

I'm Talking *tú vos*:
A Comparative Study of
Morphosyntactic Variation and Change
in the Chilean Second-person Singular

Matthew Callaghan

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Para Maeve.

Statement of Originality

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Matthew Callaghan', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Matthew Callaghan.

Friday 19th June 2020.

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Human Ethics Approval

This study included data collection involving recorded spontaneous conversations. The data collection was approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee, Protocol 2014-413 titled *Changing language and society in Chile*.

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Now to have a few beers and see what the future brings.

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Preface

I remember many years ago, before I was about to go to Chile for the very first time on exchange, someone I looked up to a great deal said to me – the eager, green-behind-the-gills and linguistically dogmatic Spanish undergraduate student – that in Chile, where he had travelled when he was younger, they said “¿cómo *estái*?” instead of “¿cómo *estás*?”. Naturally disappointed, perhaps not looking up to him quite so much anymore, and with the righteous indignation of those who have been taught to believe in the standard, I quickly explained how that was ridiculous and clearly not possible because, firstly, *estáis* was the *vosotros* form; secondly, it has an /s/ on the end; and, thirdly, they don’t use *vosotros* in Latin America.

And yet, it would seem, all these years later, I owe him an apology: he was right; in Chile, they do say, ¿cómo *estái*? And perhaps even more, I owe him thanks, because never would I have expected that that difference in usage, what I would later come to understand as variation, would one day become the topic of my PhD thesis, and something into which I would sink many years of my life.

Whether or not Gaybo was responsible for my interest in the Chilean *voseo*, I cannot say, but one thing is for sure: I became interested in the *voseo*, the morphosyntactic feature into which that very first *cómo *estái** fitted.

Obviously once I arrived in Chile, it was one of the first things I noticed – it is almost a morphosyntactic shibboleth of Chilean Spanish, a stereotype that everyone uses and yet everyone equally laments and condemns. Indeed, I became a keen user of ¿cómo *estái*? the ubiquitous *cachái* and many other *voseo* forms – in other words, I acquired that particular regional variation of Chilean Spanish.

I also learned that Chileans don’t always say ¿cómo *estái*? Sometimes they say ¿cómo *estás*? and some Chileans hardly say ¿cómo *estái*? at all. I discovered that this regional feature is also subject to socially and linguistically motivated variation within Chile.

I realised pretty quickly that while it was ok to say ¿cómo *estái*? to my classmates in La Universidad Católica, and to my housemates in Casa Suecia, it wasn’t ok to say it to my professors at university or to the owner of my student residence. I remember once watching

as an overdressed and visibly nervous student, presenting before the class, let slip an almost instinctive *cachái* at the end of a utterance, and almost keeled over with embarrassment. I learned you can't use *cachái* in class presentations.

I had obviously come across *usted*, the standard polite form, and had a fairly good idea of how this operated alongside *tuteo*, the standard familiar form. But I had no idea how *voseo* fitted into this whole picture.

And I also learned that while it was ok to say *¿cómo estás?* to my classmates and to my housemates, it wasn't the same as saying *¿cómo estás vos?* to them, and yet I heard other people saying exactly this, and yet others saying *¿cómo estás tú?* Indeed, I internalised, studying as I was at an upper-class university and living as I was in a swanky suburb, that *¿cómo estás?* was just a Chilean version of *tuteo*.

Eventually, this came up in one of our intensive Spanish courses for exchange students, and the teacher explained that *voseo* came from the same roots as *vosotros* in Spain, but that they use it in Argentina and it is considered bad Spanish in Chile – only used by uneducated people. But everyone uses it, I thought to myself. What a confusing country this is.

And then I didn't think about it for years, just using these forms as I heard them used around me, probably never quite capturing or mastering the variation inherent in any dialect until I came to ANU and began to study linguistics. And then, the more I read, the deeper I dug into this rabbit hole, lights began illuminating left, right and centre as all these pieces of the puzzle began falling into place: *voseo* is as old as Spanish itself. It used to exist in Spain as well, and indeed *vosotros* evolved from *vos* – more specifically from *vos otros* – the marked plural form of *vos*. It came to Latin America with Columbus and never really left, unlike in Peninsular Spanish where it eventually fizzled out. Rather, it existed *in variation* alongside *tuteo* and *ustedeo* in much of Latin America, even if many Latin Americans seem genuinely shocked by this.

I read about how, initially, it was used by everyone, but at some point, in the not-so-distant past became associated in Chile with the uneducated classes, and in partial thanks to the infamous Andrés Bello, became highly stigmatised and emblematic of low social prestige.

And then, in the even-less-distant past, young educated speakers began using the verb forms again, perhaps as a form of rebellion against their parents, perhaps as a way of showing solidarity with their working-class peers, perhaps as a natural consequence of different social groups coming into unprecedented contact in the burgeoning public school and university sectors of the mid twentieth century.

I learned that there are many theories, and much speculation, but little empirical evidence to back them up – theories about why you can't use *cachái* in a formal presentation, about why people say *tú* instead of *vos*, and why others say *vos*, and why yet others only use *vos* in certain contexts; about why people think that *¿cómo estái tú?* is just a Chilean version of *tuteo*; about why, even today, despite being the dominant second-person singular verb paradigm for most speakers in informal contexts, *voseo* is still seen as highly colloquial, bad Spanish, and the *vos* pronoun particularly is seen as ugly, disrespectful and masculine.

In short, I learned that language is variable and that Chilean *voseo* is a classic case of social stratification of a linguistic variable, and of a socially motivated change in progress. I learnt that various scholars had drawn attention to the mixing of the paradigms, the expansion in the use of *voseo* into the speech of educated youth, and had foreshadowed the change in progress which I had unknowingly experienced, but that no one had tested it empirically. I learnt that there was a glaring hole in the research that was begging to be filled.

Abstract

This thesis reports a real and apparent time variationist study of a change in progress in the second person singular (2sg) system in Chilean Spanish. In this variety, speakers manage two 2sg *familiar* pronominal and verbal paradigms: *tú* and corresponding *tuteo* verb forms as in (1), and *vos* with corresponding *voseo* verb forms (2), although both occur most frequently with a $\emptyset$ pronoun (3). The two familiar paradigms can also mix, as seen in (4).

(1) <i>Tú tienes ahorros.</i>	You - <i>TÚ</i> have- <i>TUTEO</i> savings.
(2) <i>o sea vos no tenís ningún concierto.</i>	In other words you- <i>VOS</i> have- <i>VOSEO</i> no concert.
(3) <i>..cuando tengas la posibilidad de conocer, tenís que ir.</i>	When you- $\emptyset$ have- <i>TUTEO</i> the chance to see, You- $\emptyset$ have- <i>VOSEO</i> to go.
(4) <i>... Pero tú tenís que trabajar po.</i>	But you- <i>TÚ</i> have- <i>VOSEO</i> to work. (From CCSS)

Traditionally described as stigmatised and restricted to lower socio-economic groups (e.g. Alonso and Lida, 1940: 54), since the 1960s *voseo* verb forms (often disguised by a *tú* or $\emptyset$ pronoun) have expanded to the speech of all social classes (e.g. Morales Pettorino, 1972). Indeed, Torrejón (1986: 682) hypothesised that they might one day replace *tuteo* as the universal standard form of address for educated Chileans in informal situations with familiar interlocutors. Although there has been some recent variationist work (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016), there is still much to be learned about the real usage of *voseo* in spontaneous conversation.

Analysing approximately 3200 tokens from two stratified corpora of conversational Chilean Spanish recorded in the 1970s (the *Habla culta* ('educated speech') corpus (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979, 1990)) and 2010s (the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) recorded by the researcher), respectively, this study explores three main themes: (i) the nature of **the reported change**; (ii) the relative degree of **stigmatisation** of the *vos* pronoun and *voseo* verb forms (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 93); and given the rapid change, mixing of the paradigms and general lack of **metalinguistic awareness** about *voseo* (e.g. Hummel, 2010: 111-12), (iii) the extent to which speakers distinguish two separate paradigms, or conflate them into a single paradigm.

As well as confirming an increasing rate of *voseo* in real and apparent time, multivariate analyses of social factors examine stigmatisation, while priming and subject expression results address the question of speaker awareness. Subsequent analyses, using the Variationist Comparative Method (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001), compare the social and linguistic constraints governing variation in the speech of speakers 35 or under versus those over 35 in the CCSS, to provide a fine-grained picture of grammatical change. Not only do rates differ, but we see weakening of constraints, with some lost entirely, and others completely reversed. Analyses of speaker effects highlight the impact of data distribution across different contexts on the observed patterns. Inspection of lexical effects reveals the key role that one highly frequent fossilised form, *cachái*, may have played in promoting the change.

Results show that (1) the reported change is well advanced; (2) linguistic behaviour is not inconsistent with claims of stigmatisation, but effects are much more pronounced with the pronoun than the verb forms; and (3) despite a reported emphasis on pronouns and relative obliviousness to verbal morphology, speakers of Chilean Spanish are highly sensitive to the existence of two separate 2sg paradigms, which they are able to keep separate, and use adeptly for negotiating sociolinguistic meaning.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Systems of pronominal and morphological forms of address (i.e. ways of saying ‘you’ to an interlocutor(s)) are of constant interest to scholars given their propensity to linguistic change, sensitivity to social change and intrinsic connection to human interactions. To quote Clyne et al. (2009: 1), “address usage reflects cultural values and acts as an indicator of major social and political changes that affect human relationships and social networks.” Several recent volumes have been dedicated to forms of address in Spanish (Hummel et al., 2010, Moyna and Rivera-Mills, 2016), and a recent bibliography of Spanish forms of address, *Pronombres de segunda persona y fórmulas de tratamiento en español: Una nueva bibliografía (1867 – 2016)* (Fernández Rodríguez and Gerhalter, 2016) included more than 1500 publications on forms of address in Spanish alone.

The Chilean Spanish second-person singular (henceforth 2sg) address system is noteworthy for a number of reasons which make it of particular interest for the study of forms of address as well as linguistics more generally. At the most basic level, it is composed of three 2sg pronominal and morphological forms, two of which are familiar, and these are said to be in variation with one another and to mix, which is interesting in itself. Secondly, this system has been claimed to be undergoing a change in the last 50 years or so and this change has also been linked, anecdotally at least, to changes in Chilean society (e.g. Torrejón, 1986). Thirdly, the Chilean 2sg is of interest because the reported change involves a historically stigmatised form taking over from a prestige form, which is also the pan-Hispanic standard 2sg familiar form. Finally, in this context of stigmatisation and mixing of the paradigms, speakers seem to have little explicit metalinguistic awareness of the two forms, and both stigmatisation and level of awareness apply differentially to the pronouns and the verb forms, resulting in a disconnect between reported and actual linguistic behaviour. This somewhat complex linguistic situation gives rise to three central themes which are at the heart of this thesis: language change, stigmatisation and (lack of) metalinguistic awareness.

Until recently, these claims about Chilean 2sg usage have been based primarily on anecdotal evidence and speaker reports, meaning little was known about the actual usage of the Chilean 2sg, and whether, and how, the reported change was progressing. However, in the years since I began this project in 2014, a number of recent quantitative studies using corpus data (Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016) have looked at forms of address in Chilean Spanish using spontaneous data, highlighting the increased interest in this feature and validating the research gap.

The present study will contribute to filling this gap, through the application of a new corpus of spontaneous, naturally-occurring conversational data to the questions of language change, stigmatisation and speaker awareness in relation to the Chilean 2sg. As well as apparent time analyses of the various factors that condition the selection of one or another form in this contemporary corpus, it also provides original real time analyses of change in the Chilean 2sg through comparison with previously unanalysed data from the 1970s. In addition to investigating the oft-mentioned social factors, it contributes methodologically with detailed multivariate analyses of the linguistic (language internal) factors conditioning the Chilean 2sg, and uses these, particularly the phenomenon of syntactic priming, to offer a truly rigorous definition of the variable context, and to explore speaker associations between forms.

This thesis will be of interest to sociolinguists, variationists, historical linguists and scholars of Chilean Spanish and forms of address (specifically those interested in the phenomenon of *voseo*).

1.2. Variation and Change in the Chilean Second-person singular

Chilean Spanish is characterised by the co-existence of two 2sg familiar pronominal and verbal paradigms – *tú* and corresponding *tuteo* verb forms as in (1), and *vos* with corresponding *voseo* verb forms (2) – alongside the formal *usted* paradigm (3), which largely corresponds to the usage found across Latin America (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 417). Furthermore, all three forms can occur with or without an overt subject pronoun, as in (4), and in the second verb in (3). To complicate matters further, the two familiar paradigms can mix, with a *voseo* verb form occurring with a *tú* pronoun, as seen in (5).

- (1) ***Tú tienes ahorros.***
 You _{-TÚ} have-_{TUTEO} savings.
 (CCSS; Savings; 1302; Carolina)¹
- (2) ***o sea vos no tenís ningún concierto***
 In other words you-_{VOS} have-_{VOSEO} no concert.
 (CCSS; Football; 947; Matías)
- (3) ***lo que pasa es que usted no sabe escuchar y trajo cualquier queso***
 What's going on is that you-_{USTED} don't know-_{USTESEO} how to listen and
 brought-_{USTESEO} along any old cheese
 (CCSS; Family; 2159; Fernanda)
- (4) ***..cuando tengas la posibilidad de conocer,***
tenís que ir.
 When you-_Ø have-_{TUTEO} the chance to know [the place],
 you-_Ø have-_{VOSEO} to go.
 (CCSS; Memories; 475-6; Trinidad)
- (5) ***... Pero tú tenís que trabajar po.***
 But you-_{TÚ} have-_{VOSEO} to work.
 (CCSS; Cousins; 1245; Carmen)

While both *tú* and *vos* were brought to Latin America on the ships of the conquistadores and date back to the origins of Spanish in Latin (with *usted* having emerged much later), the two forms have not shared the same social evaluation in Chile. Indeed, until relatively recently, *vos* has been traditionally described as stigmatised and restricted to lower socio-economic groups – admittedly probably the majority of the population – while, conversely, *tuteo* was the realm only of the educated classes (Lenz, 1940 (1891): 263). The

¹ See Appendix 1 for more information on transcription conventions. Following each example from the CCSS, in brackets, are: [Corpus name]; [Transcription name]; [IU number(s)]; [Speaker pseudonym (unless given in text)]. See 4.3.3 for information about IUs. Translations are provided below examples on an additional line (or where landscape formatting is used, on the right-hand side), and have prioritised giving the reader access to the usage of the Chilean 2sg – allowing the reader to understand both the content and the intent of each utterance. In some cases, a gloss translation has been provided on a separate line followed by a more idiomatic version below. Any additional contextual information provided in translations is within square brackets. In examples, relevant **pronouns** and **verb** forms have been produced in bold. In the translations of examples, I have used a subscript to indicate the form of the verb (*TUTEO*, *VOSEO*, *USTESEO*, *CACHÁI* or *SYNCRETIC*), the form of the subject pronoun (*TÚ*, *VOS*, *USTED* or *Ø*) and, in some cases, other types of pronouns.

renowned grammarian, Andrés Bello – often accredited with the stigmatisation of *voseo* through his efforts to stamp it out (e.g. Carricaburo, 1997: 34) – famously described it as “*repugnante*” (‘repugnant’) a “*barbarismo*” (‘barbarism’), a “*vicio*” (‘vice’), and “*una vulgaridad que debe evitarse*” (‘a vulgarity that must be avoided’) (Bello, 1981 (1891): 54, 55, 76).

However, since the 1960s a change in progress in the 2sg paradigm has been reported whereby *voseo* verb forms have expanded to the speech of all social classes (e.g. Torrejón, 1986). This change has been attributed to changes in the social evaluation of *voseo* and changes in Chilean society in terms of the breaking down of class barriers; a greater sense of egalitarianism; young people’s desire to distance themselves linguistically from their parents; and the reduced impact of normative language teaching in education (Torrejón, 1986: 681). This change has also occurred in the post-authoritarian context following the end of the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990), and a sustained period in the twentieth century of increased contact between speakers of different groups in institutions such as high schools and universities. Indeed, Torrejón (1986: 682) hypothesised that the mixed *voseo* (as in (5)) might one day replace *tuteo* as the universal standard form of address for educated Chileans in informal situations with familiar interlocutors. The additional question also arises of how this change has spread through the linguistic system, and how it has done so in such a short space of time (just 40 years).

As well as the obvious question of language change – the first overarching theme – two additional themes arise in light of the mixing of the paradigms and the differential evaluation and metalinguistic awareness of the pronouns and verb forms. The second overarching theme relates to the historically reported stigmatisation of *voseo*. Most authors writing on the Chilean *voseo* have noted that “the use of *vos* as the second-person singular pronoun is more sociolinguistically marked” than the *voseo* verb forms (Stevenson, 2007: 93); and relative rates of pronouns and verb forms, in both self-reports and spontaneous studies, would seem to corroborate the fact that the *vos* pronoun is much less frequent than the corresponding *voseo* verb forms (if not completely absent). Moreover, in questionnaire studies, speakers tend to underreport their usage of *voseo* verb forms compared to patterns observed in speech (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 426, Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 66), where they are used predominantly (and can appear with a *tú* pronoun or – more frequently

– with no pronoun at all). In attitudinal studies, speakers often deny using *voseo* forms, despite evidence to the contrary (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012, Stevenson, 2007); and associate *voseo* with uneducated speech (e.g. Hummel, 2010: 109). However, due to the design of questionnaire studies and speakers' general lack of explicit metalinguistic knowledge about *voseo* forms, it is not clear to what degree these associations apply to the pronouns and to the verb forms, respectively.

Furthermore, self-reports seem to be stratified generationally (e.g. Espinoza, 2006: 579), indicating that stigmatisation of *voseo* may be decreasing over time in line with its increased usage. Indeed, Stevenson (2007: 180) suggests that the “second-order indexicality” of lower-class speech has changed diachronically, losing its negative stigma and coming simply to mark solidarity and youth. Similarly, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 88) suggests that “there seems to be an increasing social acceptance of *voseo* in the standard norm, especially in informal styles”. Given the ubiquity of *voseo* verb forms in spontaneous data, particularly by younger speakers, and the fact that, despite common associations with uneducated speech, recent studies using both questionnaire and spontaneous data have found no effect for social class in younger speakers (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Stevenson, 2007) the question, then, is whether *voseo* is still stigmatised and, if so, does any stigmatisation relate to the verb forms, or the pronouns?

The third overarching theme relates to the question of speaker awareness of forms. There is considerable evidence, particularly in the form of questionnaire and attitudinal studies, that speakers have very low levels of metalinguistic awareness relating to *voseo* forms. Chilean speakers often do not consider themselves to be *voseo* users even though they use the *voseo* verb forms extensively (e.g. Hummel, 2010: 111-12), because they tend not to use the *vos* pronoun (e.g. Bertolotti, 2015: 19, Carricaburo, 1997: 34). Speakers also often do not associate *voseo* verb forms (when presented with them) with the phenomenon of ‘*voseo*’ (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-12: 52), nor consider Chile to be a *voseo*-using country, as many associate the phenomenon with Argentina (Huerta Imposti, 2011-12: 53-4; Torrejón, 1986: 682; Stevenson, 2007:172). Some speakers even seem to be unaware that *voseo* is a morphological paradigm, describing *voseo* (verb) forms instead as “*palabras*” (words) or “*modismos*” (slang) (Stevenson, 2007: 163).

However, speakers do seem to be sensitive to and able to adjust their use of *voseo* depending on factors such as interlocutor (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2011: 47), indicating at least some degree of (perhaps subconscious) awareness of *voseo*. Given the context of rapid language change, mixing of the paradigms, ‘invisibilisation’ through stigmatisation (Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012: 54), and lack of explicit metalinguistic awareness about *voseo*, the question arises of whether Chilean Spanish speakers govern two separate *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms in their internal grammars, or whether they have become conflated into a single ‘mixed *voseo*’ 2sg paradigm as suggested by Torrejón (1986: 682) above.

While claims and generalisations abound in the literature, they have rarely been tested using spontaneous data and, until recently, have relied heavily on researcher intuition and speaker self-reports. The studies that have used naturally-occurring data have also tended to focus on the social factors, with less attention being dedicated to the important contribution of language-internal factors on the conditioning of the Chilean 2sg.

1.3. Real and Apparent Time, Rates and Constraints, and ‘Repeated Patterns of Use’

The Chilean 2sg is a classic case of a linguistic variable within the variationist paradigm of sociolinguistic research (e.g. Labov, 1963, 1972a, 2006 (1966)) – that is, it is a feature for which there is variation in the realisation of its forms, and these variants are conditioned by a variety of different linguistic and social factors (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016). But how can we know if this variation constitutes evidence of a change in the grammar, as has been proposed (e.g. Stevenson, 2007), and, if it does, how can we chart this change? Furthermore, how might this change have moved through the linguistic system?

Perhaps the greatest strength of the variationist tradition for the present study is the ability to chart diachronic change synchronically in ‘apparent time’ (e.g. Sankoff, 2019, Sankoff and Blondeau, 2007, Sankoff and Wagner, 2006, Wagner and Sankoff, 2011), whereby differences in rates of variants between groups of speakers of different ages can be seen (with some caveats) as being representative of historical change in the language. Since Labov’s (1963) early work in Martha’s Vineyard, variationists have recognised the possibility of studying diachronic change using synchronic data from a single point in time. This will be

evident in a hypothesised gradually increasing rate of use of *voseo* by generation if a change has occurred. The present study will also supplement the apparent time analyses with real time analyses by comparing contemporary data with comparable (and previously unanalysed) data from the 1970s.

However, rates alone do not provide the full picture of grammatical change. While a change in rates can certainly be evidence of grammatical change, it is possible to get a much more fine-grained image of grammatical differences between varieties or over time by looking at the social and linguistic constraints which govern variation in rates. If we understand constraints as the way in which grammar is manifested, differences in constraints between speakers from different time periods (or different generations in apparent time) can be seen as evidence of grammatical change. The present study will make use of the Variationist Comparative Method (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001) to compare the social and linguistic constraints governing variation in the speech of different generations of speakers. The advantage of this analytical method is that it isolates not only differences in rates between speakers of different social groups and in different linguistic contexts, but also differences in the way linguistic forms are used over time – that is, differences in the variable grammars of speakers from different generations. It will be shown clearly that not only do some speakers use higher or lower rates of *voseo* than others, but the constraints governing this usage have also changed. For some (independent) variables, we see instances of weakening constraints, in some cases to the point of being lost entirely; in others we see complete reversal of constraints whereby contexts that previously disfavoured *voseo* now actively favour it. In yet others, constraints have remained remarkably consistent over time; only careful comparison of the constraints governing variation can reveal these nuances.

The argumentation will also draw upon two complementary concepts from usage-based models of language and language change to help understand the processes by which change has taken place. The first of these, entrenchment (Langacker, 1987), has to do with the conventionalisation and increased accessibility of linguistic forms through the repetition of frequently occurring discourse patterns. Entrenchment has been linked to language change and will be proposed as one mechanism by which this change may have spread so quickly through the linguistic system. The second, syntactic priming – or the tendency to repeat linguistic forms previously used in the discourse – will provide insights, primarily, into the

question of metalinguistic awareness. Not only has priming been implicated in language change, but it has been shown to be a useful ‘diagnostic tool’ for grammatical relatedness (e.g. Tamminga, 2016), which can shed some light on whether speakers distinguish between the paradigms.

1.4. Data for the Study of Change in the Chilean Second-person singular

In order to study the variability present in the Chilean 2sg, and address the research questions regarding language change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness, it is vital to analyse data which captures spontaneous use of the ‘vernacular’ (Labov, 1970: 181). This kind of data will (i) allow for the (reportedly) stigmatised *voseo* forms to occur, as the vernacular is the “the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1970: 181); and thus, will (ii) provide us with a snapshot of the most systematic usage of *voseo*. The main difficulty of capturing the vernacular rests in the so-called ‘observer’s paradox’ – the difficulty of capturing “how people talk when they are not being systematically observed” when the only way to do so is through systematic observation (Labov, 1970: 209). This is particularly pertinent in the present case where there are claims of stigmatisation and evidence of underreporting.

To overcome these issues, the present study uses recordings of naturally-occurring spontaneous speech data from two different corpora of conversational Chilean Spanish. The first and principal corpus is the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) recorded by the researcher: composed of 17 recordings involving 36 participants and approximately 9 hours of unstructured spontaneous conversations; the CCSS was recorded in 2014-5 in post-dictatorship democratic Chile, using native-speaker in-group research assistants to record interactions with their family, friends and colleagues of the type they would be likely to have anyway. Detailed demographic information was also collected allowing the CCSS corpus to be stratified by age, gender and socio-economic class. The second of these is the *Habla culta* (literally, ‘educated speech’) corpus of educated Santiago Spanish (Rabanales and Contreras, 1990), recorded between 1970 and 1972, just prior to the 1973 Pinochet coup, at about the time the reported change is said to have begun. By combining contemporary usage data with

a previously unanalysed corpus from an earlier stage of the variety provides a rare opportunity to conduct both real- and apparent-time analyses of the Chilean 2sg.

1.5. This Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters including this introduction. In this chapter, I have given a brief overview of the thesis and the themes and questions which motivate it. Chapters 2 and 3 will provide the historical context and theoretical framework used in the study, Chapters 4 and 5 will present the data used and Chapters 6 to 8 will discuss hypotheses and results.

In the second chapter, I will review the classic literature on the second-person singular (2sg) and *voseo* in Latin American Spanish varieties with a focus on Chilean Spanish, in order to establish the methodological research gap that this thesis hopes to fill, as well as developing research questions around the three key themes which it sets out to respond to: language change; stigmatisation; and the breach between explicit metalinguistic awareness (or lack thereof) and actual sociolinguistic behaviour. I will also highlight a number of important semantic, pragmatic, interactional and regional characteristics of the Chilean 2sg which will inform the research design and data collection for the present study.

In Chapter 3, I will describe the Variationist Method of sociolinguistic research (e.g. Labov, 1963, 1972a, 2006 (1966)), arguing that the Chilean 2sg is a classic example of a ‘linguistic variable’, and for the benefits of looking at it in this way. I will outline the Variationist Comparative Method (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001), which, along with the Apparent Time Construct (e.g. Sankoff and Wagner, 2006: 205), will be instrumental in terms of the synchronic measurement of diachronic change. I will also introduce two complementary theories from usage-based models of language – frequency effects (entrenchment) and syntactic priming – which although not strictly part of the variationist paradigm, can inform variationist thinking about language, and language change, and will be relevant to the argumentation of the present thesis.

Chapter 4 will describe the data and data collection process employed in this study. It will emphasise the importance of ‘good data’ (Labov, 1970: 181) – that is recorded data of spontaneous naturally-occurring speech over speaker intuition – and a well-defined speech

community, particularly in the context of a stigmatised variable like *voseo*. It will justify the preference for unstructured conversational data over sociolinguistic interviews as the main data source for the present study. The remainder of the chapter will describe the two corpora used in the present study – the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) recorded by the researcher in the 2010s and the benchmark *Habla culta* corpus from the 1970s (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979, Rabanales and Contreras, 1990), respectively – how they were collected, how they are stratified, and the resulting samples.

The fifth chapter will define the variable context – the place where speakers have a choice between forms – within this data set, in line with the key variationist principle of accountability, which highlights the importance of counting not only the occurrences of a particular feature but also when it could have occurred but did not, and those contexts where there is no variability. Carefully defining the variable and the variable context is not a straightforward matter with this variable (if with any): the fact that there is both pronominal and morphological variation means it is not immediately clear what the variants are, and more than half of the 2sg tokens extracted fall outside the variable context.

Having outlined the research gap (Chapter 2), the theoretical framework (Chapter 3) and data for the present study (Chapters 4 and 5), Chapter 6 will outline the potential social and linguistic factors conditioning speakers' choices of 2sg forms, and generate hypotheses and predictions about each, based upon the literature on Chilean *voseo* and insights from variationist and usage-based research more broadly. These hypotheses also feed into how we will interpret the results in terms of the overarching questions about language change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness.

Chapter 7 will present the results of three multivariate analyses involving the factor groups and hypotheses presented in Chapter 6. The first of these, looking at social factors alone, will show a gradually increasing rate of use by generation in apparent time, and by corpora in real time from the 1970s to the 2010s. The subsequent analysis will then separate speakers into two groups (35 and under vs. over 35) and present two identical multivariate analyses to compare the constraints across the two groups, and to investigate the remaining questions about stigmatisation and sociolinguistic awareness. Chapter 7 will also discuss lexical and speaker effects, which, although not included in the multivariate analyses, allow

us to address a number of additional questions, highlighting the distribution of the data across different linguistic contexts to interpret the patterns observed. Finally, in a tangential but ultimately obligatory aside, I will investigate two hypotheses related to entrenchment and priming by a single highly frequent fossilised form *cachái* and its potential role in promoting the change

Finally, Chapter 8 will discuss these results in terms of the three overarching research questions (relating to change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness) , and argue that (1) the reported change is fairly advanced and likely nearing a stage of stability; (2) that the results are not inconsistent with previous claims of stigmatisation of *voseo*, but that this is much more pronounced with the pronoun than the verb forms; and that (3) despite claims by speakers of greater salience of 2sg pronouns, and apparent ignorance about verbal morphology, in terms of their linguistic behaviour, speakers are actually highly aware of the existence of two separate paradigms of both pronominal and verbal forms which, broadly speaking, they keep separate, and use effectively for negotiating sociolinguistic meaning.

Chapter 2: The Chilean Second-person Singular

2.1. Introduction

The Chilean second-person singular (2sg) is of particular interest for the study of linguistics for two main reasons: firstly because the 2sg system of address in Chile has three forms that are in variation with each other, two of which are so called familiar or T-forms (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 254) which is noteworthy in itself; and secondly, because this system has been said to be undergoing a change in progress over the last 50 years or so, reported to be correlated with concomitant change in Chilean society.

This chapter will describe and contextualise the Chilean 2sg and the polemical *voseo*, highlighting its important interactional nature and locating this study within research on forms of address while at the same time showing how some of the traditional ways of thinking about the 2sg cannot explain the variation that we see in Chilean Spanish. I will chart the history and identify some of the commonalities of the *voseo* in Latin America before addressing the particularities of the Chilean 2sg, identifying the three major themes which motivate this thesis: change, stigmatisation and lack of metalinguistic awareness.

By the end of this chapter, I will have established the basis for the current study by highlighting what we do and do not know about the Chilean 2sg, generating a series of research questions, and showing how, despite being of interest to many scholars over the last three centuries, there is a dearth of empirical studies on the 2sg in Chilean Spanish. The methodology and data chosen to address this research gap will be outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

2.2. Forms of Address – the Second-person Singular

The second-person singular is usually discussed within the context of *forms of address*. The sub-field of forms of address (or *formas de tratamiento* in Spanish) is a broad and varied

church. In the simplest terms, *address* is defined as “a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutors” Braun (1988: 7); i.e. the linguistic means of indicating to whom speech is directed. Intuitively (as in Braun’s definition), forms of address refer to second person interlocutors, although the world’s languages do this in different ways (Crystal, 1997: 99). The world’s languages have different systems of address not only because the number of available words differs, but because these words are used differently (Braun 1988: 7), and indeed the world’s languages have inspired a vast body of research on forms of address, including in Spanish (cf. Fernández Rodríguez and Gerhalter, 2016). These forms of address include pronouns and nominal or ‘vocative’ forms of address (such as proper nouns and titles used to address others) (cf. Dunkling, 2008), but also include greetings and salutations, and even referential uses for third person subjects. Given that this study is situated within the variationist framework, it approaches forms of address from the perspective of the linguistic variable (cf. 3.3) – in this case, those pronominal and morphological forms which express the deictic function of 2sg familiar reference.

Although forms of address, in the sense defined above, are above all grammatical (in that they specify number and grammatical person), like nominal forms of address they also encode complex information about the social world. In the words of Clyne et al. (2009: 1), “The way we address one another – the use of second-person pronouns such as English ‘you’, first names, last names and titles – is crucial in marking social relations and is critical to human relationships”. Forms of address are intrinsically linked to the nature of human interactions and culture, and this is particularly relevant to this study where social change is correlated with linguistic variation.

Sets of second person pronouns are of theoretical interest because they link the abstract properties of a [...] grammatical paradigm in a given language to a second matrix of culturally specific components that are both very frequent, and of emotional and social importance. In other words, pronominal usage affords us an analytically accesible link between the domain of the obligatory categories of grammatical structures, and a second domain of semantic categories which reflect the similarly obligatory lines in the social culture; (Friedrich 1966: 219; in Rona 1981: 11)

To quote Clyne et al. (2009: 1) again, “address usage reflects cultural values and acts as an indicator of major social and political changes that affect human relationships and social networks”. Given the social change that occurred in Chile in the latter half of the twentieth

century (see 1.2), and the special sensitivity of forms of address to human relations, the 2sg is precisely the sort of area where we might expect to see these changes reflected in language use.

Indeed, as Wierzbicka (2016b: 2) notes, there are numerous examples of political movements actively seeking to co-opt forms of address: “Nothing illuminates the importance of pronominal forms of address in European languages better than the determination with which various dictators and dictatorial regimes have often sought to eradicate the so-called “polite forms” from everyday use.” She goes on to cite attempts to abolish *vous* (and replace it with universal *tu*) in revolutionary France, *Lei* (in favour of *voi*) in Mussolini’s Italy, to replace *Sie* with *du* in the “German Democratic Republic” after World War II and *Pan/Pani* with *wy* in “People’s Poland” as well as resistance against and ultimate failure of such attempts. Add to this similar movements in Latin America (e.g. the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, which imposed *vos* over *tú* in official language (Lipski, 1994: 142)), and the connection between society and forms of address is clear. However, it is also worth pointing out that speaker agency and internal pressures may also play a role in language change as well as explicit external forces such as national language policy. This is more likely the case in Chile, where, as far as I know, the 2sg address system was never the focus of any government policy before, during or after the Pinochet dictatorship.

It is clear, then, that the 2sg is well trodden ground. However, given the ‘special interactional nature’ of forms of address, much of the traditional literature has approached the task from the perspectives of politeness theory (e.g. Wood and Kroger, 1991), and semantics (e.g. Kendall, 1981, Wierzbicka, 2016a, Wierzbicka, 2016b), which focus on ideas of formality and the relationship between interlocutors. Neither of these frameworks can satisfactorily explain all the variation present in the 2sg system in Chilean Spanish, as will be discussed below.

It is difficult to discuss forms of address without making reference to Brown and Gilman’s (1960) seminal paper on the pronouns of solidarity and power which has informed a lot of subsequent research. Indeed, a number of articles on Chilean *voseo* have made reference to Brown and Gilman’s work (e.g. Morales Pettorino, 1972, Torrejón, 1991). Brown and Gilman (1960), using questionnaire data from 50 French, 30 German and 11 Italian (and

two from each of a number of other countries, including Chile) mostly male students visiting Boston, posit two dichotomies which have attracted much theoretical attention, and the terminology of which will be useful to mention here. Firstly, they define the two social dimensions of “solidarity” and “power” that, they argue, condition the choice of pronominal address. They also coined the use of T (“familiar”) and V (“polite”) forms to define a dual system of pronominal address – based on the pronouns *tu* and *vos* in Latin (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 254) (I will refer to these pronouns in Latin in 2.3).

Brown and Gilman (1960) define power as the degree to which one person “is able to control the behaviour of the other” by a range of means including “physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalised role in the church, the state, the army or within the family” (1960:255). Solidarity, then, is associated not with differences, but with similarities and the “like-mindedness that seems to be at the core of the solidarity semantic” (258). These authors linked these two dichotomies through the concept of reciprocal and non-reciprocal address – reciprocity being representative of solidarity; non-reciprocity associated with power. From this perspective, variation in pronominal forms of address can be explained by the selection of a T or V-form negotiated between the interlocutors in accordance with the relative power of each in the interaction, and mediated by the degree of solidarity that they wish to express with the other. Any deviation, so it goes, from these expected norms of behaviour is interpreted as speakers intentionally breaking these shared conventions.

Brown and Gilman’s work has been criticised heavily, for being, amongst other things, too deterministic (Kendall, 1981), too Euro-centric (Braun, 1988), too quick to generalise (Clyne et al., 2009) etc. Even so, much subsequent work on forms of address has been in response to, based upon or has built upon their ideas. Indeed, the terminology of T and V forms has pervaded the field so deeply that it is difficult to talk about forms of address without clarifying them in these terms. Nonetheless, as with other similar studies of pronominal and morphosyntactic variation in systems of address in Spanish (see 2.3.2 below), the dichotomies identified in Brown and Gilman’s and later scholars’ work are unable to explain fully the variation between two familiar paradigms that we see in Chilean Spanish, and thus I will largely avoid using these terms. This will be discussed in 3.3. The following sections will chart the history of the 2sg in Spanish, starting with the origins of the current system in Latin and

Medieval Spanish, followed by a review of the literature on *voseo* in contemporary Latin American varieties and the current situation in Chilean Spanish.

2.3. The 2sg in Latin American Spanish

Latin had two forms for direct speech to interlocutors: a 2sg form *tu*, and a second-person plural (2pl) form *vos*. At some point around the fourth century, the 2pl *vos* began to be used to address the emperor (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 254). There are a number of hypotheses for why this began; perhaps because the emperor embodied ‘the glory of all his ancestors’ (Chatelain 1880: 138, qtd. in Olea Peralta (2005: 14)), or because the emperor was seen to be God’s appointed representative on earth, or because he was one of two co-emperors at one stage and thus “words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both” (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 254). There may have been genuine semantic reasons for this plural form of address at one point; whatever these may have been, *vos* became conventionalised as a deferential form of address for a single second-person interlocutor, and expanded as a ‘polite’ form to interlocutors beyond the emperor. This system passed down into various romance languages, including Spanish.

At the time of the Spanish colonisation of Latin America in the fifteenth century, the system of forms of address in Spanish was undergoing a process of change (Benavides, 2003: 613). Prior to the fourteenth century, Spanish had maintained fairly intact the system of deferential address forms from (late) Latin, as in Table 1.

Table 1 Summary of Address Forms in Pre-fourteenth Century Spanish (Adapted from Penny (2000: 152))

T – non-deferential	V – deferential
Expressed: solidarity or closeness	Expressed: deference or distance
Historically second-person singular	Historically second-person plural
E.g. <i>tú eres</i> ‘you are’	E.g. <i>vos sodes</i> ‘you are’

However, in the fifteenth century – when Columbus and subsequent missions arrived in Latin America – *vos* was becoming less deferential and, as such, indistinguishable in terms of function from *tú*. New compound forms began to be used, such as *vuestra merced* ‘your mercy’ (the historically second-person plural possessive *vuestra* coupled with an abstract noun *merced* ‘mercy’) which later evolved into the modern respectful form: *usted*, which

takes a third-person singular verb form. Thus, the system came to look something like the one shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of Address Forms in Fifteenth Century Spanish (Adapted from Penny (2000: 152))

Non-deferential (previously T-form)		Deferential (previously V-form)
Expressed: solidarity or closeness		Expressed: deference or distance
Historically 2nd singular	Historically 2nd plural	New compound form (historically 2nd plural possessive + noun)
E.g. <i>tú eres</i> 'you are'	E.g. <i>Vos sois/sos (< sodes)</i> 'you are'	E.g. <i>Vuestra merced (> usted)</i> (Plural: <i>ustedes</i>)

This was the changing system that came to Latin America along with Spanish colonisation, where *vos* began to thrive:

los conquistadores y colonizadores traían el voseo y aún lo generalizaron y extendieron más de lo que era usual en España, [por lo tanto] durante la Conquista y primeros tiempos de la Colonia se voseó en todo el Nuevo Mundo español (Páez Urdaneta, 1981: 63)².

