓ J d 6% M ⇒ M d 0% M ↑ S	d 4% M ↑ S d 0% M ↓ J

(a)

s %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			s 100% M ↑ S	s 100% M ↓ J
90	s 95% M ↑ S		s 94% M ⇒ M s 94% M ↓ J	s 96% M ↑ S
80	s 89% M ↓ J s 81% M ⇒ M	s 89% M ⇒ M s 88% M ↑ S s 88% M ↓ J		s 88% M ⇒ M
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.2 SQ Settings – Middle Informants Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

Legend: **S ↓ J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S ↓ M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49) **S ⇒ S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

d %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20			d 24% S ↓ J	d 25% S ⇒ S
10	d 13% S ⇒ S		d 17% S ⇒ S d 12% S ↓ M	d 16% S ↓ M
0	d 7% S ↓ M d 0% S ↓ J	d 9% S ⇒ S d 2% S ↓ M d 0% S ↓ J		d 0% S ↓ J

(a)

s %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	s 100% S ↓ J	s 100% S ↓ J		s 100% S ↓ J
90	s 93% S ↓ M	s 98% S ↓ M s 91% S ⇒ S		
80	s 88% S ⇒ S		s 88% S ↓ M s 83% S ⇒ S	s 84% S ↓ M
70			s 77% S ↓ J	s 75% S ⇒ S
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.3 SQ Settings – Senior Informants Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

Legend: **J → J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **M → M** = Middle-to-Middle (30-49) (30-49) **S → S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

d %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40		d 40% J → J		
30				
20	d 23% M → M			d 25% S → S
10	d 15% J → J d 13% S → S	d 11% M → M d 9% S → S	d 17% S → S	d 12% M → M
0			d 6% M → M d 0% J → J	d 0% J → J

(a)

s %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			s 100% J → J	s 100% J → J
90		s 91% S → S	s 94% M → M	
80	s 88% S → S s 85% J → J s 81% M → M	s 89% M → M	s 83% S → S	s 88% M → M
70				s 75% S → S
60		s 60% J → J		
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.4 SQ Settings--Symmetrical Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

Legend: **M** ↓ **J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **S** ↓ **J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S** ↓ **M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49)

For%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20			d 24% S ↓ J	
10	d 11% M ↓ J	d 13% M ↓ J	d 12% S ↓ M	d 16% S ↓ M
0	d 7% S ↓ M d 0% S ↓ J	d 2% S ↓ M d 0% S ↓ J	d 6% M ↓ J	d 0% S ↓ J d 0% M ↓ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	s 100% S ↓ J	s 100% S ↓ J		s 100% S ↓ J s 100% M ↓ J
90	s 93% S ↓ M	s 98% S ↓ M	s 94% M ↓ J	
80	s 89% M ↓ J	s 88% M ↓ J	s 88% S ↓ M	s 84% S ↓ M
70			s 77% S ↓ J	
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.5 SQ Settings—Older-to-Younger Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

Legend: **J** \uparrow **M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J** \uparrow **S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+) **M** \uparrow **S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20	d 23% J \uparrow M			d 21% J \uparrow S
10		d 15% J \uparrow M d 12% M \uparrow S	d 10% J \uparrow S	
0	d 5% M \uparrow S d 5% J \uparrow S	d 0% J \uparrow S	d 5% J \uparrow M d 0% M \uparrow S	d 4% M \uparrow S d 0% J \uparrow M

(a)

INF %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		s 100% J \uparrow S	s 100% M \uparrow S	s 100% J \uparrow M
90	s 95% M \uparrow S s 95% J \uparrow S		s 95% J \uparrow M s 90% J \uparrow S	s 96% M \uparrow S
80		s 88% M \uparrow S s 85% J \uparrow M		
70	s 77% J \uparrow M			s 79% J \uparrow S
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10				
0				

(b)

Figure E.6 SQ Settings–Younger-to-Older Using: (a) “d” and (b) “s” address

APPENDIX F

PO ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS

Legend: **J** \Rightarrow **J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **J** \uparrow **M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J** \uparrow **S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	For 100% J \uparrow M			
90				
80				
70				
60				
50			For 50% J \uparrow S	
40	For 44% J \uparrow S			
30		For 33% J \uparrow S	For 33% J \uparrow M	
20				
10				For 10% J \uparrow S
0	For 0% J \Rightarrow J	For 0% J \uparrow M For 0% J \Rightarrow J	For 0% J \Rightarrow J	For 0% J \uparrow M For 0% J \Rightarrow J
No Data				

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J \uparrow M	INF 100% J \Rightarrow J	
90				
80				
70				
60				
50	INF 50% J \Rightarrow J		INF 50% J \uparrow S	
40				
30				
20		INF 29% J \uparrow S		INF 20% J \uparrow S
10	INF 11% J \uparrow S			
0	INF 0% J \uparrow M	INF 0% J \Rightarrow J	INF 0% J \uparrow M	INF 0% J \uparrow M INF 0% J \Rightarrow J

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		Alt 100% J \Rightarrow J		Alt 100% J \uparrow M
90				
80				
70				Alt 70% J \uparrow S
60			Alt 67% J \uparrow M	
50				
40	Alt 50% J \Rightarrow J			
30	Alt 44% J \uparrow S	Alt 38% J \uparrow S		
20				
10				
0	Alt 0% J \uparrow M	Alt 0% J \uparrow M	Alt 0% J \Rightarrow J Alt 0% J \uparrow S	Alt 0% J \Rightarrow J

(c)

Figure F.1 PO--Junior Generation Speakers Using (a) "For", (b) "INF", and (c) "Alt"

Legend: **M↓J** Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **M⇒M** = Middle-to-Middle (18-29) (50+) **M↑S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40	For 40% M↑S	For 42% M↑S		For 47% M↑S
30			For 33% M⇒M	For 33% M⇒M
20			For 20% M↑S	
10				
0	For 0% M⇒M For 0% M↓J	For 0% M⇒M For 0% M↓J	For 0% M↓J	For 0% M↓J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				INF 100% M↓J
90				
80				
70				
60		INF 67% M⇒M INF 67% M↓J	INF 60% M↑S	
50	INF 50% M⇒M INF 50% M↓J			
40	INF 40% M↑S			
30				
20		INF 25% M↑S		INF 26% M↑S
10				
0			INF 0% M⇒M INF 0% M↓J	INF 0% M⇒M

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60			Alt 67% M⇒M	Alt 67% M⇒M
50	Alt 50% M↓J Alt 50% M⇒M			
40				
30		Alt 33% M↓J Alt 33% M⇒M Alt 33% M↑S		
20	Alt 20% M↑S		Alt 20% M↑S	Alt 26% M↑S
10				
0			Alt 0% M↓J	Alt 0% M↓J

(c)

Figure F.2 PO--Middle Generation Speakers Using (a) “For”, (b) “INF”, (c) “Alt”

Legend: **S↓J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S↓M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49) **S⇒S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50	For 50% S↓M	For 55% S⇒S	For 50% S⇒S	
40				
30			For 31% S↓M	
20	For 24% S⇒S			For 23% S⇒S
10	For 13% S↓J		For 11% S↓J	For 13% S↓M
0		For 0% S↓M For 0% S↓J		For 0% S↓J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				INF 82% S↓J
70		INF 75% S↓J		
60			INF 68% S↓J	
50	INF 53% S⇒S INF 50% S↓J INF 50% S↓M	INF 50% S↓M	INF 54% S↓M	INF 50% S↓M
40				
30			INF 33% S⇒S	
20				INF 29% S⇒S
10		INF 18% S⇒S		
0				

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50		Alt 50% S↓M		
40				Alt 48% S⇒S
30	Alt 38% S↓J			Alt 38% S↓M
20	Alt 24% S⇒S	Alt 27% S⇒S Alt 25% S↓J	Alt 21% S↓J	
10			Alt 17% S⇒S Alt 15% S↓M	Alt 18% S↓J
0	Alt 0% S↓M			

(c)

Figure F.3 PO Senior Generation Speakers Using: a) “For” and (b) “INF”, (c) “Alt”

Legend: **J → J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **M → M** = Middle-to-Middle (30-49) (30-49) **S → S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50		For 55% S → S	For 50% S → S	
40				
30			For 33% M → M	For 33% M → M
20	For 24% S → S			For 23% S → S
10				
0	For 0% M → M For 0% J → J	For 0% M → M For 0% J → J	For 0% J → J	For 0% J → J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			INF 100% J → J	
90				
80				
70				
60		INF 67% M → M		
50	INF 53% S → S INF 50% M → M INF 50% J → J			
40				
30			INF 33% S → S	
20				INF 29% S → S
10		INF 18% S → S		
0		INF 0% J → J	INF 0% M → M	INF 0% M → M INF 0% J → J

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		Alt 100% J → J		
90				
80				
70				
60			Alt 67% M → M	Alt 67% M → M
50	Alt 50% M → M Alt 50% J → J			
40				Alt 48% S → S
30		Alt 33% M → M		
20	Alt 24% S → S	Alt 27% S → S		
10			Alt 17% S → S	
0			Alt 0% J → J	Alt 0% J → J

(c)

Figure F.4 PO--Symmetrical Generations Using a) “For”, (b) “INF”, and (c) “Alt”

Legend: **J** \uparrow **M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J** \uparrow **S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+) **M** \uparrow **S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	For 100% J \uparrow M			
90				
80				
70				
60				
50			For 50% J \uparrow S	
40	For 44% J \uparrow S For 40% M \uparrow S	For 42% M \uparrow S		For 47% M \uparrow S
30		For 33% J \uparrow S	For 33% J \uparrow M	
20			For 20% M \uparrow S	
10				For 10% J \uparrow S
0		For 0% J \uparrow M		For 0% J \uparrow M