Vos subsequently disappeared from Peninsular Spanish (Spain)³, but in many Latin American dialects it remained in competition (or in parallel) with *tú* as the *familiar* 2sg form of address. Contemporary varieties of Spanish have one “polite” form (*usted*, with 3sg verbal agreement) and either one or two “familiar” forms (*tú* or *vos* or both, with corresponding verbal agreement): in Peninsular Spanish *tú* is used in contrast to *usted*, whereas in Latin American countries, either *vos* or *tú* is used, or both (in contrast to *usted*). The use of *vos* as a pronominal and verbal paradigm is known in the literature as *voseo*. Conversely the *tú* paradigm is called *tuteo*, and the *usted* paradigm is referred to as *ustedeo* (see Figure 2).

Yet, while widespread in certain parts of Latin America, and along the length and breadth of the continent, *voseo* did not take hold everywhere, being ousted by *tuteo* in the cultural and administrative centres of the Spanish colonial machine (such as Mexico, Lima, Bogota and Caracas), which maintained closer ties and enjoyed more frequent contact with

² ‘The conquerors and colonisers brought [*vos* and] *voseo* with them and spread and generalised its use even more than was usual in Spain, [for this reason] during ‘the Conquest’ and early period of the colony, *voseo* was used through the Spanish New World’

³ In Spain a new 2sg familiar *plural* form *vosotros* (from *vos+otros* ‘others’ potentially to disambiguate the 2sg/2pl uses of *vos*) developed using many of the forms previously occupied by *vos*.

the norms of Madrid. Consequently, the areas where some form of *voseo* is found today, generally speaking, are those which constituted administratively and culturally ‘marginal areas’ during the colonial period (Torrejón, 1986: 677). This is the case of Chile, isolated from the Viceroyalty of Lima, where the *voseo* is not found, except in some peripheral highland areas of Peru. Whatever the reasons for the spread, by the time of independence movements across Latin America, *voseo* was well and truly a part of the speech of the people across large swathes of the continent, including in Chile.

2.3.1. *Voseo*

Morales Pettorino (1998-99: 836) defines *voseo* as “*el uso dialectal de formas pronominales y/o verbales de 2a persona plural para aludir al interlocutor*”⁴, highlighting the fact that these forms are *historically* second-person plural, but always interpreted as being *singular* in reference. The *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (DPD), in the definition for “*voseo*” (Real Academia Española and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2005), distinguishes two types which they call *voseo reverencial*, (‘reverential *voseo*’) and *voseo dialectal americano* (‘[Latin-] American dialectal *voseo*’). The former refers to the historically deferential use of *vos* and is restricted to elevated speech from earlier periods, and highly constrained modern ceremonial and literary uses (which imitate the speech of the past). The latter refers to the more common modern usage of *vos* and verb forms derived from the historically second-person plural to address familiar singular interlocutors in informal speech ‘in numerous varieties of Latin American Spanish (cf. Morales Pettorino, 1998-1999: 836, Olea Peralta, 2005); this is the principal type of *voseo* that occurs in Chile. The DPD also draws an important distinction between pronominal *voseo* (the use of the pronoun *vos*) and verbal *voseo* (the use of verb forms derived from historically 2pl forms). This distinction will be important in the case of Chilean Spanish, and discussed in 2.4 below.

⁴ ‘The dialectal use of pronominal and/or verbal forms from the 2nd person plural to refer to the interlocutor’

2.3.2. Voseo in Contemporary Latin American Spanish

As a result of the historical trajectory described above, today *voseo* is common across much of Latin America. According to Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias (2017: 258), *voseo* is found in every Latin American country except most of Mexico and the Caribbean countries. More precisely, Lipski (1994: 141) states that, “*vos* is used nearly exclusively throughout all of Central America, as well as in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. It is used in locally prestigious urban centres in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia, and only in marginal areas of México, Panamá, Perú and Chile.” However, we will see that while the *vos* pronoun is reduced in Chile, the *voseo* verb forms on the other hand are predominant.

Páez Urdaneta (1981: 75-6) affirms that in 1974, 47% of the population of Hispano-America was in direct or indirect contact with *voseo*, and that these speakers occupied two thirds of the geographical area of the Spanish speaking world. Páez Urdaneta identifies three types of *voseo* region characterised by the degree of use of *voseo*, (p. 76) which we infer to mean: areas of “very generalised *voseo*” – that is, presumably, where most of the population uses it at least some of the time – accounting for 30% of the Hispano-American population; areas of “somewhat generalised *voseo*” (8%), where perhaps it is socially constrained; and areas of “less generalised” *voseo* (e.g. with pockets of regionally constrained remnants of *voseo*; 9%). There are also areas that exclusively use *tuteo* (essentially, these are restricted to Puerto Rico, The Dominican Republic, and Cuba, although some *voseo* has been reported in isolated areas in Cuba). These appear in Figure 1, below (produced using Páez Urdaneta’s (1981: 75-6) data and <https://mapchart.net/americas.html>). Note that, in this categorisation, Chile is considered an area of “somewhat generalised *voseo*”.

1. Areas of generalised voseo (30% of Hispano-American population)
 - a. Countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, much of Bolivia, Paraguay (except Concepción), Uruguay (except the *tuteo-voseo* areas), and Argentina (except some *tuteo* areas)
 - b. Regions: Zulia (Venezuela), Antioquia, Caldas, Nariño and North Santander (Colombia), Esmeraldas (Ecuador),
2. Areas of somewhat generalised voseo (8%)
 - a. Chiapas (Mexico), Bocas del Toro and Chiriquí (Panama), Cauca, Valle del Cauca y Chocó (Colombia), Ecuadorian Highlands, Arequipa (Peru), La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro and extreme North of Potosí and Chuquisaca (Bolivia), the *tuteo-voseo* areas of Uruguay, and Chile
3. Less generalised voseo (9%) – some remnants of voseo
 - a. Tabasco (Mexico), Coclé, Herrera, Los Santos and Veraguas (Panama), Táchira, Mérida and Trujillo (Venezuela), Huila, Tolima, Cundinamarca, Santander, part of Boyacá and Bolívar (Colombia), the Ecuadorian coast and some northern and extreme southern provinces of Peru.



Created with mapchart.net

Figure 1: Map of voseo-using Regions in Latin America (Adapted from Pérez Urdaneta (1981))

Despite its prevalence, lay perceptions that *voseo* is comparatively rare and/or limited in its extension persist almost everywhere *voseo* is used. For example, many Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans, from countries where *vos* predominates, assert that theirs is the only one in the region that uses *vos* (Lipski, 1994: 141); and many Chileans believe that *vos* is not used in Chile, associating it instead with Argentina (cf. 2.5.3 below). Furthermore, as Lipski (1994: 141) notes, “Even in countries where *vos* is used by nearly all citizens, insecurity as to the ‘properness’ of this word is common. Only Argentina has embedded *vos* so deeply into all aspects of public and private language as to neutralise all but the most reactionary disapproval.” This acceptance, however, is less common in most other areas where *voseo* is predominant, particularly Central America, and, importantly, in Chile, as will be discussed further below. Lipski (1994: 141-2) highlights that: Central American speakers often deny using these forms, or consider them vulgar or uneducated; only *tú* is taught in education and found in official usage on public platforms; traditionally literature has only used *tú*, or only used *vos* in the stigmatised speech of speakers from the lowest socio-economic groups; and insecurity and lack of awareness of the true scope of *vos* throughout Central America and the Spanish-speaking world in general contributes to these negative associations. Many of these generalisations are also relevant to the situation in Chile, where *voseo* has been subject to many of the same historical and social pressures.

However, this is not always the case. In an attitudinal study in the city of San Salvador, El Salvador, Quintanilla Aguilar (2009: 327) reported that speakers harboured neither exclusively positive nor negative feelings towards any of the variants. *Tú* was seen as a sign of education, but not *afeminamiento* (‘effeminateness’) or pedantry. Similarly, *vos* was not associated with poverty, nor lack of education, nor seen as incorrect, and the majority even supported it being taught in schools alongside *tú*. But *tú* is favoured on television, and *usted* with foreigners. He concludes that speakers do not see the variants as being in competition but rather fulfilling different functions, where *tú* is seen as more formal given the contexts in which it is typically used (372). This claim is also made about the Chilean 2sg (see 2.4.2, below).

As well as being evaluated in different ways, there is also significant regional variation in the pronominal and morphological systems between the different *voseo*-using countries in terms of the numbers and combinations of forms. The sets of variants are conditioned by a

wide variety of social, linguistic, pragmatic and discourse factors making neat categorisations difficult, but some have putatively binary systems where *vos* exists in the place of *tú*, e.g. Argentina, and traditionally Uruguay and Costa Rica. In some other varieties, all three forms (*tú*, *vos* and *usted*) exist alongside each other (tripartite systems), such as El Salvador, and in some they mix, e.g. Chile; and yet further countries have different binary and tripartite systems geographically and ethnically distributed within them. Probably the most well-known *voseo* variety, and the prototypical example of a binary *vos-usted* system, where *vos* occupies the function of *tú* in non-*voseo* varieties, is the Spanish of the Río de la Plata region (an umbrella term for the coastal areas around Buenos Aires in Argentina and Montevideo in Uruguay). According to Lipski (1994: 72), in contemporary Buenos Aires *voseo* verb forms (with an optional *vos* pronoun) are categorical where they are accepted at all social levels and in all contexts (although some stigma remains with the subjunctive).

However, even the *voseo* of Río de la Plata also began as part of a variable system with alternation and mixing between *tuteo* and *voseo* before stabilising by about the mid twentieth century (Moyna, 2015: 4)⁵. These systems are rarely stable and are often undergoing processes of change, as the variants acquire different social meanings, and in some cases the paradigms mix. For example, in Costa Rica, traditionally considered a binary *vos-usted* system like Río de la Plata (Michnowicz et al., 2016), some scholars have posited an increasing use of *tuteo* amongst younger speakers. Early studies either reported no *tuteo* in Costa Rica whatsoever, or that it was considered “pedantic, affected, effeminate, or a marker of foreignness” (Michnowicz et al., 2016: 244). In contrast with other Central American dialects, *usted* is often used among close friends and family members (Lipski, 1994: 224). Michnowicz et al. (2016) (using surveys) attested use of *tú* as a third variant but were unable to verify a trend of increasing *tuteo* overall; rather they reported an increased use of *usted* (in contrast to most varieties of Spanish which are moving away from V-forms), and a slight increase in *tuteo* against *voseo* (excluding *usted*). Moser (2008) provided an alternative explanation, suggesting that, rather than *tuteo* increasing in absolute terms, mixing of the *vos* pronoun

⁵ However, Moyna (2015: 6) points out that even the final system is a hybrid system as pronominal and verbal forms can be tracked back etymologically to both the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms

with *tuteo* verb forms was “blurring the lines between *tuteo* and *voseo*” in Costa Rica (Michnowicz et al., 2016: 244).

Similarly, while no longer found in the Spanish of Buenos Aires, Uruguayan *voseo* permits a mixed or hybrid form, with the *tú* pronoun occurring with a *voseo* verb form (e.g. *tú tenés* you have), as well as with a *vos* pronoun (e.g. *vos tenés*), and this appears to be socially motivated (cf. Rona (1967), Carvalho (2010)). Moyna (2015: 5) also highlights pronominal variation in prepositional uses in Uruguayan *voseo*: whereas in Buenos Aires, *vos* is categorical as an object (prepositional) form (e.g. *con vos*), Montevideo permits both (*a ti* and *a vos*) and after *con* prefers, almost categorically, the *tuteo* form *contigo*, indicating that there might be more variation in prepositional usage than is often assumed. Genuine *tuteo* (*tú* + *tuteo* e.g. *tú tienes*) is also attested for some areas in Uruguay. Carvalho (2010) investigated a change in progress in the 2sg in Uruguayan Spanish along the Brazilian border, finding a move “away from traditional, local, rural border dialect [*tuteo*] and closer to the Montevideo monolingual model [*voseo*] in a process of dialect levelling resulting from recent urbanization” (2010: 26), led by younger, middle class and female speakers. However, she also found that linguistic factors conditioned 2sg variants, including subject pronoun expression, specificity, linguistic parallelism and verbal tense.

Tripartite systems are often described in terms of semantic and discourse pragmatic differences. Fontanella de Weinberg (1999: 1405) goes so far as to posit a complex three-level system of *formalidad* (‘formality or politeness’) in Uruguayan Spanish, with *vos* being the most intimate, *usted* the most formal, and *tú* falling in between (associated with *confianza*). Similarly, El Salvador is said to have a tripartite system whereby *vos* and *usted* represent the respective extremes of intimacy and formality, with *tú* fulfilling an intermediate function of familiarity but without the intimacy of *vos* (e.g. Hernández 2007: 704). Salvadoran Spanish uses the two familiar forms of address to distinguish “different degrees of solidarity and familiarity” (Hernández, 2007: 704, cf. also Schreffler, 1994). Similar systems have been described for Guatemala (Pinkerton, 1986: 694), and similar claims have been made about Chilean Spanish too (cf. 2.4.2, below). However, these higher-level fixed semantic categories cannot account for all the variation. In Uruguay, Moyna (2015: 4) describes how, “in a single stretch of discourse between the same speakers, one may address the other with *tú* to mitigate a request, and with *vos* to turn the same request into a forceful order,” arguing that

the Uruguayan system of 2sg informal address is “retractable, i.e. sensitive to small pragmatic changes in the interaction” (2015: 5). Similar claims have been made of Salvadoran (Hernández, 2007: 706, 2010: 826) and Colombian (Murillo Fernández, 2003) Spanish.

The above outline is not intended to be exhaustive, nor to provide an extensive description of the *voseo* across Latin America but to illustrate its extension across the continent and illustrate some of the general tendencies associated with the forms. While the specific sociolinguistic situation in Chile is different from other *voseo* varieties (indeed, Lipski (1994: 143) describes it as “unique”), there are also many parallels and similar patterns. I have also highlighted the great complexity and variation within and across dialects which make generalisations difficult even in supposedly (reasonably) homogenous varieties; and that these systems are rarely stable, and often undergoing processes of change. Furthermore, these processes differ from country to country: 2sg variants have been said to elicit both positive and negative attitudes, mark national identity and foreignness, and attitudes towards the same variants can vary widely between varieties. They can be stratified socially and are reportedly used as part of a complex system of subtle pragmatic nuances. And, as in Uruguay and Costa Rica, the paradigms can mix. Importantly, purely deictic considerations do not fully account for the variation in these systems. While there are some shared tendencies, as Fontanella de Weinberg (1992, quoted in Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias, 2017: 258) says:

*dadas las peculiares características del voseo, por su co-existencia en muchas zonas con el tuteo y por la variedad de formas que presenta, la complejidad de su extensión social y estilística en las distintas partes de América solo podrá ser conocida profundamente con la realización de estudios sociolingüísticos llevados a cabo en cada región en particular.*⁶

In this spirit, the following sections will outline the distribution, forms, and social and stylistic situation of the Chilean *voseo*.

⁶ ‘Given the peculiar characteristics of *voseo*, its coexistence alongside *tuteo* in many areas and the variety of forms that it has developed, the only way to gain a deep understanding of the complexity of its social and stylistic extension in the respective parts of [Latin] America is by carrying out sociolinguistic studies in each individual region.’

2.4. The Chilean voseo

Present day Chilean Spanish has a tripartite address system with three pronominal (*tú*, *vos* and *usted*) and morphological paradigms (*tuteo*, *voseo* and *ustedeo* verb forms, respectively) for addressing 2sg interlocutors, and these can mix. The different combinations, or ‘modalities’ (*modalidades*) as they are often called in the Spanish-language literature (e.g. Torrejón, 1986: 678), of these pronominal and morphological paradigms are represented in Figure 2, below, with examples of each from the CCSS (repeated for ease of reference from 1.2 on page 2). Broadly speaking, the system is split into ‘polite’ and ‘familiar’ forms with one polite form, *usted*, and two familiar paradigms – *tuteo* and *voseo*.

While the status of *tuteo* and *voseo* as familiar forms is uncontroversial across communicative settings, *usted* (and its corresponding verb forms) is said to be used to code both intimacy in some specific contexts and politeness/distance in others, depending on the settings in which they are used (the home, the workplace, etc.) and the relationships with the interlocutors with whom they are used (friends, lovers, co-workers, strangers, etc.) (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2020, Hummel, 2010). However, intimate uses of *usted* are comparatively rare in familiar discourse compared to *tuteo* and *voseo* (see 5.2.2), and given the different and clearly defined functions of *usted*, the focus of this section will be on the familiar forms: *voseo* and *tuteo*.

Like other Spanish varieties, Chilean Spanish shows variable subject pronoun use (*tú*, *vos*, and no pronoun, henceforth: $\emptyset$); unlike many other varieties, however, there is also variable verbal agreement with the chosen pronoun, leading to mixing of the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms. Given the mixing of the paradigms, many scholars (e.g. Urdaneta 1981: 137, Morales Pettorino 1972) make an important distinction between pronominal *voseo* (the use of the pronoun *vos*) and verbal *voseo* (the use of the *voseo* verb form). The *vos* pronoun used together with verbal *voseo* is what Torrejón (1986: 678) calls the *voseo auténtico* (or authentic *voseo*); the mixing of a *tú* pronoun and a *voseo* verb form is the *voseo mixto verbal* (mixed verbal *voseo*); and a *vos* pronoun mixed with a *tuteo* verb form is called the *voseo mixto pronominal* (mixed pronominal *voseo*) (Torrejón, 1986: 678), although the latter is generally thought not to occur in Chilean Spanish, and it did not occur in the current data set (hence

the square brackets, and absence of an example in Figure 2)⁷. Despite the general interest in the literature, though, it turns out that mixing (*tú + voseo*) is relatively infrequent (see 7.5.2); though rarely discussed in the literature, both *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms occur most frequently with an unexpressed ($\emptyset$) subject. Therefore, as pronominal *voseo* (i.e. the *vos* pronoun) is very rare and typically occurs with a verb form, for simplicity, henceforth when I refer to *voseo*, I mean **verbal** *voseo*; likewise, when I refer to *tuteo*, I mean **verbal** *tuteo*.

As the mixed pronominal *voseo* (*vos + tuteo*) has been found almost never to occur, when a *tuteo* form has an unexpressed pronoun, we can assume it to be *tuteo*; however, as *voseo* verb forms can also appear with the pronoun *tú*, when a *voseo* form occurs without a pronoun, we cannot assume that the absent pronoun is also *vos*. For this reason, this study will consider the pronouns and verb forms separately, or as two separate linguistic variables. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (see 5.2.1).

(Examples repeated from Section 1.2 on page 2)

- (1) ***Tú tienes ahorros.***
You _{-TÚ} have _{-TUTEO} savings.
(CCSS; Savings; 1302; Carolina)
- (2) ***o sea vos no tenís ningún concierto***
In other words you _{-VOS} have _{-VOSEO} no concert.
(CCSS; Football; 947; Matías)
- (3) ***lo que pasa es que usted no sabe escuchar y trajo cualquier queso***
What's going on is that you _{-USTED} don't know _{-USTESEO} how to listen and brought _{-USTESEO} along any old cheese
(CCSS; Family; 2159; Fernanda)
- (4) ***..cuando tengas la posibilidad de conocer, tenís que ir.***
When you _{- $\emptyset$} have _{-TUTEO} the chance to know [the place],

⁷ Morales Pettorino (1972) mentions it, but Torrejón (1986) does not report it, nor did Helincks (2012) or Stevenson (2007: 9). Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009) finds 5 *vos* pronouns with 3267 *tuteo* verb forms, vs 28 *vos*/1078 *voseo* verb forms and 684 *tú*/3267 *tuteo* verb forms. The fact that it does not occur in the present data set could be due to the very rare occurrence of the *vos* pronoun overall.

you-Ø have-VOSEO to go.

(CCSS; Memories; 475-6; Trinidad)

(5) ... Pero **tú tenís** que trabajar po.

But you-TÚ have-VOSEO to work.

(CCSS; Cousins; 1245; Carmen)

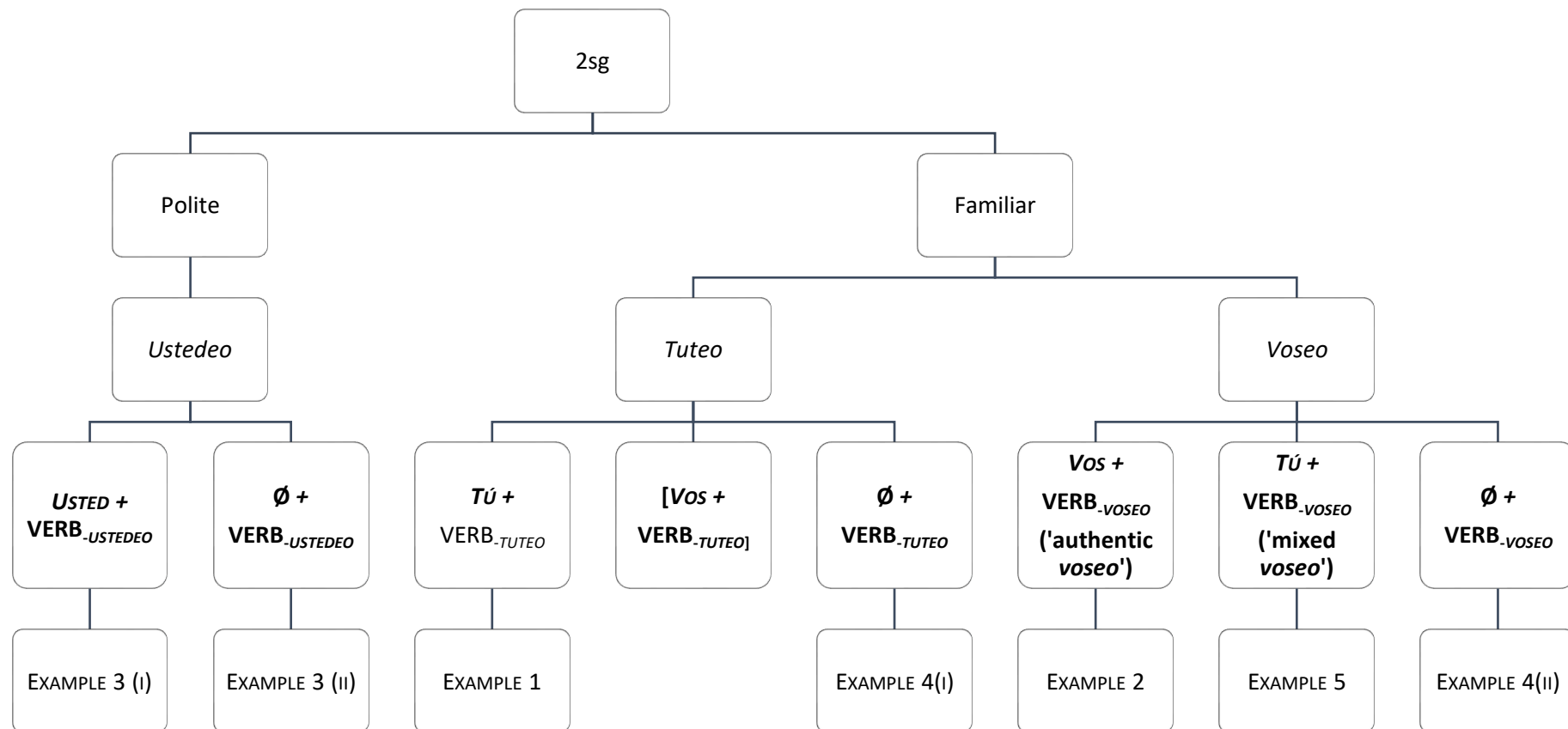


Figure 2: Combinations of Pronouns and Verb Forms in the Chilean 2sg

2.4.1. Forms of the Chilean voseo

In terms of verbal morphology, Rona (1967: 69-72) defined three types of *voseo* in the Spanish speaking world, based principally upon the forms of the present indicative in each of the types, as summarised in Table 3. The Chilean *voseo* corresponds to Rona's third type. The Chilean *voseo*, as Helincks (2010: 1) notes, is unique in its diphthongised *-ái(s)* ending, where most varieties of *voseo* correspond to Rona's second type. It is also unique in the conflation of the *-ER* and *-IR* endings into a single set of forms.

Table 3: Rona's Three Types of *voseo* (1967: 69-72)

	I (e.g. Cuba)	II (Argentina)	III (Chile)
-AR e.g. <i>mirar</i> (to look)	<i>-áis/-éis</i>	<i>-ás/-és</i>	<i>-ái(s)/-ís</i>
-ER e.g. <i>comer</i> (to eat)	<i>-éis/-áis</i>	<i>-és/-ás</i>	<i>-ís/-ái(s)</i>
-IR e.g. <i>vivir</i> (to live)	<i>-ís/áis</i>	<i>-ís/-ás</i>	<i>-ís/-ái(s)</i>
E.g.	<i>vos miráis/miréis</i>	<i>vos mirás/mirés</i>	<i>vos/tú mirái(s)/mirís</i>

The following schema represents the current paradigm for regular verbs in the Chilean *voseo* (adapted from Torrejón (1986: 678), with some edits to his schema as discussed below). Table 4 has been included not just to familiarise the reader with the forms of the Chilean *voseo*, but these forms will also be important for the purposes of analysis, transcription and when considering the variable context. Unlike most other varieties, Chilean *voseo* has separate forms (from *tuteo*) throughout most of the paradigm, sharing (syncretic) forms with *tuteo* only in the preterit, synthetic future and the imperative, whereas in most other varieties distinct *voseo* forms are limited only to the present indicative, imperative and to a lesser extent, the subjunctive.

Table 4: Chilean 2sg Verb Morphology

	-AR verbs, e.g. <i>llegar</i>		-ER/-IR verbs e.g. <i>comer</i>	
Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM)	<i>TUTEO</i>	<i>VOSEO</i>	<i>TUTEO</i>	<i>VOSEO</i>
Present indicative	<i>llegas</i>	<i>llegái</i>	<i>comes</i>	<i>comís</i>
Imperfect indicative	<i>llegabas</i>	<i>llegabai</i>	<i>comías</i>	<i>comíai</i>
Conditional	<i>llegarías</i>	<i>llegaríai</i>	<i>comerías</i>	<i>comeríai</i>
Present subjunctive	<i>llegues</i>	<i>lleguís</i>	<i>comas</i>	<i>comái</i>
Imperfect subjunctive	<i>llegaras</i>	<i>llegarai</i>	<i>comieras</i>	<i>comierai</i>
Preterit	<i>llegaste*</i>		<i>comiste*</i>	
Future	<i>llegarás*</i>		<i>comerás*</i>	
Imperative	<i>llega*</i>		<i>come*</i>	

The voseo forms ending in *-ái* or *-ai* have been written without final /s/ while the forms ending in *-ís* have been written with final /s/, as is standard in the literature and in Torrejón (1986: 678) from which this table is drawn. This spelling represents the observation that while the monophthongal forms (*-ís*) are generally aspirated (as is common more generally in Chilean Spanish), no aspiration remains (from the historical 2pl forms) on the diphthongal *-ái* or *-ai* forms where the /s/ is completely elided (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 119-20).

Traditionally the literature has described the preterit, future and the imperative (marked with an * in the table above) as having specific voseo forms. Torrejón (1986: 679) reports the oxytonic forms of the imperative (e.g. *llegá*, *comí*) with the authentic voseo, but no subsequent study attests these forms. I have never encountered them except in imitation of other dialects (particularly Argentinian speech), and there are none in the corpus for the current study. Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 159) finds only one token using the *-ís* ending of the future tense (e.g. *llegarís*, *comerís*) in 4345 tokens of 2sg) and Torrejón (2010) finds only two. Both occur in fictional dialogue, as the present continuous auxiliary (*estarís*), and in the function of conjecture. No such tokens occur in the data for the present study; indeed, there are no tokens at all of the synthetic future in the CCSS. Helincks (2012) explains this in terms of the link between the synthetic future and written registers: there is consensus that there has been a general move away from the synthetic towards the periphrastic future (*ir a* + INF) in spoken registers (e.g. Rona 1961: 144), which has meant that the synthetic future is not

transmitted in contemporary informal language where *voseo* forms are most likely to occur, and thus speakers only learn this tense, in its normative *tuteo* guise, at school.

Similarly, the preterit forms of *voseo* are often described as ending with an /s/ (e.g. *llegastes, comistes*) from the historical second person plural forms (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Torrejón, 2010). This is a particularly difficult claim given the tendency to aspirate and elide final -s in Chilean Spanish, and the tendency in non-standard speech across the Spanish speaking world (even in non-*voseo* regions) to add final /s/ to 2sg preterits, possibly as a form of hypercorrection (e.g. Moyna, 2015: 6; cf. Morales Pettorino, 1972). There was only a single token of the preterit in -stes in the data used for this study (out of 165 preterit tokens; see 5.4.1). Nor do they appear in the PRESEE data (Matus Olivier et al. (2007); see 4.2.1), and other recent studies have suggested them to be rare or non-existent (e.g. Helincks, 2010). Therefore, the *voseo* variants for all three TAMs have been replaced with the standard *tuteo* forms in Table 4, above, which are shared in both the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms. These so-called ‘syncretic’ forms will be important when it comes to calculating rates and will be discussed in further detail in 5.4.

There is also a number of irregular forms; particularly of note are the present indicative forms of the verbs *ser* and *haber*, which have more than one variant in the *voseo* paradigm, and will be discussed in terms of lexical effects in Chapter 7 (see 7.6). Even so, with the exception of their present tenses, these two verbs behave like all other irregular verbs in that they follow the same patterns as above “regularly” using the irregular stems of standard Spanish.

2.4.2. Social Deixis

“All Chilean speakers most likely use some degree of Chilean voseo. However, the styles within which it is deemed appropriate for use are clearly delimited to informal situations” – Stevenson (2007: 184).

As Hernández (2010: 813) notes, much research on forms of address in Spanish has recurred to the idea of social deixis, which he defines as “*las estructuras lingüísticas que codifican tanto la identidad social como las relaciones que se dan entre los participantes en el*

discurso”, which can “*marcar mayor o menor distancia social o afectiva entre interlocutores*”⁸. The meanings of forms of address depend upon their contexts of use: when, where and with whom an interaction takes place, and this is as true of Chilean Spanish as of any other variety. In Chilean Spanish, *voseo* is both equivalent to and different from *tuteo* – equivalent because it is used to address a 2sg familiar interlocutor in informal registers, primarily in spoken language (Hummel, 2010, Valencia Espinoza, 2006, Cautín-Epifani, 2015) (as opposed to written media); different because its forms are, morphologically, not from the 2sg (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 1). Formally, *voseo* is different from *tuteo*, but functionally, it is equivalent, though this does not mean that their use is wholly identical, as we will see in the analyses that follow. Importantly, the contexts where *tuteo* and *voseo* are used are not typically those where *usted* tends to occur, which is “by and large used according to pan-Hispanic norms” (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 417). That is, it is typically preferred in more formal situations, and with interlocutors who are not well known, or “*como marca de respeto y distancia en situaciones asimétricas, en las que priman diferencias de edad, jerarquía o estatus*” (Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017: 69)⁹. *Usted* will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (section 5.2.2), but by all accounts, does not appear to be in variation with *voseo*.

Conversely, *voseo*, (like *tuteo*) is said to be used in informal registers, primarily in spoken language. As Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 2) notes, “*mientras más informal sea el contexto de comunicación, mientras más espontánea sea la expresión del hablante, más posibilidades surgen para el voseo*”¹⁰. For example, using radio data, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 167), reports that *voseo* was used more in informal (32% *voseo*, N=64/3068) versus formal (7%; 92/1277) registers, and that 92% of the *voseo* tokens occurred in informal contexts. Helincks (2015: 740) in a metastudy of different radio and TV genres, discovered that while “*voseo* is favoured over *tuteo* in (simulated) ordinary conversational discourse”, rates of *voseo* were much lower in ‘broadcast’ discourse (with over 50% *voseo* use in the

⁸ ‘... the linguistic structures that codify both social identities and the relationships between the participants in the discourse [which can] mark greater or lesser social and emotional distance between the interlocutors’

⁹ ‘... as a way of marking respect and distance in asymmetric situations, where differences of age, hierarchy or status come to the fore’

¹⁰ ‘... the more informal the context of communication, and the more spontaneous the speaker’s expression, the greater the chances *voseo* will arise’

former, but around 33% in the latter). There was also more use in talk shows than in news interviews and political debates.

Moreover, *voseo* is unlikely to occur at all in formal registers; and except in very specific contexts, *voseo* can be considered offensive in public situations with unknown people, or those with whom one does not have sufficient *confianza* (trust, confidence, familiarity) (Hummel, 2010: 110). In both attitudinal data (Stevenson, 2007: 158) and self-reports (Kim, 2006), respondents considered *voseo* to be inappropriate at work, with much lower rates of *voseo* reported outside of family contexts (Kim, 2006: 50) and “its use outside of contexts wherein one deals with friends is not allowed” (Stevenson, 2007: 157). Interestingly, *voseo* was also avoided in children’s shows (Helincks, 2012: 201), perhaps mirroring prescriptivist attitudes towards 2sg forms which associated *tuteo* with education and correctness, if not necessarily formality (cf. Stevenson, 2007: 163). Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 418) also write that speakers reported low rates of *voseo* with children (6-7%, 80 informants). Specifically in an educational context, using attitudinal questionnaire data from 228 teachers and pedagogy students, Huerta Imposti (2011-2012: 48) found that 45% reported that they considered that *voseo* forms should be corrected in the classroom, while a further 50% considered that it warranted discussion in class.

Voseo is also said to be favoured by spontaneity in casual speech (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 148, Torrejón, 2010: 762). In a general sense, this corresponds to what Labov (e.g. 1970: 181) called the vernacular– “the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1970: 181; see 4.2). As Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 96) notes, “as an integral feature of informal registers, *voseo* will most certainly come out in moments of spontaneity – when the vernacular is activated”. However, many scholars also make reference to spontaneity at a discourse-pragmatic level, where speakers momentarily lose control of their more formal register (Torrejón, 2010: 762), and a *voseo* form ‘slips out’, before promptly correcting themselves (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012: 54, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 148).

While degree of ‘spontaneity’ is difficult to operationalise in a quantitative sense (this sort of analysis is better suited to the likes of conversational or discourse analysis), it does seem to correlate with register and degree of attention paid to speech, highlighting the

importance of recording interactions which are likely to take place in informal contexts and which favour spontaneity. A number of co-occurring linguistic features have been hypothesised to indicate the degree of 'spontaneity'. For example, Helincks (2015: 747) has suggested that the presence of discourse markers, such as *cachái* ('you know'), "that help to develop the interaction, to capture the hearers' attention" are characteristic of casual and spontaneous conversational discourse, and thus could be used as an indicator of "a binding and emotive relationship between participants", of the type conducive to the production of *voseo* forms. Similarly, Hummel (2010: 110) has suggested that the presence of 'vulgar' words such as *huevo* (dude), as well as *cachái* and *onda* (like) are indicative of orality, informality and 'vulgarity,' which are 'representative' of *voseo*.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, as well as being constrained by the discourse situation in which the interaction takes place, Chilean *voseo* is also highly sensitive to the parties involved in the interaction. While obviously related to register, interlocutor is also a key conditioning factor of *voseo*. Based on self-reports, relative age, social position and solidarity were all significant factors in the selection of 2sg forms (e.g. Kim 2006). Both the *vos* pronoun and verbal *voseo* are favoured with intimate interlocutors of a similar age with whom there is a great deal of solidarity and *confianza* (trust, confidence, familiarity) (Hummel, 2010, Stevenson, 2007: 156, Kim, 2006: 61) and as a "marker of friendship" (Stevenson, 2007: 168). Torrejón (2010: 764) describes the mixed verbal *voseo* as the "*forma no marcada para trato informal con sus pares*"¹¹ and the highest rates of *voseo* are reported with siblings and cousins, friends of the same age, parents, partners, and colleagues/classmates (Kim 2006, Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 418). Conversely, the 80 informants in Bishop and Michnowicz's (2010: 418) survey reported avoiding *voseo* with non-intimate (and older) interlocutors, favouring *usted* with grandparents (70%), professors (76%), bosses (75%) and older employees (67%).

There are also conflicting reports relating to the effect of the gender of the interlocutor. While both Kim (2006) and Bishop and Michnowicz (2010) describe relatively high (although very different) self-reported rates of *voseo* between partners, Branza (2012:

¹¹ 'unmarked form of informal address with peers'

150), also using survey data, suggested that *voseo* was disfavoured between partners, being instead characteristic of intra-male speech. Similarly, Helincks (2012: 199), based on data from a TV talk show, writes that while *voseo* was favoured to male interlocutors, it was used less with female interlocutors. She explained this “distancing” *tuteo* to female interlocutors in terms of reduced solidarity, or a sense of “gallantry” between the sexes. Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 421), however, based on survey data from 80 participants, claimed the precise opposite effect: both genders reported more *voseo* to female interlocutors than to males, (26% to males; 29% to women), although this difference was much greater just looking at female speakers (14% to males, 22% to females). The authors argue that this difference “may indicate that use of *vos* by a woman to a man may imply too much intimacy on the part of the speaker and could be seen as inappropriate” (2010: 421). Thus, they reported, *tú* was overwhelmingly preferred in these contexts (70% *tú* by female speakers to a male friend). This could be a difference between reported and actual use or an effect of the television format; only testing using naturally-occurring spontaneous data can tell us for sure.

While not strictly social deixis, region is also clearly an important factor conditioning Chilean *voseo*. Although a predominantly rural phenomenon before the middle of the twentieth century (cf. 2.5.1), *voseo* is used above all in Santiago, from whence it has spread to the rest of the country since the 1960s (e.g. Torrejón, 1986: 681). This is an important point in terms of research design, as not only is *voseo* used more frequently in the central region around Santiago (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, 2016: 106-7, Stevenson, 2007), it is also more associated with the speech of Santiago by speakers from elsewhere in Chile. In radio data, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 170) reported that Santiago favoured *voseo* (31% *voseo*; 640/2067) in relation to the other regions of the country (followed by the north (24%; 299/1253) and then the south (14%; 139/1025). As she argues, the greater occurrence of *voseo* in the central region suggests a tendency of outward expansion of this feature from the capital, “*como eje económico, cultural y demográfico*” – as the economic, cultural and demographic driver of the country (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 172). Santiago is not only the largest city in Chile, with a population of approximately seven million; it is also the central point of the country in terms of economics and politics, and “it is the point from where the homogenizing and cultural force of the country spreads” (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 97). This ‘force’ includes the linguistic standard and prestige forms, as well as the values and

changes that accompany them. Therefore, especially considering that little previous work has been done using naturally-occurring data in the capital, we should focus our efforts here.

To recap, *voseo* is predominantly used in informal registers with intimate and equal interlocutors (although there are conflicting reports regarding gender), and primarily in Santiago. These will be important considerations when it comes to Data Collection (in Chapter 4). The following section will discuss another key characteristic of Chilean *voseo* – the pragmatically unmotivated switches between *tuteo* and *voseo* within an interaction – to show that the variation is not simply a matter of different meanings, or totally dictated by social relationships.

2.4.3. Polymorphism

Social deixis alone cannot account for the variation that we see between *tuteo* and *voseo*. If the forms of address were exclusively conditioned by situational factors such as the formality of the context, and the familiarity and relative age of the interlocutors, we would not expect to see much variation within a single interaction – the chosen form of address might change, but probably not in the way we see in Chilean Spanish. The Chilean 2sg is characterised by “polymorphism” (cf. Murillo Fernández, 2003, Newall, 2012: 71) defined as “the use of more than one form within the same interaction between the same speakers” (Newall, 2016: 151); that is, not only do we see variation across speakers, contexts and interactions, but also within the discourse. In one sense, this is just another way of saying ‘variability’ as with any other linguistic variable (see 3.3). However, specifically in reference to forms of address, polymorphism offers a way of describing the switching between 2sg forms within the same interaction between the same speakers, and often within the same utterance. As Hummel (2010: 105) observes, the ease with which speakers switch between forms of address with the same person is one of the most notable characteristics of Chilean Spanish.