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J \uparrow M		
90				
80				
70				
60			INF 60% M \uparrow S	
50			INF 50% J \uparrow S	
40	INF 40% M \uparrow S			
30				
20		INF 29% J \uparrow S INF 25% M \uparrow S		INF 26% M \uparrow S INF 20% J \uparrow S
10	INF 11% J \uparrow S			
0	INF 0% J \uparrow M		INF 0% J \uparrow M	INF 0% J \uparrow M

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				Alt 100% J \uparrow M
90				
80				
70				Alt 70% J \uparrow S
60			Alt 67% J \uparrow M	
50				
40	Alt 44% J \uparrow S			
30		Alt 38% J \uparrow S Alt 33% M \uparrow S		
20	Alt 20% M \uparrow S		Alt 20% M \uparrow S	Alt 26% M \uparrow S
10				
0	Alt 0% J \uparrow M	Alt 0% J \uparrow M	Alt 0% J \uparrow S	

(c)

Figure F.5 PO—Younger-to-Older Generations Using: a) “For” and (b) “INF”, and (c) “Alt”

Legend: **M ↓ J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **S ↓ J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S ↓ M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50	For 50% S ↓ M			
40				
30			For 31% S ↓ M	
20				
10	For 13% S ↓ J		For 11% S ↓ J	For 13% S ↓ M
0	For 0% M ↓ J	For 0% S ↓ M For 0% S ↓ J For 0% M ↓ J	For 0% M ↓ J	For 0% S ↓ J For 0% M ↓ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				INF 100% M ↓ J
90				
80				INF 82% S ↓ J
70		INF 75% S ↓ J		
60		INF 67% M ↓ J	INF 68% S ↓ J	
50	INF 50% S ↓ J INF 50% S ↓ M INF 50% M ↓ J	INF 50% S ↓ M	INF 54% S ↓ M	INF 50% S ↓ M
40				
30				
20				
10				
0			INF 0% M ↓ J	

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50	Alt 50% M ↓ J	Alt 50% S ↓ M		
40				
30	Alt 38% S ↓ J	Alt 33% M ↓ J		Alt 38% S ↓ M
20		Alt 25% S ↓ J	Alt 21% S ↓ J	
10			Alt 15% S ↓ M	Alt 18% S ↓ J
0	Alt 0% S ↓ M		Alt 0% M ↓ J	Alt 0% M ↓ J

(c)

Figure F.6 PO—Older-to-Younger Generations Using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt”

APPENDIX G

TV ADDRESS: GENERATION/GENDER DYADS

Legend: **J → J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **J ↑ M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J ↑ S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	For 100% J ↑ S			For 100% J ↑ S
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30				
20				
10			For 13% J ↑ M	
0	For 0% J ↑ M For 0% J → J	For 0% J ↑ M For 0% J → J For 0% J ↑ S	For 0% J → J For 0% J ↑ S	For 0% J ↑ M For 0% J → J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J ↑ M	INF 100% J → J	INF 100% J → J
90				
80	INF 83% J ↑ M			INF 83% J ↑ M
70				
60		INF 67% J → J		
50			INF 50% J ↑ M	
40				
30				
20				
10				
0	INF 0% J ↑ S INF 0% J → J	INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30		Alt 33% J → J	Alt 38% J ↑ M	
20				
10	Alt 17% J ↑ M			Alt 17% J ↑ M
0	Alt 0% J → J Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% J ↑ M Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% J → J Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% J → J Alt 0% J ↑ S

(c)

Figure G.1 TV -- Junior speakers using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt” address

Legend: **M ↓ J** Middle-to-Junior (30-49) (18-29) **M ⇒ M** = Middle-to-Middle (18-29) (50 +) **M ↑ S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50 +)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	For 100% M ↑ S			
90				
80				For 83% M ↑ S
70			For 78% M ↑ S	
60		For 63% M ↑ S For 63% M ⇒ M		
50	For 53% M ⇒ M		For 56% M ⇒ M	For 51% M ⇒ M
40				
30				
20				
10	For 14% M ↓ J			
0		INF 0% M ↓ J	INF 6% M ↓ J	INF 8% M ↓ J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90			INF 94% M ↓ J	INF 92% M ↓ J
80	INF 87% M ↓ J	INF 89% M ↓ J		
70				
60				
50				
40	INF 44% M ⇒ M			INF 47% M ⇒ M
30			INF 34% M ⇒ M	
20		INF 27% M ⇒ M	INF 22% M ↑ S	
10				INF 17% M ↑ S
0	INF 0% M ↑ S	INF 0% M ↑ S		

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30		Alt 38% M ↑ S		
20				
10		Alt 10% M ⇒ M Alt 11% M ↓ J		
0	Alt 3% M ⇒ M Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% M ↓ J		Alt 9% M ⇒ M Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% M ↓ J	Alt 2% M ⇒ M Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% M ↓ J

(c)

Figure G.2 TV Data: Middle speakers using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt”

Legend: **S↓J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S↓M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49) **S⇒S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				For 100% S↓J
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40		For 40% S↓M	For 43% S↓M	
30				
20				For 26% S↓M
10				
0	For 0% S⇒S For 0% S↓M For 0% S↓J	For 0% S⇒S For 0% S↓J	For 0% S⇒S For 0% S↓J	For 0% S⇒S

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	INF 100% S↓M			
90				
80				
70				
60	INF 67% S↓J			INF 68% S↓M
50				
40		INF 40% S↓M		
30				
20			INF 29% S↓M	
10				
0	INF 0% S⇒S	INF 0% S⇒S INF 0% S↓J	INF 0% S⇒S INF 0% S↓J	INF 0% S↓J INF 0% S⇒S

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30	Alt 33% S↓J			
20		Alt 20% S↓M	Alt 29% S↓M	
10				
0	Alt 0% S↓M Alt 0% S⇒S	Alt 0% S↓J Alt 0% S⇒S	Alt 0% S↓J Alt 0% S⇒S	Alt 5% S↓M Alt 0% S↓J Alt 0% S⇒S

(c)

Figure G.3 TV--Seniors using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt” address

Legend: **J→J** = Junior-to-Junior (18-29) (18-29) **M→M** = Middle-to-Middle (30-49) (30-49) **S→S** = Senior-to-Senior (50+) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60		For 63% M→M		
50	For 53% M→M		For 56% M→M	For 51% M→M
40				
30				
20				
10				
0	For 0% S→S For 0% J→J			

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100			INF 100% J→J	INF 100% J→J
90				
80				
70				
60		INF 67% J→J		
50				
40	INF 44% M→M			INF 47% M→M
30			INF 34% M→M	
20		INF 27% M→M		
10				
0	INF 0% S→S INF 0% J→J	INF 0% S→S	INF 0% S→S	INF 0% S→S

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30		Alt 33% J→J		
20				
10		Alt 10% M→M		
0	Alt 3% M→M Alt 0% J→J Alt 0% S→S	Alt 0% S→S	Alt 9% M→M Alt 0% J→J Alt 0% S→S	Alt 2% M→M Alt 0% J→J Alt 0% S→S

(c)

Figure G.4 TV: Symmetrical dyads using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt”

Legend: **J** ↑ **M** = Junior-to-Middle (18-29) (30-49) **J** ↑ **S** = Junior-to-Senior (18-29) (50+) **M** ↑ **S** = Middle-to-Senior (30-49) (50+)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	For 100% M ↑ S For 100% J ↑ S			For 100% J ↑ S
90				
80				For 83% M ↑ S
70			For 78% M ↑ S	
60		For 63% M ↑ S		
50				
40				
30				
20				
10			For 13% J ↑ M	
0	For 0% J ↑ M	For 0% J ↑ M For 0% J ↑ S	For 0% J ↑ S	For 0% J ↑ M

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100		INF 100% J ↑ M		
90				
80	INF 83% J ↑ M			INF 83% J ↑ M
70				
60				
50			INF 50% J ↑ M	
40				
30				
20			INF 22% M ↑ S	
10				INF 17% M ↑ S
0	INF 0% M ↑ S INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% M ↑ S INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S	INF 0% J ↑ S

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90		Alt 98% M ↑ S		
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30			Alt 38% J ↑ M	
20				
10	Alt 17% J ↑ M			Alt 17% J ↑ M
0	Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% J ↑ M Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% J ↑ S	Alt 0% M ↑ S Alt 0% J ↑ S

(c)

Figure G.5 TV: Younger to older dyads using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt”

Legend: **M↓J** = Middle-to-Junior (30-49) **S↓J** = Senior-to-Junior (50+) (18-29) **S↓M** = Senior-to-Middle (50+) (30-49)

For %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				For 100% S↓J
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40		For 40% S↓M	For 43% S↓M	
30				
20				For 26% S↓M
10	For 14% M↓J			
0	For 0% S↓M For 0% S↓J	For 0% M↓J For 0% S↓J	For 6% M↓J For 0% S↓J	For 8% M↓J

(a)

INF%	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100	INF 100% S↓M			
90			INF 94% M↓J	INF 92% M↓J
80	INF 87% M↓J	INF 89% M↓J		
70				
60	INF 67% S↓J			INF 68% S↓M
50				
40		INF 40% S↓M		
30				
20			INF 29% S↓M	
10				
0		INF 0% S↓J	INF 0% S↓J	INF 0% S↓J

(b)

Alt %	female-to-female	female-to-male	male-to-female	male-to-male
100				
90				
80				
70				
60				
50				
40				
30	Alt 33% S↓J			
20		Alt 20% S↓M	Alt 29% S↓M	
10		Alt 11% M↓J		
0	Alt 0% S↓M Alt 0% M↓J	Alt 0% S↓J	Alt 0% M↓J Alt 0% S↓J	Alt 5% S↓M Alt 0% S↓J Alt 0% M↓J

(c)

Figure G.6 TV: Older to younger dyads using: a) “For” and (b) “INF” and (c) “Alt”

APPENDIX H
SURVEY COMMENTS AND INTERVIEW DATA

Appendix H contains the eight sections/topics listed below. Each topic contains feedback organized by gender and subcategorized by generation. Within each subcategory informants are sequenced by age and date of the interview. Feedback from each informant is introduced by a one-line demographic description including gender, generation, age, education, occupation, preference for newspaper and vacation, plus a PI-assigned ID label.