If the variability between *tuteo* and *voseo* cannot be explained in terms of social deixis, how then can we account for it? Usually, scholars have analysed these ‘switches’ in terms of pragmatic uses (e.g. *vos de enojo*, ‘vos of anger’, *usted de cariño*, ‘usted of affection’ etc.),

attitudinal shifts, or simply as momentary lapses in speakers' normative control. For example, Huerta Imposti (2011-12: 54) observes,

Lo que no se pudo develar con exactitud fue el uso intercalado de una forma u otra dentro de una misma oración. Hemos escuchado ejemplos del tipo: 'te subes a la micro y te bajai..., etc.' Este tipo de ejemplos fue observado en diversas ocasiones y la única explicación especulativa a la que llegamos es la conciencia de la norma que hace que el hablante cambie la forma cuando 'se da cuenta' de que está voseando o que el voseo 'se le escape' espontáneamente.¹²

Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 103) highlights the “[n]atural spontaneous shifts resulting from a situational attitude change [...] usually between *voseo/tuteo*”. The former is associated “with being spontaneous: for instance, when telling about an impactful experience” while the latter is used “to avoid ambiguities in a given statement (i.e. to be straight and clear about something), to be more empathetic and to show distance or a neutral position (especially related with confidence)” which, she argues, underlines “the linguistic markedness of *tuteo* in contrast to the naturalness of *voseo*” (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 103). Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 189) gives the example of a father switching from *voseo* to *tuteo* to correct his son's misbehaviour, while Stevenson (2007: 174-5) suggests that even amongst speakers who habitually use *voseo*, “switching to standard forms can communicate that distance has been introduced into the relationship, as a result of getting upset, etc.” Likewise, various scholars mention the so-called *vos de enojo* – the use of the *vos* pronoun to express anger, aggression or contempt (Hummel, 2010: 111, cf. Stevenson, 2007: 172-3). Conversely, Helincks (2015: 747) argues that switches from *tuteo* to *voseo* could be “a strategy to negotiate a higher degree of confidentiality” in a given moment, citing an example in a talk-show. Kluge (2005: 187) also argues that speakers switch between *tuteo* and *voseo* “*para fines estilísticos*” (‘for stylistic ends’), specifically in the context of reported speech and generic uses, whereby speakers adopt a particular attitude or express a particular identity, such as being ‘city’ or ‘rural’. Most recently, Fernández-Mallat (2020: 104) has argued “that address

¹² ‘What we were unable to fully explain was the alternating use of one form or another within a single sentence. We have heard examples like: ‘te subes a la micro y te bajai...’ [you get on_{-TUTEO} the bus and you get off_{-VOSEO}], etc. These kinds of examples were observed on numerous occasions and the only (speculative) explanation that we could arrive at was an awareness of the norm of the part of the speaker that makes them switch their form of address when they ‘realise’ they are using *voseo*, or when *voseo* spontaneously ‘slips out’.

shifts happen with both the purpose of achieving specific pragmatic goals and the intent of projecting relevant aspects of one's identity" and that "these shifts do not go unnoticed by one's interlocutors".

These pragmatic explanations are oft-repeated in the literature, yet can be contradictory and are insufficient to fully explain this kind of variation. Helincks (2015: 748) draws attention to the intraspeaker shifts between *tuteo* and *voseo*, for which "it is hard to distinguish a convincing pragmatic motivation". For example, using TV data, Helincks (2012: 206) reported that angry or contemptuous uses of *voseo* verb forms accounted for a mere 5% of occurrences of *voseo* verb forms, while 81% were solidarity-related uses (N=383), indicating that the link between *voseo* (as opposed to the *vos* pronoun) and anger is tenuous at best. She argues that in some cases "there is no clear grammatical, social, relational, thematic or pragmatic trigger that explains the shifts", and that, "this unmotivated shifting points at the process of linguistic change of *voseo* in Chile" (Helincks, 2015: 749). Furthermore, the argument that speakers do not have control over their registers falls clumsily when faced with the contention that "the variable constraints governing the sociolinguistic variables of Chilean *voseo* should be seen as part of Chilean speakers' internal grammars, and, in more general terms, that (sociolinguistic) communicative competence is part of the language faculty" (Stevenson, 2007: 221-2).

Pragmatic shifts are difficult to define operationally, and where this has been done, they have been found to be of limited explanatory power. However, some scholars have successfully operationalised them in a quantifiable and falsifiable way. For example, Hernández (2007: 706), (2010: 826) operationalised semantic-pragmatic nuances in Salvadoran Spanish in terms of TAM and speech act, finding that Salvadoran speakers use *tuteo* and *voseo* to express different illocutionary forces: *voseo* is favoured in making commands (correlating with positive imperative mood) and *tuteo* is favoured in requests (including negative imperatives) to mitigate imposition, and also in utterances expressing greater levels of uncertainty (correlating with the subjunctive mode). Hernández (2010: 827) also found that the variation in verb morphology contained much greater scope for 'semantic-pragmatic nuances' than the pronouns. Similarly, in Cali, Colombia, Murillo Fernández (2003) found that command speech acts favoured *voseo* and statement speech acts *ustedeo*.

There has been little quantitative work in this area in Chilean Spanish, and this is another area that the present study will contribute to, taking inspiration from and expanding upon these previous operationalisations to encompass other factors as well.

2.5. Variation and Change in the Chilean Second-person Singular

The previous sections have outlined the forms and combinations of the Chilean 2sg, and the way that they are said to be used in Chilean Spanish, highlighting a number of unanswered questions regarding the variation between *tuteo* and *voseo*. The following sections will present an alternative explanation for this variation, presenting evidence of a posited change in progress, as well as discussing the two related themes of stigmatisation and lack of metalinguistic awareness.

2.5.1. Language Change

The first major theme motivating this thesis is language change. This section will chart the changing sociolinguistic evaluation of *voseo* and a reported change in progress in the literature since the middle of the twentieth century. Variation between *tuteo* and *voseo* is hardly new. Seemingly indiscriminate alternation between *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms, even within a single line, was common in the (written records of) speech of the first conquistadores (example 6), and in *La Relación autobiográfica (1984 (1730))* by the nun Úrsula Suárez (Example 7; 1666-1749; generally seen as being representative of the speech of the Chilean upper class at that time):

- (6) ***No hagáis*** otra cosa si ***quieres*** que nos vamos
Don't [you-Ø] do-*VOSEO* anything else if you want-*TUTEO*, we're leaving
(Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992: 86)
- (7) ***Sois*** muy chiquita y enferma, y no ***eres*** para monja (127)
You're-*VOSEO* very slight and sickly, and you're-*TUTEO* not cut out to be a nun
(cited in Cartagena Rondanelli, 2001: 1, Suárez, 1984 (1730): 127)

And until the nineteenth century, *voseo* seems to have been vibrant in the Spanish of Chile. However, by the late nineteenth century, *voseo* (whether pronominal or verbal) was reported to have disappeared from the speech of the educated classes, becoming associated

with lack of education and the rural and urban working classes (see Section 2.5.2 below). Lenz (1940 (1891)), the first scholar to produce a systematic description of the *voseo chileno* observes early social stratification of the two paradigms, stating that “*la forma genuinamente popular en conversación amistosa*” was (still) *vos* and that “*el tratamiento con tú y segunda persona del singular no lo emplea nunca el pueblo*” who “*sólo oye[n] esta palabra en boca de las personas cultas*” (1940 (1891): 262-263)¹³. By the first half of the twentieth century, however, Oroz and Pino Saavedra described *vos* as “*rústico*” (‘rustic’) and its use as having “*disminuído mucho en la ciudad por influencia de la escuela*” (Bello, 1940 (1833): 54 - Editor’s note 2)¹⁴. In a 1954 paper on the formal and informal morphemes of Chilean Spanish, Silva-Fuenzalida (1954) mentions *voseo* only in a footnote (note 21 p. 453), stating that it was normally associated with situations of extreme familiarity and insult. Newall (2007) finds that despite a robust presence of *voseo* in three nineteenth century novels (29%, N=659), *tuteo* was categorical in three comparable early twentieth century texts, suggesting the eradication of *voseo* from educated varieties, at least in the literary medium.

If ever *voseo* was truly in decline in Chile, by the second half of the twentieth century when a proliferation of studies on the *voseo* in Latin America and Chile began to emerge (Carricaburo, 1997, Eguiluz, 1962, Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999, Kany, 1951, Morales Pettorino, 1972, Oroz, 1966, Páez Urdaneta, 1981, Rona, 1967, Silva-Fuenzalida, 1954, Torrejón, 1986, Torrejón, 1991), *vos* was making a recovery in Chile:

Contrario a la creencia común, el voseo está todavía vigente y casi general en las clases populares de nuestro país, pues tanto la gente iletrada de las ciudades y suburbios como los campesinos y medios bajos rurales lo practican corrientemente, incluso los alumnos de los liceos y estudiantes universitarios suelen tratarse de vos en su conversación familiar (Oroz, 1966: 295).¹⁵

¹³ ‘The genuinely ‘common’ form used in friendly conversation was (still) *vos* [and] the use of *tú* and the [historically] second-person singular is never used by common people [who] only hear this word from the mouths of educated speakers’

¹⁴ ‘largely diminished in the cities due to the influence of schooling’

¹⁵ ‘Contrary to common belief, *voseo* remains current and almost widespread amongst the working classes of our country, where it is presently used not only by uneducated people from the city and suburbs but by peasants and lower-middle class folk in rural areas as well. Even school and university students tend to address each other as *vos* in their familiar conversations’

By the 1970s, Morales Pettorino (1972: 261), reports ‘a state of transition’ and ‘a certain urgency regarding its study’, as increased use of *voseo* verb forms (most frequently with an unexpressed pronoun, or with *tú*) extended even to the middle and upper social classes, where it expressed closeness and solidarity. The idea that the *voseo* was “*aplebeyado y vulgar*” (‘plebeian and vulgar’) (Morales Pettorino, 1972: 261) was beginning to diminish as the new generation of students and young people began to escape the “*peso de una gramática correctiva que tuvo bastante eficacia*” (Morales Pettorino, 1972: 261)¹⁶ until the middle of the twentieth century. According to the rates reported by Morales Pettorino (1972), apparently from survey data, *tuteo* was similar in frequency to *ustedeo*, and both were about three times as frequent as *voseo*. However, he also acknowledged that his rates of *voseo* were likely lower than the actual usage, due to the “*carácter inevitablemente ‘artificial’*” (‘inevitably ‘artificial’ nature’) of surveys (272). Nonetheless, he argues, despite an increase in frequency, *voseo* continued to be “*un uso francamente minoritario*” (‘a frankly minority usage’) (Morales Pettorino, 1972: 272).

Importantly, more than 90% of the *voseo* verb forms in Morales Pettorino’s (1972) data occurred with a *tú* or a $\emptyset$ pronoun. This combination, reportedly caused by the stigmatisation and avoidance of the *vos* pronoun (see 2.5.2 Stigmatisation), is what Torrejón (1986: 677) calls the mixed verbal *voseo* (*tú* + VERB-*VOSEO*), or the Chilean *voseo culto*. According to Torrejón (1986: 678) in the 1980s, the authentic *voseo* (*vos* + VERB-*VOSEO*) was common in rural areas and amongst the lower social classes in urban areas such as Santiago. However, the mixed verbal *voseo* (*tú* + VERB-V) was also increasingly used especially amongst younger educated and semi-educated groups. Torrejón (1986: 681) attributes the increased prominence of the mixed verbal *voseo* amongst educated young people (after having first been adopted by their elders in the 1950s and 60s), to three processes: (1) the breaking down of class barriers and a greater sense of egalitarianism in Chilean society; (2) young people’s desire to distance themselves linguistically from their parents; and (3) the reduced impact of normative language teaching in education; to which I would add a fourth: increased contact between speakers of different groups in institutions such as high schools and universities. Like

¹⁶ ‘the weight of a corrective grammar that was fairly effective’

Morales Pettorino (1972) before him, he wondered if the *voseo mixto* verbal might one day replace the *tuteo* as the "*norma universal de tratamiento de los chilenos cultos en situaciones informales y familiares*"¹⁷ (Torrejón, 1986: 682). However, Torrejón's (1986) study draws heavily on his own intuitions and observations, and does not provide details about the data his analyses drew upon.

In the decades since Torrejón (1986), there has been a proliferation of studies on the Chilean *voseo* (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Fernández-Mallat, 2011, Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Fernández-Mallat, 2020, Helincks, 2010, Helincks, 2012, Helincks, 2015, Kluge, 2005, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Rivadeneira Valenzuela and Clua, 2011, Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017, Stevenson, 2007), perhaps in response to the open questions and untested claims left by earlier largely impressionistic studies. The reported change in progress, initially described by Morales Pettorino (1972) in the 1970s, has largely been supported by recent studies, which have shown *voseo* to be overwhelmingly favoured by younger speakers relative to older speakers, in accordance with the Apparent Time Construct (see Chapter 3) (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 139-40; 142). There has also been shown to be a difference in evaluation of the *vos* pronoun between generations with younger speakers (14-26) reporting more positive attitudes towards *vos* than older speakers (45-70) (Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 579-580). Studies divide their age groups differently, but typically there is reference made to the youth of the 1960s and 70s as having initiated this change (e.g. Branza, 2012: 147, Torrejón, 1986: 680), but then having reduced their use in their middle age, and it is the subsequent generation, their children, who have truly carried this change forward and made it their own.

There is considerable variation in terms of rates, however, between studies conducted at different times and using different methods and data types. The majority of recent studies have used questionnaire data (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Branza, 2012, Hummel, 2010, Kim, 2006, Rona, 1967, Rouse, 2010, Valencia Espinoza, 2006). Questionnaires can be problematic for the study of linguistic variables, particularly stigmatised variables like *voseo* (see 2.5.2 and 4.2), because they tend to capture speakers' implicit (and in some cases,

¹⁷ 'universal standard form of address for educated Chileans in informal and familiar situations.'

explicit) attitudes about language use and linguistic forms (i.e. what they think they should say), rather than actual usage. Consequently, speakers often underreport actual levels of use with stigmatised variables (cf. 2.5.2), especially when written surveys are used to address oral features, such as the case with Chilean *voseo*.

To address these issues, other scholars have used role plays and matched-guise tests (Stevenson, 2007), literature (Della Costanza, 2011, and older studies, such as Eguiluz, 1962, Newall, 2007, Oroz, 1966), corpora of both scripted and more naturalistic data from television (Helincks, 2010, Helincks, 2012, Helincks, 2015, Torrejón, 2010), radio (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Rivadeneira Valenzuela and Clua, 2011) and Facebook (Cautín-Epifani, 2015, Cautín-Epifani and Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2018). Although closer to the vernacular, and potentially more reliable than survey data, these genres are nevertheless distinct from spontaneous speech.

Literature, even when it attempts to emulate the vernacular, is a written style mediated by the rules of written language as much as those of spoken language and, as such, is only ever an imitation of the spoken vernacular. As Stevenson (2007: 77) notes, “by their very nature, literary sources involve secondary or impressionistic, even stereotypical portraits of language behaviour”, especially with exclusively oral forms like the Chilean *voseo*. Even when used in the written mode, as in Cautín-Epifani’s (2015) study of *voseo* on Facebook (cf. also Cautín-Epifani and Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2018), where its use approximates and shares many of the characteristics of spoken speech, it is still, to a certain extent, mediated by the rules of written language, as evidenced by the considerably lower rate of *voseo* reported when compared to studies using spontaneous spoken language. As shown in Figure 3, below, in comparison to 33% *voseo* in Cautín-Epifani and Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2018: 60), rates in spontaneous data range from 37% in the South of Chile (Kluge, 2005) to 87% in Santiago (Fernández-Mallat, 2018).

Scripted TV and radio are both filtered through the mind of the author and also the performer. As such, scripted genres, like surveys, may be more of a reflection of how the producer of that material thinks people speak, or even how they think they *should* speak, than of actual usage. Nonetheless, the fact that *voseo* is used in TV and radio at all is an important finding, indicative of the greater acceptance of the *voseo* verbal in Chilean society, a point

made repeatedly by Helincks (2012, 2015) and Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009). Some studies have also used unscripted dialogue in television and radio programming, which perhaps offer a better snapshot of real language use than scripted material. Nonetheless, TV and radio are always mediated by the conventions of the highly specific and rule-governed context in which they are realised. Helincks (2015: 739) quotes Scannell (1991: 11-12, note 3): “its performances are self-conscious and self-reflexive” and “there is nothing in the discourses of radio and television that is not motivated, that is not intended to generate inference about what is being said by virtue of how it is being said”. Of radio data, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 147) observes that the situational context of radio disfavors *voseo* as a much greater degree of attention is paid to the way of speaking (“*se atiende la forma de hablar en un grado much más elevado*”) i.e. these contexts actively limit the production of the vernacular where the *voseo* is likely to occur.

Very little work has been done using genuinely spontaneous speech data. Oyanedel and Samaniego (1998-1999) combine corpus data with radio and television data in a more general study of the permeation of non-standard features into the Chilean *habla culta* (educated speech variety), of which *voseo* is just one, and addressed only briefly. Similarly, Uber (2010) used a combination of data sources (participant observer, recordings of spontaneous speech, notes of observations and discussions and a questionnaire) to analyse the pragmatics of work situations in Santiago and Buenos Aires using conversational analysis. Kluge (2005), Fernández-Mallat (2011) and Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016) used sociolinguistic interviews to study the Chilean *voseo* but, notably, did not use data from Santiago, where this feature is both said to be most vigorous, and from where it is said to be spreading. Most recently, Fernández-Mallat (2018: 70) has analysed a corpus of informal spontaneous conversations recorded between 2012 and 2014 with 20 friends and family members born, raised and resident in Santiago, allowing for careful examination of the variation in the 386 2sg tokens presented. Drawing on a larger sample for this thesis allows for the examination of a greater range of (particularly linguistic) conditioning factors (see Chapters 4 and 6).

Given the reports of change in progress in the literature but the dearth of studies using genuine spontaneous data, there is still much to be learned about the real usage of *voseo* (Hummel, 2010: 119), which can only be accessed through studies using spontaneous data (this will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3). The first research question relates to the claims

of change in progress: how advanced is the change and how has it affected the grammar of Chilean Spanish? Assuming change has taken place, what are the social and linguistic factors conditioning it, and what can they tell us about how it has spread through the linguistic system?

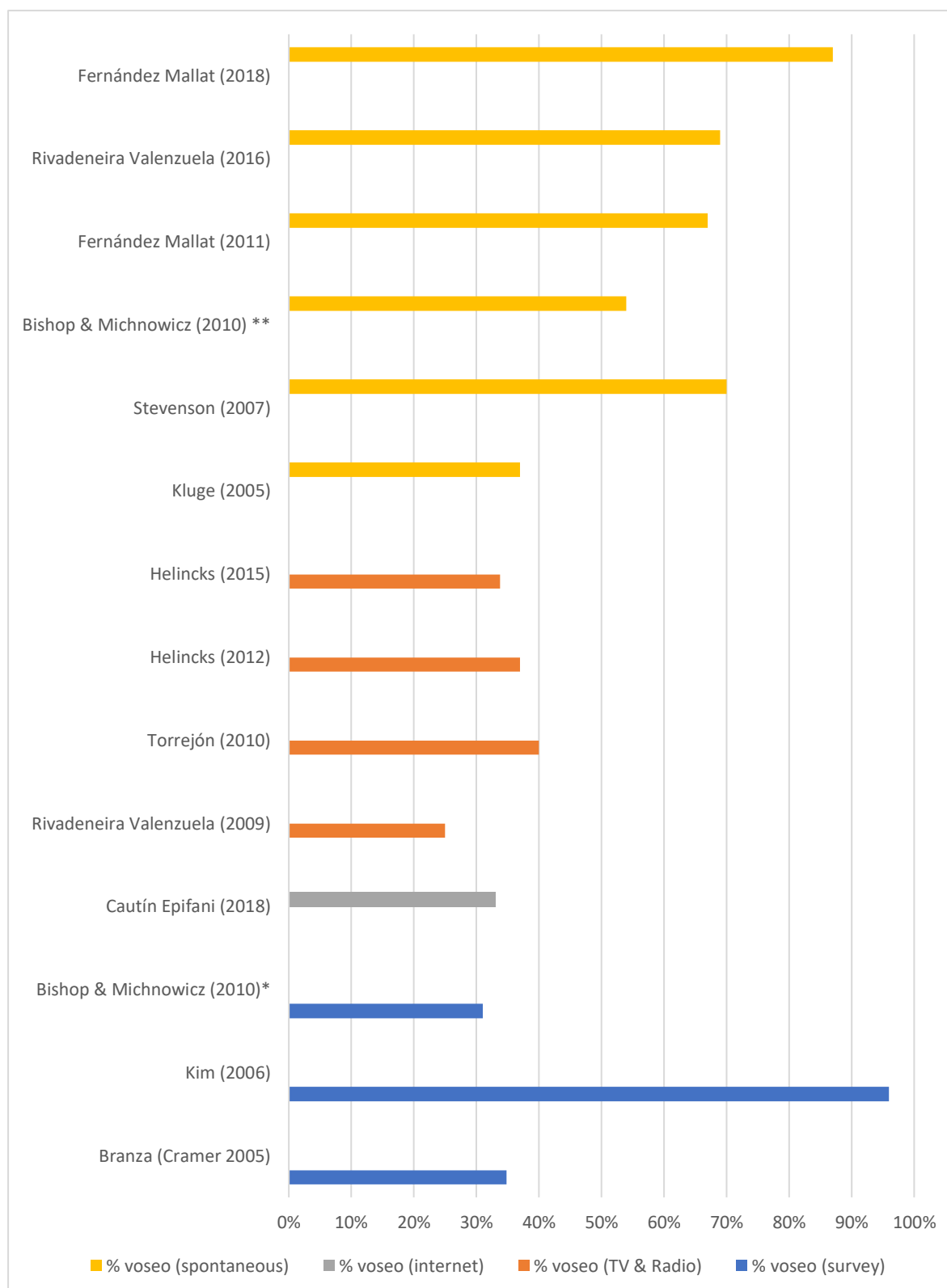


Figure 3: Reported Rates of voseo (vs tuteo) in Previous Studies of the Chilean 2sg

(Branza (Cramer 2005): 281 speakers; Kim (2006): 40 speakers (university students with siblings); Bishop & Michnowicz (2010): 81 speakers (questionnaire; with siblings); Cautín Epifani (2018): 90 participants, 807 tokens (excl. used); Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009): 225 speakers, 4345 tokens (excl. used); Torrejón (2010): 596 tokens (excl. used); Helincks (2012): 1049 tokens (excl. used); Helincks (2015): 11 speakers; 249 tokens (excl. used); Kluge (2005): 32 speakers, 689 tokens (excl. used); Stevenson (2007): 170 speakers, 3700 tokens (incl. used); Bishop & Michnowicz (2010): 350 tokens (informal observations); Fernández Mallat (2011): 8 speakers 371 tokens (with Chileans) (excl. used); Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016): 72 speakers, 4567 tokens (excl. used); Fernández Mallat (2018): 20 speakers, 386 tokens (excl. used)

2.5.2. Stigmatisation

*“El trato de vos es un uso claramente estigmatizado en el habla común”
(Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 579)¹⁸.*

Ever since the first largely prescriptive account by Andrés Bello (Bello, 1940 (1833)) (cf. Oroz, 1966: 26), *voseo* has been described as a stigmatised form in Chile. In his *Advertencias sobre el uso de la lengua castellana dirigidas a los padres de familia, profesores de colegios y maestros de escuelas* (Bello, 1940 (1833))¹⁹, Bello lamented and sought to correct the use within the uneducated classes of a number of features of what is today called the *voseo*, (although he does not use that term): ‘vicio’ “*al paso que grave y grosero, se ha hecho excesivamente común en este país*” (Bello, 1940 (1833): 55)²⁰. In his *Gramática*, nearly 60 years later, Bello (1981 (1891): 76) writes “*El vos de que se hace tanto uso en Chile en el diálogo familiar, es una vulgaridad que debe evitarse, y el construirlo con el singular de los verbos una corrupción insoportable*”.²¹

Some scholars go so far as to credit Bello almost singlehandedly with the stigmatisation of *voseo*, which had remained vibrant in Chilean Spanish since colonial times (e.g. Della Costanza, 2011: 60). However, it is unlikely that Bello’s prescriptive efforts were as successful as he would have liked, and certainly other social and linguistic forces would have been at play. Nonetheless, most scholars agree that by the twentieth century, *vos* “*se desprestigió al punto de constituirse en un síntoma de vulgaridad, incultura y rusticidad*” (Torrejón, 1986: 680)²².

However, few scholars have defined what stigmatisation actually means. The OED (2019) defines “stigmatised” as “Marked with a stigma (literal or figurative); branded; marked

¹⁸ ‘Addressing someone as *vos* is a clearly stigmatised usage in common speech’

¹⁹ ‘Warnings about the use of the Spanish language, written for parents and primary and secondary school teachers’

²⁰ ‘... vice which, both inexcusable and crude, has become overly common in this country’

²¹ ‘The *vos* that is used so much in Chile in familiar dialogue is a vulgarity that must be avoided, and its construction with the singular [form] of the verb an insufferable corruption’

²² ‘became maligned to the point of constituting a symptom of bad taste, ignorance and rusticity’

with infamy, severely censured.” In the case of linguistics, then, stigmatisation refers to those linguistic forms the use of which carries the potential for some form of negative social consequences or censure. In less abstract terms, this usually means that use of these forms associates the speaker with certain characteristics or groups in society which are undesirable, and which might discount the speaker from opportunities they might otherwise have enjoyed. Consequently, these forms typically become associated with those speakers with the least social and economic power. In the Chilean context, *voseo* has traditionally been associated with the uneducated urban and rural classes (see 2.5.1), and this has led to the descriptions of stigmatisation.

However, the sociolinguistic evaluation of the *vos* pronoun and the *voseo* verb forms differs (although speakers are not always consciously aware of this fact) and these negative associations are more strongly related to the pronoun than the verb forms which often ‘hide’ under the guise of *tuteo* when accompanied by the *tú* pronoun (Carricaburo, 1997: 34) – Torrejón’s (1986: 677) *voseo culto*. As Stevenson (2007: 93) notes, “the use of *vos* as the second-person singular pronoun is more sociolinguistically marked” than the associated verb forms. Indeed, this has probably been the case since the 1960s and, in all likelihood, much earlier: Eguiluz (1962: 173) observed that while the *vos* pronoun was infrequent, particularly amongst educated speakers, the *voseo* verb forms were widespread in familiar and ‘vulgar’ speech, especially in common expressions such as “-¿Cómo estái?, -¿Tai loca?” [‘how are-*VOSEO* - you-Ø?, Are-*VOSEO* you-Ø crazy?}]’)

This differential evaluation is also evident in the relative rates of the *vos* pronoun and the *voseo* verb forms. Few quantitative studies have focussed on pronoun usage, perhaps due to the infrequent nature of the *vos* pronoun, particularly in spontaneous speech, and the fact that they are often conflated with the verb forms in surveys. Only Stevenson (2007) has analysed the verb forms and the pronouns as two separate sociolinguistic variables (see 5.2.1). However, the studies that have looked at the pronoun have found them to be exceedingly rare. For example, using questionnaire data, Valencia Espinoza (2006: 573-577), writes that her survey participants reported using the *vos* pronoun only 1.5% of the time (compared to 41% *tú* and 45% *usted*; 13% did not respond), while reported use was higher in males and young (20-26) and lower class speakers. Although these are reported rather than

actual rates, and we know that Chilean speakers have little metalinguistic awareness about *voseo* (see 2.5.3), in spontaneous data, too, the *vos* pronoun is hardly used at all. Indeed, Helincks (2012: 209), suggests that the use of the *vos* pronoun is in “*vías de extinción*” (‘an endangered species’). Rates of pronominal *vos* expression in spontaneous studies (as a proportion of *voseo* verb forms) range from 0% (N=764) to 7% (N=2590) (Kluge 2005: 174; Stevenson 2007: 134, respectively), while rates of pronominal *tú* expression (as a proportion of *tuteo* verb forms) range from 21% (N=3267 *tuteo*) to 27% (N=666 *tuteo*) (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 148; Helincks 2012: 193, respectively).

Low rates of the *vos* pronoun are drawn into even sharper contrast when compared with rates of frequent *voseo verb forms* in these and other studies. While the rates of *voseo* verb forms vary greatly between studies using different sources of spontaneous data, they range from 25% (N=4345) in radio programmes (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 146) to 87% (N=386) in informal spontaneous conversations (Fernández Mallat, 2018: 70) – decidedly higher than the reported (and actual) rates of *vos* pronoun use (see Figure 3). While not conclusive on its own, this mismatch in rates (not only between the *tú* and *vos* pronouns, but between the *vos* pronoun and the *voseo* verb forms) is consistent with the claim that there is a greater deal of stigmatisation associated with the *vos* pronoun than with the *voseo* verb forms.

Of course, low rates of use alone are not evidence of stigmatisation. However, they are often accompanied by explicit negative evaluations by speakers in qualitative studies (e.g. Stevenson, 2007, Hummel, 2010) and reinforced by descriptions by scholars. As Valencia Espinoza (2006: 579) argues: “*El trato de vos es un uso claramente estigmatizado en el habla común – debido, sincrónicamente, a su precedencia popular*”²³. Stevenson (2007: 163) cites examples of informants who describe the use of *voseo* verb forms as “*hablar mal*” (speaking badly), rebuke it or deny using it at all (whether or not this is the case; see 2.5.3 below). As Hummel (2010: 112) observes, “*el escaso uso que se hace de vos en Chile no es un simple*

²³ ‘Addressing someone as *vos* is a clearly stigmatised usage in everyday speech – due, synchronically, to its lower-class past’

reflejo de la tendencia pro-drop del español, sino también la consecuencia de las connotaciones negativas de su uso explícito”²⁴.

While many speakers use or admit to using the verb forms, the pronoun is frequently associated with lack of education or ability to express oneself (Hummel, 2010: 109, Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 579-80, Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 424), and has been shown to be more frequently associated with male speech (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 135, Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 574), as is often the case with non-prestigious and stigmatised variants (e.g. Labov (2001: 266), Trudgill (1974: 69); see 3.5.3, below). Similarly, *vos* is often reported to be limited to highly specific ‘negative’ pragmatic uses, such as the so-called *vos* of anger/insult (Hummel 2010: 111) associated with anger, aggression or contempt (Helincks, 2015: 737, Stevenson, 2007: 172-3; Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 579), and the jocular *vos* of solidarity and humour (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 151). These negative connotations and the “image of use” (Hummel, 2010: 111) of *vos* as an uneducated, male form used in anger or to show contempt are consistent with claims of stigmatisation given the historical trajectory of *voseo* (as the form used by the conquerors to those they considered their inferiors), but they have been difficult to verify empirically. In data taken from scripted television (Rouse, 2010, Torrejón, 2010, Helincks, 2012), the *vos* pronoun is used by those characters who are associated with this image of use: lower-class male speakers when they are angry. However, Helincks (2012: 194) noted that the *vos* pronoun was categorically used in fictional interactions (in telenovelas, but not in talkshows or news interviews, for example). Although they attribute this to the nature of the conversations in telenovelas imitating everyday language, versus the more formal nature of other show types, in which “*ninguna persona real lo considera apropiado en la televisión*” (‘No real person considers it appropriate on television’) (Helincks, 2012: 200), it is telling that in both studies the image of use was not replicated by real usage.

In spontaneous data, the *vos* pronoun is usually too rare to make generalisations or to show any kind of systematicity. However, using data from role-plays, Stevenson (2007: 135) found that only 29 of the 170 speakers in his data set used *vos* (194 tokens), and they were

²⁴ ‘The scarce usage of *vos* in Chile is not simply a reflection of the pro-drop tendency in Spanish, but also a direct consequence of the negative connotations associated with its explicit use’

predominantly male and almost all under 24 years of age²⁵. Furthermore, they were more likely to use *vos* in the role-play situations which involved conflict – a robbery and a situation of anger – than in those that did not. However, given the artificiality of these situations, these too could be reflections of the image of use associated with the *vos* pronoun, perhaps explaining the high number of occurrences in his data set. Even if some stigmatisation remains, this image of use seems to be less marked for younger generations (Valencia Espinoza, 2006: 579), as suggested by the favouring of *vos* by the younger speakers and university students in Stevenson’s study. Stevenson (2007: 180) suggests that the “second-order indexicality” of lower-class speech has changed diachronically, losing its negative stigma and coming simply to mark solidarity and youth.

Given the claims regarding change in progress and the breaking down of social barriers in Chilean society, the question arises: how do present-day speakers in Chile orient to *voseo* forms, and do they still carry with them the stigmatisation of their past? Considering the differential sociolinguistic evaluation of the pronoun and the verb forms, a further question is whether any stigmatisation is limited to the *vos* pronoun, or whether it is associated with the verb forms as well. Finally, these claims of stigmatisation are relevant for the kind of data that is required to study the Chilean *voseo*. If speakers know that *voseo* is ‘stigmatised’ this is likely to effect the way that they respond when asked about how they use it and the way that they use it when they know they are being observed. This is discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁵ Stevenson’s data set consisted of an evenly distributed “intergenerational sample” of 96 speakers stratified by age (2 groups: (i) teens and university students; (ii) adults and parents), social class (3 groups) and gender, as well as 74 additional speakers from university student and church communities (30 males, 28 females, 16 not reported). In total, there were 78 males 76 females, 16 not reported; and 114 young speakers and 56 older speakers.

2.5.3. Lack of Metalinguistic Awareness

“Los hablantes del voseo culto no se consideraban a sí mismos hablantes voseantes.” (Hummel, 2010: 112)²⁶

While most studies have focused on (reported) usage, which obliquely targets speakers’ attitudes, a few studies (e.g. Stevenson, 2007; Huerta Imposti, 2011-12) have also conducted attitudinal surveys which can inform us about the explicit values and metalinguistic knowledge that speakers hold about the variants of the Chilean 2sg. One of the main findings, apart from the negative attitudes towards *voseo* discussed in 2.5.2 above, is that Chileans often have very little explicit metalinguistic awareness about *voseo* – that is, the ability to recognise and describe the features of their language use. Not only do they underreport using *voseo* forms in survey responses (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 66) but when asked directly they often do not know what it is; explicitly deny using it at all; associate *voseo* exclusively with the *vos* pronoun and not the verb forms (often considering these to be *tuteo* as they are more often used with the pronoun *tú*); or associate it with Argentina.

Firstly, there is a discrepancy between reported rates of use in survey data and rates of use in spontaneous data, with speakers tending to underreport their usage of *voseo* in comparison with their actual linguistic behaviour. For example, Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 424) observe that the reported use of *voseo* was much lower (five times lower) in their questionnaire than in their informal observations and recordings of actual usage. The authors account for this difference in terms of speakers reporting the form they perceive as correct, and the greater salience of the written form of the verb.

This is also evident in the gradually increasing rates by form of data collection method from most to least degree of attention. Figure 4, below (cf. Fernández-Mallat, 2018: Figure 3, p. 76), shows the rates of *voseo* in various previous studies using different data collection

²⁶ ‘The speakers who used the *voseo culto* [*tú + voseo*] did not consider themselves to be *voseo* users’

types from surveys (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010) through to conversational data (Fernández-Mallat, 2018). The rates are not totally comparable as the situational and relational characteristics differ across studies (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz's (2010) questionnaire data include formal situations and interactions with unknown interlocutors, and Helinck's (2012) TV data include various genres from telenovelas to news etc.), but the point holds that rates differ according to data collection method, with the lowest rates in explicit questionnaires and more monitored styles of speech (e.g. radio).

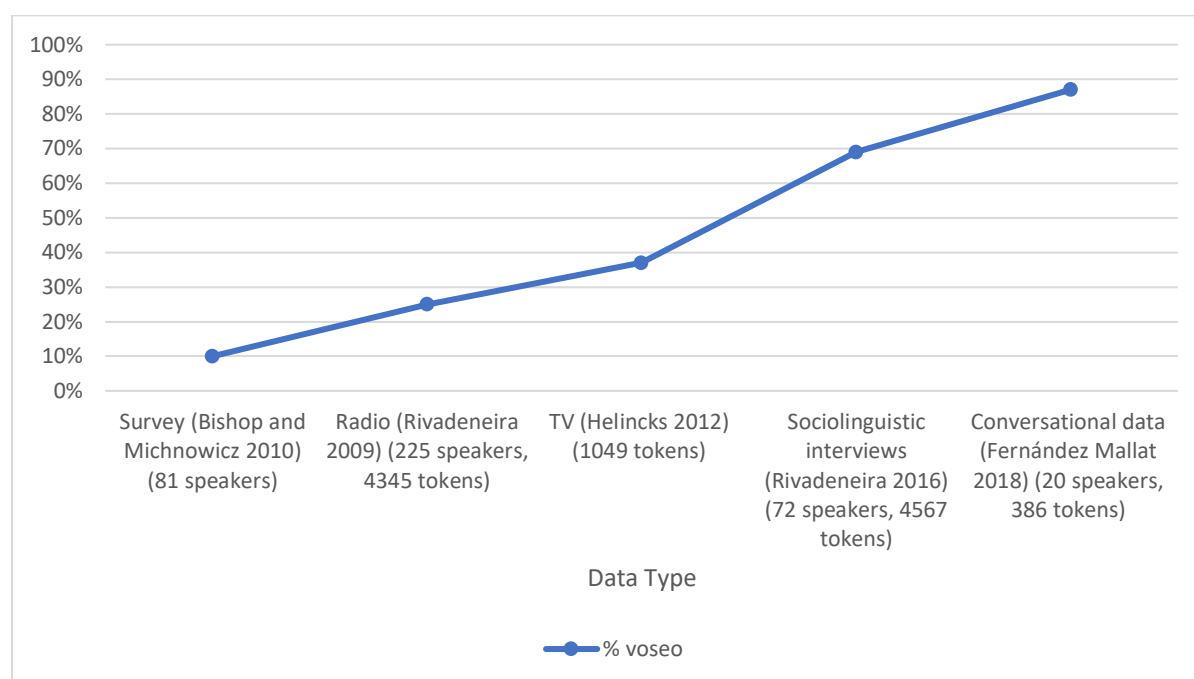


Figure 4: Rate of Chilean voseo (vs tuteo) by Data Type (Adapted from Fernández-Mallat (2018: 76))

This underreporting is mirrored in attitudinal studies where speakers deny using *voseo* despite ample evidence to the contrary. For example, despite admitting using *voseo* verb forms some of the time when given example sentences (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-12, Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010 etc.), when asked whether they used *voseo* some speakers categorically deny using it at all (e.g. Hummel, 2010: 110). Speakers also frequently deny switching between forms, (see 2.4.3, above). In her survey, Huerta Imposti (2011-12: 45) found that only 60% of the 228 informants admitted to switching ‘interchangeably’ (*indistintamente*) between *tuteo* and *voseo* forms (given the examples of *hablas/hablái* ‘you-Ø *speak*-*tuteo* / you-Ø *speak*-*voseo*’), and over a third denied outright that they used both forms in a single communicative context. Similarly, Hummel (2010: 118) found that of 15 respondents, seven denied switching their form of address at all, some of them “*con énfasis fuerte*”

(‘strongly’); only a single informant acknowledged switching between *tuteo* and *voseo* (with her sister). Hummel notes that, “*Curiosamente, la tradición muy arraigada de cambiar el trato de la misma persona según la situación o para marcar cambios de actitud en una misma situación casi no se observa en los datos del cuestionario*”²⁷ (2010: 118). Amusingly, both Stevenson (2007: 165) and Hummel (2010: 110) observed speakers who, when asked directly, sincerely reprimanded the use of *voseo* verb forms, but who subsequently used those same forms, at times almost categorically.

While no doubt related to the claims of stigmatisation discussed above (i.e. speakers consciously report lower rates because that is what they think is correct) this disconnect between what speakers say they do and what they do in practice is also likely a product of speakers’ lack of explicit metalinguistic knowledge about *voseo*. Unlike in Argentina, where *voseo* is a standard form (e.g. Lipski (1994: 141)), *voseo* is not taught in Chilean schools, and speakers often do not know what *voseo* is, or even that they use it at all. As, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 1) observes, “*si se le pregunta a un chileno por su tan característico ‘voseo’, probablemente no sepa ni siquiera qué significa esta palabra, y jamás la asociaría con la forma pronominal vos ni con terminaciones verbales específicas*”²⁸.

While this is anecdotal, Huerta Imposti (2011-2012) has shown, in her attitudinal study, that even language teachers, and students training to become teachers report shockingly little explicit knowledge about *voseo*. While 92% of the 228 informants reported using *voseo* verb forms²⁹ (Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012: 44), 21% did *not* associate the example verb forms they were shown with the *voseo*, while a further 39% did not know or did not respond (Huerta Imposti, 2011-12: 52). This was more pronounced among the older speakers (teachers) than the younger speakers (students). Furthermore, 45% of informants said *voseo*

²⁷ ‘Curiously, the deeply rooted tradition of switching forms of address with the same interlocutor depending on the situation, or to mark changes in attitude within a given situation, is virtually unobserved in survey data.’

²⁸ ‘if one was to ask a Chilean about their so-characteristic ‘voseo’, they probably wouldn’t even know what that word meant, let alone associate it with the *vos* pronoun or with the specific [*voseo*] verb endings’

²⁹ When asked: “¿Ud. dice alguna vez, por ejemplo, *hablai, tení, viví*, en lugar de *hablas, tienes, vives*?” (‘Do you. *USTED* ever say-*USTED*, for example, *hablai, tení, viví*, (you-Ø speak-*VOSEO*, you-Ø have-*VOSEO*, you-Ø live-*VOSEO*) instead of *hablas, tienes, vives*? (‘you-Ø speak-*TUTEO* you-Ø have-*TUTEO*, you-Ø live-*TUTEO*’)’

verb forms should be corrected if overheard (p. 48) and 54% thought they were a recently emerged form (Huerta Imposti, 2011-12: 51).

Perhaps the most telling result of all was the fact that only 40% considered Chile to be a *voseo* using country, while more than half did not know or did not respond (Huerta Imposti, 2011-12: 53-4). This last statistic can perhaps be explained by the general association of *voseo* with Argentine speech. Torrejón (1986: 682) described the perception of authentic *voseo* as an “*argentinismo*”. Stevenson (2007:172) states that “for many speakers, the use of *vos* carries first-order indexicality of Argentine speech” and that, despite evolving from the same historical forms “Chileans, however, do not associate the *voseo* morphology as evidenced in Argentina with that of Chilean *voseo*.” Participants in Hummel’s (2010: 110) attitudinal study, described Chile as a *tuteo*-using country while *voseo* was used by Argentinians, and in Chile only in the lower classes, by almost no one. Indeed, the lack of metalinguistic knowledge is such that some speakers seem not even to associate the *vos* pronoun in Chile with the *vos* used in Argentina. Rouse (2010: 43) cites a speaker who distinguishes between the *vos* used in Argentina and the *voh* (with aspirated final /s/) used in Chile, and how these seem to be interpreted as completely different words, with the latter being “*unicamente chileno*”.

Furthermore, many speakers seem not to associate the *voseo* verb forms with the *vos* pronoun as they associate the phenomenon of “*voseo*” first and foremost with the more salient *vos* pronoun (e.g. Stevenson 2007: 167). According to Bertolotti (2015: 19), this is because *vos*, as a lexical item, is more salient to speakers than the *voseo* inflectional morphology, as a more abstract grammatical category. Hummel (2010) argues that “*Los hablantes del voseo culto [tú + voseo] no se consideraban a sí mismos hablantes voseantes*” (p. 112) and that, “*parece incluso que los hablantes entienden la pregunta de si se usa el voseo como si voseo se refiriera al uso del pronombre vos*” (p. 111)³⁰. Huerta Imposti (2011-12: 54) refers to the “*invisibilización*” of *voseo* as a result of stigmatization, whereby speakers are often entirely unaware that their own use of the *voseo* verb forms is, in fact, *voseo*, because

³⁰ ‘The speakers who used the *voseo culto* [tú + voseo] did not consider themselves to be *voseo* users’ [...] and ‘it even seems to be the case that speakers understand the question about whether they use *voseo* as if it referred [only] to use of the *vos* pronoun’

they tend not to use them with the *vos* pronoun. Indeed, speakers often refer to the use of *voseo* verb forms as *tuteo* (e.g. Carricaburo, 1997: 34), likely because they typically use the *tú* (or no) pronoun with the *voseo* verb forms (the so-called mixed verbal *voseo* or *voseo culto*) rather than the *vos* pronoun (the so-called authentic *voseo*) (see 2.4.1).

Taking this argument further, Stevenson (2007: 163-167) reported that “(most) native speakers are entirely unaware of the fact that [*voseo*] systematically functions as an alternative morphological system in spoken Chilean Spanish alongside that of standard language forms [i.e. *tuteo*]” but referred instead to *voseo* verb forms as “*palabras*” (words), “*modismos*” (slang) o “*hablar mal*” (speak badly). And yet speakers seem to be aware, at least to some extent, that they use *voseo*, even if they do not know how to describe it. For example, Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 418) cite the lowest reported rate of *voseo* in survey data with foreigners (1-2% *voseo*; 80 participants), while, in spontaneous data, Fernández-Mallat (2011: 47) found that Chilean migrants to Montreal (2 interviews each with 8 informants) were sensitive to the presence or otherwise of other Chileans in the interaction, favouring the use of *voseo* with their fellow citizens (67% *voseo*; N=371) vs 83% *tuteo* (N=212) in presence of non-Chileans.

Although for non-linguists, lack of explicit knowledge about language (i.e. metalinguistic awareness) is perhaps not unusual, what is less clear is the degree of implicit awareness that speakers have about forms as evident in their actual language use. Given the context of language change, stigmatisation, and the lack of metalinguistic awareness that these studies have shown, the question arises of whether Chilean Spanish speakers are able to separate *tuteo* and *voseo* as two separate paradigms in their internal grammars, or whether, as a result of long-term mixing, *tuteo* and *voseo* have lost their analysability as separate paradigms and have merely become alternate forms of a single 2sg paradigm. Additionally, if they do not distinguish between the verb forms, what role do the pronouns have to play in this situation? The degree to which speakers are sensitive to and able to manage the variability between these two paradigms is the third major theme of this study.

2.6. Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the research on the 2sg in Latin American and Chilean Spanish. Starting with the origins of *vos* as a singular form in Latin, it charted its trajectory through medieval Spanish and into contemporary Latin American Spanish dialects. It discussed how it is widespread throughout the continent despite generally negative evaluations, exclusion from official usage and a lack of knowledge about the forms, although there are also exceptions to this, such as in Argentina where *vos* is the standard 2sg familiar form. It also highlighted how, while the specific sociolinguistic situation in Chile is different from other *voseo* varieties, there are also many similarities: it occurs in binary and tripartite systems, and these are generally unstable and undergoing processes of change, sometimes leading to mixing of the paradigms. The 2sg is often a locus of social meaning: *voseo* can be used to mark national and social boundaries and communicate subtle pragmatic cues and these can differ between varieties. Crucially, social deixis is only one part of the equation.

Having looked at *voseo* in other dialects, the chapter turned to the Chilean *voseo* – what it looks like and how it works. It described the different ‘modalities’, or possible combinations of pronouns and verb forms, and how the Chilean *voseo* is characterised in the literature by mixing of the paradigms, particularly the so-called mixed verbal *voseo* or *voseo culto*: a *tú* pronoun with a *voseo* verb form. However, it also drew attention to the often-overlooked role of the null pronoun in this equation and how this is actually the most frequent ‘modality’. The following section described the unique verbal morphology of the Chilean *voseo*, highlighting the fact that, unlike in other *voseo* varieties, it operates throughout the TAM system, with the exception of a number of TAM which have syncretic forms (shared by both *tuteo* and *voseo*), namely the preterit, the synthetic future and the imperative. This has important ramifications for defining the variable context, as about a third of the data has to be set aside as it shows no variation in forms. This will be returned to in Chapter 5.

The discussion of social deixis established *voseo* as a familiar singular form, used in informal contexts, between people of the same age who know each other well, and most strongly rooted in the capital, Santiago. These insights are useful as they will play a major role in the design of the data collection (Chapter 4). It noted the polymorphism (or variability) in the use of Chilean *voseo* (and *tuteo*) within the same interactions and, crucially, argued that

the variation in the Chilean 2sg cannot be explained exclusively in terms of social deixis and pragmatic nuances.

Finally, it turned to some of the claims made in the literature about the status of the Chilean *voseo*, identifying three overarching (interrelated) themes which remain unanswered. It cited accounts of a long history of stigmatisation until the mid-twentieth century, and a reported change in progress in the Chilean 2sg whereby the historically stigmatised *voseo* is said to have come to be used by young people from all social classes. Given the reports of change in progress in the literature but the paucity of studies using spontaneous conversational speech data, the first major theme motivating this thesis is change: what is the nature of the reported change in progress? How advanced is the change? What are the social and linguistic factors motivating this change, and how has it spread through the linguistic system?

The second of these is stigmatisation. Although *voseo* reportedly has a long history in Chile of association with lack of education and opportunity, given the claims regarding language change and the breaking down of social barriers in Chilean society etc., the question arises: how do speakers in Chile orient to *voseo* forms, and do these forms still carry with them the baggage of their past? A further question is whether any stigmatisation is limited to the *vos* pronoun, or whether it is associated with the verb forms as well.

Thirdly, Chilean speakers often have very little explicit metalinguistic knowledge about the *voseo*. Not only do they underreport *voseo* in surveys, but studies have found that speakers often do not know what *voseo* is, or even that they use it, associate it exclusively with the *vos* pronoun and not the verb forms, or associate it with Argentina. Some speakers seem not even to realise that *voseo* forms part of a verbal system. In the context of change in progress, a history of stigmatisation and lack of explicit awareness about the paradigms, the third theme questions whether Chileans separate the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms or whether they have become conflated into a single 2sg paradigm.

The claims of stigmatisation and lack of metalinguistic awareness also bear heavily on the research design for the present study. The fact that use of *voseo*, historically at least, could have concrete negative social consequences for speakers and that speakers often are

unaware of the fact that they are even using *voseo*, means that the data collection mechanisms will need to take this into account to ensure the results are valid. The following two chapters will discuss the theoretical framework and the data this study will use to address these and other questions raised in the present chapter.

Chapter 3: A Methodology for Language Change: The Variationist Method

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will place the present study within the theoretical framework of the variationist tradition of quantitative sociolinguistics, pioneered by William Labov (e.g. Labov, 1963, 1972a, 2006 (1966)) in the 1960s and 1970s. The Variationist Method is a methodology for sociolinguistic research that is focused on the structured variation in language. Not only does this methodology respond to the research gap identified in Chapter 2, but it also has ramifications for data collection, analysis and discussion of results. Here, I will describe some of the key characteristics of the Variationist Method and why these make it the most suitable for the study of the Chilean 2sg, and how they will be applied to the present study in order to answer the research questions raised in the previous chapter.

From a conceptual point of view, the Variationist Method elevates variation from being seen as random deficiencies which obfuscate the study of language to being the very object of study. As well as acknowledging Chilean *voseo* as a classic linguistic variable with a number of variants, this way of thinking also cuts through many of the issues around semantics which have dogged previous studies of the Chilean 2sg. By looking at variation, that is rates of use of *tuteo* and *voseo*, in different social and linguistic contexts, it is possible to explain how these variants are used in discourse: the application of rigorous quantitative analysis and statistical methods will allow for the testing of falsifiable hypotheses by looking at relative rates of co-occurrence across different social and linguistic contexts. The results of these analyses will allow us to make probabilistic statements about the systematic patterns of variation in the Chilean 2sg in order to respond to some of the hypotheses put forward in previous studies (see Chapter 2).

I will describe the variationist concept of the ‘principle of accountability’ (Labov, 1972a: 72) which will ensure accurate calculation of rates that reflect the actual patterns of

variation. Careful consideration of the ‘variable context’ will be a key contribution of this study, and a full chapter will be devoted to it in Chapter 5. Though not discussed here, the collection of ‘good data’ (Labov, 1970: 181) as a crucial step in the study of variable phenomena, and a key element of the Variationist Method, is treated at length in Chapter 4.

Finally, I will review a number of insights about language variation and change that have been generated in the half century or more of variationist research which can inform our analyses: what motivates change, how we measure change, and how change moves through the linguistic system. The second part of the chapter will present an overview of the Variationist Comparative Method (e.g. Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001) as a means of comparing the social and linguistic constraints on the grammars of different groups of speakers; as well as discussing change in real and apparent time. In addition to purely variationist theory, I will introduce two mechanisms of language change stemming from usage-based models of language – entrenchment and syntactic priming. Although not strictly part of the Variationist Method, they complement the method well and will inform and enrich the analyses in subsequent chapters.

3.2. The Primacy of Variation

One defining feature of the Variationist Method (cf. Weinreich et al., 1968: 125), is that it embraces the variation or “orderly heterogeneity” (1968: 100) inherent in language as the normal state of affairs, and indeed the object of analysis. Variation or “deviations from a homogenous system are not all errorlike [sic] vagaries of performance, but are to a high degree coded and part of a realistic description of the competence of a member of a speech community” (1968: 125).

While this is widely accepted today, prior to Labov and others’ pioneering studies in the 1960s, many linguistic endeavours were grounded in the traditions of the introspection of the linguist (and speakers) and focused on the underlying forms of the monolithic structure of language. For some, variation in language use was seen either as a departure from the prescribed standard – that is, deficient – or simply as ‘free variation’, essentially random in its nature, and of limited interest to the study of linguistics. The variationists argued that language could not be abstracted from its users and that any theory of language worth its salt

– surely the ultimate goal of the field of linguistics – was one which also accounted for the variation present in real language use. This included both intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation (e.g. regional variation, as has been the focus for dialectologists, as well as variation across other social groups such as age, gender and class).

Labov demonstrated convincingly through his ground-breaking studies in New York City and Martha's Vineyard (Labov, 1963, Labov, 2006 (1966)) that not only was variation an inherent quality of language but also that variation in people's speech followed systematic patterns conditioned by various social and linguistic factors which were remarkably consistent across speakers of particular social groups. Key to this is the idea of the speech community (cf. 4.2.2), defined not only by the shared norms of the grammar but also shared patterns of variation and the constraints on that variation. Shared knowledge of these probabilistic constraints and, crucially, the shared social evaluation of how they are used, act as delimiters of a speech community. Variation, then, is not a sign of imperfect language ability, or performance errors, but, conversely, actually constitutes an important part of that language ability: "control of such variation is a part of the linguistic competence of members of a speech community" (Weinreich et al., 1968: 185). This is an important point, in light of the apparent lack of metalinguistic awareness which speakers of Chilean Spanish would appear to have about *voseo* (see 2.5.3).

Linguistic variation, then, in the variationist sense, is defined as "differences in linguistic form without (apparent) changes in meaning" (Walker, 2010: 16), i.e. different ways of saying essentially the same thing. The variationist framework dismisses the traditional notion of form-meaning symmetry, instead recognising that "the relationship between form and meaning may be asymmetrical: one meaning may be conveyed by several forms, and one form may correspond to different meanings" (Walker, 2010: 9). In other words, in the Variationist Method, difference in meaning is just another hypothesis, just another variable to test.

Language, seen in this way, is not a hermetic system independent of its users and impervious to change, but rather in a state of constant variation as a function of the social, stylistic and linguistic characteristics of those users, and the interactions in which they use language. Consequently, variation is rarely categorical, i.e. variants are usually not either

present or absent in a given context, but rather their rates, or proportions of use vary across social and linguistic contexts (Walker, 2010: 21). When forms are not able to be reduced to a deterministic rule (e.g. semantic differences or phonetic context etc.), they are usually governed by systematic, so-called ‘variable rules’ (Walker, 2010: 21) , which are conditioned differentially by the social characteristics of the speakers and/or the linguistic characteristics in the surrounding discourse. The aim of the Variationist Method is not just to determine the relative frequency of each variant;

we also want to know whether particular contextual elements influence the choice of variant. If the variation is truly ‘free’, contextual elements should have no influence over the choice of form: the frequency of each variant will remain (roughly) the same regardless of the linguistic context (Walker, 2010: 23).

This is known as the null hypothesis; however completely random variation is rare. Where this is not the case – that is, where the rates of use vary across different contexts – we interpret this as conditioning of variant choice. Thus, the variationist aim is not to make deterministic statements but rather probabilistic statements based on relative frequencies in different contexts.

3.3. The Linguistic Variable

When multiple forms express a singular meaning or function, the Variationist Method relies on the concept of the ‘linguistic variable’, i.e. the feature of interest, for which there is variation in the realisation of its various forms. The ‘variable’ is an abstract notion represented by ‘variants’ in the real world (Walker, 2010: 9), which can be conditioned by social as well as linguistic factors. A classic example of a linguistic variable is coda /r/ in New York English, which can be realised variably with “the presence or absence of consonantal [r] in postvocalic position in *car, card, four, fourth* etc.” (Labov, 1972a: 44). In the case of the 2sg in Chilean Spanish (and other Latin American dialects), *tuteo* and *voseo* both correspond to a single meaning: they are ways of referring to a 2sg familiar interlocutor, i.e. saying ‘you.’

“Variationist methods and theories originally developed the concept of the linguistic variable to examine phonological variation” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 196) and, indeed, much early variationist work focussed on phonic variation (e.g. Labov’s work on coda /r/ in New York and vowel raising on Martha’s Vineyard (Labov, 1972a)). However, variation can

occur at all levels of the linguistic system: phonetic/phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, discourse etc. While systematic variation in phonic (phonetic/phonological)³¹ variables was well established (cf. Walker 2010: 65), the correlation between grammatical (morphological and syntactic) variables and social variables generated considerable debate in the field in the early days (cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1989: 97-100, Tagliamonte, 2006: 71-76), leading some (e.g. Lavandera, 1978) to question whether the term ‘linguistic variable’ could even be extended to grammatical features. Nonetheless, while work on morphological and syntactic variation originally received less attention, it is now firmly part of the variationist tradition. Given that the Chilean 2sg is a morphosyntactic feature, one of the questions in the present study is precisely how to define the linguistic variable: whether the (subject) pronominal (*tú* and *vos*) and verbal (*tuteo* and *voseo*) paradigms actually constitute one or two variables (cf. Stevenson 2007), and what their variants are (cf. 5.2.1). *Tú* and *vos* differ from *usted* in that they are both familiar forms in opposition to the polite form, and so in this sense they are actually saying something slightly different (more on *usted* in Chapter 5).

This early scepticism was likely due to the fact that grammatical variables differ from phonic variables in a number of ways, raising the question of whether (morpho)syntactic variants really are ‘ways of saying the same thing’ (Silva-Corvalán 1989: 98). They tend to be much less frequent in the discourse, making them more difficult to study quantitatively; their contexts of use (i.e. variable context) are more complex and difficult to define (cf. below and Chapter 5); and there is a problem of potential differences of meaning between grammatical variants that does not apply (at least, to the same degree) with phonic variables. This last point is perhaps the most significant, as many grammatical variables also seem to be conditioned by semantic-pragmatic factors, which *“lleva necesariamente al sociolingüista a extender su análisis al nivel del discurso, de la semántica y la pragmática, ya que su objetivo es explicar la variación y los esquemas de covariación con factores internos y/o externos, en*

³¹ Here, I emulate Walker (2010: 65) who distinguishes between “phonic” (phonetic and phonological) and “grammatical” (morphological, syntactic, discourse and pragmatic) variables.

relación a las posibles diferencias de significado (referencial o contextual) de las variantes” (Silva-Corvalán, 1989: 100)³².

This very question of meaning has concerned many previous researchers of address systems and the Chilean *voseo* in particular (see 2.4.2). This is largely a vestige of the traditional way of thinking about language which attributes one form to one meaning, but is an assumption which has motivated debates about forms of address historically, and, one might argue, is one of the root causes of the inconsistency in the results of studies on Chilean *voseo*. As Labov (1970: 199) observes, “Speakers do not readily accept the fact that two different expressions actually ‘mean the same’ and there is a strong tendency to attribute different meanings to them”. However, the Variationist Method offers an escape from this way of thinking (if not an answer) by focusing not on what speakers or linguists say about language, but on linguistic variation: how speakers actually use variants in discourse. If multiple forms are used in the same contextual environments to refer to the same thing, they can be said to be in variation with each other, even if they do mean slightly different things. In practice, such subtle semantic differences are generally largely ‘neutralised in discourse’ (cf. Sankoff, 1988: 153) when they occur in the same functional domain, where the functions of the respective variants in the discourse can be said to be equivalent, even if their grammatical or semantic meanings are not wholly identical (Walker, 2010: 72-3). Many studies have successfully applied the variationist techniques to the study of grammatical variables with considerable success (cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1989: 97-100 for a discussion of some of these) including, more recently, to pragmatic-discursive variation in the Chilean *voseo* (e.g. (Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017: 65; cf. p. 65 for further examples). Furthermore, for change even to be possible, there has to be a period of overlap in meaning where variation can occur (cf. Sankoff, 1988).

The Chilean 2sg more than meets the criteria of a linguistic variable. While some scholars (e.g. Wierzbicka, 2016b, on differences in meaning between pronominal forms in

³² ‘obliges sociolinguists to extend their analysis to the levels of discourse, semantics and pragmatics, given that their objective is to explain the variation and patterns of co-variation with internal and/or external factors, in relation to possible differences of (referential or contextual) meaning between the variants.’

European languages) might argue that there are subtle differences in meaning between *tuteo* and *voseo*, these are precisely ‘subtle enough’ to be neutralised in discourse: there are multiple forms that have been observed to be in variation (*tú* and *vos*; *tuteo* and *voseo*), they are functionally equivalent in discourse, as 2sg informal forms, and they have been shown in previous studies to covary; that is to be correlated with social (and linguistic) factors in a systematic way (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Stevenson, 2007). On the other hand, *usted*, as a ‘polite’ form, typically performs a different function (Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017: 69), and does not appear to covary; that is, previous studies have shown *usted* not to be conditioned by the same factors as *tuteo* and *voseo* (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 109). Consequently, *usted* should not be considered a third variant; this will be explored further in 5.3.

While the equivalence of the (*tuteo* and *voseo*) variants in the morphosyntactic variation in the Chilean 2sg is relatively uncontroversial, potential semantic and discourse-pragmatic differences still need to be accounted for and operationalised in some way, “based not on the meaning said to be embodied by a variant (which would be circular), but on supporting contextual indicators of that meaning” (Poplack and Malvar, 2007: 137). Therefore, differences in semantic and pragmatic meaning should become evident in terms of contextual distributions and patterns of co-occurrence and, thus, can be incorporated into the analysis (and controlled for). The present study will attempt to control for the effects of semantic differentiation by limiting the interactions to informal conversations between intimate interlocutors in familiar situations (cf. below, and Chapter 4) and looking at a range of linguistic and discourse-related factors which may condition the variation beyond just social factors (cf. Chapter 6).

Labov (1972a: 237-51) identifies three types of variable, defined by the patterns of co-variation with extralinguistic (social) factors: indicators, markers and stereotypes. Indicators show a regular pattern of distribution across different subgroups in society i.e. they covary in a regular fashion across different age, gender, social class, ethnic etc. groups, but are not conditioned by stylistic or situational factors. Markers, in contrast, are sensitive to stylistic as well as social factors, and can be stratified along both of these dimensions – i.e. they can be used for social ends. Stereotypes are those variables of which a speech community is consciously aware and recognise as being characteristic of the speech of a certain group;

however, stereotypes do not necessarily behave in the way that they are perceived to by speakers. Given the salience of the *vos* pronoun, and the historical stigmatisation of the *voseo* paradigm, combined with speakers' apparent lack of metalinguistic awareness about the 2sg system, *voseo* is a prime contender for the title of stereotype; it is stratified socially and stylistically, speakers certainly seem to be aware of it to some degree, and patterns of real use certainly seem to differ from reported use. This will be an important question that this thesis will attempt to answer.

3.4. The Principle of Accountability: Which Forms Are in Variation?

Another core principle of the Variationist Method is the importance of defining “the variable context” also known as the “envelope of variation”: the contexts where speakers have a choice between forms (Walker, 2010: 12). Defining the variable context is a crucial step in the research design in order not to breach the ‘principle of accountability’: it is imperative to analyse not only the variant which is the object of interest, but also all the other variants with which it is in variation; that is, not only occurrences of a particular form, but all of the occasions when it could have occurred but did not (cf. Labov 1982: 30). “The purpose of defining the variable context is to specify which forms vary with each other” (Walker, 2010: 21), and not defining this clearly enough can lead to serious problems with results, particularly when dealing with grammatical variables. As Labov (1972a: 72) observes,

unless this principle is followed, it is possible to prove any theoretical preconception by citing isolated instances of what individuals have been heard saying. Speech is perceived categorically, and linguists who are searching for an invariant, homogeneous dialect will perceive even more categorically than most. The problem is most severe in the study of non-standard dialects.

This is particularly pertinent in the context of reported stigmatisation and claims of semantic differences between *tuteo* and *voseo*. To illustrate the importance of correctly defining the variable context, I briefly outline two cases below where the results differ considerably depending on what is counted.

In the present corpus, there is a total 2202 tokens of 2sg verb forms; of these, only 1059 are variable. An additional 1143 tokens are excluded (728 tokens of syncretic forms

which categorically take *tuteo* morphology (see 2.4.1), 361 tokens of the non-variable *voseo* form *cachái*, and 55 tokens of *usted*).

If we include tokens of *cachái* as *voseo* forms, and tokens of syncretic forms and *usted* as ‘standard’ (cf. Stevenson, 2007) or ‘canonical’ (cf. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009) forms, and combine them with *tuteo* – both of which have been done in previous studies (e.g. Kluge, 2005, Torrejón, 2010) – this gives an overall rate of 55% *voseo*, shown in Table 5, below. Once these 1143 tokens have been excluded, using the definition of the variable context for which I will argue in Chapter 5, this gives an actual rate of 80% *voseo* (see 7.2.2).

Table 5: Illustrative Rates of 2sg Variants in CCSS (Including *cachái*, Syncretic Forms and *usted*)

Verb Forms	N	%
Voseo (including <i>cachái</i>)	1205	55%
‘Canonical’ forms (<i>tuteo</i> including syncretic forms, and <i>usted</i>)	997	45%
Grand Total	2202	

Similarly, of 1059 variable tokens in the data set, 779 are produced by women, accounting for 74% of *voseo*. This might seem to imply that *voseo* is favoured by women as they represent the great majority of *voseo* tokens in the data set. However, upon closer inspection, although women do produce more *voseo* in terms of raw token counts, as a proportion of their data women actually produce less *voseo* than men (75% *voseo* vs. 92%); it’s just that women produce more of the 2sg tokens in the CCSS: 779 versus 280 2sg tokens.

These examples demonstrate the importance of defining the variable context, and the wildly different results and interpretations that can be produced if this is not done carefully. In the case of the Chilean 2sg, as I hope the above examples have illustrated, the variable context is actually very complex, and has been done inconsistently in previous studies, perhaps accounting for the variation in reported results. Because of this, I dedicate a chapter to exploring exactly what forms are in variation and which are not; this is one of the principal contributions of the thesis and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

3.5. Charting Language Change: The Variationist Comparative Method

Crucially, the Variationist Method is a quantitative methodology. Indeed, Labov (1972b: 99) compares this methodology with those of the hard sciences – the development of falsifiable hypotheses and testing of these using robust quantitative methods which can discard the possibility of any resulting patterns being the result of chance. Through quantitative analysis of the distributions of variants within different contexts and the use of rigorous statistical methods to analyse the linguistic data, the Variationist Method allows for empirical testing of commonly held generalisations and assumptions. If there is genuine change taking place in the 2sg system, the Variationist Method provides the tools to capture this.

The study of the social and linguistic factors conditioning variation is important because not only do they account for the difference between speakers and within speakers in their usage of the Chilean 2sg, but also variation is a precondition of language change. While variation can be an indication of change in progress, it can also be stable within a speech community. As Weinreich et al. (1968: 188) said, “not all variability and heterogeneity in language structure involves change; but all change involves variability and heterogeneity.” Languages do not change immediately from one moment or day to the next, but incrementally through a series of analogous steps: “change proceeds as a series of small adjustments, as incoming and outgoing variants jockey for position in the system.” (Poplack and Malvar, 2007: 157). As changes move through the speech community, there is variation in usage across speakers and contexts, and this variation is conditioned by social factors:

one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it another way, social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an imminent social force acting in the living present (Labov, 1972a: 3).

Given the reports of change in the Chilean 2sg, and claims that these are linked to social change in Chile (e.g. Torrejón, 1986), analysing this variation in the context of language change will be indispensable in answering the research questions.

While social factors (social class and gender) are an important part of this equation, linguistic constraints can also change over time, and these changes can inform our analyses. As well as comparing rates of use between the *Habla culta* and CCSS corpora in real time, the present study will use the Variationist Comparative Method (Poplack and Meechan, 1998, Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1999, Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001) to conduct identical analyses comparing the social and linguistic constraints acting on the variable grammars of older and younger speakers in the CCSS in order to get a fine-grained picture of grammatical change (i.e. in apparent time).

While often applied to analyses of different languages or of related varieties, the Variationist Comparative Method is a useful diagnostic tool to gauge grammatical similarity: “The structure of variation – the way linguistic forms are used – becomes the tool for measuring grammatical similarity or difference” (Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018: 8). In the context of a single language, then, language change can be “modelled as modification in the distribution of competing grammars over time” (Torres Cacoullos, 2015: 9); that is “changes in the relative frequencies of the variants and changes in their environmental constraints” (Labov, 1982: 20). If we understand constraints as the manifestation of grammar, then the relative strength and direction of those constraints between stages of a variety become a diagnostic for grammatical change “construed as the grammar giving rise to variant selection” (Poplack and Malvar 2007: 122).

Poplack and Malvar (2007: 157) applied the method to track a change in future temporal reference in Portuguese over 500 years by comparing the constraints on each variant “period by period” in the sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively. They found that not only the rates but also the constraints governing those rates are variable over time (2007: 160); and that comparison of the constraints across time periods “yields a graphic view of the role of each variant over the course of the change” (2007: 144). Similarly, Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2018: 145-151) use this method to compare the grammars of contemporary English-Spanish bilinguals from New Mexico with the grammars of speakers of an earlier (more monolingual) stage of the same variety.

The present study will build on these previous studies in order to test how the reported change has affected the grammar of the Chilean 2sg system, by comparing the

constraints on the variable grammars of speakers from different generations (cf. Torres Cacoullos, 2015: 9-11). If the constraints are the same, the grammar is the same; if the constraints are different for younger speakers compared to speakers of an earlier generation, this is further evidence (to complement different rates across social groups) of a change in the grammar of those speakers. In this way, the *linguistic* factors, as well as social ones, can also provide insight into language change: language change may not be manifested only by a change in rates of use across generations, but change in the grammar would be seen in differences in the constraints. This generates the following hypothesis, which will be returned to in Chapter 6.

Hypothesis:

- There will be changes in the constraints governing *voseo* for younger speakers, either in the form of weakening and loss of some old constraints, or the strengthening and introduction of new constraints.

In the following sections, I refer to a number of insights from the variationist tradition in order to discuss how to chart change, both synchronically and diachronically; and some broad patterns related to gender and social class and how they can inform the questions of prestige and stigmatisation.

3.5.1. Age (and Time Period): Measuring Change in Real and Apparent Time

The most direct way to study change is in real time; that is, to record the speech community at two points in time and evaluate the difference between these two points. Indeed, this is essentially what historical linguists have always done using (typically) written data from different points in time to infer and describe linguistic changes. If possible, the same speakers can be used (a panel study); if this is not possible, as is often the case, speakers of similar demographic characteristics can be used, who are taken to be representative of the same social groups (a trend study), albeit in different historical moments.

However, this is not always possible, given that (comparable) historical data is often not available, and changes often take far longer than it is practicable for researchers to study (both in terms of time and finances). Due to the difficulties of studying language change in

real time, the Apparent Time Construct has been employed: whereby differences in synchronic usage by different age groups are assumed to be representative of generational differences, based upon the assumption that people's linguistic systems do not change significantly after childhood (Sankoff and Wagner, 2006: 205). Typically, change in apparent time is measured by an increasing or decreasing rate of use by generation.

"Fortunately, the apparent-time construct has proven to be an excellent surrogate for real-time evidence" (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013). Since Labov's (1963) ground-breaking study of Martha's Vineyard, linguists have recognised that it is possible to connect synchronic and diachronic linguistics. As is often said, "language change implies variation (though not the reverse), and [...] as an innovation diffuses through the speech community, the social structure of that community conditions its path" (Sankoff and Blondeau, 2007: 560). Change is always preceded by variation, and stratification of variables by age can either reflect "change in the speech community as it moves through time (historical change)" or "change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (age-grading)" (Eckert, 1998: 151).

Given the changing social circumstances in Chile in the past decades, and the number of studies claiming a change in progress is underway, it is likely that stratification by age (with increasing use by the younger generations) will be representative of a general process of change within the 2sg paradigm brought about by the younger generations. As speakers acquire their language from their caregivers and then go through a process of "vernacular reorganisation" in their preadolescent and adolescent years (Tagliamonte, 2011: 50), if the increase in *voseo* hypothesised by Morales Pettorino (1972), Torrejón (1986) and others is a genuine change in progress started by the generations of the 1960s and 70s, then we would expect to see a gradually increasing pattern of use by generation, as has been suggested in previous quantitative studies (see 2.5.1). This is formalised in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis:

- *Voseo* will be favoured by younger speakers relative to older speakers (in apparent time)

However, it is also common for speakers in the middle age group to reduce their use of non-standard variants and to be more linguistically conservative as they enter the 'linguistic

market' (Sankoff and Laberge, 1978a) particularly in relation to the workplace. If *voseo* is subject to age grading in Chile, whereby it is stratified by age due to differing behaviours at different stages of life, then we may expect to see a dip in usage by this middle generation, rather than a steadily increasing distribution by age.

Teasing apart historical change and age-grading is not always straightforward and the relationship between change in progress and age-grading is complex (cf. Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: Part IV Language and Time). Stability in individual vernaculars (the assumption underlying the apparent time interpretation) is just one hypothesis; speakers can also change towards or away from the direction of the community. Nonetheless, panel studies comparing apparent time and individual lifespan change (e.g. Sankoff, 2019, Sankoff and Blondeau, 2007, Sankoff and Wagner, 2006, Wagner and Sankoff, 2011) have shown that although the speech of individual speakers can change in a variety of ways relative to the broader speech community, these changes tend only to affect the speed of a change. Thus, "rather than vitiating an apparent time interpretation [...] the rate of change may be slightly overestimated if age-grading acts in a retrograde direction" [i.e. adults move in the opposite direction to the change] (Wagner and Sankoff, 2011: 275); or underestimated, if "late adopters" move in the direction of the change as adults, which can lead to a change advancing even more quickly than expected (Sankoff and Blondeau, 2007).

While there is some debate about the extent to which age stratification can be generalised as genuine linguistic change, "subsequent work within the variationist paradigm [...] has shown age grading to be comparatively rare; moreover, such patterns are generally associated with variables that enjoy a degree of social awareness" (Pope et al., 2007: 622). While speakers seem to be acutely aware of the pronoun *vos*, speakers often have little metalinguistic awareness of the *voseo* verb forms (cf. section 2.5.2); thus, the degree to which speakers have a social awareness of *voseo* is unclear. However, it is certainly a potential candidate for age grading; the extent to which the reported change in use of the *voseo* is genuine historical change or whether there is some effect of age-grading remains an open question (raised by, for example, Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 425, Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 77-78, Stevenson, 2007: 177; 224) which this thesis will attempt to answer.

Stevenson (2007: 225) uses the apparent time hypothesis to posit change in the Chilean 2sg; however, he comments that this “would be stronger were there actual real time data from earlier generations of speakers.” Similarly, Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013: n.p.), comment that “In the best of circumstances, of course, researchers will be able to combine apparent-time data with real-time evidence, with the relative strengths of one approach offsetting the weaknesses of the other.” This is precisely what the present study will do, adding previously unanalysed data from the 1970s to the contemporary corpus recorded by the researcher (see 4.4). Given the previous evidence of change in progress (see 2.5.1), we would expect to see change in real time: that is, a higher rate of *voseo* today than in the 1970s (by speakers of similar demographic characteristics; this will be discussed further in 4.4 and 6.2.2). This leads to the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis:

- There will be a higher rate of *voseo* in the contemporary corpus (CCSS) than in the data from the 1970s (*Habla culta*) (in real time)

3.5.2. Social Class

Another factor related to language change commonly found to stratify linguistic variables is social class. While social class can be difficult to define and is calculated in different ways, at the most basic level it refers to differences between social groups based upon relative status and power in a society:

Status refers to whether people are respected and deferred to by others in their society (or conversely, looked down on or ignored), and power refers to the social and material resources a person can command, the ability (and social right) to make decisions and influence events (Guy, 2011: 159-60).

From a linguistic perspective, society is clearly made up of a number of social classes, which can be observed “using as measures of class such things as wealth, income, education, occupation, place of residence, and so on” (Guy 2011: 161). As social class is usually measured in terms of socio-economic characteristics related to status and power, I will henceforth prefer the term Socio-economic Class (SEC).

Importantly, SEC differences can manifest themselves linguistically. Speakers from different SECs not only exhibit different patterns of use but are also sensitive to these differences in the speech of others, and can use them for the purposes of social categorisation. Unlike differences as a function of gender and age, where speakers of different ages and genders can interact on a daily basis with speakers from different age and gender groups (cf. Labov, 2001: 262), linguistic differences correlated with SEC are often a result of social distance, or social barriers (Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias, 2017: 128).

Often there is a certain level of prestige associated with the variety spoken by those with status and power. The overtly prestigious variant, often referred to as ‘the standard’, is usually the one used by elites, typically the educated affluent classes, and speakers who wish to enter that social group attempt to approximate their speech to the variety spoken by the high prestige group (cf. Wardhaugh, 1997). Conversely, stigmatised variables are usually those which are associated with less prestigious SEC groups.

Again, this would certainly seem to hold true for Chilean *voseo*. Chilean society has a notoriously rigid class structure, where the way people speak is just one of many gauges people use to detect and express social class belonging (as well as surname, address, school you went to etc.). Given historical reports of a parallel system of address until the middle of the previous century, with *voseo* used by the rural and urban working classes, and *tuteo* exclusively and categorically by the educated elites (e.g. Lenz, 1940 (1891): 263, Torrejón, 1986: 680), we might expect some stratification by SEC, with greater use of *voseo* by working-class than educated speakers, particularly amongst the older generations. If the reported change truly has occurred, or is nearing completion, we may expect that this SEC stratification will have reduced amongst younger speakers.