- H.1 Describe when and why you use informal versus formal address.
- H.2 Describe how you would address strangers in conversational encounters.
- H.3 Describe how you address strangers in service encounters.
- H.4 Describe/Compare young adults' use of address in the present, past, and future.
- H.5 Describe/Compare address patterns in large cities of Latin America/Spain.
- H.6 Describe when/how/why address has changed in Buenos Aires.
- H.7 Describe an experience/observation of surprising/inappropriate address.
- H.8 Share any additional comments you wish.

H.1 Describe when and why you use informal versus formal address.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Jr 18 sec student *Clarín* world 20090116-1330

- Age
- The ambiance...when there is a feeling of evenness/equality between the speakers then informal is natural.
- In situations of respect—work/business/suits—then formal is appropriate.

f Jr 24 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg 20081213-1145

- She uses formal with people 60 and above to show respect.

f Jr 25 univ univ. student *Clarín* Arg 20081222-2015

- It depends on the age of the interlocutor

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2215

- Age. Older people

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2300

- Appears to be age.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
-----	-----	-----	------	------------	-----------	----------	-----------

f Mi 30 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg. 20090118-1900

- Her criteria for selecting an address form were (i) generation, (ii) *cultura—educación*, and (iii) a feeling—facial expressions, gestures.

f Mi 31 univ student *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1400

- Age: when interlocutors are older, she is more formal to show respect.

f Mi 33 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg. 20081213-1100

- Age: Tradition and respect influence her decision to use formal address when the older person seems to be of a different generation.

f Mi 34 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081204-1245

- Age

f Mi 35 univ librarian *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1715

- Age and role/situation.

f Mi 43 univ accountant *La Prensa* world. 20090111-1500

- Age

f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg.. 20090105-1230

- Age and gender make a difference.

f Mi 45 univ theater attendee .. 20081209-2100

- Affinity influences her decision to use informal with strangers in conversation encounters, such as sitting next to the PI in the Teatro Coliseo waiting to hear the Mercedes Sosa concert. She felt an affinity with the people in the theater and therefore with the PI. Somewhere else, i.e. on the street, she said she would not use informal with a stranger.
- She also said that she is a formal person who uses informal address but expects formal in response.
- She believes that the responder is influenced by the age of the speaker.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Sr 56 sec shop owner Clarin world 20081202-1600

- Age

f Sr 57 univ office worker Página 12 world 20081220-1830

- Age and gender.
- If you have no intention of establishing closeness, lengthier conversation or communication, then you set limits via the use of formal address.

f Sr 59 univ accountant La Nación world 20081209-2000

- Informal indicates neither lack of respect nor 'trust' (*confianza*)
- Using formal implies putting a distance between yourself and the interlocutor (e.g. with the maid) or to put a distance between men and women.
- She uses formal with people she doesn't want to know.
- She explained the intention of not using (i.e. avoiding) either formal or informal address does not exist – it just happens, i.e. whatever comes out...comes out.
- She used the term 'aspect/appearance' (*aspecto*) to distinguish between two types of older strangers: (i) those who looked 'modern' versus (i) those who appeared 'formal'.
- It depends on your age group' (*franja de edad*)

f Sr 59 sec housewife Diario Popular Arg 20081213-1115

- Age and aspect
- Even though she estimates the first male photo interlocutor (1 m) to be about 35, she would use formal because there is an aspect or something about him that makes him look stand-offish.
- Older people used formal whereas kids all use informal.

f Sr 61 univ employee Clarin World 20090302-1300

- Appearance, dress, friendly face

f Sr 61 univ librarian/teacher Clarin Arg 20090302-1310

- Age, aspect

f Sr 65 sec housewife La Nación world 20081204-1430

- Just age, not appearance

f Sr 65 univ executive sec. *Clarín* world 20081219-1630

- Age. She uses informal with females and males in their 20's, 30's, and 40's (i.e. up to 50s/60s).

f Sr 78 sec ret. Manager *Clarín* world 20090207-1828

- Age.

-Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Jr 19 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090129-2230

- Age. He would switch to formal with interlocutors 30 and above.

m Jr 23 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090129-2334

- Age: the difference in age; the custom of not addressing older people informally.

m Jr 25 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 200900214-1850

- Age, countenance, aspect.

m Jr 27 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090129-2315

- Age. He starts using formal address with people who are 35 or older to show respect.

m Jr 28 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090101-1800

- Age. It depends how old they look. He uses formal address with people who are 45 or older regardless of gender, profession, etc. Even if he knows that a 22-year old man is a lawyer, he would use informal. He uses informal when addressing his 25-year old manager at work.

m Jr 29 univ veterinarian *La Nación* Arg. 200900304-2245

- Young people no longer use formal when talking among themselves.
- The topic of address is generational.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
-----	-----	-----	------	------------	-----------	----------	-----------

m Mi 35 univ teacher/librarian *Página 12* Arg. 20090226-1530

- *Educación* "culture/manners/upbringing". You addressed older people formally; they respond informally. Today young people make no distinction.

m Mi 39 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 20090207-1752

- Age: He uses formal to show respect to males and females 55 and older

m Mi 45 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081225-1300

- Age

m Mi 45 univ employee *Le Monde Diplom'* Arg. 20090207-1300

- The key is age which infers respect and generates distance.

m Mi 45 univ mgr/administrator *Clarín* world 20090214-1915

- Age

m Mi 46 univ priest Urug. 20081217-2015

- Language used is determined by age and your upbringing *formación*.

m Mi 47 univ sw engineer *La Nación* Arg 20090304-1800

- Aspect: It depends on dress, attitude, smile, youthfulness, informality.

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant *Clarín* Arg 20090116-1400

- He does not use informal with someone he does not know; however, if a young person speaks to him first using informal address, he (the informant) responds with informal.
- He believes the second speaker matches the address of the first speaker.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
-----	-----	-----	------	------------	-----------	----------	-----------

m Sr 56 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20090111-1630

- If you do not know someone, the correct address form is formal. But there are social/economic differences. On one hand there are those who like soccer, and bocha; while on the other hand, there are those who prefer polo, cricket, and *pato*.

m Sr 62 univ systems engineer *Clarín* world 20081203-1732

- Age. The younger the speaker, the more he feels he can be informal. The reverse is true (i.e. use formal with older).
- He believes in a mixed gender dyad, care would be taken to use Formal to avoid suggesting *levantarse* (pick up). If a woman uses informal with a female stranger, she will also use it with males.
- With few exceptions, on the street, an older person will never use informal with a stranger; but the older person might switch to informal in a second or third interchange/interaction.

m Sr 65 univ manager *Clarín* world 20081219-1600

- Age and situation.

m Sr 65 univ retired *Diario Popular* world 20081212-2045

- He uses nicknames with other male strangers, e.g. *Che tío* "Hey uncle".
- Because he has white hair, he expects people to address him formally.

m Sr 67 sec manager *La Nación* world 20081204-1500

- Age.
- To seem younger, he would use informal with young photo interlocutors.
- With interlocutors in their 40s-60s, he would use formal because they are older (in general, even though they might be younger or equal to his own age.)

m Sr 70 univ engineer *La Nación* Arg 20081228-1600

- Age, aspect, situation.
- Among intelligent people there are more restrictions...less use of informal.

m Sr 71 sec barber Clarin Arg. 20081225-1330

- It's easier for older people to use informal with younger people.

m Sr 72 sec railroad employee Clarin Arg. 20090101-1300

- Age, respect, gender (i.e. older women such as 5f in her 40's).
- People use formal when there is a lot of hierarchy, e.g. he would use informal with the bank employee, but formal with the bank manager...in order to maintain his status (presumably the bank manager wants to maintain his status).

m Sr 72 univ employee La Nación Arg. 20090212-15300

- Age and aspect (i.e. modern and friendly looking as in 3m (43)).

H.2 Describe how you address strangers in conversational encounters.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
-----	-----	-----	------	------------	-----------	----------	-----------

f Jr 18 sec student *Clarín* world 20090116-1330

- Fifty is about the dividing line for starting to use formal, e.g. if she were talking to photo interlocutor 5f, she would say *Señora* and use formal.

f Jr 25 univ secretary *Perfil* Arg 20090211-1730

- Gender influences selection of address form.

f Jr 25 univ employee *Clarín* Arg 20090214-1830

- When addressing photo interlocutor 4f, she might use informal or formal.

f Jr 25 univ student *Clarín* Arg 20090214-1856

- The informant used informal with a male photo locator that she estimated to be 37, but used formal address with a male photo interlocutor that she estimated to be 40...but did not say why.

f Jr 25 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg 20090304-2330

- She said 4m (51) would respond with informal instead of formal because of the way he looks.
- 5f (57) looks very formal.