Hypotheses:

- *Voseo* will be favoured by lower-class speakers over speakers of higher classes
- The SEC effect for *voseo* will be weakened over time (for younger relative to older speakers)

However, studies of change in urban varieties have tended to find that “the innovators of change [...] are located in the central sections of the socioeconomic hierarchy” (Labov, 2001: 190) – that is the middle classes. This is called the “curvilinear principle” (Labov, 2001:

31-2, 190). Indeed, Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 416-419) found precisely this ‘V-shaped pattern’ in questionnaire responses, where middle-class speakers report the lowest rates of *voseo*. They also found SEC to interact with age with the two highest reported rates of *voseo* amongst older “working-class” and younger “professional-class” speakers, those two groups reporting more than triple the proportion of *vos* than middle-aged, middle-class speakers. They explain this result in terms of the social pressures on middle-class (and middle-aged) speakers “who have to interact daily in the workforce and who may be less secure in their social standing” and feel “more pressure to conform to the standard” [*tuteo*], in an attempt to be perceived as more educated. In contrast, they propose, lower-class and higher-class speakers (and younger and older speakers) “may have the social freedom to use a form that is proscribed for speakers in middle social groups.” Therefore, we might also expect to find that *voseo* is more or less prevalent in the middle classes than either of the peripheral social groups (although whether or not Chilean *voseo* is above the level of social awareness is one of the questions at the heart of this thesis).

Nonetheless, most recent studies have shown that SEC is no longer a significant predictor of *voseo* (Helincks, 2012, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Stevenson, 2007, Torrejón, 2010), and the two most recent variationist studies (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016 and Fernández Mallat, 2018) have both excluded SEC as a factor group. According to Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009), this is indicative of “*un proceso de aceptación cultural del rasgo de voseo*” (2009: 181) and “*parece ser la manifestación de un cambio diacrónico*” (2009: 187)³³. Stevenson (2007: 233) highlighted, however, that this could have to do with the way that SEC was defined (in his study, he used *comuna* as the only criterion), arguing that a “more fine-grained analysis of social class”, such as the two-way index used in the present study, might yield different results (233).

³³ ‘a process of [greater] cultural acceptance of *voseo*’ [and] ‘it appears to be the manifestation of a diachronic change’

Investigation of SEC (and its interactions with other variables; see below) is key to addressing questions of stigmatisation and will form an important part of both the analyses and the interpretation of results in this thesis.

3.5.3. Gender

There is a certain amount of discussion in the literature about the terminology to describe the social category related to sex/gender in relation to differential linguistic behaviour (cf. Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias, 2017: 109) – the former relating to a biological category at birth, and the latter to a socially constructed identity conditioned by society and selected by the individual. I prefer the term *gender*, in line with current literature, as linguistic behaviour is probably better explained in terms of socially constructed gender identities than strictly biological factors. At the same time, I recognise the complexity of the term, and acknowledge the bluntness of the demographic survey instrument.

As might be expected, gendered linguistic behaviour is diverse and complex. Gender tends to be strongly grounded in “actual social practice and interdependent with other social categories” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 106). However, a number of general trends have been developed about the covariation of gender and linguistic variables in Western languages (Labov 1972, 2001), and, crucially, in Spanish (Silva-Corvalán, 1989: 70-71, Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias, 2017: 114). Indeed, according to Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013: n.p.), the “female– male discrepancy with respect to nonstandard variants is so firmly established after decades of research that it can serve as a sociolinguistic lemma”: female speech is generally more ‘conservative’, commonly linked to prestige forms, and perceived as more ‘correct’ than male speech. Women also commonly use more innovative variants in changes in progress, especially those that move towards the standard or prestige variant (cf. Trudgill, 1974: 69).

An alternative interpretation of the gender pattern is that rather than women favouring ‘prestige’ forms, they favour “supralocal variants, which may or may not be identifiable as prestigious”, and that men “favor localized variants, which are often stigmatized.” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 103). In this sense, the ‘prestige’ variant is perhaps better described as “supraregional” rather than standard (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 103). This would certainly be concordant with voseo in Chile, which is a hyper-local form (at least

in its Chilean guise), while *tuteo* is the standard 2sg form used across the Spanish speaking world.

Regardless of the explanation, the general pattern of women being the leaders of change and men leading with “socially marked” or “non-standard” forms “has been so widely found that it has been deemed the ‘gender pattern’” (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: n.p.)³⁴. The ‘gender pattern’ is composed of three principles related to language variation and change (Labov, 2001), which are described in turn below.

The first states that, for stable variables (i.e. those that are not undergoing change – see 3.5, above), “women show a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men” (Labov, 2001: 266), and are “more sensitive than men to overt sociolinguistic values” (Labov, 1972a: 243), particularly in the middle classes (Silva-Corvalán 1989: 70-71). Consequently, women are more susceptible to policing their own speech in more formal registers, even though they might adopt non-standard forms in casual speech.

In situations of linguistic change, Labov (2001: 261-93) came to distinguish between change from above and change from below (the level of awareness). Change from above relates to changes above the level of social awareness, and typically corresponds to the “importation of prestige forms from outside the speech community, or the redistribution of forms with known prestige values within the community” (Labov, 2001: 274). Change from below, on the other hand, is “the primary form of linguistic change that operates within the system, below the level of social awareness” (Labov, 2001: 279).

The second principle relates to cases of change from above: when speakers are generally aware of the variable and the relative prestige associated with the variants, women tend to “lead in both the acquisition of new prestige patterns and the elimination of stigmatised forms” (Labov, 2001: 274).

Thirdly, in cases of linguistic change from below, which is far more common, and generally occurs below the level of conscious awareness, women also tend to use more

³⁴ Although, see Milroy & Gordon (2003: 101-108) for a summary of arguments questioning this generalisation.

innovative forms than men (Labov, 2001: 292). This is called the gender paradox (cf. Labov, 2001: 292), as women are simultaneously more likely to conform to overtly prescribed sociolinguistic norms, and also more likely to use more innovative variants implicated in language change where these are not overtly prescribed.

These principles would seem to suggest that women always lead change. However, there is an additional type of linguistic change (from above), involving stigmatised and non-prestige variables which, by default, are above the level of awareness, and often seem to be led by men. For example, Trudgill (1972) argued that in Norwich women used more standard forms than men, but men led in the use of incoming non-standard forms in casual speech. Men also overreported their use of those forms, while women underreported them. Similarly, Labov (1972a: 303) highlights the centralisation of /ay/ and /aw/ in Martha's Vineyard as a further counterexample. These cases, where overtly non-standard variants gain a certain level of 'covert' prestige within a community as an expression of in-group identity, have led researchers "to posit the existence of an opposing set of covert norms, which attribute positive values to the vernacular" (Labov 1972: 249).

Indeed, some authors (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 426, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 97, Stevenson, 2007: 228) have suggested that the Chilean *voseo* may be an example of covert prestige, acting as a marker of Chilean identity, despite Chileans themselves regarding *voseo* forms as non-standard and incorrect (cf. Stevenson, 2007: 161-2). There is also considerable evidence of underreporting of *voseo* (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz (2010)). However, there is evidence too that its use in more formal contexts (e.g. in live television and radio) is increasing, perhaps suggesting an increased overt acceptance in public life (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 97; cf. also Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Helincks, 2012).

As Labov (1972a: 303) points out,

It would be a serious error to construct a general principle that women always lead in the course of linguistic change. [...] The correct generalization then is not that women lead in linguistic change, but rather that the sexual differentiation of speech often plays a role in the mechanism of linguistic evolution.

This may well be because women have been said to play a greater role than men in children's language development, particularly at an early age (Labov, 1972a: 301-302). This is relevant in the case of Chilean *voseo*, in the sense that it was the generation of the youth of the 1960s and 1970s who are said to have initiated these changes, who subsequently passed this way of speaking down to their children (and their children's children). Given the role of women in passing on language to each generation, the role of the women in this older generation is of central importance. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that it is precisely women of this generation who use the highest rates of *voseo*. Branza (2012: 147), writes that while there was no significant difference between the genders for young (17-30) speakers, there was a marked difference between the sexes for adult (31-50) speakers with women reporting favouring *voseo* over men, by a factor of ten.

However, these results have not been corroborated in more recent quantitative studies (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016), most of which have found men to use more *voseo* than women and that this effect is lessened amongst younger speakers (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Stevenson, 2007). This is the case both with the verb forms and the pronoun (Stevenson, 2007, Valencia Espinoza, 2006). Notwithstanding these contrasting accounts, given that *voseo* is a reportedly stigmatised variable said to be undergoing a change, and the claims of covert prestige, we might hypothesise that men may be at the forefront of this change. In the context of a change in usage, and, more specifically, a change in the sociolinguistic evaluation of Chilean *voseo*, we may also expect that this gender effect will be reduced in the youngest generation (cf. Stevenson, 2007: 57).

Hypotheses:

- *Voseo* will be favoured by men (relative to women)
- The gender effect for *voseo* will be weakened over time (for younger relative to older speakers)

We may also expect this gender stratification to interact with SEC, as these two factors have been regularly found to interact strongly with one another, particularly in the case of "well-established variables that are widely recognised in the community, and have risen to the level of stereotypes that are the subject of public discussion" (Labov, 2001: 272), such as,

arguably, *voseo*. Given that stigmatised variables are traditionally associated with both male and lower-class speech, we might expect the highest rates of *voseo* from men in lower SECs. Conversely, we might expect the lowest rates of *voseo* (and, consequently, highest rates of *tuteo*) from women from higher SECs.

However, Labov and others (cf. Labov, 2001: 272) have discovered a consistent cross-over pattern, whereby the *second* highest status group, “in North America and Western Europe, the lower middle class; in occupational terms, clerks, primary school teachers, small shopkeepers” (Labov 2001: 320) actually “shows the greatest gender differential” (2001: 272). That is to say, while women in each SEC use more prestige forms than men from the same SEC, and men from the upper classes show an incrementally increasing pattern from the SEC below them, women from the lower-middle class use an even greater proportion of prestige forms than women from the group above them, the upper-middle class. Furthermore, this “tendency to avoid stigmatized forms and prefer prestige forms [...] is often minimal for the lower class and upper middle class” (2001: 272).

Indeed, in the context of Chilean *voseo*, Kim (2006) reported that gender was not significant in his questionnaire study of young university-educated speakers. Studies using spontaneous data (e.g. Stevenson (2007), Helincks (2012)) have found that for young upper-class/university-educated women, there was no significant difference with their male peers of the same age and SEC cohort. Stevenson (2007: 202) found that, although men used more *voseo* than women overall, for young upper-class speakers, not only did females have a slightly (but not significantly) higher rate of *voseo*, but there was also less intra-group variability, represented by a lower standard deviation for young upper-class female speakers compared to other groups. This was in contrast to all other age and SEC groups in his sample, where female speakers exhibited significantly lower rates of *voseo* and greater inter-speaker variation (Stevenson. 2007: 144). He suggests that there may be an interaction between age, SEC and gender, such that “gender functions differently for upper-class females than it does for females in other social classes” (Stevenson, 2007: 202). He tentatively explains this in terms of the greater economic and social power enjoyed by these more privileged female members of society (2007: 204) who have less to lose, perhaps, than their (lower-)middle-class equivalents. He even goes so far as to suggest that “young upper class women may be innovators in a process of change from below” (2007: 178). Similarly, Helincks (2012: 12),

reports that women under 30 used more *voseo* than men, while there was no significant difference between the genders for her older generation (30-60), echoing Stevenson's (2007: 178) suggestion that young upper-class women are actually leading the change. Whether or not this is the case, these will be interesting patterns to explore in the present study. These accounts generate the following general hypothesis.

Hypothesis:

- There may be an interaction between SEC and gender (for younger speakers), whereby the gender effect for *voseo* will be weakened for younger speakers in higher classes

Bishop and Michnowicz (2010) also reported an interaction for SEC and gender, whereby a strong gender effect (with males favouring *vos* in the lower and higher classes in their sample) vanished in the middle classes. Interestingly, there is almost no SEC effect for females, while there is a clear decrease in the middle classes for men. While these results would seem to contradict both the Labovian tendency and Stevenson's (2007) results, if nothing else, given that they are based on questionnaire data, they draw into even sharper relief the discrepancy between reported and actual use of the Chilean *voseo*.

3.6. How Change Spreads through the System: Usage-based Grammar

Tracking change in the speech community is only one part of the equation. One of the key questions at the heart of linguistics (and this thesis) is how change goes from isolated cases in the idiosyncratic speech of individual speakers to spread through the speech community and form part of the shared grammar: how did *voseo* develop from a stigmatised form used only in the working classes to permeate the speech of virtually every speaker?

This thesis will take a usage-based approach to address the question of gradual change. From this perspective, grammar emerges and develops over time through the repetition and conventionalisation of common patterns of language use (e.g. Bybee, 2006: 712-714). Two mechanisms, related to repeated patterns of use which have been shown to be relevant to situations of language change, and upon which this thesis will draw, are entrenchment (related to frequency) and priming. Importantly, both have been found to have

strong effects in Spanish (e.g. Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009, Poplack, 1980, Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017). These are not variationist ideas, strictly speaking, but they are highly compatible with the notion of probabilistic grammars, and will be important to the argumentation in later chapters. A number of general hypotheses will be proposed here based on the literature; these will be further developed in Chapter 6.

3.6.1. Frequency, Entrenchment and Autonomy

While frequency has not been reported as a significant factor conditioning Chilean *voseo* in the previous studies that have considered it (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 423), the literature on frequency and its effects will inform the perspective of this thesis and will contribute to the generation of hypotheses and the interpretation of results. When discussing grammatical change, it is vital to articulate clearly one's conception of grammar; and frequency has been shown to be a factor in certain types of language change.

According to usage based models (e.g. Bybee, 2003, Bybee, 2006, Bybee, 2007, Bybee, 2010, Bybee, 2015, Bybee and Hopper, 2001, Langacker, 1987), speakers' experience with language creates and impacts their cognitive representations of it: "usage feeds into the creation of grammar just as much as grammar determines the shape of usage" (Bybee, 2006: 730). Seen in this way, then, rather than "pure abstract structure" (Bybee, 2006: 730) or a fixed set of rules (714), "grammar can be viewed as the cognitive organization of one's experience with language" (Bybee, 2013: 49). From this perspective, language does not have a discernible pre-defined structure, but rather "the apparent structure emerges from the repetition of many local events (in this case speech events)" (Bybee 2006: 714).

Repetition leads to the "conventionalization of commonly used discourse patterns" which form the basis of linguistic structure (Bybee, 2013: 51). Each experience with language has an impact on the mental representation of the given pattern, forming "exemplars" (cf. Bybee, 2013: 52-60), which are highly sensitive to frequency: the more a pattern is repeated (i.e. the higher frequency it is), the stronger (i.e. the more **entrenched**) its mental representation becomes, and the more 'accessible' it becomes. Conversely, as a pattern reduces in frequency, the less accessible it becomes, and the more likely it is to be replaced by other patterns.

Importantly, in terms of morphosyntax, it has been shown that “high frequency sequences of units come to be processed as single units” (Bybee, 2003: 617), and this has important implications for language change. Constructions can be conceived of “as the basic unit of morphosyntax” (Bybee 2006: 714), whereby “utterances are not always produced from scratch, but rather formed from pre-packaged building blocks, so-called chunks” (Rosemeyer, 2015: 292). Constructions often have slots which can be filled with different lexical items. For example, the slot in *that drives [someone] + ADJ* can be filled by *mad, crazy, wild, nuts, up the wall* etc. (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 188). In the context of the present study, constructions can be thought of as combinations of 2sg familiar [*tuteo/voseo*] and TAM [e.g. present indicative, preterit] verb morphology filled with different lexical items: in this case, verb stems.

When particular lexical items occur frequently in a construction, there is evidence that these too can be stored and accessed as a unit (Bybee 2006: 714), and can become entrenched. Such “prefabs” – conventionalised and predictable word sequences (Bybee 2006: 713) such as *that drives me crazy* – have been shown to “constitute important loci of grammatical development” (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 188). Again, in the Chilean Spanish context, one clear example of a highly frequent prefab which may have played a role in advancing the change is the highly frequent fossilised form *cachái* ‘you know’: the 2sg *voseo* present indicative construction filled with the verb *cachar*. *Cachái* will be discussed further in 5.4.2 and in Chapter 6.

Frequency has been linked to grammatical change in a number of ways. Most simply, prefabs increase the overall frequency and entrenchment of the general construction, which can help speakers to learn them: “the repetition of a particular verb [e.g. *cachar*] in a particular construction [e.g. present indicative of *voseo*] helps to establish the correlation between the meaning of the construction and its formal expression” (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 191). Once a construction has been established in this way, speakers “gradually learn to substitute lexical items into the slots in the construction represented by the sequence” (192).

As well as facilitating the learnability of new constructions, frequency can also provide more opportunity for innovation through an increase in accessibility of the construction. For

example, De Smet (2016) tested the role of entrenchment in the development of adjectival *key* in English (e.g. “Her confirmation was *key*”; p. 88) from more conventional nominal uses (e.g. “that is the *key*”) using the Hansard Corpus from the British Houses of Parliament. He found that, as more conventional uses (in this case, nominal *key*-compounds, such as *key phrases*) became better entrenched in individuals’ speech, this favoured the extension of *key* to more innovative “debonded” (e.g. before a pre-modifying adjective as in *key official documents*; 2016: 88) and properly adjectival uses. He concludes that “the more readily retrievable [i.e. entrenched] a conventional use of an expression is, the better are its chances of being used also in similar but unconventional ways” (2016: 86). In terms of the Chilean 2sg, then, the expectation would be that greater entrenchment of certain *voseo* prefabs, such as *cachái*, in the speech of some speakers might lead to greater accessibility (and, thus, higher rates) of other ‘unconventional’ *voseo* forms by those speakers. This generates the following general hypothesis, confirmation of which would be evidence of the role of frequency (of *cachái*) in the development of *voseo* (returned to in 6.4.2).

Hypothesis:

- Speakers for whom *cachái* is more entrenched will also use higher rates of *voseo*

Prefabs can also play a role in advancing formal and semantic change (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 187), through loss of compositionality and analysability. Compositionality is “a semantic measure having to do with transparency of meaning, and refers to the degree to which the meaning of the whole is predictable from the meaning of the component parts (e.g. *hopeful* is more compositional than *awful*)” (Bauman and Torres Cacoullos, 2013: 54). Analysability is “a morphosyntactic parameter, referring to the degree to which the internal structure and individual parts are recognizable” (2013: 54). As an expression becomes more entrenched, the less compositional and analysable it becomes and, consequently, the more autonomous it becomes from the overarching construction (e.g. Bybee, 2006: 715). As prefabs distance themselves from the base form (i.e. become more autonomous), “they gradually grow increasingly independent of their composite morphemes and other instances of the same construction” (Bybee, 2003: 618), and they become freer to adopt new meanings and functions (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 192).

This, in turn, may have opened up the door for other verbs, as we know prefabs can promote the productivity of the general construction, “in their association with semantic classes of which they are the most frequent member” (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 194) (194). Productivity is a measure of “the number of types that can occupy [a construction’s] open position” (Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009: 189), such as the number of adjectives in the *that drives [someone] + ADJ* example above. Bybee and Torres Cacoullos (2009: 214) argue that “certain instances of the construction lead the change, attracting other similar expressions”, and, in this way, gradually expanding into more and more contexts, via analogy.

Relating this back to the Chilean 2sg, we might expect that, as some frequent *voseo* forms, such as *cachái*, became more entrenched, they would have become more autonomous from *voseo* constructions, in general; that is less compositional (i.e. less associated with the historically negative connotations reportedly attributed to *voseo*), and less analysable as a *voseo* form. However, Bybee and Torres Cacoullos (2009: 214) showed that, even as prefabs become more autonomous, they do not necessarily lose all association with the general construction from which they were originally formed: while some highly frequent forms become ‘fossilised’ at an early stage of a change maintaining older forms and meanings, “others rush ahead to become [semantically] bleached and generalized.” This question of the relevant degree of autonomy of *cachái* will be crucial to the subsequent discussion of change through the system (see 6.4.2). The prediction would be that, generally speaking, the entrenchment of high frequency forms, such as *cachái*, might have assisted in the generalisation and loss of stigmatisation of *voseo* verb forms as a whole through a loss of compositionality in individual prefabs. However, this depends on the continued analysability of these forms as *voseo* verb forms: if *cachái* has become fully autonomous, then speakers will no longer associate it with the *voseo* paradigm, and its role in the change will be uncertain. If, however, *cachái* is still analysable as a *voseo* form (i.e. speakers associate it with other *voseo* verb forms), it may well have played a role in the change (see 6.3.1). This will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.6.2. Priming

Structural or syntactic priming (also known as persistence, perseveration and linguistic parallelism) is the tendency for language users to “reinvest in previously produced or processed structures in production and comprehension” (Travis et al. (2017: 1); cf. Weiner and Labov (1983), Bock (1986)). In simpler terms, it is the phenomenon whereby an occurrence of a linguistic form or structure ‘primes’ or triggers the subsequent repetition of that same form or structure (Torres Cacoullos, 2015: 14), since it has already been activated in their minds (Bock, 1986: 356). Importantly, “priming does not only lead to the repetition of the exact token, but also boosts the productivity of the primed construction” (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 8). Priming fits well into usage-based models as it shapes language use in real time, and has been shown to interact strongly with frequency (e.g. Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017).

Priming has been shown to be ‘mechanical’ rather than ‘functional’ (Labov, 1994: 547-568); that is, “unintentional and pragmatically unmotivated” (Bock and Griffin, 2000: 177). Furthermore, priming effects have been found in “just about every study that tests for it” (cf. Travis and Torres Cacoullos, 2014: 377). Priming effects have been robustly verified in both spontaneous discourse (e.g. Gries, 2005, Poplack, 1980, Poplack et al., 2006, Rosemeyer, 2015, Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017, Scherre and Naro, 1991, Szmrecsanyi, 2005, Szmrecsanyi, 2006, Tamminga, 2016, Travis and Torres Cacoullos, 2014, Weiner and Labov, 1983) and experimental settings (e.g. Bock, 1986, Bock and Griffin, 2000). Furthermore, priming has been demonstrated to be so ubiquitous “that it should be considered as a serious candidate for a universal of language use and processing” (Scherre and Naro, 1991: 30). It is also “highly relevant to the distribution of morphosyntactic alternations in which one of the variants is in the process of being replaced by the other variant with a similar discourse-pragmatic function” (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 30), as is the case with the Chilean 2sg.

Despite overwhelming evidence that “morphological and syntactic variation is controlled by a tendency to preserve parallel structures” (Labov, 1994: 550), it has rarely been studied in the 2sg. However, Carvalho (2010: 17) found that linguistic parallelism was the major *linguistic* conditioner of 2sg verbal forms in Uruguayan Spanish on the Brazilian border,

whereby a previous token of both *tuteo* and *voseo* strongly favoured a subsequent token of the same paradigm. The following example from Carvalho (2010: 9) shows a series of *voseo* verbs in the discourse.

- (8) *No, no **mojás** alrededor todo con dulce de leche no no **ponés** el [sic] leche alrededor; **pasás** con un cuchillo y después **mojás** con coco*

‘No, you_[Ø] don’t spread_[voseo] caramel around, you_[Ø] don’t put_[voseo] milk around, you_[Ø] spread_[voseo] [it] with a knife and then you_[Ø] moisten_[voseo] it with coconut’

Only Fernández-Mallat (2018: 78-79) has studied priming (or *paralelismo lingüístico* [linguistic parallelism], as he calls it) of the 2sg in Chilean Spanish³⁵. Although in the end he did not include priming in his statistical analyses (due to low token numbers and categoricity with *tuteo* primes), he did note a higher rate of *voseo* when there was a previous occurrence of *voseo* in the discourse, and categorical *tuteo* following a previous *tuteo*, although these were rare. Given these promising indications, he highlights priming as a key area to explore for future studies with greater token numbers to work with (Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 79).

Priming is relevant for a number of reasons in this study, not least because priming has previously been implicated as a mechanism in processes of language change. De Smet (2016) tested the role of priming in grammatical change in his study of the *key* in English (referred to above). While “trivially” *key* primes itself, he investigates the more important question of whether “conventional” uses of *key* prime more “innovative” uses (2016: 95), and finds evidence that they do i.e. priming has likely played a role in the early stages of the change by creating “a temporary surge in retrievability” (2016: 95) of the analogical model which, in turn, increases the probability that an expression is used in less conventional contexts. He argues that this priming effect provides some evidence for how innovations can spread through the system one step at a time, whereby “each step taken produces new analogical models to base subsequent changes on” (De Smet, 2016: 85). This will be discussed

³⁵ He distinguishes between linguistic parallelism (by the same speaker) and the form used by the interlocutor (by a different speaker). Neither, however, were significant. He does not define how he delimits the priming context e.g. within the same clause, within a certain number of main verbs etc.

further in 6.3.1, in terms of whether the highly frequent, invariable *voseo* form, *cachái* (discussed above), may have played a role in promoting this change. The hypothesis is that, if *cachái* has played a role, we would expect *cachai* not only to prime other uses of *cachai*, but also to prime more innovative uses of *voseo*.

Hypothesis:

- *Cachái* will prime *voseo*

Similarly, it has been found that priming can not only help to advance grammatical change (cf. Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 6-7), but it can also slow down change by helping to retain older forms (e.g. Rosemeyer, 2015). Very low frequency constructions, such as older forms being replaced by a newer variant in processes of change, seem to show stronger priming effects than higher frequency constructions (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 5), perhaps due to the “surprisal” effect of less frequent items (Jaeger and Snider, 2008). In their study of morphological alternation in the Spanish past subjunctive (obsolescing *-se* vs innovative *-ra*), Rosemeyer and Schwenter (2017) showed that not only was the presence (or absence) of a previous *-se* form the strongest predictor of the subsequent form (29), but a recent occurrence of a *-ra* token was “statistically indistinguishable from contexts with no recent use of a past subjunctive” (30). Furthermore, they find that low-frequency *-se* forms have an even stronger priming effect than high-frequency forms of *-se* (the obsolescing variant), because they activate the entire paradigm, not just repetition of an exact form. Thus, they argue, persistence, in itself “can be said to conserve the use and productivity of an obsolescing variant” by “countering the paradigmatic atrophy” caused by entrenchment of more frequent forms (32). As such, according to the authors, their study “establishes the importance of including persistence as a predictor of alternations of morphosyntactic variation” (30), particularly in contexts of change and obsolescence. Given the late stage of the change in the Chilean 2sg, we may well expect to see obsolescing variant priming effects in the current data: i.e. *tuteo* will prime *tuteo*. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Hypothesis:

- *Tuteo* will prime *tuteo*

Crucially, with regard to the theme of (lack of) metalinguistic awareness, priming has been shown to be a measure of speaker associations between forms (Tamminga, 2016, Torres Cacoullos, 2015, Travis et al., 2017). Torres Cacoullos (2015) uses priming as a “measure of internal structure” (17) in terms of loss of analysability (see 3.6) in Spanish present progressive constructions (with the auxiliary *estar*) in different periods of Spanish, as these grammaticised. She found that in the thirteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, non-progressive *estar* constructions primed subsequent progressive forms, but in the nineteenth century, they did not; she interprets this as evidence of diminished analysability i.e. that Spanish present progressive *estar* constructions have become fully periphrastic by the nineteenth century, as speakers no longer associated the lexically similar non-progressive *estar* constructions with the fully grammaticised progressive *estar* constructions.

Similarly, Tamminga (2016) uses priming as a diagnostic tool for grammatical relatedness, arguing that priming “reflects morphological structure” and thus can be used “to exploit patterns of repetition to address questions of grammatical identity in conversational speech” (337), particularly in relation to clarifying the envelope of variation (see 3.4, above). Looking at two variables, ING (-ing/in’) and TD deletion in Philadelphia English, she showed that “surface similarity produces priming only in the presence of a shared grammatical representation” (338). For example, for the ING variable, full realization of the -ng sound in words like *ceiling* and *working* was primed only in cases where the prime and target were morphologically matched: monomorphemic words such as *ceiling* primed others like *morning*, and polymorphemic words like *working* primed *kicking*, but *singing* did not prime *awning*.

These results show that, although priming is a largely mechanical mechanism, it is structured along grammatical lines. As there is a certain degree of mixing between the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms, confusion and apparent lack of explicit knowledge about the forms, and unreliable reporting of usage, the degree to which speakers have awareness of this variable is a genuine question. Priming is one way that we can get at this question: if speakers associate *voseo* verb forms as being distinct from *tuteo* verb forms, then this will be evident in the patterns resulting from priming; i.e. *voseo* will prime *voseo*, and *tuteo* will prime other *tuteo* forms at a higher rate than *voseo*. Lack of any priming effects will be evidence for conflation of the two paradigms in speakers’ variable grammars. As Tamminga (2016: 337), says “in the face of overwhelming general evidence for structural priming, a failure to observe priming by

the same methods may indicate that the prime and target are not representationally related.” This generates the following hypothesis which will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Hypothesis:

- A previous occurrence of *tuteo* or *voseo* will favour a subsequent token of the same form i.e.
 - a. *Voseo* will prime *voseo*
 - b. *Tuteo* will prime *tuteo*

3.7. Conclusions

This chapter has summarised the main characteristics of the Variationist Method and highlighted its strengths as a theoretical framework for studying the variation in the Chilean 2sg system. It also discussed a number of complementary usage-based theories of language which will supplement the analyses.

It began by contextualizing the Chilean *voseo* as a classic morphosyntactic linguistic variable within the variationist tradition – possibly even a stereotype – with variants that are both stratified socially and for which any subtle semantic nuances are largely neutralised in discourse. I argued that looking at the Chilean 2sg in this way not only avoided debates around semantics, but also allowed for differences in meaning to be empirically tested through differences in the variants’ contextual distributions.

The next section presented the ‘principle of accountability’ emphasising the importance of correctly defining and delimiting the ‘variable context’, so as not to count the wrong things and obtain misleading results. On the topic of counting, another characteristic of this methodology is the application of rigorous quantitative analysis to test falsifiable hypotheses rather than relying on speaker or researcher intuition. A full chapter is devoted to this topic in Chapter 5.

In the second half of the chapter, I introduced the Variationist Comparative Method and how cross-group comparison of social and linguistic conditioning can contribute to our understanding of fine-grained linguistic change. Then I reviewed some insights about the patterns of language variation and change from the variationist tradition, which help inform the hypotheses motivating this work, as well as the interpretation of results. I discussed the

Apparent Time Construct and how diachronic change can be charted synchronically; and reviewed commonly found patterns in the variationist literature in order to make a number of predictions about gender and SEC in contexts of change. I introduced Labov's (2001: 261-93) conceptualisation of change from above and below and discussed the association of prestige forms with higher SECs and women; and stigmatised forms with the lower classes and men; and how middle-class speakers can behave even more conservatively than their upper-class compatriots. I also discussed how women are usually the leaders of change, but not always, citing a number of studies where men have led changes with innovative forms associated with covert prestige.

The final part of the chapter discussed linguistic conditioning focusing on usage-based models of language and the research into frequency and priming to generate some broad hypotheses about how innovations spread through the linguistic system, and speaker awareness of forms in the Chilean 2sg. These insights will be important for the generation of more specific hypotheses in Chapter 6 and the interpretation of the results in Chapters 7 and 8.

The following chapter will outline the data collection process and resulting data set, as informed by the present discussion of the Variationist Method.

Chapter 4: Data for the study of the Chilean second-person singular

4.1. Introduction

Any generalisations to be made about the current state of the *voseo* in Chile are only as good as the data they are based upon. In Chapter 2, I discussed how *voseo* occurs in informal interactions between intimate interlocutors and in communicative situations that favour spontaneity and the production of the ‘vernacular’ (e.g. Labov 1970: 181): it is unlikely to occur at all in formal registers and can even be considered offensive in some contexts and with some interlocutors. Thus, to study the real usage of *voseo*, a particular kind of data was needed. This chapter will describe the data used in the present study and how it was collected.

Labov (1972: 106) observed very early that speaker and researcher intuition were unreliable sources of data when it comes to variable phenomena, especially with stigmatised variables like *voseo*. In the first part of the chapter, I will describe Labov’s (1970: 181) concept of “good data” in the context of Chilean *voseo* and argue that, in order to address the questions of language change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness, we need a corpus of spontaneous unmonitored speech data with sufficient tokens of natural usage of the 2sg in casual Chilean Spanish to make possible a quantitative analysis of the patterns of variation which condition the respective variants. As no appropriate existing dataset was available, it was necessary to gather new data.

However, data collection must be done in such a way as to mitigate the effects of the observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972: 209). Although variationist researchers typically use the sociolinguistic interview, given the inherent interactional nature of the 2sg, as well as the stigmatisation of the *voseo* and its association with informal registers, another form of data was required. The following section reports the implications of a pilot study using corpora of sociolinguistic interviews from Chile and unstructured conversations from Colombia,

respectively, which showed that unmediated conversational data was more suitable for this study.

Section 4.3 will discuss the collection and composition of the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS): a stratified corpus of recorded, naturally-occurring conversations collected by the researcher during a period of field work between November 2014 and February 2015 in Santiago de Chile. In addition to the original corpus recorded for this study, I also gained access to the published transcriptions of the *Habla culta* corpus of Chilean Spanish (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979, Rabanales and Contreras, 1990), from the early 1970s (recorded from 1970-1972, immediately prior to the coup in 1973), which were held in the library of the *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* at the Grecia campus of the Universidad de Chile. As well as the apparent time study conducted with the contemporary data, this created the possibility of making real-time comparisons of usage in the 1970s and the 2010s. The characteristics of this corpus and its comparability with the CCSS will be described in section 4.4.

4.2. 'Good data'

One of the key strengths of the Variationist Method is the elevation of systematic observation of “good data” (Labov, 1970: 181) – that is recorded data of spontaneous naturally-occurring speech – over speaker intuition. Given the tendency of much previous work on Chilean *voseo* towards qualitative descriptions and speaker and researcher intuition, many hypotheses have been generated but few have been tested using scientific methods – at least until recently (cf. Fernández-Mallat (2018), Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016)). Furthermore, this has led to conflicting results between studies, especially when compared with observations of actual usage (cf. 2.5.3). While speaker and scholarly intuition about language use are the obvious sources of most hypotheses, they are notoriously unreliable as a source of data for making generalisations about variable phenomena: “it is the nature of language to produce categorical judgments” and “when we enter variable areas, it appears that intuitive judgments are less regular than behavior” (Labov 1972: 107). This is especially true for stigmatised variants such as *voseo*. It has commonly been found that “When speakers of a subordinate dialect are asked direct questions about their language, their answers will shift in an irregular manner toward [or away from] the superordinate dialect” (Labov, 1972b:

111). This is exemplified by the apparent disconnect between what speakers say they do and actual rates of use (see Chapter 2), the very fact motivating the questions about (lack of) metalinguistic awareness. For these reasons, “it is imperative that actual data be collected from speakers and quantified in order to begin to be able to discuss Chilean *voseo* empirically rather than only from intuitions” (Stevenson, 2007: 30).

The best kind of data for the study of variation is the ‘vernacular’: “the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1970: 181). Labov (1970: 180) showed that there was a hierarchy of formality correlated with speakers’ attention to speech, and that all speakers control a variety of styles which they apply depending on the social context and the topic. The more formal the situation, the more attention speakers pay to their speech and, consequently, the less systematic their language use is; conversely, the vernacular is the style in which variation with non-standard variants (such as *voseo*) is most likely to occur, and importantly, in which variation is most systematic.

Therefore, in order to study the complex variation in the Chilean 2sg, and to address the questions of language change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness, we need representative data in the form of recordings of real-life usage by speakers in informal settings which favour the use of the vernacular. However, the biggest problem with this kind of data is capturing “how people talk when they are not being systematically observed” when the only way to do so is through systematic observation, the observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972: 209). Capturing the vernacular is a slippery business. Data collection must be conducted in such a way as to mitigate the effects of recording i.e. by minimizing the amount of attention speakers pay to their speech. Typically, in the variationist tradition, this has been accomplished through the use of the sociolinguistic interview, a long-established format defined by a loose set of questions about topics that are considered to be of interest to the interviewee, designed to elicit the vernacular by distracting the speaker from the fact that they are being recorded through engaging their emotion and memory (Labov, 1984).

However, given the stigmatization of the *voseo*, its association with informal, spontaneous speech, and the special interactional nature of the 2sg more generally, it was decided that the sociolinguistic interview was not the most appropriate format for the present study. Firstly, the interview format is not ideal for the production of stigmatised

variables more generally (although it can be used effectively for some variables by reducing the formality of the interview situation using in-group research assistants, allowing informants time to grow accustomed to the recording situation and talking about quotidian topics). As Labov (1972a: 249) notes, such variables tend to be governed by “covert norms, which attribute positive values to the vernacular” (Labov, 1972a: 249) (see 3.5.3) and “In most formal situations in urban areas such as an interview or a psycholinguistic test, these norms are extremely difficult to elicit.”

Secondly, it turns out that, due to the interactional nature of the 2sg, conversational data provides much more evenly distributed data than sociolinguistic interviews. This finding was based on a pilot study conducted prior to the collection of new data for the present study, comparing data from two existing corpora, from Chile and Colombia respectively: the PRESEEA Corpus (Matus Olivier et al., 2007) of sociolinguistic interviews in Santiago de Chile and the Corpus of Conversational Colombian Spanish (CCCS) from Cali, Colombia (Travis, 2005). This pilot study reinforced two key points: firstly, that the data should be interactional, and secondly that it should be in a casual context. For these reasons, conversational data was deemed more appropriate than the sociolinguistic interview³⁶.

4.2.1. Pilot Study: Sociolinguistic Interviews versus Conversational Data

PRESEEA, or the *Proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y de América* (Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Spanish from Spain and America) (PRESEEA, 2014) is a large multinational project with the goal of facilitating coordinated sociolinguistic research about the Spanish of Spain and Latin America through the provision of a spoken language corpus that allows for “comparisons between different studies and materials, as well as a basic information exchange” (PRESEEA, 2014). As such, the Chilean sub-corpus was a logical first stop as a possible source of data for the present thesis; as discussed below, there are a number of reasons why it was not suitable. For this pilot study, however, a subset of the materials from the Santiago de Chile portion of the much larger pan-Hispanic corpus (Matus Olivier et al., 2007) was used. Data were analysed from six sociolinguistic interviews involving

³⁶ This was also the innovative approach taken by Fernández Mallat (2018)

11 participants³⁷. All 2sg tokens were extracted and coded for form (*tuteo*, *voseo*, syncretic forms – see Chapter 2; NB: no *usted* in these data).

Of 526 2sg tokens in just over two hours (132 minutes) of discourse, only 35% were spoken by the informants (while the remaining 65% were spoken by the interviewers), despite informants producing approximately two thirds of the spoken material overall, revealing a highly skewed distribution of the data by role in the discourse situation. For example, in transcript SCHI_M21_019, the participant produced 65% of the transcribed lines (744/1152), yet only 17% (42/244) of the 2sg tokens. Of the 35% of tokens spoken by the informants, more than half of these tokens (N=99) were made up by a single non-variable construction of a single verb (*cachai*, ‘you know’, 100% *voseo*), which would be excluded (see 5.4.2), meaning that only about 17% of all tokens were made up of other verbs spoken by informants. From the evidence presented here, it would seem that 2sg tokens spoken by informants are relatively infrequent in sociolinguistic interviews (approx. 40 tokens per hour) which seem to favour first person narratives and an unrepresentative percentage of 2sg tokens produced by the interviewer.

Furthermore, as we know that the previous form influences the choice of the following form in interview data (see 3.6.2), if the interviewer produces 65% of 2sg tokens, a priming effect by the interviewer could seriously influence results. This is especially relevant in the context of a variable so often described in terms of social relations such as hierarchy and solidarity; and even more so given the reported stigmatisation of *voseo*. If we want to see how participants use the 2sg in their unmonitored speech, how can interviewers access this without influencing the participants’ choice of variant through their own use of the variants?

³⁷ 1 full conversation (60 minutes), and 10 pages each (approx. 15 minutes each) from 5 other conversations, giving a total of 90 pages, 132 minutes and 526 tokens of 2sg.

Table 6: Rate of *voseo* (vs *tuteo*) for PRESEEA Sub-corpus in the Variable Context

Role	% <i>voseo</i>	N 2sg (<i>voseo</i> + <i>tuteo</i>) ³⁸
Interviewers	78%	202
Informants	100%	57
Total	83%	259

Table 6 shows a marked difference in rates of *voseo* and token counts in the variable context for interviewers and informants. The overall rate of 83% *voseo* turned out to be remarkably similar to the results in the current study (see Chapter 7). However, all of the 44 *tuteo* tokens in the data are spoken by the interviewers, resulting in a lower rate of 78% *voseo* compared with categorical *voseo* by informants. While this may seem to suggest there is no variation, it is important to bear in mind that only a small subset of data was used, representing only a portion of Chilean society: all but one of the six speakers are under 30 and the older speaker is categorised as working class – precisely the speakers most associated with *voseo* in the literature. The difference in rates of variants between interviewers and informants may be due to the predominance of questions by the interviewer which, given the limited grammar of questions, could mean that the full range of forms and functions might not be used. It could also be due to the fact that informants simply produce fewer tokens in general (because they are not asking questions of the interviewer), and that this is insufficient for variation to emerge in these data. What these figures do show is that the sociolinguistic interview presents a number of issues which make it less than ideal for the analysis of the Chilean 2sg.

To contrast the distribution of sociolinguistic interview data with conversational data, a similar preliminary analysis was conducted using the Corpus of Conversational Colombian Spanish (cf. Travis, 2005: 9-25). This corpus, of roughly nine hours and 100,000 words of unstructured conversational data (i.e. not sociolinguistic interviews) spoken by 24 women and 13 men, was recorded in Cali, Colombia (where *voseo* and *tuteo* are also in variation) between 1997 and 2004. All 2sg tokens were extracted from a subset of five conversations³⁹ and coded

³⁸ The rates in Table 6 are excluding tokens falling outside the variable context (N=267/526). —syncretic forms and the invariable form *cachái*.

³⁹ The five transcripts were: 01 Almuerzo, 02 restaurante, 03 familia, 04 insurance, 05 pizza.

for form. Of 511 tokens spoken by six speakers in approximately 135 minutes of conversational data, only 39% were spoken by the in-group Research Assistant (henceforth RA) (compared with 65% in the interview data), for an average of 137 tokens per hour by the other participants (over three times that obtained in the sample interview data). Furthermore, the rate of tokens/hour climbs to 250 when we include the RA's tokens – there is no reason to exclude these in conversational data, as the RA is merely another participant (assuming they are unaware of the object of study, as in this case). It is also worth noting that the reason the RA in the CCCS data produces 39% of the 2sg tokens is because she produces 35% of the data overall (3057/8692 Intonation Units; see 4.3.3 below). Consequently, her contribution to the 2sg data set is in proportion with her contribution to the conversation overall, not skewed towards the 2sg as a result of her role in the interaction, as was the case with sociolinguistic interviews.

While the sociolinguistic interview has been used very effectively to study many variables, it is fundamentally not suited to the study of the Chilean *voseo*. Conversational data provides much more evenly distributed data in the case of the 2sg than sociolinguistic interviews, where 2sg tokens spoken by informants are highly infrequent and, due to the interview-type format, 2sg tokens are more frequently produced by the interviewer. Consequently, there are risks in terms of the validity of the data, including differing rates of use according to each participant's role in the interaction and the production of a limited range of forms. In contrast, while the 2sg would seem to be no more frequent in conversational data, the distribution of 2sg tokens is much more even between participants both in terms of proportion and range of use, and tokens from both (or all) participants can be included, as long as none of them are aware of the linguistic variable of interest.

Therefore, the sociolinguistic interviews of the PRESEEA corpus were eliminated as a potential source of data and, for the present study, the principal data used is a corpus of recordings of unmonitored naturally-occurring spontaneous conversations between friends, family and colleagues. In-group research assistants were asked to record casual, unstructured conversations with their friends and family members, of the kind they would be likely to have anyway. This is discussed at length in 4.3.

4.2.2. Defining the Speech Community

Another key component of ‘good data’ is the definition of the speech community. In its very nature, the speech community is an abstract concept, and notoriously difficult to define in practice. Yet it is also an immensely intuitive concept that most speakers have little difficulty coming to terms with.

The speech community has been defined as an aggregate of speakers who share a set of norms for the interpretation of language, as reflected in their treatment of linguistic variables: patterns of social stratification, style shifting, and subjective evaluations. This orderly heterogeneity normally rests on a uniform structural base: the underlying phrase structure, the grammatical category, the inventory of phonemes, and the distribution of that inventory in the lexicon (Labov, 1989: 2).

Both the act and the means of defining the boundaries of the speech community have important ramifications for any study. The first crucial step is to delineate a speech community with “well-defined limits, a common structural base, and a unified set of sociolinguistic norms” (Labov 2007: 347). In order to test whether there has been a change in the grammar in the 2sg in Chilean Spanish, it is important to define whose grammar might have been affected, and who might share attitudes about the forms: “variation follows regular patterns which tell us a great deal about the evolution of language as well as how people use it. We find again and again that the grammar of a speech community is more regular than the behavior of the individual” (Labov 1972: 109). Furthermore, the language attitudes associated with this behaviour also tend to be remarkably consistent across a speech community (Labov, 2001: 248). In order to provide the kind of data that can answer the questions motivating this study, the speech community should comprise those speakers who have pioneered and been most intimately involved with the reported change in Chilean Spanish.

In a sense, the speech community could be defined as loosely as speakers of Latin American Spanish, or constrained to a single group of friends in Santiago. However, the literature is clear that Chilean *voseo* is different from others, and there is evidence that not only is *voseo* used (and evaluated) differently in peripheral areas of Chile (e.g. Kluge, 2005: 187, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 105-6), but it is also said to radiate from the capital (Santiago) outwards (e.g. Stevenson, 2007:179). Santiago is the hive from which *voseo* is said

to be spreading, and provides not only clear geographic and administrative boundaries but also common norms by which to delimit the speech community.

Santiago is the capital of Chile. Its approximately seven million residents (INE, 2017: 13) are described by Chileans as '*santiaguinos*' or '*capitalinos*'. Geographically, the area is enclosed by mountains to the east, west and north. Administratively, Chile is divided into fifteen regions, of which the thirteenth is the *Región Metropolitana de Santiago* (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2018). This region – the largest in terms of population and the smallest in terms of area – is itself subdivided into six provinces (Chacabuco, Cordillera, Maipo, Melipilla, Santiago and Talagante), which in turn are divided into 52 *comunas*, or municipalities, with 32 falling within the province of Santiago (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2018).

Therefore, while other speech communities may well exist at other levels, both linguistically and geographically, for the purposes of the present study, and the questions it seeks to answer, the 32 provinces of the province of Santiago provide the best definition of the speech community. The individual participants will be discussed in 4.3.2, below.

4.3. Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS)

Considering the results of the pilot studies (see 4.2.1), and the absence of available existing conversational data on Santiago Spanish, new data was required. The primary source of data used in this research was the stratified Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS), collected by the researcher: recorded spontaneous conversations between native Spanish-speaking participants from different social groups in Santiago. These recordings took the form of casual conversations between friends, family members and colleagues in the home, car or workplace of one of the participants i.e. of the kind they would be likely to have ordinarily.

Example (9), below, shows an extract from the corpus to give an idea of what these conversational data looks like. In this example, as well as variation between *voseo* and *tuteo* (as well as syncretic forms), a number of other features of this type of data can be seen, including overlapping speech (indicated by square brackets), backchannelling, laughter (indicated by @ signs), truncation (indicated by --) and restarts, narrative, direct and reported

speech (between <Q Q>), etc. More details about the conventions of transcription method can be found in 4.3.3, and in Transcription Conventions.

(9)	Andrea: <i>oye yo era re simpática cuando chica? me portaba súper bien? .. o no? .. yo no me acuerdo de haberme portado mal.</i> Sara: <i>.. es que las niñas no son desordenadas, en comparación de los [niños --]</i> Fernanda: <i>[gritona e]ras a veces, y una vez te dio la gritería con la bicicleta, ibas sacando la bicicleta para afuera por el jardín. ... y gritaba -- y gritaba, y voy y a mí me da tanta indignación? <Q y por qué !gritas? Q> ((IMITANDO VOZ DE ALTERADA)) le digo yo y le !pesco la bicicleta -- y se la hice pedazos fíjate. ... donde la tiré? le, se le quebraron unos manu=brios --</i> Andrea: <i><@ !puta @>. <@oh mamá [que erís mala] @>.</i> Fernanda: <i>[yo no sé por qué] gritaba. ... de ahí como que se le pasó lo gritona.</i> (CCSS; Family; 681-702)	Andrea: Hey was I really likeable when I was little? Was I well behaved? .. or not? .. I don't remember misbehaving. Sara: .. the thing is that girls aren't unruly, compared to boys. Fernanda: you were a shouter sometimes, and one time you were shouting on your bike You were taking the bike out through the garden. ... and you shouted -- and shouted, and I go out and it fills me with indignation. <Q why are you shouting? Q> ((IMITATING UPSET VOICE)) I say to her and I grab the bike -- and smashed it to pieces you better believe it ... where did I throw it? Its, the handlebars broke off it -- Andrea: <@ Shit! @>. <@oh mamá [you're so mean!] @>. Fernanda: [I dunno why] she was shouting. ... and after that she sort of got over the shouting thing.

Table 7: Recordings Constituting the CCSS (RA Indicated by an *)

#	Transcript	Participants	Minutes (transcribed)	Relationship	Location
1	Relationships	Tomás, Soledad	30:27	Colleagues	Work (both)
2	Takeaway	Cristián, Claudia*	15:48	Spouses	Home (both)
3	Police	Valentina*, Amanda, Matilda	21:06	Friends	Home (Matilda)
4	Barcelona	Juan, José*	29:51	Friends	Home (José)
5	Dinner with the boss	Cecilia*, Pamela, Vanessa	31:00	Friends	Home (Cecilia)
6	Barbeque	Viviana*, Tatiana, Gerardo	34:45	Friends; spouses (Tatiana & Gerardo)	Home (Viviana)
7	Friends	Viviana*, Eduardo, Tatiana, Gerardo	32:00	Friends; spouses (Viviana & Eduardo; Tatiana & Gerardo)	Home (Viviana)
8	Football	Matías*, Alfredo	30:00	Friends	Home (Matías)
9	Southern Chile	Alejandra*, Javier	30:07	Spouses	Home (both)
10	Family	Andrea*, Sara, Fernanda, [Andrés]	50:01	Family (spouses, daughter, aunt)	Home (Andrea)
11	A bit of everything	Andrea*, Magdalena	40:00	Friends	Home (Andrea)
12	Girlfriends	Marcela, Ángela*	30:00	Friends	Home (Ángela)
13	Nerds and geeks	Trinidad, Valentín*	30:00	Mother & son	Work (Trinidad)
14	Cousins	Carmen*, Emilia	30:00	Cousins	Home (Carmen)
15	Savings	Carolina*, Nicol	38:00	Friends	Home (Nicol)
16	Movies	Agustina, Cassandra	30:00	Colleagues	Work (both)
17	Back to Santiago	Ernesto*, Humberto	30:00	Father & son	Car (Humberto)
	Total	36 participants⁴⁰	8 hours 53 minutes		

⁴⁰ There are actually 37 participants. Speaker #37 Andrés appears in the table for the sake of transparency, but is excluded from the data set as he only produces four 2sg tokens in the 50 minutes of the recording in which he participates. Where no RA is indicated, it is because I arranged (but did not participate in) the recording.

4.3.1. Data Collection: In-Group Research Assistants

The CCSS is composed of approximately nine hours of transcribed conversation from 17 recordings involving 36 participants. Table 7 shows the details of the participants, the location of the recording and the length of the transcribed section for each recording in the corpus.

In-group Research Assistants (RAs) were used to gather the data, for a number of reasons. There is considerable evidence that the rates of variants can be affected by whether or not the ‘interviewer’ is a member of the community (Hernández, 2011, Poplack, 1983, Rickford and McNair-Knox, 1994). For example, amongst Salvadorans living in Houston, USA, Hernández (2011: 67) found that participants used four times higher rates of velarisation when the interviewers were Salvadoran than when they were Mexican. Importantly, previous studies have also shown that Chilean speakers are sensitive to the background of the interlocutor when using 2sg variants, often favouring *tuteo* categorically with non-Chileans despite favouring *voseo* with other Chileans (Fernández-Mallat, 2011, Kluge, 2005).

As I am not a native Chilean Spanish speaker, I was not involved in any of the interactions. Each conversation involved one in-group research assistant (RA) and up to three other participants. RAs were found starting from within my existing social network in Santiago (e.g. my wife’s family, the Chilean Cricket Association with which I was closely associated for two years, and friends and acquaintances from my three and a half years living in Chile). The identified RAs were asked to organise one-hour-long, two to four-person exchanges between themselves and friends and family members from Santiago i.e. a conversation which they would be likely to have anyway. The organising participants (or RAs) were offered 5000 Chilean pesos (approximately AUD\$10) per usable recording or, where more appropriate, a gift (e.g. a bottle of wine or pisco or a voucher for Jumbo (a large department store)). Recordings were made using a ZOOM H4n or an Olympus DS-2200 Digital voice recorder.

While the organising participants were called RAs to distinguish them from other participants, they were also equal participants in the conversations as they were instructed not to guide the conversation and were not informed of the study’s focus. They were not required to have any previous training or knowledge in linguistics or any other field; indeed,

it was preferred that they did not have a linguistic background, although some did. They were responsible for coordinating the recording: organising a time and a place with other participants, and – when I could not be present – explaining the documentation, collecting signed consent forms, conducting the demographic survey, and operating the recording device. When I was on-site, I managed the paperwork but was not involved in the interactions.

In order to maximise the possibility of capturing natural unmonitored vernacular, where participants pay as little attention as possible to the fact that they are being observed (Labov, 1970, Labov, 1972b), further participants were identified and recruited using the social-network and friend-of-a-friend techniques (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 32), which ensured they were talking to people they knew and trusted and felt comfortable in the ‘recorded’ setting. From there a ‘snowballing’ technique (cf. Keyton, 2006: 128, Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 94) was used to ensure sufficient numbers of participants. However, a certain degree of selectivity was exercised, particularly in the early stages to control for a number of characteristics. These will be discussed in the section on participants.

This was very successful in terms of getting access to the vernacular, as the high rates of *voseo* would suggest (see Chapter 7). However, a limitation of the social network sampling techniques was that the resulting sample was somewhat skewed to the particular age and SEC composition of my own social networks. As Torres Cacoullós and Travis (2018: 40), comment, in defence of the sociolinguistic interview, “it might seem expedient to simply leave a recording device running in the course of daily conversations with friends, but this would limit participants to the researcher’s social circles or those of their students.” I simply did not have access to certain portions of the population, particularly older working-class people, and this is reflected in the make-up of the corpus. This was, however, a necessary trade-off in order to get the kind of data required for the present study.

Data collection was conducted in accordance with the ANU Ethics Protocol 2014-413 titled *Changing language and society in Chile*. As part of this protocol, informed consent was obtained from all participants (including the RAs) prior to the beginning of participation. This involved provision of a Project Information Sheet in Spanish which explained the purpose of the study, the risks involved and the rights and responsibilities of all parties (see Appendix 4). Participants were given an opportunity to ask any questions and then asked to sign a consent

form in Spanish (see Appendix 2) which allowed the conversation to be recorded, transcripts to be made available to other researchers and anonymised segments of audio to be played in academic contexts. If they refused the first point, the recording went no further; no participant ticked no in the case of the latter two. At this point, the participants were attributed an identifying code and pseudonym which was used in all subsequent materials to refer to them.

Once a potential participant had been identified through the described mechanisms, a time and a place were arranged either by the researcher (me) or an RA to have a recorded conversation. Then, either the RA or I would arrive with a recorder and the necessary documentation. The RA who arranged/participated in each conversation is indicated in Table 7 with an asterisk (where none is indicated, I had arranged the recording directly with both parties). I did not participate in any of the recorded conversations, but was occasionally in the same room, or in an adjoining room. In most cases, the conversations were recorded in the homes of one of the participants; a number of conversations were also recorded in cars, and between colleagues in the workplace during their lunch break. As such, although there was an element of artificiality in the fact that I was asking people to meet in order to record a conversation, the conversations were nonetheless natural, spontaneous conversations between people who would have had such conversations anyway (although not necessarily at that time and in that place).

4.3.2. Participants

At the end of the allotted recording time, a Demographic Survey (see Appendix 6) was conducted to collect detailed information about the participants' demographic characteristics and social background, in order to be correlated with patterns of use, but did not constitute part of the linguistic data. Information was gathered through a carefully structured set of questions about the participants' age, gender, socio-economic status, profession, education level, place of residence, linguistic history, relationship to the RA, details of parents and partner etc. All participants, including the RAs completed the demographic survey. Any participant for whom this data was missing was excluded from the study. This survey was administered (in most cases) orally by the RAs involved in each interaction following the spontaneous discourse and recorded. In some cases, the RAs or participants filled out the

forms by hand, and sometimes on behalf of family members. The responses were then extracted and coded to provide additional information on the demographic groups included in the study.

The target participants were native Spanish speakers from the 32 *comunas* comprising the Province of Santiago de Chile (*'santiaguinos'*, *'capitalinos'*), from a wide range of social groups. This group is defined by the limits of Santiago, both geographically and socially (see 4.2.2). Participants were sought who met the following criteria:

- Be a current resident of Santiago
- Be born and raised in Chile, preferably in Santiago.
- Have parent/guardian(s) born and raised in Chile, preferably in Santiago.
- Have not lived outside of Santiago for an extended period of time (more than one year) in the last five years
- Be a monolingual Spanish speaker (with the exception of English as a second language)⁴¹

All participants were first-language Spanish speakers born and raised in Chile (except Matías who was born in Argentina to Chilean parents who returned to Chile when he was seven days old). All participants had two Chilean parents, although not necessarily from Santiago, and all were long-term residents of Santiago: most had lived more than half of their lives in Santiago with the exception of Carmen who was from Concepción, where she had lived most of her life before moving to Santiago at the age of 26. Those who had lived outside Santiago usually had done so elsewhere in Chile, except for Carmen, Cecilia, Ernesto (as an infant), Humberto, José and Marcela (in Barcelona), Matías (as a child), and Tomás, who had all lived abroad. Only Carmen had done so within the last five years. Emilia had lived in Australia for ten months but did not list English as a second language. While many claimed to speak English, and others French, Italian and Catalán, their command of these other languages can be assumed to vary enormously; all were dominant in Spanish and can safely be considered native speakers of (Santiago) Chilean Spanish.

⁴¹ Many Chileans, especially from higher socio-economic groups, learn English from an early age at prestigious English-speaking schools.

An attempt was made to include both male and female speakers, from a wide range of age and Socio-economic Class (SEC) groups, in order to analyse the effects of these factors on the variation and change present in the 2sg system in Chilean Spanish.

Table 8, below, shows the demographic details (age, gender, level of education, occupation and *comuna* (or municipality of residence) for each participant, as well as the number of minutes, Intonation Units (IUs) (see 4.3.3) and 2sg tokens produced and the transcripts they were involved in.

Table 8: Details of Participants in the CCSS

Pseudonym	mins/ speaker	# Tokens	# IUs	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Comuna	Transcript(s)
Agustina	20	73	1127	27	Female	University	Academic Coordinator (Political scientist)	Estación Central	Movies
Alejandra	9	38	392	36	Female	University	Agricultural Analyst (Agricultural Engineer)	Santiago	Southern Chile
Alfredo	13	30	675	28	Male	University	Unemployed (Programmer)	Las Condes	Football
Amanda	3	9	141	53	Female	Technical	Fashion Designer	La Reina	Police
Andrea	32	135	1351	24	Female	University	University Student	Ñuñoa	1. Family 2. A bit of everything
Ángela	10	96	600	31	Female	University	Dental Surgeon	Las Condes	Girlfriends
Carmen	20	162	1193	29	Female	University	Public Administrator (Grade 7) (Environmental Engineering)	Providencia	Cousins
Carolina	25	49	1395	35	Female	University	Early childhood teacher (Psycho-pedagogy)	Santiago	Savings

Cassandra	11	30	675	28	Female	University	Academic Coordinator (Industrial Design)	Providencia	Movies
Cecilia	18	39	1241	43	Female	University	Maths teacher and housewife (Industrial Civil Engineering)	Las Condes	Dinner with the boss
Claudia	8	54	448	30	Female	University	Unemployed (maternity leave) (journalist)	La Reina	Takeaway
Cristián	8	17	552	31	Male	Middle	Owner of a restaurant (manager of a café)	La Reina	Takeaway
Eduardo	3	30	192	60	Male	Technical	Businessman	Lo Barnechea	Friends
Emilia	12	41	647	29	Female	University	Dance teacher and professional dancer	Recoleta	Cousins
Ernesto	17	59	569	27	Male	University	Flight attendant (Psychology)	Las Condes	Back to Santiago
Fernanda	16	51	752	59	Female	University	Tax advisor	Ñuñoa	Family
Gerardo	12	141	704	42	Male	University	Advertising	Lo Barnechea	1. Friends 2. Barbeque
Humberto	13	39	460	62	Male	University	Academic (university professor)	Las Condes	Back to Santiago

Javier	22	52	874	31	Male	Middle	University student	Santiago	Southern Chile
José	16	47	883	33	Male	University	Physiotherapist	Ñuñoa	Barcelona
Juan	16	69	883	34	Male	University	Dentist	Las Condes	Barcelona
Magdalena	21	58	926	25	Female	University	Café Manager	Las Condes	A bit of everything
Marcela	22	124	1363	31	Female	University	Occupational therapist	Ñuñoa	Girlfriends
Matías	19	85	904	27	Male	University	Journalist	Las Condes	Football
Matilda	10	52	550	58	Female	Middle	Apartment building administrator	Ñuñoa	Police
Nicol	15	40	680	32	Female	University	Social worker	Santiago	Savings
Pamela	10	43	731	50	Female	Technical	Private Reiki instructor (Biologist)	Santiago	Dinner with the boss
Sara	20	96	929	57	Female	Middle	Bus driver	Maipú	Family
Soledad	26	40	1237	53	Female	Technical	Labourer (fashion); university official	La Pintana	Relationships
Tatiana	25	111	1073	38	Female	Technical	Businesswoman (Hotel Management)	Lo Barnechea	1. Friends 2. Barbeque
Tomás	5	16	331	59	Male	Primary	Security guard; previously truck driver	Maipú	Relationships

Trinidad	18	50	786	51	Female	Primary	Cleaner; personal assistant	La Florida	Nerds and geeks
Valentín	13	29	503	20	Male	Primary	Driver	La Florida	Nerds and geeks
Valentina	7	19	339	60	Female	Middle	Retired (Previously flight attendant)	Providencia	Police
Vanessa	8	19	549	49	Female	University	Housewife (Executive secretary)	La Reina	Dinner with the boss
Viviana	34	159	1529	44	Female	Technical	Housewife	Lo Barnechea	1. Friends 2. Barbeque
Totals	557	2202	28184						

4.3.3. Transcription

Of more than 50 recordings and over 36 hours, 17 recorded interactions were selected, and a portion of each was transcribed. For example, in the case of an hour-long conversation, 30 minutes per participant (per conversation) were selected for transcription and analysis. This was done systematically by starting transcription at a chosen point in the recording (e.g. at the 15-minute mark) to allow participants sufficient time to relax and forget they were being recorded, to mitigate the observer's paradox. As the recordings differed in length and number of participants, this was not always possible.

For the purposes of subsequent analysis, the recorded conversations were converted into a textual format in a principled way that best suited the type of data and the requirements of the analysis. Data was transcribed over a ten month period in 2014 and 2015 by five trained Chilean Research Assistants (RAs) from the Universidad de Chile and the researcher. Transcription was done using F4 (Dresing and Pehl, 2015) (to link the text and sound files) and the transcription method outlined in Du Bois et al. (1993). F4 was chosen for ease and speed of use and the ability to import files into other programmes such as ELAN and PRAAT.

The five RAs were found via contacts at the Universidad de Chile and were required to either hold, or be undertaking, a degree which involved linguistics, in most cases a *Licenciatura en Lengua y Literatura Hispánica* (at the Universidad de Chile) or further postgraduate studies, and ideally have had some prior experience with linguistic transcription⁴². It was important not only that they had prior linguistic training, but that they were native speakers from the same speech community in which the data collection took place. Even speakers of other Spanish varieties would have struggled to transcribe the Chilean material accurately. Prior to selection and commencing transcription all RAs submitted their C.V.s and signed a Non-Disclosure Agreement as dictated by the approved Ethics Protocol for this project. Additionally, they were trained in both the software and the transcription

⁴² Fortunately, at least one linguistic course at La Universidad de Chile involves recording and transcribing conversations and thus most students had previously done this kind of work and were aware of the challenges and skills involved.

methodology which had been selected for the project. Following submission, all completed transcriptions were checked by the principal investigator, and subsections were then further checked for accuracy (particularly in terms of intonation unit boundaries and transitional continuity) by a colleague in SLLL at ANU, who was familiar with both Du Bois et al. (1993) and Spanish⁴³.

The discourse was segmented according to the transcription method in Du Bois et al. (1993), as a basis for the organisation of material and the description of relevant linguistic features. This method is based upon the concept of the intonation unit (IU) – “a stretch of speech uttered under a single, coherent intonation contour” (Du Bois et al., 1993: 47) – which allows for discourse to be divided into units prosodically. Typically (conversational) speech does not match the order of written language, and so standard sentences and punctuation are not sufficient to represent the complexities of spoken language, and are often nearly impossible to identify. As Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2018: 56), note “Whereas we write in sentences, in spoken discourse the basic unit is prosodic.”

The IUs themselves are determined by the boundaries of that contour and are characterised by five features

- i. The intonation contour
- ii. Pauses between IUs
- iii. Pitch reset (at beginning of IU)
- iv. Anacrusis (accelerated speech at beginning of new IU)
- v. Lengthening of final syllable(s) (at end of IU)

Each IU ends with a symbol which indicates ‘transitional continuity’ – whether the discourse business at hand will be continued or has finished. These are marked in the following way:

- . final: a fall to a low pitch (indicating the speaker has finished)
- , continuing: a slight rise in pitch (indicating that the speaker will continue)

⁴³ Thank you to Katrina Hayes for her generous and diligent work checking the transcription

- ? appeal: a high rise in pitch (indicating the speaker is seeking a response)
- truncated: an IU which has no transitional continuity (indicating that the speaker has cut off without finishing)

The Du Bois et al. method offers the advantage of an objective division of these units, which typically correspond to certain discourse functions – namely “when a speaker arrives at the end of an intonation unit, poised to continue on to the next – or not continue – the intonation contour usually gives a fairly clear indication of whether the discourse business at hand will be continued or has finished” (Du Bois et al., 1993: 53). Identifying these discourse functions is useful in determining both the level of connectedness of units and for more fine-grained decision making during the data analysis phase (although it is worth noting that this process is based on prosody rather than function per se). For example, deciding whether a pronoun is associated with a verb form can be operationalised by whether or not it appears in the same IU, because “there is a strong tendency for subject pronouns and verbs to occur in the same IU. In Spanish, over 98 percent of subject pronouns are realised in the same IU as their verb” (Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018:54; c.f. 53-55). Additionally, IUs provide a useful measure of distance in the discourse and have been used in this way for the analysis of priming effects (e.g. Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2011); see 3.6.2 and 6.3.1. More details about decisions of this kind will be given in subsequent chapters as they arise, but it is worth mentioning here that the use of IUs has practical implications.

While this method has been used in a number of corpora in different languages, including Spanish, there were a number of specific features of the Chilean Spanish context which required some customisation. While this did not necessarily cause problems for division of units in theory (as the above indicators of transitional continuity are easily conceptually transferred even if they differ in realisation), it did require the development of new materials for training the transcribers and a set of conventions to maintain consistency, in the form of a shared document (in Dropbox) with project specific conventions.

The key aim here was to emphasise the importance of standard (and/or conventionalised for this corpus) spellings. PRESEEA (see 4.2.1) uses a different transcription system which (when done accurately) captures more of the phonetic variation in the spoken realisation of forms. However, for the present corpus, standardised spellings were preferred

for a number of reasons: to facilitate searchability of the corpus (cf. Martín Butragueño and Lastra, 2011: xxv, Otheguy and Zentella, 2012: 228, Poplack, 1993: 265-266, Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018: 46); to ensure that all tokens were systematically extracted; and “to deter negative perceptions of the community” (Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018: 47). As non-standard respellings have been demonstrated to demote the status of the speaker and perpetuate stigmatised identities (Preston, 1982, Preston, 1985), this was particularly relevant in the context of the stigmatised history of *voseo* and the linguistic insecurity so deeply ingrained in Chilean Spanish (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 71-76).

As well as highlighting some common errors to avoid (which were alarmingly common even in the work of linguistics majors), the main points of this document were clarifications of non-standard spellings, specifically for Chilean slang (e.g. *huevón*, often spelt **hueon* or **weón*); using the full word, for example, *para* instead of shortenings such as *pa*; the standard spelling *vos* as opposed to *bo*, *boh*, *vo* or *voh*; and finally, the forms of the Chilean *voseo*, which are typically used in verbal or informal written contexts (e.g. in text messages or online-chats), not taught in educational settings, and consequently highly variable in their orthographic representation. Therefore, it was particularly important to set guidelines for conventionalised spellings within the transcription guidelines for the non-standard *voseo* forms. These are explained in Appendix 1.

The resulting transcribed data consists of approximately 28000 intonation units, c. 110,000 words and 2202 2sg subject uses in nine hours of spontaneous discourse (approximately 248 tokens/hour).

4.3.4. Stratification by Gender and Age

Speakers were asked questions to determine their gender, age and SEC as part of the demographic survey. For the purpose of sampling, participants were divided into two genders, three age groups and three SECs.

Given what we know about the role of gender in language variation and change (as discussed in Chapter 3), both males and females were included during sampling. As a consequence of the social-network and friend-of-a-friend techniques (Milroy and Gordon,

2003: 32) that were employed in the data collection process, there were more females (24) than males (12) in the resulting sample.

Speakers were asked to give their year of birth as part of the demographic survey. For the purpose of sampling, participants were divided into three age groups, in line with other corpora of Chilean Spanish: (1) 18 to 35, (2) 36 to 54, and (3) 55 and older. As well as enabling easy comparisons with other established data sets of Chilean Spanish, such as PRESEEA (San Martín Núñez, 2011: 146) and *Habla culta* (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979, Rabanales and Contreras, 1990), these three age brackets ensured a wide spread of age groups in the sample, and allowed for analysis of three generations of speakers loosely based around pivotal relevant periods in Chilean history, specifically in relation to the Pinochet dictatorship.

The dictatorship lasted from the military coup in 1973 until the return to democracy in 1990. The years before 1973, the seventeen years of the dictatorship and the nearly twenty-five years since provide three clear generations in which to examine patterns of use. By examining three groups of speakers of different ages – those that grew up before, during and after the dictatorship – it is possible to test whether Chilean Spanish has (or has not) changed in accordance with the erosion of class barriers as suggested by previous scholars (e.g. Torrejón, 1986; see Chapter 2). This is particularly relevant in terms of the hypotheses linking social and linguistic change in Chile: a post-authoritarian context is exactly the kind of situation where one might expect language change to occur, particularly with a variable so explicitly linked to human interaction and social hierarchies; when these change, we may also expect that their linguistic correlates begin to change.

In line with the assumption underlying the Apparent Time Construct (see 3.5.1) that people's linguistic systems become relatively stable after adolescence (Sankoff and Wagner, 2006: 205), three generations can be defined by their linguistic development in relation to the dictatorship:

- i. The generation prior to the military coup: those whose linguistic development was (fairly) complete in 1973
- ii. The dictatorship generation: those whose linguistic development occurred during the dictatorship
- iii. The post-dictatorship generation: those whose linguistic development occurred after the end of the dictatorship in 1990

Table 9, below, shows the three generations in the CCSS, indicating when their linguistic development occurred in relation to key dates in the dictatorship, their approximate year of birth and their approximate age in 2015, when the data was compiled. The post-dictatorship generation is 35 and under (≤ 35), the middle generation are those who are between 36 and 55, and the pre-dictatorship generation covers those over 55.

Table 9: Generations of Speakers in CCSS by Stage of Linguistic Development Relative to Pinochet Dictatorship

Generation	(i) >55	(ii) 36-55	(iii) ≤ 35
Linguistic development occurred...	Before coup (<1973)	During dictatorship (1973-1990)	Post-dictatorship 1990-2015
When born	~<1960	~1960-1980	~>1980
Age in 2015	Over 55	From 36 to 55	From 18 to 35

Although these divisions are imperfect, in the sense that speakers who fall towards the extremes of their respective age groups may share more with others at the opposite extreme of a conjoining age group than those at the opposite extreme of their same group (e.g. those who are 34 and 36 in 2015, for example, despite being in different age groups probably share more than someone who is 18 with someone who is 35), this is an inevitable limitation of small data sets. Nonetheless, the three groups allow for generational patterns to emerge in the data (see 7.3).

The sample by age and gender appears in Table 10, below:

Table 10: Distribution of Speakers in CCSS Sample by Age and Gender

Age Group	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
>55	3	4	7
36-55	1	9	10
18-35	8	11	19
Total	12	24	36

4.3.5. Stratification by Socio-Economic Class

Previous sociolinguistic studies of Chilean Spanish have calculated SEC based upon level of education (e.g. Silva-Corvalán, 1980-81), residential neighbourhood (or *comuna*) (e.g. Stevenson, 2007), or, echoing Labov (2006 (1966): 171), using indexes composed of level of education, ‘occupational hierarchy’ and *comuna*, attributing a weighted score to each (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Prieto, 1995, Rojas Inostroza et al., 2012, San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González, 2010).

For the present study, participants were split into three SEC groups calculated using two socially salient criteria – education level and *comuna* (municipality) of residence – weighted 2:1 respectively. Both are meaningful indicators of SEC, can be readily and objectively quantified and, when combined, provide a reliable measure of not only socio-economic power but also locally salient perceptions of status. In order to provide an objective basis for dividing speakers into their respective SECs, the current sample was based upon existing gauges used in previous sociolinguistic studies in Chile, and data and measures taken from the existing literature on SEC by Chilean market research companies (e.g. AIM, 2012, GFK Adimark, 2013 etc.).

There is general consensus that education is the most important indicator of SEC in Chile. Educational attainment not only correlates highly with economic success but also with the sorts of occupations that command social status. For the purposes of the current study, the following five-point scale of educational attainment was used, shown in Table 11, simplified from San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González’s (2010) seven-point scale (note that in the current sample, all participants had completed primary school).

Table 11: Five-point Scale of Education Used in SEC Allocation for CCSS

Level of Education	Score
Incomplete primary	1
Primary – complete; Middle school – incomplete	2
Middle School – complete; Technical – incomplete	3
Technical (complete); University – incomplete	4
University (current/complete) and Postgraduate	5

The Province of Santiago is divided into 32 *comunas* (or municipalities) (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2018). As Stevenson (2007: 51) says, referring to Eckert (2000) “it is important to keep in mind the importance of discovering ‘native’ categories that speakers use to delimit themselves from others, and in so doing, establish meaningful speech communities.” Traditionally, in the collective consciousness (and local lingo), Santiago has been divided into Plaza Italia⁴⁴ *para arriba* (upwards i.e. East, generally more affluent) and *para abajo* (downwards i.e. West, generally poorer), and *santiaguinos* are very attuned to what where people live says about them. *Comuna* is perhaps one of the most salient features native speakers use as an indicator of socio-economic status to classify speakers into different groups (Stevenson, 2007: 87) and, for this reason, was one of the pieces of information collected in the demographic survey.

The breakdown in Table 12 (based upon San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González (2010), building upon Prieto (1995)) was used to allocate scores to each *comuna* of the province of Santiago for the purposes of calculating SEC. As there were not speakers from all 32 *comunas* in the sample (in fact, 19 of the 36 speakers were from Santiago, Las Condes and Ñuñoa), the *comunas* represented in the sample are indicated in bold.

Table 12: Seven-point Scale of *comuna* used in SEC Allocation for CCSS

Comunas	Score
La Pintana , Cerro Navia, Lo Espejo, Renca, San Ramón	1
La Granja, Lo Prado, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Conchalí, El Bosque, Pudahuel, Recoleta	2
Quinta Normal, San Joaquín, San Bernardo, Cerrillos	3
Quilicura, Estación Central , Independencia, Maipú , La Cisterna	4
Santiago , Huechuraba, La Florida , Macul, San Miguel	5
La Reina , Providencia , Ñuñoa	6
Vitacura, Las Condes , Lo Barnechea	7

The scores for educational attainment and *comuna* were then combined in order to give each participant a composite SEC score using the following formula:

⁴⁴ A large plaza/roundabout in Santiago city centre (also the location of one of the largest metro stations – Baquedano) which acts as a sort of midway point, as well as having been an important site for many modern historical moments (e.g. the celebration marking the end of the Pinochet dictatorship).

(10) Formula: SEC composite score = (2 x education score) + (1 x *comuna* score).

Education was weighted more heavily than *comuna*, given its greater importance in the previous literature. No attempt was made to achieve “congruence of status” (Lensky 1954, 1956; cited in Prieto (1995: 397)); that is to filter participants based on whether their scores were similar across the two criteria. All participants were included regardless of congruence, although stark opposition of the two variables was rare. The fact that some participants would have received ‘incongruent’ scores for education and *comuna*, respectively (e.g. Emilia has a degree in Dance [highest score for education] but lives in Recoleta [second lowest score for *comuna*]) only emphasises the value of using more than one criterion.

The sample was then split into three SEC groups, corresponding to upper, middle and lower, respectively, consistent with previous sociolinguistic studies in Chile (e.g. Stevenson (2007), Bishop and Michnowicz (2010)). To make these divisions meaningful in the Chilean context, they were correlated with external measures of SEC, specifically the National Readership Survey (NRS, 2014) calibrated to the Chilean context (Miranda, no date, Novomerc, 2014)⁴⁵, which is commonly used to describe SEC in Santiago (and Chile more broadly). The NRS scale is composed of seven groups of which the three highest groups (A, B and C1) are often fused together (ABC1), as summarised below (Novomerc, 2014). In Santiago, ABC1 are the upper classes: usually university-educated professionals with prestigious careers who live in the most exclusive parts of the city. C2 and C3 are the upper and lower middle classes, respectively, generally with technical and university educations, stable low to middle income jobs, and living in traditional areas, away from the city centre. D and E are the lower classes, typically with only primary, or secondary education, low-income and/or transient work as labourers, domestic servants, etc., and living in older poorer neighbourhoods.

⁴⁵ I have been unable to locate the original of Miranda (no date), although a number of scholars (e.g. Stevenson 2007, Bishop and Michnowicz 2010) rely heavily upon it. However, both of these authors actually refer to Miranda citing a version reproduced on Novomerc (2014), from which the above information is taken. As this website appears to no longer be active at the time of submission, part of this version has been reproduced in Appendix 8.

This terminology is useful not only because it provides clear guidance in terms of measurable characteristics (education, profession and residence) correlated with each SEC group, but also because it is used in the everyday talk of *santiaguinos*, (particularly in reference to the top three groups – ABC1). These terms are also widely used in market research publications (e.g. AIM, ICCOM, Adimark), and in the sociolinguistic literature which bases its SEC allocation upon them (cf. Prieto, 1995 for a detailed discussion on SEC in Chile).

Ranges of scores were generated for each SEC group by taking the lower thresholds of each bracket for the two criteria, as shown in Table 13, and each participant was allocated to a SEC group based upon their composite score in relation to these ranges. For example, a prototypical middle-class participant (C2 or C3 on the NRS scale) in the sample has a technical education and lives in the *comunas* of Santiago, La Florida, Maipú or Estación Central. Thus, they would have an education score of three or four, and a *comuna* score of three to five, based upon the score allocations described above. Therefore, the lower threshold for the middle-class bracket in the sample is $(2 \times 3) + 3 = 9$.