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2215

- 40's seems to be her starting point to switch from informal to formal address.
- Gender makes no difference in general.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
-----	-----	-----	------	------------	-----------	----------	-----------

f Mi 30 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg. 20090118-1900

- She uses informal with 1f and m through 3f and m and formal with the remaining older photo interlocutors.

f Mi 30 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090301-1500

- She uses informal with 1m (30) because they are the same age, but she uses formal with 4f (55) as good manners (*educación*).

f Mi 33 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg. 20081213-1100

- Just to be on the safe side, she uses formal address. If the interlocutor is similar in age, the informant might use a mixture combining formal title with informal address, e.g. *¿Señora, dónde vivís?* "Mrs/Ma'am, where do you live?"

f Mi 34 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081204-1245

- All photo interlocutors will address her informally with the exception of 1f and 1m (Junior generation) who would address her formally when they see she has a baby with her.

- f Mi 35 univ secretary *Clarín* Arg. 20090214-1815
- She said the waiting area is more formal than the hardware store.
- f Mi 30 univ administrator *Clarín* Arg. 20090301-1400
- She uses formal address with 5f (60) photo interlocutor to ensure that she is not perceived as disrespectful.
- f Mi 43 univ accountant *La Prensa* world. 20090111-1500
- Age limits the use of informal address.
- f Mi 45 univ administrator *Clarín* world. 20090214-1930
- Facial expressions of the photo interlocutors influenced her decision to use address, i.e. because 2f (45) looked very serious and distant the informant said she would use formal. Age was also a factor, i.e. she would use informal with f3 (40) because they are the same generation; but she would use formal with 4f (53) because she was older.
- f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg.. 20090105-1230
- She would use informal with all and expect it in return.
- f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg.. 20090209-1800
- She made her address decisions based on age (i.e. if the interlocutor is younger versus older) and gender.
 - They were not educated/brought up to use informal when addressing older people.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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- f Sr 54 sec office worker *Clarín* Arg. 20090127-1930
- The younger the interlocutor the more affinity.
- f Sr 55 univ library director *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1630
- This encounter is *colicho*...a less formal act. In fact if she had used formal address, the interlocutor would have wondered what was wrong.
- f Sr 57/59 univ office worker *Página 12* world 20081220-1830
- She uses informal with 4-f and 5-f because 'we are the same ages, equal' (*somos pares edades, parejas*)
 - She anticipates reciprocal informal from all with the exception of photo interlocutors 5f and 5m in which case she expects reciprocal formal.
- f Sr 59 univ psychiatrist *Clarín* Arg. 20090212-1200
- Women use informal between women, especially women of the same age.
- f Sr 59 sec housewife *Diario Popular* Arg. 20081213-1115
- Even though she estimates the first male photo interlocutor (1 m) to be about 35, she would use formal because there is an aspect or something about him that makes him look stand-offish.

- f Sr 61 univ employee *Clarín* World 20090302-1300
- She would use formal with 4m (52) if he were nicely dressed, i.e. looks like a professional, wearing elegant sport. If he is informally dressed, she would use informal.
 - 5m (64) looks *simpático* 'friendly' so she would use informal.
- f Sr 61 univ librarian/teacher *Clarín* Arg 20090302-1310
- She would use informal with 5f (64) because the aspect of the stranger indicates that she is *amplia, abierta* "approachable, open."
- f Sr 65 sec homemaker *La Nación* world 20081204-1430
- Men use formal to show respect. On her survey all men used formal.
 - After a woman is 50, men in general, will use formal.
 - She (60s+) estimated ages for 4m (48) and 5m (56) and identified them as matching her age/generation.
 - A waiting room is more 'dry, serious' than a hardware store. In the waiting room you do not 'greet' (*saludar*) people...you're more 'distant and distrustful' (*alejado*).
- f Sr 65 sec business owner *Clarín* world 20090221-1923
- She considers people up to 50 young. People in their 70's are young of a different generation. They have accumulated a large quantity of youth.
 - The older people whom she addressed formally are now gone. Those she used *vos* with she continues using *vos*.
- f Sr 65 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg 20081222-2030
- She uses informal with everyone and expects formal from everyone.
- f Sr 68 sec homemaker *La Nación* Arg 20090203-1252
- None of the male photo interlocutors (1m-5m) would use informal with her.
- f Sr 69 sec retired *Clarín* Arg 20081225-1315
- She uses the same address form in both conversation and service encounters. Nothing changes.
- f Sr 72 sec business owner *La Nación* world 20081223-1400
- She uses informal with female photo interlocutors 1f-4f.
 - She does not use informal with males to avoid appearing overly close (*evitar dar confianza*).
 - Because she is older, she is addressed formally.
- f Sr 78 sec ret. Manager *Clarín* world 20090207-1828
- She would use informal with 1f (22) because she is so young; but she would use formal with 5f (55) as well as with 4m (52) and 5m (65) because of their age.
 - In terms of reciprocity, she expects the following address forms from some of the photo interlocutors:
 - Informal from 1m (37) because they are the new generation.
 - Informal from 4f (20); she is not even aware that she is doing it.
 - Informal from 3f, but if she is doubtful she might use formal to show respect.
 - Formal from 3m (47) if he is *educado* "well-mannered".

-Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Jr 19 univ eng. student *La Nación* Arg. 20090103-1630

- In terms of reciprocity of address, he reports reciprocal informal with everyone except 4m and 5 f and m with whom he would address formally and expect informal address in response.

m Jr 23 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090129-2334

- The cut-off for stopping informal address and starting formal address appears to be about 43.
- Age: the difference in age.
- The custom of not addressing older people informally.

m Jr 25 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 200900212-1330

- He feels that 1m, 2m, and 3m are similar in age but 4m and 5m are older.

m Jr 25 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 200900214-1850

- He would use informal with 3m (38) because his face is the friendliest and suggests more trust *confianza* than either 1m (34) or 2m (40) with whom he would use formal address.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 45 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081225-1300

- He uses informal with people up to 40-years old regardless of gender; but he uses formal with women and men who are 45 or older.
- Both genders of the older generation use informal to respond to both genders of young people.

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant *Clarín* Arg. 20090116-1400

- When he formally addresses the older male photo interlocutors, they respond with informal, e.g. as would a grandfather speaking to his grandson.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 54 univ employee 0 - 20090216-2100

- With 1f he would start by using no address form. If she is with her husband, the informant would use formal, but if she is alone, he would use informal.
- In terms of the women 4f – 5f, he feels like they are similar because they are both waiting...they may be work or project colleagues.
- With middle aged people, the informant waits to see how the interlocutors address him.
- He transmits respect by using formal first with the opposite sex.

- m Sr 56 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20090111-1630
- He would use informal with 1f.
 - The conversation encounter is more formal than the service encounter.
- m Sr 58 sec supervisor *La Nación/Clarín* Arg. 20081202-1630
- He insists that he first tries to use nothing (i.e. avoidance), then secondarily uses informal address with female interlocutors up to the age of 33, male interlocutors up to 35.
 - Gender makes no difference.
- m Sr 59 sec iron worker *La Crónica* Arg. 20090212-1930
- Any person will address you as a son of a bitch.
 - His address would be the same in both the conversation and service counters, but the responses would differ.
- m Sr 62 univ systems engineer *Clarín* world 20081203-1732
- First he said he would use Formal with all women; then he said he could use either Informal or Formal with 1f, 2f, and 3f (20-28).
 - He would use formal with men, the two oldest generations of male and female photo interlocutors (4f-m and 5f-m) in conversational encounter.
 - But he added that during subsequent interactions i.e. from the second one on, he would/could switch to Informal.
 - He expects to receive reciprocal responses.
- m Sr 63 sec taxi owner/driver *Clarín* Arg. 20081213-1130
- Always, always uses formal with everyone he does not know in order to maintain distance; he would never use informal with anyone.
- m Sr 64 univ employee (library) *La Nación* world 20090212-1700
- In other times he used informal with 1f-m and 2f-m and formal with the rest.
- m Sr 65 sec graphics designer *La Nación* Arg. 20090211-1700
- 1f (22) is the same age as his daughter; thus he uses informal address.
 - Something about the face/gesture of 1m (33) causes him to use formal address even though he would use informal address with 2m (40) and 3m (43).
- m Sr 65 univ manager *Clarín* world 20081219-1600
- In a conversational encounter, he uses informal address with younger photo interlocutors and formal with older ones.
 - Men photo interlocutors respond with reciprocal address.
 - Women photo interlocutors respond with matching address with the exception of 3f where he addresses her informally, and she responds formally.

- m Sr 65 univ retired *Diario Popular* world 20081212-2045
- He uses informal with everyone except 4m and 5f with whom he would use formal address.
 - With some women he uses nicknames, e.g. 3f *Hermosa* “beautiful” and 4f *chica* “girl”; but with others he would use titles, e.g. 2f *Señorita* “Miss” and 5f *Señora* “Mrs.”.
 - With men he uses nicknames, e.g. 1m *Che tío* “Hey uncle”, 2m *muchacho* “boy”, and 3m plus 4m *Che tío* “Hey uncle”.
- m Sr 67 sec manager *La Nación* world 20081204-1500
- He would use informal with 1f through 3f (24-32) to seem younger.
 - All women would respond to him using formal.
 - Only 4m and 5m would respond with informal even though he had used formal.
- m Sr 70 univ engineer *La Nación* Arg 20081228-1600
- Age, aspect, situation, e.g. he would use formal with 2f because she looks cold and serious.
- m Sr 71 sec barber *Clarín* Arg. 20081225-1330
- He considers both situations (conversation and service encounters) to be of equal informality
- m Sr 72 sec railroad employee *Clarín* Arg 20090101-1300
- He would use informal address with all photo interlocutors in the conversational encounter with the exception of 5f (40s) to show respect because she is older.
- m Sr 72 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 20090212-15300
- 3m (43) looks like a modern and friendly type of person (and presumably the informant would use informal address).
 - In the case of 4f and 4m, he would first use formal address then switch to informal.
 - Both 5f and 5m look older (and presumably the informant would use formal address).

H.3 Describe how you address strangers in service encounters.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Jr 18 sec student *Clarín* world 20090116-1330

- Forties is about the dividing line for starting to use formal because it is a work situation.

f Jr 25 univ secretary *Perfil* Arg 20090211-1730

- Gender does not influence selection of address form. The situation makes her use more formal address.

f Jr 25 univ employee *Clarín* Arg 20090214-1830

- She said this business setting is more formal than a conversational encounter in a waiting area.

f Jr 25 sec student *Clarín* Arg 20090214-1905

- She claims that a business is more formal, yet she reported using informal with the 25 year-old male but formal with the 23 year-old male.

f Jr 25 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg 20090304-2330

- She says that 2f (30) seems to be serious and more formal so she would address her formally; but she would use informal with 3f (30) who is the same age as 2f (30).
- She would address 3m (35) formally because he is older than 2m (31) and she is in her 20s.

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2215

- She indicated that her behavior in the business would be different from the conversational encounter due to the fact that she was dealing with business. She started using formal with 3f and 3m.

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2300

- She said this business setting merited more respect than the conversational encounter.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Mi 30 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg. 20090118-1900

- A business is more formal than a waiting area; thus she uses informal only with 1f and m then formal with the rest of the photo interlocutors.

f Mi 35 univ librarian *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1715

- Business is different, and she tends to maintain her distance, as in the case of working with young library clerks who tend to use informal.

- f Mi 35 univ secretary *Clarín* Arg. 20090214-1815
- She said a waiting area is more formal than a hardware store, because in the store, the clerk wants to sell something and thus uses informal address to create a feeling of *confianza* “trust” with the customer. She equated the situation to a news reporter who uses informal address when interviewing strangers in hopes of getting more inside information.
- f Mi 43 univ accountant *La Prensa* world. 20090111-1500
- When you are similar in age, you both use informal address.
- f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg.. 20090105-1230
- She would use informal with all except 5m because of his age and gender.(and he would respond using reciprocal formal).
 - In terms of responses, all of the males would address her formally with the exception of 4m (55) because of their similar ages.
- f Mi 45 univ dir of studies *Buenos Aires Herald* Arg.. 20090204-1900
- She believes that the customer has a higher status than the employee. When she is the customer, she used informal with younger people and those of the same age.
- f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg.. 20090209-1800
- She uses formal due to age differences and because of the customer-clerk roles. The customer has a wider margin to use informal with a clerk. The clerk, on the other hand, shows respect to the customer to ensure a sale.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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- f Sr 54 sec office worker *Clarín* Arg. 20090127-1930
- She said she would feel more *confianza* in the neighborhood hardware store—even considering that the employees are strangers
- f Sr 56 sec shop owner *Clarín* world 20081202-1600
- She would use the same form of address with the store owner and the employee. *Es igual...* ‘It’s the same.’
- f Sr 57 univ office worker *Página 12* world 20081220-1830
- She believes an *empleado* ‘clerk/employee’ is equivalent to a servant.
 - She uses formal address to set limits with males, e.g. 2m – 5m.
 - She uses formal with 5f.
 - The address form that she anticipates in response varies by age and gender of the interlocutor.
- f Sr 65 sec housewife *La Nación* world 20081204-1430
- A hardware store is more “close” than a waiting room. When you walk into a store, you greet the employee.
 - Vos [Inf] is not disrespectful, e.g. the employee says: You [Inf] know, I have lovely merchandise to sell to you [Inf].
 - Sometimes she (the informant) strives to be neutral and avoids the use of either vos [Inf] or usted [For].

- f Sr 69 sec retired *Clarín* Arg 20081225-1315
- She uses the same address form in both conversation and service encounters. Nothing changes.
- f Sr 77 univ homemaker *Clarín* Arg 20090207-1800
- Sometimes in a business, a young person addresses you informally, and it does not feel right.

-Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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- m Jr 19 univ eng. student *La Nación* Arg. 20090103-1630
- In terms of reciprocity of address, he reports reciprocal informal with everyone except 4m and 5 f and m with whom he would address formally and expect informal address in response.
- m Jr 25 univ employee *La Nación* Arg. 200900212-1330
- You are going to use informal more in the service encounter than in the conversation encounter. *Vas a vosear más.*
- m Jr 26 univ employee *Clarín* Arg. 200900129-2245
- The setting would not make a difference, i.e. he would treat people in a conversational encounter the same way he would in a service encounter.
- m Jr 28 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090101-1800
- Nothing would change just because the setting and roles changed.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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- m Mi 42 univ librarian *Página 12* world 20090207-1752
- While the informant reported using informal address with all of the male photo interlocutors, he said he uses formal with taxi drivers and waiters.
- m Mi 45 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081225-1300
- He does not change his address because of setting differences.
- m Mi 45 univ employee *Le Monde Diplom'* Arg. 20090207-1300
- He uses the same address in both settings.
- m Mi 45 univ mgr/administrator *Clarín* world 20090214-1915
- He said the two settings are similar in terms of address.
- m Mi 47 sw engineer *La Nación* Arg 20090304-1800
- He would use informal with the three youngest males and females (i.e. 1f – m through 3f – m) because they are young. He would use formal address with the two oldest women (4f – 5f) in order to conserve/maintain an emotional distance; but he would use informal with the oldest man (5m) because he is young.

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant Clarin Arg 20090116-1400

- He considers both situations (waiting room and hardware store) to be the same. He uses formal when talking to an employee and expects it in return. The exception is if the employee speaks first and uses informal address, the informant will use informal also.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 54 univ employee 0 - 20090216-2100

- In this setting the interlocutors are fulfilling roles. Using informal provokes closeness. He would use reciprocal address in this setting..

m Sr 55 sec military employee Clarin Arg 20090223-1000

- Men use informal more when talking to men.

m Sr 56 univ accountant La Nación world 20090111-1630

- The service encounter is less formal than the conversation encounter.

m Sr 58 sec supervisor La Nación/Clarín Arg. 20081202-1630

- Gender makes no difference.

m Sr 59 sec iron worker La Crónica Arg. 20090212-1930

- His address would be the same in both the conversational and service encounters, but the responses would differ.

m Sr 62 univ systems engineer Clarin world 20081203-1732

- He is more informal in the service encounter. He is only formal with 5f (55). With the exception of the formal reciprocal 5f, he would use informal with all others, and it would be reciprocated.

m Sr 65 sec Graphics designer La Nación Arg 20090211-1700

- He would use informal with all the male photo interlocutors, and they would all respond with reciprocal informal (because he had used informal address).

m Sr 65 univ manager Clarin world 20081219-1600

- In a service encounter, he uses informal address with all photo interlocutors.

m Sr 65 univ retired Diario Popular world 20081212-2045

- He is more informal in a hardware store where he uses informal address with everyone, but anticipates receiving formal address in reply.

m Sr 67 sec manager La Nación world 20081204-1500

- He would use formal with all f and m with exception of 3f, 1m, and 2m. Everyone male and female would respond formally.
- If he knows the person and he/she is the same age, he would use informal; but if he doesn't know the person, he uses formal.
- He claimed both situations (2A and 2B) are the same because they both involve strangers; yet he treats the two situations somewhat differently.

m Sr 71 sec barber Clarin Arg. 20081225-1330

- He considers both situations (conversational and service encounters) to be of equal informality

m Sr 72 sec railroad employee Clarin Arg. 20090101-1300

- He would use *che* "hey you" plus informal address with everyone in the service encounter with the exception of 5f (40s) to show respect because she is older.

m Sr 72 univ employee La Nación Arg. 20090212-15300

- Roles distinguish how you address someone; therefore, one must be careful. He would use formal address with all because of their (service/business) roles.

H.4 Describe/Compare young adults' use of address in the present, past, and future.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
f	Jr	18	sec	student	Clarín	world	20090116-1330

- Yes, young people use informal

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
f	Mi	45	univ	teacher	Página 12	Arg..	20090105-1230

- In secondary school they do not make a distinction via address; but as they grow older and go to the university they become more aware/conscious of the use of formal.

f	Mi	45	univ	dir of studies	Buenos Aires Herald	Arg..	20090204-1900
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- Yes, the young people tend to use informal. Vos is friendly and young.
- In the 1960's vos (informal) was not trendy among strangers or with family. In fact her father formally addressed both of his parents.
- But vos (informal) is fashionable in Buenos Aires now.

f	Mi	46	univ	graduate student	La Nación	Arg..	20090209-1800
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- Adolescence lasts until 35 years old. They live with their parents. They are chronic students, in order not to change their status. 18-30-year olds are symmetrical.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
f	Sr	56	sec	shop owner	Clarín	world	20081202-1600

- Young people use informal with more age groups (*Los jóvenes, <40, tienen menos prejuicios'*)

f	Sr	59	univ	accountant	La Nación	world	20081209-2000
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- When she was in secondary school, she addressed her teachers as *Ud.* Now in secondary school and university (*facultad*) the students use informal with their professors.

f	Sr	61	univ	librarian/teacher	Clarín	Arg	20090302-1310
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- All the young people (e.g. 26-28) who work in the kiosks use informal with everyone.

f	Sr	65	sec	housewife	La Nación	world	20081204-1430
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- Your 20-30-40 year old speakers are the informal users. They are not going to change except when speaking to the very old.

f	Sr	65	univ	executive sec.	Clarín	world	20081219-1630
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- The younger the speaker the more likely they will address you informally.