Table 13: SEC Groups in CCSS with Corresponding NRS Grade and Prototypical Socio-economic Characteristics

SEC Group in CCSS	Corresponding Chilean NRS Grade (Novomerc, 2014).	EDUCATION		COMUNA		Formula (lower threshold)	Range (composite score)
		Level	CCSS Scores	Comunas	CCSS Scores		
UPPER	ABC1 (C2)	University & Postgraduate	5	Providencia, Las Condes, Lo Barnechea, La Reina, Ñuñoa	6-7	$(2 \times 5) + 6 = 16$	≥ 16
MIDDLE	(C2) C3	Technical	3-4	Santiago, La Florida, Maipú, Estación Central	3-5	$(2 \times 3) + 3 = 9$	9-15
LOWER	D and E	Primary – Middle School	1-2	La Pintana, Recoleta	1-2	$(2 \times 1) + 1 = 3$	3-8

4.3.6. Sample

One consequence of using the formula (10) above is that there is only one lower-class speaker in the sample – Tomás. For this reason, I collapsed the two lower groups leaving two SEC groups corresponding to (i) upper and (ii) middle and lower (combined); and Tomás was included in the latter. For ease of reference, these will be called (i) higher SEC and (ii) lower SEC, respectively; these are not intended to correspond to existing levels but should be understood to be relative to each other. The resulting sample is shown in Table 14, below; i.e. the first cell (top left-hand corner) represents lower-SEC males over the age of 55, of which there are two in the data set.

It should be acknowledged that there is a clear skewing in the distribution of the sample, both in terms of younger speakers and women. However, there is at least one speaker in all cells except lower-SEC males between the ages of 36 and 55. This is addressed further in Chapter 7 (Sections 7.3.2 & 7.3.4).

Table 14: Distribution of Speakers in CCSS Sample by Age, Gender and SEC

AGE	Male		Female		Totals
	Lower SEC	Higher SEC	Lower SEC	Higher SEC	
57-62 (>55)	2	1	3	1	7
36-53 (36-55)	0	1	7	2	10
20-35 (≤35)	3	5	4	7	19
Totals	5	7	14	10	
	12		24		36

4.4. Habla culta

The 1970s *‘habla culta’* (literally, ‘educated speech’) corpus (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979, Rabanales and Contreras, 1990), offers a wonderful and unique opportunity to conduct a real time study of this topic alongside an apparent time study – a luxury which we are so rarely afforded. Recorded just prior to the 1973 Pinochet coup, between 1970 and 1972 (conveniently at the same time Morales Pettorino (1972) was writing about the *voseo*), as part of the *Proyecto de estudio coordinado de la norma lingüística culta del español hablado en las principales ciudades de Iberoamérica y de la Península Ibérica* (“Coordinated project to

study the linguistic norms of educated Spanish spoken in the principal cities of Ibero-America and the Iberian Peninsula"; my translation), the corpus is part of a greater project which sought to study the *educated* speech of the principal cities of the Spanish-speaking world (Blanch, 1986, Rabanales and Contreras, 1979: I). In total 40 hours were transcribed and make up the content of the published corpus materials, including three different kinds of discourse: *diálogos dirigidos* ('directed dialogues', equivalent to sociolinguistic interviews, led by an interviewer); *diálogos libres*, ('free dialogues' or conversational data where participants converse freely without the participation of the investigator); and *conferencias* (seminars, where a single informant speaks freely as in the context of a university lecture).

The corpus which includes both formal and informal speech, uses a sample of 89 speakers with proportional representation of men and women (20 hours each, split between 46 men and 43 women), all university educated and from the 'professional' class (defined as holding and/or exercising a recognised profession), most of whom had travelled abroad (Rabanales and Contreras, 1979: III). The 89 speakers, ranging from 25 to 74 years of age are split into three generations (25-35, 36-55, >55).

Of the various types of discourse and contexts contained in the corpus, the *diálogos libres* ('free dialogues' i.e. conversational data) were selected for analysis. These are not only the most suitable form of data in this corpus for analysing the research questions, but also the most suitable for comparison with the research design used for the synchronic part of the study (using the CCSS).

However, a number of limitations in terms of the comparability of the *Habla culta* corpus with the CCSS should be noted. Firstly, while it is not clear exactly where the recordings took place, the use of reel-to-reel tapes – hardly discrete – and the presence of the researcher would have added to the formality of the recording environment and drawn attention to the fact that the participants were being studied. Given that *voseo* is a stigmatised non-standard form, it is less likely to appear in formal environments or in contexts associated with standard language, such as research and education.

Secondly, although in the *diálogos libres* the researcher did not participate in the conversations, there is limited information about the participants' relationships with one

other. In some cases, it is obvious that they knew each other (e.g. husband and wife), and in others that they did not. Given that *voseo* is hypothesised to express a greater degree of solidarity between interlocutors (see 2.4.2), participants who do not know each other or who are not socially friendly are less likely to use *voseo* forms, even if they might with different interlocutors and in different circumstances. For the CCSS, all recordings were recorded between friends, family members and colleagues in their homes and workplaces, to ensure that they captured naturally occurring spontaneous speech in an informal setting (i.e. conversations of the kind that they would be likely to have anyway).

Notwithstanding, the first 1000 2sg tokens (2sg verbs, subject and object pronouns) were extracted (N=1003) from the first 11 *diálogos libres* recordings (recordings 31 to 41). These specific recordings were selected because they provide good representation of the 18-35 age group (the ones credited with having pioneered the change in the *voseo* in the 1960s, and also the ones who are in the >55 group today), with all but one of the fourteen 18-35 years olds in the *diálogos libres* being involved in these 11 recordings.

Of these, only those recordings where *vos/tú* were free to vary were analysed (i.e. informal interactions) leaving six recordings (31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 41) and 12 participants (approximately four hours of data), summarised in Table 15, below, and a total of 660 tokens. Five of the initial 11 recordings were excluded (34, 36, 37, 39, 40) because either one or both of the participants consistently referred to their interlocutor as *usted* (N=243/255 total tokens of *usted*). In most cases there was either an age difference, or the two speakers did not know each other, both commonly cited reasons for choosing the ‘polite’ form of address. Because of the different communicative environment of these recordings, and to ensure consistency with the modern corpus, these five conversations were excluded from the sample.

Table 15: Distribution of Speakers in *Habla culta* Sub-corpus (Recordings 31, 32, 33 35, 38, 41) by Age & Gender

AGE	Male	Female	Total
51-59	1	0	1
40-50	0	2	2
36-39	1	0	1
18-35	4	4	8
Total	6	6	12

4.5. Conclusions

This chapter has explored in detail the methodological considerations and decisions made for gathering and processing the data that will be used in the analyses in the following chapters, from the pilot studies used to inform the subsequent research design, the definition of the speech community, to the selection of participants and the criteria used to calculate the social composition of the sample, as well as the transcription process and the resulting data sets.

In the first part of the chapter, I introduced Labov's (1970: 181) concept of "good data" – that is, the kind of data required to reliably and validly study the variation in the Chilean 2sg. The best kind of data for studying the systematicity of variation is recordings of the 'vernacular' – "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech" (Labov, 1970: 181), and thus where stigmatised and colloquial forms like *voseo* are most likely to occur. In order to capture *voseo*, I argued that we need recordings of unmonitored spontaneous naturally-occurring speech in informal settings, so as to mitigate the effects of recording and overcome the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972: 209)

To evaluate what form this data set should take, prior to data collection in Santiago from November 2014 to February 2015, two pilot studies were conducted looking at the 2sg in an existing corpus of sociolinguistic interviews from Santiago, and another of conversational data from Cali in Colombia. The results of these pilot studies showed that conversational data was more suited to this variable than sociolinguistic interviews, given a more even distribution of data, a wider range of use of 2sg functions, and a lower risk of avoidance of stigmatised forms. Central to capturing 'good data' is a principled and well-defined speech community, which I defined for the purposes of this study as the 32 *comunas* (municipalities) of Santiago.

Therefore, the main source of data for this study is the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) recorded by the researcher: nine hours of unguided spontaneous conversations between friends, family and colleagues of the kind they would be likely to have anyway without the involvement of a researcher. The corpus includes 36 Chilean Spanish-

speaking Santiago residents stratified by age, gender and SEC, and accompanied by detailed demographic data.

Speakers are divided into three generations (18-35, 36-54, >55) whose linguistic development occurred before, during and after the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990) respectively. These age groups not only allow for the study of this linguistic change in apparent time, but also comparison with other corpora of Chilean Spanish in order to investigate change in real time and address hypotheses correlating linguistic change with social change in Chile. Participants were also allocated into two SEC groups by generating a weighted index composed of their level of education and rating of their residential neighbourhood, in line with previous Chilean sociolinguistic studies and market research.

This primary corpus is supplemented by older data from the *habla culta* corpus recorded immediately prior to the military coup in 1970-72. This little studied data allows the apparent time study to be corroborated by a real-time study, as the younger (≤ 35) speakers from the 1970s can be compared both with the older ≤ 35 s and the >55s from the current-day sample.

The following chapter will expand upon another thread from Chapter 3, to discuss and define the variable context – what forms should and should not be counted when calculating rates of variants. This is a crucial step in any variationist study and is particularly important in this case, given the varying rates and methods reported in previous studies of the *voseo*.

Chapter 5: Defining the Variable context

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 3, I introduced the concept of the variable context – the set of environments where speakers have a choice between forms; “the purpose of defining the variable context is to specify which forms vary with each other” (Walker, 2010: 21). One of the core principles of the Variationist Method is the “Principle of Accountability”, as described in 3.4. This principle refers to the requirement not only to analyse all the occurrences of a particular variant of interest (in this case, the *voseo*), but also the occurrences of all the other variants that it is in competition with; i.e. when it could have occurred but did not (e.g. *tuteo*). It is of enormous importance to correctly define all the contexts where variation can occur so as not to miss exceptional cases but also to gain accurate rates of use. This is particularly pertinent in the case of morphosyntactic variables, when it is not always immediately evident what the variants are.

One area that has plagued researchers of the Chilean *voseo* has been the definition of the linguistic variable and its variants, and the means of delimiting precisely where variability can occur. Indeed, this is one of the key contributions that this study hopes to make to the field: to rigorously define the variable context in a way that corresponds to the actual use of the respective variants. This chapter will discuss the decisions made in defining the variable context: what to count, what not to count, and why.

The following examples from the CCSS show the array of different forms that occur and which the researcher has to account for in some way. There are familiar and ‘polite’ verb forms as in example (11), subject and object pronouns, syncretic forms and invariable forms, such as *cachái*, all found in example (12) (see 5.4.2).

- (11) *Y tú **sabís** que lo más divertido de todo,*
.. me dice señora,
me dice el gallo,
sabe qué?
míreme.

And you-*TÚ* know-*VOSEO* what the funniest thing is?
 he says to me, madam,
 the guy says to me,
 you- $\emptyset$ know-*USTESEO* what?
 [You- $\emptyset$] Look-*USTESEO* at me.
 (CCSS: Police; 850-57; Matilda)

- (12) ... *tú creciste* y estaba esa huevada,
 instaurada en la huevada y no sé qué,
 y la *viviste*= y para *ti* significó una huevada,
 .. *cachái?*
 (CCSS; A bit of everything; 612-615; Magdalena)

you-*TÚ* grew up-*syncretic* and it was there,
 in the background and stuff,
 and you- $\emptyset$ lived-*syncretic* through it and for you-*TI(OBJECT)* it meant something,
 you- $\emptyset$ know-*CACHÁI?*

The first decision involves what the variable actually is. Considering that *voseo* is often talked about in terms of the *vos* pronoun with accompanying historically second-person plural (2pl) verb forms, it would be easy to consider all instances of the Chilean 2sg as a single variable. Indeed, a number of previous studies on the topic have been couched in the terms ‘authentic *voseo*’, ‘mixed *voseo*’ *tuteo* and *ustedeo*, thus combining the subject pronoun and the verb form (e.g. Kluge 2005). However, the pronominal and morphological paradigms are not always the same (as in the ‘mixed’ forms), and verb forms often occur without an overt pronoun. There is also variation within the object as well as the subject pronominal system; ‘prepositional’ object pronouns (following a preposition) can also be realised variably (*vos* vs *ti*). Whether or not the Chilean 2sg is one, two, or more sociolinguistic variables will be the subject of the first section (5.2.1).

Another issue, discussed in the subsequent section (5.2.2), is the forms associated with the ‘polite’ pronoun *usted*. Many previous studies have tended to either analyse all three paradigms (*tuteo*, *voseo*, *ustedeo*) together, or to compare familiar (*tuteo* and *voseo*) versus polite (*ustedeo*), or standard (*tuteo* and *ustedeo*) versus non-standard (*voseo*) uses. These studies risk miscounting rates by conflating forms that are in variation (or not in variation) –

usted plays a different semantic-pragmatic function in the Chilean system of address from both *tuteo* and *voseo*.

Having established what to count, another important part of defining the variable context is deciding what not to count. This is particularly pertinent to categorical contexts, where only one variant is possible in a given context. While these are important constraints informing our knowledge of the grammar, they can also artificially inflate or deflate rates of use when they are (near) categorical. These contexts must be identified and set aside, then, in our analysis of variation – precisely because in these contexts, there is no variation. Section 5.4 will discuss these contexts, specifically looking at syncretic and fossilised forms.

5.2. Summary of Data: Verb Forms and Pronouns

As a first step before conducting analyses, all tokens expressing the function of 2sg reference were extracted and coded for form. This included both verb forms (i.e. *tuteo*, *voseo*, *ustedeo* or syncretic forms) and pronouns (i.e. subject pronouns *tú*, *vos* and *usted*; and prepositional object pronouns *ti*, *vos* and *usted*). Additionally, all tokens of *cachái* (morphologically *voseo*) were identified and coded separately. This produced 2202 tokens of verb forms and 436 tokens of pronominal forms⁴⁶.

Table 16: Breakdown of Verb Forms in CCSS

Verb Forms	N
<i>Tuteo</i>	215
<i>Voseo</i>	844
<i>Cachái</i>	361
<i>Ustedeo</i>	55
Syncretic (shared) forms	727
Total	2202

⁴⁶ 173 tokens were excluded for a variety of reasons to ensure the integrity of the present study. In these decisions, a conservative approach was taken to not include anything about which we cannot be sure. Examples of these sorts of exclusions were cases where there were problems with the recording quality, phone calls where the participants spoke with someone not involved in the recorded interaction, conversations with children who entered into the conversations, truncated utterances where a speaker self-corrected or restarted an utterance but did not fully articulate a 2sg form, when participants read material out loud, or repeated a form multiple times for pragmatic effect.

Table 16 shows the breakdown of the 2202 tokens of verb forms in the CCSS. Of a total of 2202 tokens, 1059 occurred in the variable context (corresponding to *tuteo* and *voseo* in Table 16), as will be detailed in this chapter. As highlighted previously, more than half of 2sg verb forms in the corpus fall outside the variable context.

Table 17: Breakdown of Pronominal Forms in CCSS

Pronouns	Subtotal	Total
TÚ (SUBJECT)		367
subject of <i>tuteo</i> or <i>voseo</i>	197	
subject of <i>cachái</i> or syncretic form	106	
no verb	63	
VOS (SUBJECT)		12
subject of <i>voseo</i>	7	
subject of <i>cachái</i> or syncretic form	3	
no verb	2	
USTED (SUBJECT)		17
no verb	2	
TI (PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT; INCL. CONTIGO)		31
VOS (PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT)		2
USTED (PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT)		7
Total		436

Turning to pronouns, then, Table 17 shows the raw counts of each type of pronominal usage in the CCSS: of 436 tokens of 2sg subject and object pronominal uses in the CCSS, less than half (204) were subject pronouns (*tú* or *vos*) used with a verb in the variable context (i.e. with the 1059 variable tokens of *tuteo* or *voseo*), as in Examples (13) and (14). Note that many *tú* and *vos* subject pronouns occur outside the variable context (i.e. not with a *tuteo* or *voseo* verb form; indicated as such in Table 17); these include non-verbal uses (i.e. without a verb) as in (15) and (16); and subject pronouns occurring with *cachái* (17) and syncretic forms (18). Just over one half of the subject pronouns (197/367 for *tú* and 7/12 for *vos*) occur with a token of *tuteo* or *voseo*.

It is also worth noting that prepositional object pronouns are much rarer than subject pronouns, with a total of 40, or under 10% of all pronouns. Hence, although there is clearly some variation, there is little scope for analysis with so few tokens. The question, then,

becomes: what is the role of the subject pronoun? This is the topic of the next section and will be discussed at length in 7.5.2.

- (13) ***Tú ya sabes que es difícil.***
You-_{TÚ} already know-_{TUTEO} that it's hard.
(CCSS; Cousins; 944; Carmen)
- (14) ***puta y vos no vai el viernes a su cumpleaños huevón,***
Shit and you-_{VOS} aren't going-_{VOSEO} on Friday to his birthday, dude?
(CCSS; Football; 307; Matías)
- (15) ***Es mayor que tú Lalo.***
He's older than you-_{TÚ} Lalo.
(CCSS; Friends; 1620; Tatiana)
- (16) ***... <@ y vos feliz hijo de puta @>***
And you-_{VOS} [were] happy, son of a bitch
(CCSS; Football; 450; Matías)
- (17) ***tú cachái que los colegios católicos son más baratos***
You-_{TÚ} know-_{CACHÁI} that Catholic schools are cheaper.
(CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 1140; Marcela)
- (18) ***Vos dijiste,***
después del dieciocho
You-_{VOS} said-_{SYNCRETIC},
after the eighteenth [of September – National Independence Day]
(CCSS; Football; 461-2; Matías)

5.2.1. Subject Pronouns and Verb Forms: One or Two Linguistic Variables?

While all previous studies of the Chilean *voseo* have acknowledged the potential mixing of the subject pronoun from one paradigm (typically *tú*) with the verb forms of the other (typically *voseo*), most have treated the 2sg as a single linguistic variable – that is, the verb forms (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 99-100) – and have not studied the subject pronouns independently. This has probably been largely due to the relative infrequency of the *vos* pronoun. The majority of studies using questionnaire data have tended to avoid this problem entirely by focusing on verb forms (with unexpressed pronouns) in their questions

about reported use of forms (although see Valencia Espinoza (2006) who focuses specifically on subject pronoun usage). Only Stevenson (2007: 134) reported sufficient numbers of *vos* subject pronoun tokens (N=194/3700 tokens of 2sg verb forms) to enable an analysis. As a consequence of this, perhaps not surprisingly, Stevenson is also the only one to define the Chilean *voseo* as two separate sociolinguistic variables constituted by the subject pronoun on the one hand and the verb forms on the other. However, while he applies this to his role-play data, his matched guise and attitudinal survey questions do not include the *vos* pronoun (in the case of the former) nor ask about pronouns (in the latter). Even so, with only 194 tokens to work with (about 7% of the *voseo* verb forms), he devotes relatively little time to the *vos* pronoun.

The present study will follow Stevenson's interpretation that there are two separate variables, as the paradigms do mix, and the verb forms appear to be conditioned differently and have different sociolinguistic evaluations from the pronouns. This is also consistent with studies of other varieties of *voseo*, which have found more meaningful results when the pronouns and verb morphology are analysed separately (Hernández 2007: 708).

Nonetheless, given the almost complete absence of the *vos* pronoun (N=14, compared with nearly 400 *tú* subject pronouns; see Table 17, above) in the data for the present study (as in other studies (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 148, Torrejón, 1986: 678, Helincks, 2012), there is not sufficient data to study the subject pronouns in any great detail. Therefore, for the analyses presented here, a single variable will be studied: the *voseo* and *tuteo* verbal forms (*usted* is excluded from the variable context as discussed below). The pronouns, however, are not disregarded completely, as the occurrence or not of an overt subject pronoun (effectively, of a *tú* pronoun), will be analysed as one of the linguistic factors conditioning the choice of 2sg variant (see 7.5.2).

5.2.2. Prepositional Pronouns

For most grammatical persons in Spanish, there are typically discrete subject, object, object clitic, and possessive forms (e.g. for *tuteo*: *tú, a ti, te, tu, tuyo*). However, for the Chilean *voseo*, the second-person plural (2pl) object clitic form *os* and the possessive form *vuestro/a(s)* (historically associated with *voseo*) have been replaced with the standard

historically 2sg (*tuteo*) clitic form *te* (as in (19)) and possessive adjective *tu(s)* (20) and pronoun *tuyo/(as)* (21) respectively. As a result, the Chilean *voseo* pronominal paradigm differs from the *tuteo* pronominal paradigm only in terms of the subject (*vos* vs *tú*) and ‘prepositional (object) pronouns’ – that is, object pronouns following a preposition (*de vos* vs *de ti* ‘from you’, *con vos* vs *contigo* ‘with you’), as in examples (22) and (23).

- (19) *Y cómo **te** come a **vos** huevona.*
 And how you-*TE*(CLITIC) eats [i.e. has sex with] to you-*vos* *huevona* [jocular term of endearment]
 And how the hell does he do it to you then?
 (CCSS; Police; 172; Matilda)
- (20) *... **tu** pieza tenía baño,*
 Your-*TU*(POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE) room had a bathroom
 (CCSS; Southern Chile; 3; Alejandra)
- (21) *El **tuyo** tiene pelo rojo.*
 Your-*TUYO*(POSSESSIVE PRONOUN) one has red hair.
 (CCSS; Barbeque; 593; Tatiana)
- (22) *No querían alejarse de **ti** po*
 They didn’t want to distance themselves from you-*TI*(OBJECT)
 (CCSS; Family; 1; Sara)
- (23) *o [depende] de **vos**?*
 or does it depend on you-*VOS*(OBJECT)?
 (CCSS; Football; 1158; Matías)

While some previous studies have included prepositional forms in the variable context (Helincks, 2012, Newall, 2007), rightly arguing that they are “a morpho-syntactic context that allows for use of either *tuteo* or *voseo*” (Newall, 2007: 171), these are relatively rare, and the *vos* pronoun is almost categorically absent (as we saw in Table 17, above). For example, Helincks (2012) counted prepositional uses as well as subject uses but found only two tokens of prepositional uses of *vos* out of 385 tokens of *vos* and 1253 tokens of the 2sg in a corpus of TV data. Similarly, Newall (2007: 171) included prepositional uses in the variable context as “peripheral arguments” in his corpus of nineteenth century literature; however, he found

no significant difference in conditioning between core (verbal, object [e.g. *te llamo a vos*]) and peripheral arguments (*para vos*).

In the CCSS, only 40 tokens of prepositional uses (*ti*, *vos* and *usted*) were found (versus more than 1000 variable verbal and nearly 400 variable subject uses; see Table 17) out of over 28,000 intonation units in the present data set, of which seven are tokens of *usted*. Setting aside *usted*, 94% (N=31) of prepositional uses are *ti* including the form *contigo*, and only two are *vos*; there are simply too few tokens to say anything meaningful about prepositional object pronominal variation between *ti* and *vos*. Therefore, prepositional forms have also been excluded from the variable context.

5.3. 'Familiar' versus 'Polite' Forms: the Case of *usted*

Given the importance of social deixis to discussions of 2sg address systems (see 2.4.2), it is an important consideration in terms of the variable context. In the same way that *voseo* is more likely to occur in informal contexts with intimate interlocutors, so it almost never occurs in formal contexts, with unknown interlocutors or those with whom there is a large age difference (see 2.4.2). *Usted* has clearly marked pragmatic and contextual characteristics which broadly differentiate it from the domains of use in which *voseo* and *tuteo* predominate. For example, in Bishop and Michnowicz's (2010: 417) questionnaire study, not only did participants report using the familiar variants (*tuteo* and *voseo*) much more frequently overall, *usted* was "by and large used according to pan-Hispanic norms" (inequality and power differential), and was reportedly favoured with grandparents, professors, bosses and older employees etc. (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 418).

These results have been replicated uncontroversially in questionnaire studies, all of which have included *usted* in the calculation of their rates (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010, Branza, 2012, Kim, 2006, Valencia Espinoza, 2006). Despite this fact, numerous studies using spontaneous data have also included *usted* in their variable context (Helincks, 2012, Helincks, 2015, Kluge, 2005, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Stevenson, 2007). For example, although Stevenson acknowledges the "formal" functions of *usted*, he combines *tú* and *usted* into a single category of "standard" forms in contrast to *voseo* "for the purposes of statistical analysis" (2007: 126). While no doubt *usted* was relatively infrequent in his data set (role play

situations), this could have affected the overall rate of *voseo* in comparison to both of these variants.

Nonetheless, studies that have included *usted* (for spontaneous data), have found very low rates. For example, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 102-3), using sociolinguistic interview data, finds that *ustedeo* is relatively infrequent in her corpus (5.1%; only 246/4817 2sg tokens) and, furthermore, “shows no correlation with any of the variables under analysis”: none of the social factors conditioning the variation of *tuteo* and *voseo* were significant for *ustedeo* in her analyses (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 109). She did, however, highlight the fact that there was some alternation between *tuteo* and *ustedeo*, indicating “regular substitutions of *ustedeo* by *tuteo* in situational contexts usually associated with formality”, which “may suggest a consequent change in the address framework for Chilean Spanish” (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 103). Finally, she suggests that *tuteo* is “a link between informal and formal speech, displaying a more neutral semantic value.” All of this indicates that, although *tuteo* may in some very limited contexts be in variation with *ustedeo*, *ustedeo* is not in variation with *voseo*. Consequently, some recent studies (Newall, 2007), especially those using spontaneous data (Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Rivadeneira Valenzuela and Clua, 2011), have excluded *usted* from their variable context.

This is also reinforced by the very low rates of *ustedeo* in the CCSS – a corpus of familiar informal conversations between friends, family and colleagues. *Ustedeo* accounts for just two percent (55/2202) of 2sg verbs and the *usted* pronoun accounts for six percent (24/436) of 2sg pronouns (see Table 16 and Table 17). The great majority of these can be explained through specific pragmatic uses or quoted speech. For example, Matilda uses 15 tokens of *usted*, of which all are re-enactments of previous conversations. Similarly, Fernanda’s five tokens of *usted* are all given in reported speech, performed as part of a narrative. Andrea uses three tokens of *usted* to address her older aunt. Interestingly 27 of 55 verbal uses of *usted* are either positive or negative imperatives. Given the different pragmatic and contextual factors which condition the use of 2sg variants, tokens of *usted* are considered to be outside the variable context in this study, and given the low number of tokens, no further analysis of these forms was conducted.

5.4. Invariable Forms

According to the principle of accountability, variation can only exist in contexts where speakers genuinely have a choice between forms. Therefore, any construction which categorically occurs in the form of one variant cannot be considered to be variable, because speakers do not have a choice. This is especially important with highly frequent forms as they can severely inflate rates of use for one variant over another. One of the most important contributions here in terms of the variable context is the treatment of syncretic and fossilised forms. These will be discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1. Syncretic Forms: Where *tuteo* and *voseo* Are Identical

As discussed in 2.4.1, the imperative, preterit and synthetic future forms of the 2sg have shared, or syncretic, forms for both *tuteo* and *voseo* derived from the historical 2sg (*tuteo*) forms. Examples of the syncretic forms of the imperative (24) and the preterit (25), respectively, from the CCSS appear below. (There were no tokens of the synthetic future in the corpus, so no further time will be spent discussing them here). Furthermore, syncretic forms can occur without a pronoun as in examples (24) and (25) or with a *tú* (26) or *vos* (27) pronoun.

- (24) ***Consíguete un pololo.***
[You-Ø] Get_{-SYNCRETIC} yourself a boyfriend.
(CCSS; Cousins; 1180; Emilia)
- (25) ***... te pusiste huevón ya,***
you-Ø already turned_{-SYNCRETIC} into an idiot
(CCSS; Takeaway; 4; Claudia)
- (26) ***tú nunca fuiste a un partido de Champions allá.***
you-*tú* never went_{-SYNCRETIC} to a Champions' [League] match there.
(CCSS; Barcelona; 1624; Juan)
- (27) ***Vos no fuiste pero,***
You-*vos* didn't go_{-SYNCRETIC} but [...]
(CCSS; Football; 399; Matías)

As is evident from these examples, syncretic forms can occur with both *tú* and *vos* pronouns, and we know that *tú* can occur with *voseo* (as well as *tuteo*) verb forms (see 2.4). It is also common for both *tuteo* and *voseo* to occur with a null ($\emptyset$) pronoun (see 7.5.2); indeed, 80% of variable verb forms in the CCSS occurred without a pronoun. As a result, it is not possible to say that syncretic forms belong to either paradigm uniquely, to distinguish tokens of either paradigm by virtue of the expressed pronoun with which they appear, or to make any assumptions about tokens that appear with a $\emptyset$ pronoun.

Notwithstanding the above discussion, historically the imperative and preterit have been said to have distinct forms for *tuteo* and *voseo*. However, supposedly *voseo* forms for these TAMs are exceedingly rare. Example (28) shows the single token in the CCSS of a preterit ending in /s/ (i.e. *-stes* versus *-ste*) traditionally described as the historically 2pl (or *voseo*) inflection of the preterit (see 2.4.1), compared to 165 tokens of the syncretic (or, historically, *tuteo*) forms of the preterit. There are no tokens of distinct *voseo* forms of the imperative (compared to 560 syncretic forms).

- (28) *Porque pagastes,*
 Because you- $\emptyset$ paid-PRETERIT (-STES)
 (CCSS; Police; 985; Amanda)

Not only do syncretic forms appear (essentially) categorically with a historically *tuteo* form but it is also not possible to allocate them to either paradigm based upon other criteria. The complexity of this issue is evident in the treatment of these forms in previous studies. For example, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009) included the preterit as having separate forms ending in /s/ despite the fact that less than 1% of these tokens (6/321) were so-called *voseo* forms. However, in 2016, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 100) acknowledges that “there is no *voseo* in [the simple past and the imperative]” and excludes them from her analysis. Similarly, Torrejón (2010: 760), having found a small number of preterit tokens in his data set ending in *-stes* (N=6), attributed all preterit tokens not ending in an (aspirated) sibilant to the *tuteo* variant (N=56), in his words “arbitrarily”. This is a contentious decision given that we know that these variants occur across the Spanish speaking world (including in non-*voseo* varieties), Chilean speakers mix the paradigms, and, according to some studies at least, do not distinguish between them.

Likewise, most studies using corpus data have excluded the imperative, with some exceptions (e.g. Kluge, 2005, Torrejón, 2010). Torrejón (2010: 759-760) includes 135 cases of the imperative in the *tuteo* paradigm, accounting for 21% of his data set (52 of which he describes as corresponding to discourse marker functions without an imperative meaning). Helincks (2015) includes rates of *voseo* both with and without the invariable preterits and imperatives, in order to capture the rates of use when the system permits speakers a choice between forms. Once syncretic forms are excluded, both authors see an increase in rates of *voseo* of between six and eight percent.

While these forms are comparatively rare (relative to the present indicative, for example), their inclusion has indubitably inflated the rates of *tuteo* in previous studies by attributing tokens of each of these non-variable TAMs to *tuteo* when, in the context of syncretic forms, speakers (effectively) have no choice between them. For this reason, recent scholars such as Fernández-Mallat (2018: 70) and Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 100) rule out “*toda ocurrencia de verbos conjugados en tiempos verbales que no presentan flexión voseante*”, including the imperative and the preterit (Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 70)⁴⁷.

In total, syncretic forms in the current data set account for about a third of 2sg tokens before exclusions. Of 2202 tokens, 727 are forms of the imperative and preterit. As there are (for all intents and purposes) no available forms of the *voseo* for these TAMs and, thus, the speaker cannot choose between them, these forms were excluded from the variable context. The legitimacy of this decision will be verified using the priming results in Chapter 7, which provide support for the notion that speakers do not perceive them as belonging to either the *voseo* or *tuteo* paradigm.

5.4.2. The Case of *cachái*: A Non-Variable Form

One highly frequent prefab (see 3.6.1) in Chilean Spanish which has received recent scholarly attention is the fossilised construction and discourse marker *cachái* ‘you know’, from the verb *cachar*, which categorically takes the present indicative *voseo* ending, as in

⁴⁷ ‘all occurrences of conjugated verbs in verbal tenses that do not present *voseo* inflections’

examples (29) and (30). *Cachar* is, by far, the most common verb in the CCSS data set. In total, there were 383 occurrences of the verb *cachar*, of which 361 were the fixed construction *cachái*. It is used, predominantly, as a discourse marker (N=322/361), but also occurs as a verbal construction (N=39)⁴⁸; see examples (29) and (30), respectively.

- (29) ... **tú enrolái** como si fueran más delgados,
cachái?
 you-TÚ roll-voseo [cigarettes] as if they were thinner,
 you-Ø know-CACHÁI?
 (CCSS; A bit of everything; 401-402; Andrea)
- (30) **y ahí cachái** como es el nivel de [ellos po huevón].
 And that's when you realise what level that they're at, man.
 (CCSS; Barcelona; 925; José)

Cachái is a solely vernacular form, typically used in informal discourse; consequently *cachar* does not take a *tuteo* or *ustedeo* form in the present indicative but, rather, when an equivalent phrase is used in more formal registers, it is replaced with an entirely different verb (Urzúa-Carmona, 2006: 105), such as *saber* 'to know'. It is also a recent form, having emerged in the last fifty years or so in parallel with the reported rise of *voseo*. While the verb *cachar* may be much older (cf. Gille 2015a), Pons and Samaniego (1998: 14-16) report the use of *cachái* solely in the speech of young men (<35), being categorically absent in the speech of both women and older speakers. Similarly, San Martín Núñez (2011) found that despite being highly frequent in the speech of young speakers (of both genders; 20-34) in sociolinguistic interviews recorded for the PRESEEA corpus, *cachái* was not used at all by speakers over the age of 55, suggesting that this form has emerged during their lifetimes, and is gaining ground from other discourse markers. Additionally, the first documented usage of *cachái* in its present guise was in Lafourcade's 1971 novel *Palomita Blanca* (Gille 2015a: 246, 2015b), indicating that it had probably already begun the process of expansion and

⁴⁸ Discourse marker uses were defined as those where the expression occurred alone, or as a tag question in the middle or at the end of an utterance. Typically, they appeared in their own IU. Verbal constructions were defined when *cachái* had a complement (e.g. *cachái que...*; *cachái como*), with an expressed subject (e.g. *tú cachái*), with an object (e.g. *Si si lo cachái*; *cachái una parte que se llama Cantagua?*), a reflexive pronoun (*Te cachái*), following a relative pronoun or subordinating conjunction (*que, como, cuando, si* etc.; e.g. *no sé si cachái*).

grammaticalisation in the 1960s and 70s. However, it is completely absent in corpus data from the 1970s, a further indication of the recency of this innovation (see Chapter 7).

The origin of *cachar* is uncertain, but the Real Academia Española (2014) attributes its origins to the English ‘to catch’ as is often repeated in lay-speech. Urzúa-Carmona (2006) identified ten different meanings of this verb: (1) *entender*, to understand, (2) *creer*, to think/believe, (3) *conocer*, to know, (4) *escuchar*, to hear, (5) *ver*, to see, (6) *pillar*, to catch (in the act), (7) *encontrar*, to find, (8) *saber*, to know, (9) *darse cuenta*, to realise, as well as (10) the phatic function of the discourse marker *cachái*. Although Urzúa-Carmona (2006) did not evaluate the distributions of these ten uses, later studies have found the final one – the phatic discourse marker function – to be by far the most frequent. For example, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 100) found “more than 2,000 tokens” of *cachái* as a discourse marker in her corpus of informal spontaneous discourse (versus 4,813 tokens of other 2sg verbs; she excluded *cachái* from her analyses). Similarly, Gille (2015b: 11-12) describes “a clear difference in frequencies” between *cachái* used as a discourse marker, accounting for 91% of occurrences of the verb *cachar* (N=910) and “as a conjugated verb” (that is, non-discourse marker uses of *cachar*), accounting for just 9%. Tokens of *cachái* are also notably frequent in the CCSS, accounting for 25% of tokens once syncretic forms and *usted* have been excluded (361/1429), and one in every three tokens for speakers under the age of 35; for one speaker, Marcela (female, ≤ 35 ; 94 tokens), *cachái* constitutes 73% of her 2sg tokens.

Cachái has been said to have ‘lexicalised’, (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016), ‘grammaticised’ or ‘pragmaticalised’ (Helincks 2012) as a discourse marker (Gille, 2013, Gille, 2015a, Gille, 2015b, Mondaca Becerra et al., 2015) with a categorically *voseo* form. There is also remarkable consensus amongst the scholars who have written on the topic that the present indicative *tuteo* variant *cachas* simply does not occur (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Gille, 2015b, Urzúa-Carmona, 2006). Although it does occur once in the CCSS (see example (31), below), the *tuteo* form is so rare in the present indicative that it cannot be considered a competing form for the analysis of variation (in opposition to 361 occurrences of *cachái*). For the purposes of defining the variable context, it is less important whether it *can* occur than to produce “broad definitions of clausal and lexical types where variability is low enough to disqualify them from the study” (Otheguy et al., 2007: 776). Whatever the explanation of this

solitary *cachas* in a sea of *cachái*, it is clear that *cachar* is such a lexical type: speakers do not really have a choice between variants with the verb *cachar* in the present indicative.

- (31) [No los **cachas** <X tú X> igual]
 [You-*UNCLEAR*] don't know-*TUTEO* them anyway
 (CCSS; Friends; 1602; Gerardo)

Given the frequency of *cachái*, its invariable *voseo* form, prolific use amongst <35s and almost categorical absence in the speech of older speakers, the inclusion or exclusion of this single lexical item in the variable context has tangible and significant effects on rates. Nonetheless, only Helincks (2012) Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2016: 91) and Fernández-Mallat (2018: 70) have excluded *cachái* from their variable contexts.

Therefore, all tokens of *cachái* (i.e. present indicative forms of *cachar*) were excluded from the analysis. However, while Gille (2015b: 12) claims that “*cachái* is formally and structurally fixed”, that is, that *cachar* “lacks variants for person, time and mood, accepts no negation nor virtually any complementizers, and is restricted to occur as an appendix”, this is not the case for the present data set. While the present indicative (in which the discourse marker *cachái* occurs) may not permit variation, this same verb does present variants for person and TAM, and occurs with both complementisers, as in examples (32) and (33); and negation, as in (34). Furthermore, these variants can occur with both *tuteo* and *voseo* morphology; in effect, only the present indicative form of *cachar* – *cachái* – and syncretic forms (N=12) in the imperative (35) and preterit (36), are invariable. Other TAM combinations with both *tuteo* and *voseo* variants are the imperfect (N=1), the present perfect (N=8), and the present subjunctive (N=1) as in (37), (38) and (39); as they do permit variation, although they were infrequent, these tokens were included. There were 22 such tokens in the CCSS.

- (32) *no sé si cachái pero en --*
en Brasil es barato ir al estadio?