-Males

--Junior Informants

None

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 35 univ teacher/librarian *Página 12* Arg. 20090226-1530

- The youngest generation does not distinguish the use of informal.

m Mi 45 univ employee *Le Monde Diplom'* Arg. 20090207-1300

- 14-15 year olds use informal with older people.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 55 sec military employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090223-1000

- Yes, informal is typical of youth; and they will not change to formal as they mature.

m Sr 56 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20090111-1630

- It was more conservative in the past, but was it necessarily better?

m Sr 58 sec supervisor *La Nación/Clarín* Arg. 20081202-1630

- Young people address him informally.

m Sr 67 sec manager *La Nación* world 20081204-1500

- Each generation is more informal. He used to use formal with his grandfather.

m Sr 70 univ engineer *La Nación* Arg. 20081228-1600

- Young people tend to use informal with older people. In the past that was prohibited.

m Sr 71 sec barber *Clarín* Arg. 20081225-1330

- Yes, because the way of life has changed...everything changes...the way people dress when they walk in the street. At least that is what he observes in southern South America.

H.5 Describe/Compare address patterns in large cities of Latin America/Spain.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Jr 18 sec student *Clarín* world 20090116-1330

- Argentina is the most informal. Chile is somewhat informal, but Spain is even less formal.

f Jr 25 univ secretary *Perfil* Arg 20090211-1730

- Address in the Argentine city of Córdoba, capital of the Córdoba province, is the same as Buenos Aires.

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2215

- She felt that people in Buenos Aires province are more informal than people in the other provinces.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Mi 30 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090301-1500

- Informal address is characteristic of Buenos Aires. In the provinces or small town of Buenos Aires province, formal address is used.

f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg. 20090105-1230

- Informal is common in Buenos Aires. Formal is common in the provinces.

f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg. 20090209-1800

- Informal address is typical of Buenos Aires and other large cities.
- In the interior (of the country) the people are more reserved and use formal a lot and informal little. It's the tradition of respect.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Sr 56 univ librarian/teacher *Clarín* Brazil 20090226-1600

- The north of Argentina is more formal.
- Chileans are more distant. Argentines are more *confianzudos* 'overly close'.

f Sr 65 sec housewife *La Nación* world 20081204-1430

- In San Martín de los Andes (Arg), the shop clerks are more familiar than in Buenos Aires.
- Spain, after Franco, became more open, relaxed. Before, they were more formal.

f Sr 65 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg 20081222-2030

- In the provinces the people are more respectful; but in the capital (i.e. Buenos Aires) they are disrespectful and *confianzudo* 'overly close'.

Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Jr 28 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090101-1800

- In the interior (of Argentina) kids use formal when addressing older people. These kids see the same TV, movies, and internet that kids in Buenos do; so the difference is in the amount of freedom that their parents give them.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 35 univ teacher/librarian *Página 12* Arg. 20090226-1530

- *Che* is used more in Buenos Aires; formal is used in the north (of Argentina).

m Mi 42 univ librarian *Página 12* world 20090207-1752

- He said that in Costa Rica formal and informal address are used indiscriminately. Age does not matter.

m Mi 47 univ sw engineer *La Nación* Arg 20090304-1800

- Latin American chat (forums) use informal (*tú*); Argentines use informal (*vos*).

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant *Clarín* Arg 20090116-1400

- Chileans have experienced more brutal/oppressive government (with Pinochet being the prime example); but in Argentina it was more hidden (referring to the "dirty war" *la guerra sucia*).

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 54 univ employee 0 - 20090216-2100

- Argentina has a nice mixture compared to other countries.

m Sr 55 sec military employee *Clarín* Arg 20090223-1000

- In Spain they use informal; in Latin America they use formal address.

m Sr 56 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20090111-1630

- San Martín de los Andes is a conglomerate of the country. Even though it is in the interior, it is not a factor.
- An Argentine is arrogant.
- In the interior, e.g. Chipoleti (in the province of Neuquén) formal address is used more; there is more respect...
- The people of Chile are more formal, structured, and care about appearances.

m Sr 62 univ systems engineer *Clarín* world 20081203-1732

- In Chile, they are more proper, i.e. they use formal more with strangers.

m Sr 65 univ manager *Clarín* world 20081219-1600

- In big Argentine cities, such as Buenos Aires, if someone says “Good Morning” to you, you get suspicious that they want to trick you, i.e. they are up to something.

m Sr 67 sec manager *La Nación* world 20081204-1500

- Buenos Aires is like New York City.
- *Libertinaje* “liberated to extremes”.

H.6 Describe when/how/why address has changed in Buenos Aires.

-Females

--Junior Informants

PI observation: This generation was too young to have noticed a change.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Mi 43 univ accountant *La Prensa* world. 20090111-1500

- Why the change? There has been a change in human values...for the worse....a decadence.

f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg.. 20090209-1800

- The change, i.e. the loss of traditions, the breaking of formalities, started in the 1960's with the anti-establishment movement. Important values were lost/degraded, e.g. saying Thank you, Please, Good day.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Sr 59 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20081209-2000

- About 10-15-20 years ago, things changed
- The 'change' began 15 years ago with Alfonsín in 1983 as a reaction to what had come before:
 - In the 1950s, Perón was in power
 - In the 1960s, there were the hippies
 - In the 1970s the rigid military insisted that men wear suits, ties, and short hair.

With Alfonsín *la sociedad empieza ser más permisiva en todo* "society became more permissive in every way".

f Sr 63 teacher 20081228-1800

- The generation that is in its 30-40s.
- The military service ended with President Menem. Before him was Alfonsín. Democracy exploded in all senses. During the military era, everything had been very rigid, e.g. a female doctor (or health-related worker) could not/dared not wear pants. But once the rigid military government ended, people stopped treating each other with respect, i.e. there was a lack of respect among the people.

f Sr 65 sec housewife *La Nación* world 20081204-1430

- TV more communicative, e.g. the news anchors are less formal than earlier days when the news was read by the anchor.
- PI note: News anchors even in Argentina use tele-prompters, but they can get chatty among themselves.
- Even in Italy, she suspects that announcers are more familiar than 20 years ago.

f Sr 78 sec ret. Manager Clarin world 20090207-1828

- The change occurred when the children of my husband began to grow up.
- The school teachers are young, and they use informal with their students.
- The change began when women started to feel liberated, i.e. it started with the equality of men and women and working women took to their children to day care centers.
- The change occurred with the legalization of divorce. Women wanted to work and earn money, so they hired a servant and the children were raised by a hired stranger. There's a difference.
- Till the 70's or 80's mothers did not have to work. The economic problems of 80s and 90s forced many wives/mothers to work with their kids being taken care of by someone similar in age resulting in the mutual use of informal address between the kids and the care-giver. Personal home education/training/manners were lost including respect with parents. Kids were eating without their parents; they no longer experienced eating in a structured home

-Males

--Junior Informants

None

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 46 barber 20090224-1300

- A big change happened in the 90's or late 80's when the government changed from being military—so did control of the people;
- With a democratic government, you could do whatever you wanted to do to get ahead: *viva la pepa* 'Anything goes'.
- Schools used to be places where you went to learn; now students go just to go and not to learn. There is no more respect for the teachers. During the last years of primary school, the teacher is not important.
- The government created a lot of freedom, i.e. do whatever feels good and with each generation it gets worse.
- People of the same age use informal, but use formal when addressing older interlocutors.
- Human rights are for the criminals, the lazy, and the shameless people.
- During the 90's, Menem eliminated the mandatory military service which was where young people had learned to be respectful to their military superiors and to older people. With the arrival of a democratic government, it was everybody for themselves *salvese quien pueda* 'save yourself if you can'. The military service had formed/shaped the person and squelched rebellion.
- Yes, the military did some bad things, i.e. people disappeared; but the military did good too, i.e. education and teaching respect for the individual. During the military era, everyone showed more respect.

- In the 90's when the military government changed, the loss of respect for the individual began. Liberty became extreme freedom, i.e. *libertad pasó a libertinaje* due to the defenders of human rights. Kids are delinquents at the age of 12 and are untouchable by the law. Drugs increased in the 90s. Everything changed as the government became less controlling. Politicians were all corrupted. Parents saw what one could get away with, i.e. how one could take advantage of the situation. The children witnessed this and developed an anything goes attitude.
- Some examples of total lack of respect are the following: (i) In the cemetery, they started selling water—10 pesos for a small container and 25 pesos for a large one. (ii) One evening the police on duty in one of the police stations, refused to file a citizen's report of a robbery because the police were in the middle of eating a pizza and watching a soccer game on TV.
- On TV the TL9 News shows out of control adolescents and the government doing nothing about it. Kids can get drugs/alcohol and the government does nothing about enforcing non-sale to minors. There is no code of law as there was in the past. Parents do not set limits for their children.

m Mi 47 univ sw engineer *La Nación* Arg 20090304-1800

- Everything political and economical in Argentina causes address to be less important. Superficial things are less important. Due to the crisis of today, superficial things will matter even less in the future. Crisis makes things fall apart...formalism has declined. Argentine use less respectful language. Formal is only for artificial situations.
- Latin American chat (forums) use informal (*tú*); Argentines use informal (*vos*).
- An example of the *libertinaje* allowed by the Kirchner government is the homeless people occupying the brand new police headquarter in La Boca just before it was scheduled to be officially opened.
- One hears informal in the street and subway.

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant *Clarín* Arg 20090116-1400

- The change to address strangers informally began 15-20 years ago. Everything changed, i.e. values.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 55 univ doctor *Página 12* Arg 20090105-1430

- He said he used formal with his parents, but they used informal with him. And he used formal with his grandparents.
- He said most Argentine patients address him formally
- He said that Paraguayan patients would address him informally, e.g. *Mirá doctor, acá te traigo* "Look [you-2pS-Inf] doctor, here I bring you [Inf]..."
- In his clinic, where he is the director, the new, young doctors addressed him formally; but colleagues who were closer in age used informal address. In terms of everyday address, where there is more of a relationship informal is used, e.g. *che vos*.

- m Sr 55 sec military employee *Clarín* Arg 20090223-1000
- Globalization does not influence address; formal address continues to be used.
- m Sr 56 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20090111-1630
- Yes globalization, i.e. the communication media (e.g. Internet, television) has brought people closer together via technology. Now we know what is happening in the world.
- m Sr 62 univ systems engineer *Clarín* world 20081203-1732
- The decline of the country – no justice, no law – adults do not show respect to anything. Children, emulating adults, do not show respect either. It is due to drugs, alcohol, and corruption in all aspects of daily life – lack of justice – all of these pull the country down.
- m Sr 64 univ employee (library) *La Nación* world 20090212-1700
- In the 1970's address began to change. In the 1980's it became entrenched, and the use of foul language (formerly reserved for anger and used by the lower social classes) started to be used on a daily basis.
 - The country has changed: in the 1930's there were poor people, but there was no misery. Argentina was extremely European, especially Italian. The middle class lived better.
- m Sr 65 univ manager *Clarín* world 20081219-1600
- In the past 15 years, life has become more informal.
- m Sr 67 sec manager *La Nación* world 20081204-1500
- Today there is more communication: video, TV, Internet
 - Radio is quite informal....now joking ... news shows too.
- m Sr 70 univ engineer *La Nación* Arg 20081228-1600
- It is the result of May 19, 1968, the revolution of young people in France. It lasted fifteen days. It was a demonstration of their rebellion. There were efforts to suppress it, but it expanded.
 - In the 70s the tendency began for youth to address older people informally.

H.7 Describe an experience or an observation of surprising/inappropriate address.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Jr 18 sec student *Clarín* world 20090116-1330

- For her it is normal for older people to address her informally and for the young people to use formal when addressing older people.

f Jr 25 univ secretary *Perfil* Arg 20090211-1730

- *Porteños* (residents of Buenos Aires) are very polite to foreigners, but not necessarily with other Argentines.
- She understands why a younger employee might address her formally, but she does not understand why an older employee formally addresses both female and male Junior generations.
- She hates it in shops/businesses, when the employees say *Gracias, señora* "Thank you Mrs/Ma'am" because she has to swallow her desire to correct them by saying *Señorita* "Miss".

f Jr 26 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090129-2215

- The use of informal address has increased.

f Jr 29 univ graduate student *Clarín* world 20090226-2100

- The PI sat next to her in the lobby of the ferry building and started a conversation. She said she is from Buenos Aires but she still says *Buenos Días* "Good morning"
- She addressed the PI in three stages: first, using no address, second, using formal, and then she switched to informal.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Mi 30 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg. 20090118-1900

- In her secondary classroom of students 13 and older, she insists that the students address her formally. However, it is OK if a student says "*Che, Profe (or Señor)*" if the student uses the right tone.

f Mi 30 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090301-1500

- When a 21-year old speaker (i.e. Junior generation) formally addressed the informant and other 30-40 year olds (i.e. Middle generation), the informant responded: Don't address me formally; it makes me feel old.

f Mi 33 sec homemaker *Clarín* Arg. 20081213-1100

- Now that she has a baby, she likes being addressed as *Señora* "Mrs/Ma'am".

f Mi 34 sec employee *Clarín* Arg. 20081204-1245

- Conversationally, the presence of her baby results in the Junior generation addressing her formally.
- Using informal address does not mean a lack of respect. There are no problems with using informal address.

- She uses formal address with her father-in-law but informal address with her mother-in-law.
- Her husband (Junior generation) uses formal with older generations (his in-laws and family friends of his in-laws) to show respect, with the exception that he does use informal with his brother-in-law.
- A 99 year old person can be modern, *canchera y actualizada*, instead of staying with the old ways.
- A child uses formal with his parents if he/she is raised that way.

f Mi 43 univ accountant *La Prensa* world. 20090111-1500

- According to her older friend, informal address can show respect, but without the use of *che*. *Che* would be a sign of disrespect.

f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg.. 20090105-1230

- Her in-laws are from the interior (of the country), and they address each other formally.

f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg.. 20090209-1800

- She addresses the rector of the school formally. She permits her students to address her as *Profe....Ud.* "Teacher/Professor...you [For]". It is healthy in secondary school to maintain a distance between the teacher and the students. If a student addresses her informally, she responds "I don't hear you [For] well. Addressing a person formally has an intrinsic value for teachers.
- She addresses her thesis advisor formally even though he is just two years older than she is because there is an intellectual and experience distance between them; he knows more; she was raised (that way) to respect.
- If you do not know someone well, that's a good reason to use formal address.

f Mi 48 homemaker . 20090223-1800

- I use informal with everyone, and it does not indicate a lack of respect.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Sr 57 univ office worker *Página 12* world 20081220-1830

- In the case of an encounter with a famous professional, one should show respect and not take advantage of the situation.

f Sr 59 univ psychiatrist *Clarín* Arg 20090212-1200

- She used the term "Argentine light" to label a less judgmental/less prejudicial type of language that differed from the traditional, prescriptive approach to language that made distinctions between people.

f Sr 59 sec housewife *Diario Popular* Arg 20081213-1115

- She was shocked when a 20 year old clerk addressed her informally. When the PI asked the informant if she protested, she said no and explained that you get accustomed to it

- f Sr 59 univ accountant *La Nación* world 20081209-2000
- Six years ago, she took her 90 year old father who was using a walker to a shopping mall to buy some flip-flops. She was shocked when the 18-year old male sales clerk asked her father:
‘Do you [Inf] like them? Try [you-Inf] them on’
Te gustan estas? Probátelas
- f Sr 61 univ librarian/teacher *Clarín* Arg 20090302-1310
- Sometimes she uses and expects formal address to establish a distance between her and the interlocutor, as in the case of a student’s mother...at least at first.
- f Sr 65 sec housewife *La Nación* world 20081204-1430
- In general, women use informal more with other women. Men are more careful when they talk to women. Older generation men tend to show more respect.
- f Sr 65 univ executive sec. *Clarín* world 20081219-1630
- She uses informal address with the 33 year old handyman, but she uses formal with the president of their social-cultural club (a man who is a little older and rather formal) in order to maintain a distance even though they have known each other all of their adult lives.
 - Twenty-five years ago she was shocked when her ten-year old daughter used informal address when asking the adult man working at a kiosk for gum. When she corrected her daughter, the child did not know what formal address was.
 - When she was 10 years old she used informal when talking to her aunt. Her parents got so angry with her that she stopped talking to that aunt.
 - Fifteen years ago, if young people addressed an older person informally, the older person got angry, but not now.
 - In the past one addressed the teacher as *Señorita*. But in the more recent past, kids in elementary school address their teacher informally and use the term *Seño* or the teacher’s first name.
 - Fifty years ago, one addressed their secondary teacher formal using the term *Profesor* and the teacher addressed the students formally using the term *señor*.
 - Informal address makes you closer to a person. Formal address marks a distance. Address forms mark distance...based on age, work position.
 - One employee would address her as *Señora nombre* “Mrs. First-name” when they were in the presence of other employees. But when the two of them were alone, this particular employee would address her by just her first name.
 - Nowadays, people no longer greet each other saying “Good morning” as they should.
- f Sr 65 sec business owner *Clarín* world 20090221-1923
- With the young male workers (like 1m) in the factory workshop, she uses formal. It is useful for maintaining distance.
 - The older people with whom she used formal address are now gone. Those she addressed informally, she continues to use informal.

f Sr 68 sec homemaker La Nación Arg 20090203-1252

- She told the following anecdote that occurred in 1986 when her son was in secondary school (to illustrate how crudely students talk in the classroom with the teacher present).
 - Classmate A to B: *¿Boludo, me pasás la lapicera?*
“Idiot (but cruder) can you pass me a pen?”
 - Teacher: *Pero estas cosas no se...*
“But these things you don’t...”

¿Pero qué estás diciendo alumno?
“What are you saying, student?”
 - Classmate A to B: *¿Pero yo qué dije, boludo?*
“But what did I say, idiot?”

f Sr 69 sec retired Clarin Arg 20081225-1315

- In 2004 she observed on a city bus the following involving two young men who were talking to each other plus an older woman seated behind them who overheard their conversation.
 - Young man A to B: *¿Boludo, qué hacés?*
“Idiot (but cruder), what’cha doing?”
 - Young man B to A: *¿Boludo*, cómo te vas?*
Idiot, how’s it going?”
 - Older woman to A as she stood up to get off. *Permiso, boludo (para pasar)*
“Excuse me, idiot (in order to pass)”
 - When A looked at her in shock, she replied *¿Como no es tu nombre?*
“That’s you name, isn’t it?”
 - Bus driver laughed.

f Sr 78 sec ret. Manager Clarin world 20090207-1828

- Her friend (who is in her 60’s) said that she addresses her young doctor informally. Influential factors are age and physical size.

-Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Jr 28 sec employee Clarin Arg. 20090101-1800

- Informal is for people you trust such as the family; but even within the family there can be distinctions.
- In his case, he was raised by his maternal grandmother, and he used informal with her because she was like his mother. He used formal when addressing his great grandmother due to her age. She used informal with him.

- Because his parents were separated, he did not have much contact with his paternal grandmother, and consequently he used formal address with her.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 35 univ teacher/librarian *Página 12* Arg. 20090226-1530

- Young people used to distinguish between people of different ages; now everyone is equal; but it also represents a change in good manners and customs and quality of life.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 54 univ employee 0 - 20090216-2100

- His childhood friends address their own parents formally.

m Sr 55 sec military employee *Clarín* Arg. 20090223-1000

- Lower class young people use informal address, and this is not appropriate.

m Sr 58 sec supervisor *La Nación/Clarín* Arg. 20081202-1630

- He claims that he has never had a bad experience because he always tries to be diplomatic (as exemplified by his initial preference to avoid using a pronoun first).

m Sr 59 sec iron worker *La Crónica* Arg. 20090212-1930

- Young people are very/overly informal *confianzudo*. He attributes this to the elimination of mandatory military service by President Menem in the 90s where one learned discipline: get up early in the morning, do something constructive, plus the possibility of punishment. Youth today are delinquents. The government permits drugs. In night dance clubs/bars, minors are allowed to drink, but the police have their hands tied.
- He began to mention the example of offering one's seat to a pregnant woman on a public bus.

m Sr 59 univ employee/doorman *Perfil* Arg. 20090302-1500

- Argentines are very friendly. In general they are open, and it is easy to make friends.

m Sr 62 univ systems engineer *Clarín* world 20081203-1732

- A 70-year old male, to be funny and/or to make life difficult for the young caterer on the telephone, asked the caterer why he addressed him as *vos*. The 70-year old man asked him "Do we know each other?"

m Sr 63 sec taxi owner/driver *Clarín* Arg. 20081213-1130

- Make friends with a young person, and you will feel young. 30 years old is a kid. Children are 20-25.

- m Sr 64 univ employee (library) *La Nación* world 20090212-1700
- When he was 18, he addressed all men formally. Thirty years ago, more or less, there was an unspoken code that strangers who were 30 years old or more were addressed formally.
 - Today all people use informal.
 - It is not appropriate for a 15-year old to address an older man informally. The young person should begin with prudence, and after a bit ask if he may switch to informal.
 - His father used formal address with his sister-in-law (30) and she used formal with him. He also addressed his father-in-law formally.
- m Sr 65 sec Graphics designer *La Nación* Arg 20090211-1700
- Nobody knows how the other person is going to respond.
 - If you say "Good Morning" when you get on an elevator or enter a business, only two out of ten people respond.
 - Older people continue feigning/pretending to show respect until they feel close to each other.
 - Nurses in hospitals address patients by their first names. Anybody uses informal address to establish a social closeness.
 - Prestige deserves respect.
 - TV journalists still wear suits and ties and continue speaking correctly enough. He dislikes watching TV talk show people because they not only use bad words, but a very limited vocabulary; plus they make grammar mistakes.
- m Sr 65 univ manager *Clarín* world 20081219-1600
- A 20 year old male will make an effort to address him formally, but informal address will slip out (escape him).
 - In the past Argentines were more formal, saying Mr. Policeman. Now Argentina is relaxed, informal, and people use informal address.
- m Sr 70 univ engineer *La Nación* Arg 20081228-1600
- One uses informal with interlocutors who look open; but with serious-looking interlocutors, one uses formal. It is the result of the May 19, 1968, revolution of young people in France. It lasted fifteen days. It was a demonstration of their rebellion. There were efforts to suppress it, but it expanded.
- m Sr 72 sec railroad employee *Clarín* Arg 20090101-1300
- If a man uses formal with an older woman, she will not respond informally.
 - If a man uses informal with an older woman, she might protest saying: "Take care, I didn't sleep with you. Do not address me informally."

H.8 Share any additional comments you wish.

-Females

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Jr 25 univ teacher *La Nación* Arg 20090304-2330

- While conducting the survey and interview, she concluded out loud that the PI was studying personal relationships.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Mi 30 sec employee *Clarín* Brazil 20090301-1500

- At work she uses informal with younger people and those of her own generation; but she uses formal with older people.
- If the interlocutors are serious, she uses formal; but if the interlocutors are *joviales* “youthful, fun,” she uses informal.

f Mi 31 univ student *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1400

- She formally addresses a professor who has a high status or position.

f Mi 35 univ librarian *Clarín* Arg. 20090202-1715

- It depends on the *educación* “upbringing” of the generation – past versus now.

f Mi 45 univ teacher *Página 12* Arg.. 20090105-1230

- Informal is natural, and its use does not imply a loss of respect.

f Mi 45 univ dir of studies *Buenos Aires Herald* Arg.. 20090204-1900

- When one uses informal address, it signifies that an equal is speaking to an equal...except to lower social classes.

f Mi 46 univ graduate student *La Nación* Arg.. 20090209-1800

- Using informal address puts the other person on the same level as you. In reality this equality does not exist, and it's not necessary to force it. If one uses informal address with a stranger, the next day that person will feel free to put his/her feet up on your table or open the refrigerator. You give someone a hand, and he/she takes an arm.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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f Sr 55 univ library director *Clarín* Arg 20090202-1630

- *Chechea* as in the verb *chechea*. This is *lo cotidiano* ‘everyday’ speech.

f Sr 56 sec shop owner Clarin world 20081202-1600

- When the PI asked if she would use *vos* [Inf] or *usted* [For], her initial response was that she wouldn't use either the informal or formal subject pronoun; instead she would use either of the following [unaware that she was in fact still making a distinction between formal versus informal via her choice of dative pronouns].

- - - - you (Inf Dative) _ _ _ _
 'Pardon, I ask | | a question'
 - - - - you (For Dative) - - - -

 - - - te - - -
 Perdon, | | hago una pregunta.
 - - - le - - -

f Sr 59 univ psychiatrist Clarin Arg 20090212-1200

- She used the term "Argentine light" to label the casual use of informal with strangers. She explained *No tiene tanto perjuicio* "It doesn't have as much prejudice". The PI concluded that the informant was explaining that users of "Argentine light" pay less attention to differences in age, gender, etc.; therefore, formality and distance are less important and not used.

f Sr 59 univ accountant La Nación Arg 20081219-1630

- It depends on your age group' (*franja de edad*)

f Sr 65 univ executive sec. Clarin world 20081219-1630

- She uses informal with females and males in their 20s, 30s, and 40s (i.e. up to 50s/60s).
- She confesses that she uses informal with strangers more now than before.

f Sr 77 univ homemaker Clarin Arg 20090207-1800

- Young people do not respect a difference in age. They do not distinguish between older and younger. They are very open/free/casual.

-Males

--Junior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Jr 19 univ eng. student La Nación Arg. 20090103-1630

- At the university, if he does not know someone, he uses informal.

m Jr 19 sec employee Clarin Arg. 20090129-2230

- It's a question of custom. Even within the same family, brothers may use different address forms with strangers.

m Jr 26 univ employee *Clarín* Arg. 200900129-2245

- Assuming he is the first to speak in a dyad, it is his custom to treat all people he does not know by using formal address (with the exception of speaking to adolescents (13-15). Regardless if it is a work or a social situation, he would begin by using formal address. It gives a better impression. One does not go about watching what the other person uses. However, to avoid disharmony, if the interlocutor responds with informal, then the informant will switch to informal. Working at a large electric appliance store (plus another company prior), he was taught that the customer is always right and to be formal—at least at the start.

--Middle Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Mi 46 univ priest Urug. 20081217-2015

- He uses the Franciscan way of speaking: formal with all females and informal with males of similar or younger age assuming there is no formality. Language used is determined by age and your upbringing *formación*.

m Mi 48 univ flight attendant *Clarín* Arg 20090116-1400

- Sometimes on flights of Aerolíneas Argentinas, a younger passenger addresses him informally. Other young people have better manners and address him as *Señor* 'sir'.

--Senior Informants

Sex	Gen	Age	Educ	Occupation	Newspaper	Vacation	ID ymd-hm
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m Sr 54 univ employee0 - 20090216-2100

- From our age down....45 and younger use informal.
- With the people closest in age, one uses informal regardless of gender.
- Argentines use informal with Americans--it seems more common sense; but Argentines use formal with European as a way to maintain personal protocol; but Argentines use neutral with Asians.
- One can use formal to elevate the status of someone.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

As the result of multiple relocations due to her father's career with IBM, she and her sister, Gaynel, felt like the perpetual new kids in town; so speaking to strangers came naturally. Spanish classes began in public junior high in Poughkeepsie, New York, and continued through graduation at Horace Greeley High, in Chappaqua, New York. Those years also included a visit to Spain and a summer at the *Instituto Tecnológico de la Universidad de Monterrey* in Mexico to study Spanish.

She started her B.A. at Hood College (Frederick, Maryland), where she lived in the *Casa española* 'Spanish House' and also had the summer opportunity to participate in the YWCA-sponsored *Proyecto Amistad* 'Project Friendship' doing volunteer recreational activities in a Mexico City public elementary school. Completing her B.A. at Elbert Covell College, part of the University of the Pacific (UOP) in Stockton, California, provided the unique opportunity to live and study in a bilingual/bicultural environment where half of the student body was from Latin America/Spain and most courses were taught in Spanish. It was truly a '60s 'Camelot' of *interamericanismo* 'Inter-Americanism' inspired by President John F. Kennedy's *Alianza para el Progreso* 'Alliance for Progress'. Earning her M.A. degree in English as a Second Language (ESL) at UOP entailed conducting three months of fieldwork at the *Instituto Chileno-Británico de Cultura* in Santiago, and writing her thesis in Spanish.

Her professional background includes two years teaching ESL at a branch of the University of Puerto Rico and a twenty-eight year career with IBM as a marketing support representative (with opportunities to work briefly in Chile and Mexico), systems engineer, product planner, and education specialist.