I don't know if you-Ø know-*CACHÁI* but in --
 in Brazil it's cheap to go to the stadium?
 (CCSS; Barcelona; 1699-1700; Juan)

- (33) ***Cachái*** *como uno pierde cosas por no sabe=r.*
 You-Ø see-*CACHÁI* how one misses things by not knowing.
 (CCSS; Friends; 1187; Viviana).
- (34) .. *no **no cacha** nada po huevón,*
 .. no he doesn't have a clue man,
 CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 1702; Marcela
- (35) ***Cacha*** *la mano ordinaria que le puse huevón.*
 [You-Ø] Check out-*SYNCRETIC* the half-assed job I did [here] man.
 (CCSS; Barbeque; 129; Gerardo)
- (36) *nunca **cachaste**.*
 You-Ø never realised-*SYNCRETIC*.
 (CCSS; Barcelona; 368; Juan)
- (37) *tú no la **cachabai** antes po*
 you-*TÚ* didn't know-*VOSEO* her before
 (CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 740; Marcela)
- (38) ***hai cachado*** *cuando las cosas no fluyen no más?*
 Have-*VOSEO* you-Ø noticed how sometimes things just simply flow?
 (CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 268; Marcela)
- (39) *no creo que los **cachís***
 I don't think that you-Ø know-*VOSEO* them
 (CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 1368; Marcela)

Though excluded from the variable context, I do consider the effects of *cachái* on the surrounding discourse, as part of an exploration of how this considerable grammatical change has advanced so rapidly through Chilean society. This will be discussed further in Chapters 6-8.

While there were other frequent examples of potential prefabs and other constructions in the CCSS, particularly discourse markers, no others were identified within the variable context. This is, in large part, due to the fact that Spanish discourse markers often occur in syncretic forms such as the imperative (*oye* 'listen; hey' (N=168), *mira* 'look' (N=96), *imagínate* 'imagine' (43) and *pon(te/le)* 'suppose' (N=40)) or the preterit (e.g. *viste*, 'you see'

(N=31)), and these forms are invariable in Chilean Spanish, as discussed above. Therefore, they do not enter into the discussion in this particular case.

5.5. Conclusions: Variables, Variants and (In)variability

To recap, the variable context is the place where speakers have a choice between ‘equivalent’ forms, and variation can occur. For the Chilean 2sg familiar, there are actually two sociolinguistic variables: (i) the *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms, and (ii) the *tú* and *vos* subject pronouns (as other types of pronouns are just too rare in the data here for their status to be determined). However, given the almost categorical absence of *vos* pronouns in this data set, echoing similar findings in other studies using spontaneous data, the present study can only analyse the first variable.

As our interest here is in the development of the variation between the familiar forms, the variable was defined as the 2sg familiar verbal paradigm(s) with the variants *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms; *ustedeo*, as a polite form, was considered outside the variable context – i.e. broadly speaking, *voseo* and *tuteo* are not in variation with *usted*.

Having defined the variable and the variants, a number of exclusions had to be made due to invariable forms in certain TAMs (imperative, preterit and synthetic future) and in certain constructions (specifically, the highly frequent fossilised *voseo* form, *cachái*), where speakers effectively do not have a choice between forms.

This process of circumscribing the variable context, where speakers have a choice between forms and, thus, variation can occur, led to a total of 1059 variable tokens at a rate of 80% *voseo*. These were then coded for a number of social and linguistic conditioning factors identified in previous research on this and other variables, and articulated in the following chapter, which translates the research questions (see Chapter 2) into quantifiably falsifiable hypotheses.

Chapter 6: Factors, Coding and Hypotheses

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, I introduced the three interrelated themes of language change, stigmatisation and (lack of) metalinguistic awareness. In Chapter 3, I discussed a number of sociolinguistic factors that have featured heavily in the body of research in the variationist and complementary usage-based traditions, considered how they might be applied to the three themes and noted some general hypotheses derived from them. While the composition and social stratification of the corpora were discussed in detail in Chapter 4, and the motivation for this stratification was elaborated in Chapter 3, the hypotheses regarding each of the social factors have only been mentioned briefly. This chapter will identify the social and linguistic factors that may condition the selection of those 2sg variants in Chilean Spanish, and further develop the hypotheses to be tested in order to address the aforementioned research questions and themes.

The factors discussed in this chapter have been selected using three criteria: their importance in the existing literature on the *voseo* in Chilean and other Latin American dialects of Spanish; their bearing on the three key themes of language change, stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness; and interactions between factors. As many of these factors relate to more than one of these themes, they are arranged here into social and linguistic factors, respectively, rather than by theme. However, as each predictor is discussed in turn, hypotheses will be developed in relation to the three themes which will enable us to test the claims made in Chapter 2; the hypotheses related to each theme will be brought together and discussed at the end of the chapter. Finally, a summary of the hypotheses for each factor as they appear in the final analyses in Chapter 7 is presented in 6.6. Social factors (Age, Time Period, Gender and Socio-economic Class), discussed in the following sections, will only be mentioned briefly as these were developed in earlier chapters, with more attention given to the linguistic factors in later sections.

6.2. External (Social) Factors

6.2.1. Age

Age is perhaps the most commonly cited social factor influencing the use of *voseo*. As discussed in 3.5.1, one way we can observe linguistic change synchronically is through differing rates of use between speakers of different age cohorts. Therefore, the CCSS corpus was divided into three generations (≤ 35 s; 36-55; > 55), as described in 4.3.4. If linguistic change is occurring, we would expect to see a gradually increasing rate of *voseo* in apparent time; i.e. younger speakers will use more *voseo* and less *tuteo* than older speakers. Crucially, if there has been a change in the grammar of the Chilean 2sg, it would be manifested by changes in some of the other constraints (described below) for younger speakers as the change has advanced through the speech community. Additionally, if age-grading is also affecting rates, we might expect the middle generation (36-55) – as the ones most heavily invested in the linguistic market – to have reduced their rate of *voseo* compared to the younger and older generations.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured by younger speakers ≤ 35 relative to older speakers (36-55, > 55)
- ii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured by the middle age group (36-55) relative to younger (≤ 35) and older speakers (> 55)
- iii. There will be changes in other social and linguistic constraints governing *voseo* for younger speakers (≤ 35), either in the form of weakening and loss of some old constraints, or the strengthening and introduction of new constraints.

6.2.2. Time Period (Corpus)

One contribution of the present study is the application of the benchmark *Habla culta* corpus from the 1970s which allows us to test the claims of change in progress in the Chilean 2sg in real time, perhaps for the first time. In order to address the question of true grammatical change versus age grading, the usage at two points in time can be compared. We would expect that, if change has effectively occurred, the overall rate of *voseo* in the CCSS (recorded in the 2010s) will be greater than in the 1970s data. Furthermore, we would expect that younger speakers today will use more *voseo* than young speakers in the 1970s. The

question of the usage of the older generation in the CCSS (>55s) relative to the <35s in the *Habla culta* (they represent the same generation) is more complex. There are three possible scenarios: their usage can remain stable; they can increase their usage of *voseo* in the direction of the change; or they can reduce their usage of *voseo* in retrograde motion (Sankoff, 2019: 197). If *voseo* retains some of its historical stigmatisation, the prediction would be for older speakers *not* to increase their usage of *voseo*. This remains an open question, but will no doubt have a bearing on the rate of change overall.

Hypotheses:

- i. There will be a higher overall rate of *voseo* in CCSS than in *Habla culta* data.
- ii. ≤35s in CCSS will use more *voseo* than ≤35 in the *Habla culta*
- iii. >55s in CCSS will *not* use more *voseo* than ≤35 in the *Habla culta*

6.2.3. Socio-economic Class

Socio-economic Class (SEC) bears directly on the questions of stigmatisation and change (in sociolinguistic evaluation). In order to investigate the importance of SEC for the variation in the Chilean 2sg, the CCSS was stratified into three SECs as described in 4.3.5. However, given that there was only one speaker in the lowest SEC group, the lower two groups were amalgamated into a single group, leaving a two-way SEC split representing higher SEC and lower SEC, respectively. Both the historic association with the working classes, and the body of research in the variationist paradigm (see 3.5.2), would lead us to hypothesise that, if *voseo* remains stigmatised, it will be favoured in lower SECs and disfavoured in higher SECs. Alternatively, if there has been a change in the social evaluation of *voseo*, we may expect to see either a weakened SEC effect or no effect at all for younger speakers. There is also a potential cross-tabulated effect between SEC and gender (see Gender below).

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured by lower SEC speakers (relative to higher SEC)
- ii. The SEC effect for *voseo* will be weakened over time (for younger relative to older speakers)

6.2.4. Gender

As for SEC, understanding the complex role of Gender and its interactions with Age and SEC is crucial to addressing the questions of stigmatisation and change. As highlighted in

3.5.3, women's speech is generally more 'conservative', associated with more overtly prestigious forms of language, while men's speech is associated with non-standard, local forms and 'covert norms'. While there are conflicting reports in the literature, most previous studies on Chilean *voseo* have shown that *voseo*, as a historically stigmatised form, is used more by men than women, although there is some suggestion that this effect is weakened, or even reversed, for educated women of the youngest generation.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured by men
- ii. The gender effect for *voseo* will be weakened over time (for younger relative to older speakers)
- iii. The gender effect for *voseo* will be weakened for younger speakers from higher-SEC

6.3. Internal (Linguistic) Factors

Internal factors have typically been understudied in the literature, taking a back seat to the social factors. However, some more recent studies have also looked at the linguistic conditioning, or recommended areas for further investigation. The linguistic factors included in this study are Priming (Previous Realisation), Subject Expression, Discourse Type (direct speech vs reported speech vs generic 'you'), Clause Type, Tense Aspect and Mood, and the morphology of the verb. These will be discussed, in turn, below.

Linguistic conditioning can provide some key insights into the three themes motivating this study. Studying the linguistic constraints is another way of evaluating change, using the Variationist Comparative Method (see 3.5); as linguistic constraints underlie the grammar of a language, grammatical change is manifested in changes not just in rates, but also in constraints. For example, *voseo* is disfavoured by the older age group in subordinate clauses. If this same context no longer disfavours *voseo* for younger speakers, this would be evidence of a change in the grammar. By comparing identical analyses of the linguistic constraints for older and younger speakers, we are able to determine whether the same constraints hold, or whether there has been a shift.

The linguistic conditioning can also inform the questions of stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness.

6.3.1. Priming (Previous Realisation)

As discussed in Chapter 3, structural priming is the phenomenon whereby an occurrence of a linguistic form or structure ‘primes’ or triggers the subsequent repetition of that same form or structure because it has already been activated in their minds. Priming is of central importance to the present study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is almost ubiquitous and virtually indispensable in explaining patterns of both stable morphosyntactic variation and changes in progress, yet has rarely been studied in the 2sg, and less still in Chilean Spanish. Furthermore, priming – as a measure of speaker associations between forms – can also speak to the question of whether speakers distinguish between the two paradigms (*tuteo* and *voseo*) or whether, as a result of mixing, stigmatisation and ‘invisibilisation’, they have become conflated in speakers’ variable grammars. Thirdly, priming is a strong contender for having played a role in the process of *change* and helping the change move through the linguistic system. And finally priming helps to establish the variable context.

Therefore, the first hypothesis about priming to be tested here relates to (lack of) metalinguistic awareness. If speakers recognise and negotiate two separate paradigms, then this should be evident in the patterns resulting from priming: i.e. a previous *voseo* in the preceding discourse will favour the repetition of a subsequent *voseo* form (regardless of whether it is the same verb or TAM). Correspondingly, a previous *tuteo* will favour a subsequent *tuteo* form. An absence of priming would be evidence that speakers do not distinguish between forms. Furthermore, given the higher rates of *voseo* reported in the recent literature (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Stevenson, 2007), we might expect the priming to be stronger in the less frequent (i.e. *tuteo*) variant (cf. Jaeger and Snider, 2008, Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017).

The second hypothesis relates to the highly frequent, invariable lexical construction (or prefab), *cachái*. As highlighted in 5.4.2, *cachar* is, by far, the most common verb in the data set (N=383). 361 of these were of the one type, the fixed construction *cachái* – the most frequent 2sg lexical item by a factor of nearly three. In Chapter 3, I discussed the role of frequency and entrenchment in language change, particularly in relation to prefabs; that is, conventionalised and predictable word sequences (Bybee 2006: 713), such as *cachái*. *Cachái* is also a likely candidate to have promoted the proliferation of this change through the

linguistic system, given its exceptionally high frequency (accounting for 25% of ‘variable’ tokens in the CCSS), invariable *voseo* form, prolific use amongst <35s, almost categorical absence in the speech of older speakers, and emergence as a new lexical item contemporaneously with the reported change in usage of *voseo* (completely absent in the 1970s *Habla culta* data).

One way *cachái* might have played a role in the change – the priming hypothesis – is by priming more innovative uses, by creating “a temporary surge in retrievability” which, in turn, “facilitates an expression’s selection in unconventional contexts” (De Smet, 2016: 95) (cf. 3.6.2). In this context, ‘innovative uses’ can be considered to be the use of *voseo* in less conventionalised constructions with other verbs and in other Tenses, Aspects and Moods (TAMs). A precondition for *cachái* having played a role by priming other *voseo* forms is for speakers to recognise *cachái* as a *voseo* form. Considering that it categorically takes *voseo* morphology in the present indicative, is used as a discourse marker, and was also the only *voseo* form used in direct speech to non-Chilean interlocutors in Fernández Mallat’s (2011: 53) study of Chilean migrants to Montreal in Canada (a context where speakers systematically avoid the *voseo*), this is an open question. If *cachái* is fully autonomous (cf. 3.6), then we would not expect *cachái* to prime other *voseo* constructions; if, however, *cachái* is still analysable as a *voseo* form (see 3.6.1), then we might expect it to prime other more innovative uses of *voseo* in other verbs.

The third priming hypothesis relates to syncretic forms (imperative, synthetic future and the preterit; see 2.4.1). As these forms share and are derived from historically *tuteo* morphology, we might expect them to prime *tuteo*. However, this would be problematic for the present study, which excluded 731 (/2159) forms of the imperative, future and preterit as non-variable. Moreover, there is also evidence that syncretic forms can be used with both a *tú* and a *vos* pronoun, suggesting perhaps that they are not associated exclusively with either paradigm. Priming is one way we can access this question; as Tamminga (2016: 352) observes, “The successful use of persistence to disentangle surface-similar variables in language variation is motivation for variationists to add persistence to their methodological toolbox as one diagnostic of the envelope of variation.”

To address these questions, the sample was coded for the form of the previous 2sg token in the discourse, regardless of whether the previous form was spoken by the same or a different speaker. Fernández-Mallat (2018) distinguishes between the two but finds that neither was significant in his sample of Santiago Spanish speakers. There were too few tokens in the CCSS to separately analyse priming by the same or a different speaker (there were only eight cases of tokens with a previous *tuteo* spoken by a different speaker; see Appendix 9). However, the direction of effect is the same in both contexts (see 7.5.1). Therefore, priming by the same speaker and priming by a different speaker were combined into a single category.

Given that the effect for priming weakens over time (or distance in the discourse) (cf. Bock, 1986), only tokens within five IUs (intonation units; see 4.3.3) were coded, following previous studies that have used IUs as a measure of distance (e.g. Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2011). As there is rarely more than one 2sg token per intonation unit, in most cases, this was within five clauses. In this way, all tokens were coded as either having a previous *tuteo* (as in (40), below, with the prime underlined and **target** in bold), previous *voseo* (41), previous *cachái* (42), previous syncretic form (43), and no other 2sg token within 5 IUs.

- (40) *no andabas conmigo cuando **te perdías**.*

You-Ø weren't-TUTEO with me when you-Ø got lost-TUTEO

(CCSS; Memories; 1261; Trinidad)

- (41) *Sabís la cagada que le **vai a dejar** a tu amigo huevona?*

Do you-Ø know-VOSEO the problems you-Ø are going-VOSEO to leave your friend, idiot?

(CCSS; Police; 484; Matilda)

- (42) Cristían: *yo pierdo tiempo con esas huevadas, cachái?*

Claudia: *... **perdís** tiempo*

Cristían: I waste time on that shit, you-Ø know-CACHÁI?

Claudia: You-Ø lose-VOSEO time

(CCSS; Takeaway; 223)

- (43) *Métete cuando – cuando **quieras**.*

[You-Ø] join in-SYNCRETIC when – whenever you-Ø want-TUTEO

(CCSS; Barbeque; 1430-31; Viviana)

Hypotheses:

- i. Voseo will be favoured by a previous voseo in the preceding environment (5 IUs)
- ii. Voseo will be disfavoured by a previous tuteo in the preceding environment
- iii. Voseo will be favoured by a previous cachái in the preceding environment
- iv. A previous syncretic form will have an intermediary rate of voseo

6.3.2. Subject Expression

Spanish has variable subject expression; that is, speakers have a choice between an overt pronoun or a so-called ‘null subject’ (henceforth $\emptyset$) as in (44) (e.g. Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2011, Travis and Torres Cacoullos, 2012). In the 2sg familiar in Chilean Spanish, speakers also have a choice between pronouns: *tú* (45) and *vos* (46).

(44) *Alguna vez te vai a [curar]te,*
Some time you- $\emptyset$ are going to-VOSEO get pissed [drunk]
(CCSS; Relationships; 1289; Tomás)

(45) **Tú** *estás loco*
You-TÚ are-TUTEO crazy
(CCSS; Dinner with the boss; 541; Cecilia)

(46) ... **vos** *vai a estar cagado,*
You-VOS are going to-VOSEO be screwed.
(CCSS; Football; 506; Alfredo)

Typically, subject expression has been treated as part of the 2sg morphological variable (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela and Clua, 2011 i.e. looking at the pronoun as a proportion of each verb form) or as a separate dependent variable in its own right (e.g. Hernández, 2007: 708, Stevenson, 2007). Numerous studies have found the *vos* pronoun to be rare, as well as frequent mixing of the *tú* pronoun and *voseo* verb forms (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Torrejón, 1986: 678, Helincks, 2012). Fernández-Mallat (2018) looked at subject expression as a conditioning factor of the Chilean 2sg, but found that it was not significant. However, subject expression has been found to condition variation in the 2sg in other varieties. For example, Newall (2016) in Cali, Colombia, found that the presence of a *vos* pronoun favoured the production of *voseo* (versus *tuteo*). Given the almost categorical absence of the *vos* pronoun (with only 12 subject uses all with *voseo* verb forms; see 5.2), the

present study will look at the presence or absence of an overt *tú* pronoun as a conditioning factor for the choice of verb form.

Subject expression bears on the question of metalinguistic awareness: if speakers do not distinguish between the two paradigms, then we should not expect any difference in the rates of overt subject expression with *voseo* and *tuteo* (at least with respect to the *tú* pronoun which, remember, can occur with both paradigms). The absence of a subject expression effect would be evidence that speakers combine the pronouns and verb forms randomly, as they are part of a single paradigm.

There is some evidence for a stronger association between the *tú* pronoun and the *tuteo* verb forms, seen in a higher rate of pronominal expression with *tuteo* than *voseo* verb forms. For example, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 148-152) reported 21% *tú* expression with *tuteo* verb forms (N=3267) vs 14% *tú* expression with *voseo* verb forms (i.e. the mixed *voseo*; N=1078). However, only 3% of the 1078 *voseo* verb forms occurred with a *vos* pronoun, possibly indicating an even weaker association between *vos* and *voseo* verb forms, though this could also reflect a general avoidance of the *vos* pronoun. Importantly, she also found that the rate of *voseo* (25% overall, N=4345) varied according to subject expression: 18% in the presence of a *tú* pronoun (N=830), 26% with $\emptyset$ subjects (N=3482) and 85% with a *vos* pronoun, although these occurred rarely (N=33), perhaps suggesting that speakers manage their use. Nonetheless, the figures from both Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009) and Helincks (2012) reveal that there were far more occurrences of unexpressed (i.e. $\emptyset$) pronouns than expressed pronouns, with around three quarters unexpressed for *tuteo* and over 80% for *voseo*, suggesting that, perhaps, despite all of the literature on the “mixed *voseo*” (e.g. Torrejón, 1986), Lipski’s (1994: 143) ‘crypto-*voseo*’ may actually be the dominant form.

Comparing the effects of Subject Expression and Priming (of verb form) can also inform the question of whether the pronoun or the verb forms are more salient in speakers’ minds. If, as the literature would seem to suggest (cf. 2.5.3), it is the pronoun that holds greater weight, so to speak, in terms of the associations between forms in speakers’ variable grammars, then we might expect the ‘pronoun effect’ of Subject Expression to be stronger than the ‘verb form effect’ of priming. Testing of these hypotheses will allow us to further

investigate the connections between speakers' explicit metalinguistic commentary (as evidenced in the existing literature) and their linguistic behaviour.

Therefore, all tokens were coded for whether they occurred with an overt *tú* pronoun, *vos* pronoun or with a null ($\emptyset$) pronoun. In most cases, this was straightforward, but in those cases where it was not clear whether a pronoun belonged with the verb (e.g. with restarts, or across intonation units), these tokens were excluded.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured in the presence of an overt *vos* pronoun
- ii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in the presence of an overt *tú* pronoun
- iii. $\emptyset$ pronouns will be the most frequent context for all variants
- iv. The *vos* pronouns will be very rare
- v. The subject expression effect will be stronger than the priming effect

6.3.3. Discourse Type

Numerous authors have suggested that subtle semantic-pragmatic changes in the discourse could explain some of the 'switches' between *tuteo* and *voseo* (see 2.4.3). One area that has attracted a lot of recent attention in the study of the Chilean *voseo* is discourse type (Fernández-Mallat, 2011, Fernández-Mallat, 2018, Helincks, 2012, Kluge, 2005, Pulido Astorga and Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2017, Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017, Stevenson, 2007, Torrejón, 2010); that is whether 2sg forms are used to speak directly to a specific interlocutor (47), in reported speech (48), or in generic uses (49) (referring to experiences that can be generalised to others). Some scholars also treat discourse marker uses differently (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela et al., 2017).

(47) ***Te acordái*** cuando estábamos en Cairns esa vez?

Do you- $\emptyset$ remember-*VOSEO* when we were in Cairns that time?

(CCSS; Cousins; 697; Carmen)

(48) no le ***hai pagado*** las cuotas le dije.

You- $\emptyset$ have-*VOSEO* not paid him the instalments I said to him

(CCSS; Police; 544; Matilda)

(49) *De repente hay huevadas que tú no las podís evitar.*

Sometimes there's shit that you-*TÚ* can-*VOSEO* not avoid

(CCSS; Police; 828; Matilda)

There is some indication in the literature that *voseo* is favoured in generic speech (and to a lesser degree, in reported speech). Kluge (2005) studied the effect of discourse type in a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with migrants from the south of Chile. While *voseo* was less frequent overall than *tuteo* in her data set (37% N=689), *voseo* was nearly twice as frequent in reported speech (25%, N=233) than in speech directed at a specific interlocutor (14%, N=78) and accounted for nearly half of 2sg generic uses (48%, N=378) (2005: Table 1, p. 174). Similarly, Helincks (2012: 207) reported that *voseo* accounted for more than half of generic uses (N=88) despite only making up about a third of variable tokens overall (N=1049). Interestingly, generic uses of *voseo* also appeared directly alongside specific uses of *usted* in more formal contexts, as in the example from Helincks (2012: 22), below.

(50) *Ahí, dentro de la matrimonial teníh todo. Si a uhted le pusieron un delincuente. Le decía “¿a qué pieza te vai?”. “A la matrimonial”, todo’ te van a decirte*

There, in the bedroom, you- $\emptyset$ have-*VOSEO* everything. If they gave you-*USTED* a criminal. You-*USTED* said-*USTESEO* to him “which room do you- $\emptyset$ go-*VOSEO* to?” “To the bedroom”, everyone’s gonna tell you.

Fernández-Mallat (2011: 53), in a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews of Chileans in Montreal, found that, although in direct speech informants used *tuteo* almost categorically with non-Chileans, they did use *voseo* with non-Chileans in generic speech, and in reported speech when reproducing the speech of a Chilean. Several authors (Carvalho, 2010, Kluge, 2005, Stevenson, 2007: 180-182) have reported similar patterns in reported speech whereby alternation between 2sg forms fulfils particular stylistic functions allowing speakers to perform different identities. This can lead to somewhat unpredictable usage in reported speech depending on the speaker, the topic and whose speech is being reported.

Most recently, Fernández-Mallat (2018), in a variationist study using conversational data from 20 speakers from Santiago, found that “specificity” of interlocutor (2018: 68) was

one of only two significant factors and the only linguistic one (the other is an interaction between age and gender), reporting that the probability of *voseo* in specific and reported speech was significantly lower than in generic speech (2018: 74). He argued that this finding that speakers use *voseo* with more “reserve” or “caution” when they are speaking directly to someone than when they are speaking generally is consistent with a certain degree of stigmatisation of *voseo* on the part of Chilean Spanish speakers (2018: 78).

Therefore, it is likely that discourse type will be a significant factor in the selection of 2sg forms and may explain some of the polymorphism – that is the switching that we see between *tuteo* and *voseo* within the same interaction between the same speakers, and often within the same utterance (see 2.4.3). All tokens were coded for whether the token was directed at a specific interlocutor (i.e. the subject of the 2sg form was the person being spoken to), was used in a generic sense (i.e. the interlocutor was not the subject, but, rather, the utterance could be applied more generally), or whether it was reported speech (whether real, performed or completely imaginary). While a small proportion of tokens (N=125/1059) could not be coded in this way when type of discourse was not clear from the recordings (and were excluded), in the majority of cases this categorisation was fairly straightforward.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured in generic and reported speech
- ii. Reported speech may behave erratically depending on whose speech is being reported

6.3.4. Clause Type

Like Discourse Type (above), another place where semantic and discourse pragmatic considerations might be visible in the linguistic conditioning (and therefore one way that these claims might be operationalised) is in different types of speech acts or, more broadly, clause types.

For example, Stevenson (2007: 138) reported a significant effect for requests, which had a significantly lower rate of *voseo* (62%) versus the other discourse (role play) situations in his study (70~73%). Similarly, in Salvadoran Spanish, Hernández (2007: 706, 2010: 826) operationalised illocutionary force in terms of commands favouring *voseo*, and requests favouring *tuteo*. In the Spanish of Cali in Colombia, Newall (2016: 154-155) reported an effect

for speech act whereby with known interlocutors *voseo* was favoured for questions and direct commands, while *tuteo* was overwhelmingly favoured for indirect commands and statements.

On a slightly different note, Bybee (2002) has proposed that, in situations of change, subordinate clauses tend to be more conservative and disfavour the incoming variant: in this case, *voseo*. If a change is in progress as has been reported, we might expect that *voseo* will be disfavoured in subordinate clauses.

In the present case, Clause Type was used as a proxy for speech act: all tokens were coded for whether they occurred in a declarative main clause (as in example (51), below), a subordinate clause (52), a negative command (53) (see 6.3.5, below) or in what were loosely categorised as questions (54) including direct requests, as in (55). 185 tokens were excluded as un-codable where the Clause Type was not clear (e.g. whether an utterance was a question or a statement, and when subordinating connectors were used with what were, ostensibly, main clauses (see examples (56) and (57), below).

- (51) ... **puedes comer** con cincuenta mil pesos al mes.
You-Ø can eat-TUTEO with fifty thousand pesos a month.
(CCSS; Family; 1675; Sara)

- (52) ... <Q yo no necesito que **tú me atiendas así?** Q>
I don't need that you-TÚ attend-TUTEO to me like that
(= I don't need you to attend to me like that)
(CCSS; Family; 1399; Sara)

- (53) no me **dís** ni una huevada más,
[You-Ø] Don't give-VOSEO me anything else
(CCSS; Family; 996; Sara)

- (54) ... para qué **decís** tanta huevada?
Why do you -Ø say-VOSEO so much shit?
(CCSS; Takeaway; 407; Claudia)

- (55) Me **prestái** un lápiz.
[Will] you-Ø lend-VOSEO me a pencil?
(CCSS; Barbeque; 1577; Gerardo)

- (56) *No po si **tú tienes** razón.*
 No [if] you-*TÚ* have-*TUTEO* reason
 (= No, you're right).
 (CCSS; Memories; 868; Trinidad)
- (57) *<@ Que **eres** mala @>*
 [That] you- $\emptyset$ are-*TUTEO* bad
 (= You're mean!)
 (CCSS; Dinner with the Boss; 224; Pamela)

Discourse markers and expressions with a pragmatic function were also coded separately, as they did not fit neatly into any of the other categories, as in examples (58) to (61).

- (58) ***Sabís** qué.*
No es cara esa cuestión.

 You- $\emptyset$ know-*VOSEO* what.
 It's not expensive [that thing].
 (CCSS; Friends; 659-660; Tatiana)
- (59) *... lo que decíamos el otro día?*
te acordái?

 ... what we were saying the other day?
 [do you- $\emptyset$] remember-*VOSEO*?
 (CCSS; A bit of everything; 1376-1367; Andrea)
- (60) *No me **huevís**.*
 Don't [you- $\emptyset$] mess-*VOSEO* with me.
 (= You're kidding)
 (CCSS; Friends; 578; Gerardo)
- (61) *porque yo fui camionero.*
*me **entendís?***

 Because I was a truck driver.
 [Do] you- $\emptyset$ understand-*VOSEO* me?
 (= you know what I mean?)
 (CCSS; Relationships; 483-484; Tomás)

As all positive imperatives in contemporary Chilean Spanish (and indeed in the data set) are syncretic (cf. Chapter 2), these had already been excluded from the variable context.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured in main clauses
- ii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in questions (including requests)
- iii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in negative commands
- iv. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in subordinate clauses

6.3.5. Tense, Aspect and Mood (henceforth TAM)

While often mentioned in relation to the use of *voseo*, TAM has rarely been analysed as a conditioning factor of the Chilean 2sg. In general, *voseo* has been said to be favoured in the present tense in comparison with other tenses, and in the indicative mood over the subjunctive and conditional moods. However, the studies that have looked at TAM have found it not to be a significant predictor of *voseo* (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 73).

The connection between *voseo* and the present indicative is likely related to frequency, as *voseo* has been found to occur predominantly (~80% of *voseo* tokens)⁴⁹ in the present indicative (Fernández-Mallat, 2011, Helincks, 2012, Kluge, 2005, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Torrejón, 2010), although *voseo* tokens have been reported across the entire paradigm with examples in the past perfect, imperfect, periphrastic future, pluperfect and the present and past subjunctives. This also corresponds to the common claim that the indicative is the less marked mood (e.g. Helincks, 2012: 19, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 160). However, this apparent effect could be due to the greater frequency of the present indicative overall rather than because *voseo* is necessarily disfavoured in other TAMs.

As some previous studies have tended to present their results in terms of the percentage of total *voseo* tokens represented in each TAM (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009: 153) rather than proportional rates of *tuteo* vs *voseo*, and others (e.g. Torrejón 2010,

⁴⁹ Fernández Mallat (2011): 83% present indicative (N=239). Helincks (2012): 82% (N=312). Torrejón (2010: 759): 78% (N=184/236). Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 159): 91% (874/964).

Kluge 2005) have included the syncretic forms of the preterit, imperative and future in the variable context (see Chapter 5), this is still very much an open question.

Each token was coded for TAM. Due to an interaction with Clause Type, TAM was not included in the statistical model. As most main clauses tended to be in the indicative or imperfect, and most subjunctives were in subordinate clauses, and the negative imperative in TAM was synonymous with the negative command in Clause Type, the independence of the variables was undermined. Given the high number of different TAMs in the data, and that Clause Type seems to have the potential to explain some of the variation interactionally, which TAM only does tangentially, Clause Type was included in the statistical analyses at the expense of TAM. Nonetheless, the results for TAM are also reported in Chapter 7.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured in the present tense in comparison with other tenses
- ii. *Voseo* will be favoured in the indicative mood
- iii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in the subjunctive and conditional moods

6.3.6. Morphological Class

A number of studies suggest that *voseo* may be favoured with certain morphological shapes, specifically associated with *-AR* verbs (e.g. *hablar*, ‘to speak’). For example, Stevenson (2007: 232) notes that *-IR* verbs (e.g. *vivir*, ‘to live’) seem to disfavour *voseo* in comparison to *-AR* and *-ER* verbs (e.g. *comer*, ‘to eat’), and that the majority of *voseo* forms occur with second conjugation (i.e. *-ER*) verbs in four out of five role-play scenarios. This effect could interact with the distribution of specific verbs used in each discourse situation (chance meeting, request, loan, robbery, anger), and with certain constructions that may be more advanced than others (see 6.4, below). Stevenson suggests it is probably a combination of factors. However, he does not investigate this any further, merely flagging it as a potential avenue for other researchers.

Similarly, Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 93; 161) analysed the verb morphology of the conjugated verb regardless of TAM. She found that the single *voseo* inflection *-ai*⁵⁰ (used in the present indicative for *-AR* verbs, e.g. *hablá*i**, ‘you speak’, as well as other TAMs for all verb classes including *-ER* and *-IR* verbs, e.g. *comí*ai**, ‘you ate’; see 2.4.1) accounted for 58% of *voseo* forms (N=629/1078). In contrast, the *-íh* [or *-ís*] inflection (used in the present indicative of both *-ER* verbs, e.g. *comí*h**/*comí*s**, ‘you eat’, and *-IR* verbs, e.g. *viví*h**/*viví*s**, ‘you live’; and the present subjunctive of *-AR* verbs, e.g. *vivá*i** ‘you live’) accounted for just 39%. This was despite the fact that *-ER* verbs were the most frequent verb class both for *voseo* (51%; N=839) and *tuteo* (54%; N=382) (2009: 93) in her exploratory study. Although presented slightly differently, this could also suggest a favouring effect for *-AR* verbs.

All tokens were coded for whether the infinitive form of each conjugated verb (see 6.4 below) was an *-AR*, *-ER* or *-IR* verb to test whether this has an effect on the likelihood of it taking a *voseo* conjugation. Three highly irregular verbs were excluded from this analysis as their present indicative forms (at least) follow a completely different morphological pattern (*ser*, *ir* and *haber*). These are discussed separately, however, in 7.6 on lexical effects in the data.

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured in *-AR* verbs
- ii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured in *-IR* verbs

6.4. Other Factors

6.4.1. Frequency and Lexical Effects

Frequency was flagged in Chapter 3 as an important mechanism of language change but frequency effects have seldom been studied in the Chilean 2sg. Bishop and Michnowicz (2010: 423), however, in questionnaire data, did note a slight favouring of *voseo* by more

⁵⁰ She finds four types of types of inflection in the Chilean *voseo*, regardless of TAM: *-ai* (including both final, e.g. *está*i**, and penultimate, e.g. *estabá*i**, *estarí*ai**, stressed syllables); *-íh*; *-stes* (<1% of *voseo* forms); and *soi* (from *ser*; 2% of *voseo* forms; see section 7.6); with there being no cases of a potential fifth inflection, *-ei*, in her data set (p. 161-3).

frequent verbs but suggest that “given the trend seen here and the copious research on the role of lexical frequency in (socio)linguistic patterning [...] future study, perhaps with a different implementation of frequency, is needed to address this further” (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 423). Newall (2016), looking at the 2sg in Cali Spanish in Colombia, found that while verb frequency (operationalised in terms of the number of occurrences of each verb in the corpus) was not significant in the conditioning of *tuteo/voseo*, it was significant as a predictor of *ustedeo*, which was favoured by high frequency verbs. It is not clear what the prediction would be, but this provides evidence for the potential role of frequency in the conditioning of 2sg forms, something that has not been studied specifically in naturally-occurring Chilean Spanish.

As Hay and Foulkes (2016: 320) observe, though, frequency is complicated: “What is clear is that frequency cannot be considered in isolation, and that it patterns in complex ways with other factors”. That is, just because a verb is frequent (or not) does not mean that it will necessarily have an effect, or that this effect can be predicted. Crucially, Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2018: 105) note that “it is not the frequency of individual verbs that matters, but individual verbs in specific grammatical structures” (or, in the present case, constructions made up of verb, TAM and 2sg person); and these “lexically particular constructions display idiosyncrasies” (2018: 105), such as favouring *voseo* or *tuteo*. In short, while frequency can promote change (as well as resist it) (e.g. Bybee, 2006: 715), it is not a foregone conclusion that frequency favours any one variant over another; likewise, a particular construction may favour one form, without necessarily being frequent. For this reason, the present study will adopt a construction focus with regard to frequency.

Various scholars have identified certain constructions as favouring *voseo*. As well as *cachái* (already discussed at length, and below in 6.4.2), authors have identified a number of other present indicative *voseo* constructions which may favour *voseo*. Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 163-4) reports that the *voseo* variants *estái*, *vai*, *hai*, *teníh*, *sabíh*, *queríh*, *podíh* account for 57% (611/1078) of *voseo* tokens while their *tuteo* counterparts, *estás*, *vas*, *has*, *tienes*, *sabes*, *quieres* and *puedes*, account for just 25% of *tuteo* (N=802/3267). Interestingly, *estái* (N=125; 12% of *voseo*) is more frequent than *cachái* (N=120; 11%) but (presumably) includes present continuous uses. It is worth noting that, like *estái*, all of these are highly frequent forms which also serve as grammaticised auxiliary tense and modal markers. Helincks (2012:

19-20), too, highlights a number of semi-fixed *voseo* constructions: *me entendís, soi/no seai mentiroso, estái loco, cómo estai?* and *te fijái?*, noting that, given their phatic and spontaneous character, “*no es sorprendente que se fusion[en] con el voseo*”.

Lexical effects and frequency interact: the idiosyncratic behaviour of lexically particular constructions becomes entrenched by repetition (frequency) but will only have an effect on overall rates if the lexical item is sufficiently frequent. If a construction has a clear tendency but relatively low token numbers, then, as interesting as it may be, its impact will be negligible given a sufficiently broad representation of tokens. Indeed, the tendency itself might even be an artefact of low token numbers. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that lexical effects only exist above a certain frequency ‘threshold’ beyond which speakers have enough linguistic evidence to formulate hypotheses about individual lexical items (Erker and Guy, 2012: 526). Therefore, if there are any important lexical effects in the data caused by the fossilisation of specific constructions, we should expect these to emerge in the analysis of the most frequent verbs.

Frequency was operationalised using the number of 2sg occurrences of each verb-type in the present corpus as the benchmark. As *voseo* is a morphosyntactic variable – that is, speakers have a choice between different verb endings – it can be hypothesised that if there is an effect for lexical frequency (of the verb) in these data on the selection of 2sg verb morphology, it will be related specifically to the frequency of verbs in 2sg constructions rather than to frequency across all grammatical persons in the corpus as a whole, or in Spanish (as operationalised in Bishop and Michnowicz (2010)).

Therefore, each token within the variable context of the 2sg was coded for the verb type of the conjugated verb of the target clause (i.e. the verb on which the morphology operates), regardless of whether this was the main verb of the clause, or an auxiliary verb (modal or TAM marking). For example, in (62), below, *tener* is both the main verb and the conjugated verb, whereas in (63) the modal verb *tener (que)* takes the *voseo* ending, despite *postular* being the main verb in the clause. In both cases, they were treated as instances of *tener*. Similarly, in (64), below, while the main verb is *bailar*, it is the auxiliary verb *ir (a)*, indicating future tense, which is conjugated.

- (62) *Tú no **tenís** nada que perder.*
 You-_{TÚ} don't have-_{VOSEO} anything to lose.
 (CCSS; Cousins; 1699; Carmen)
- (63) *Que en diciembre **tenís que postular** a las pegas.*
 [That] in December you-_Ø have-_{VOSEO} to apply for jobs.
 (CCSS; Cousins; 1712; Carmen)
- (64) *No **vai a ir [a bailar]**.*
 You-_Ø aren't going to-_{VOSEO} go to dance?
 (CCSS; Police; 35; Valentina)

The decision to code the verb-type of the conjugated verb rather than the semantic main verb in the clause was made in line with the aforementioned construction focus, whereby, it is argued, these conjugated verbs are the ones likely to be affected by lexical frequency, and not the semantic content of the main verbs. By way of illustration, the verb *postular*, the main verb of (63), only occurs twice in the variable context; *tener*, on the other hand, occurs 150 times – 49 times as an auxiliary and 101 times as a conjugated main verb.

Each verb type was then counted and ranked for frequency within the corpus to test if there was any correlation between the relative frequency of a verb-type and the rate of *voseo*. Given the construction focus, verb type was also cross-tabulated with TAM to check for tendencies in lexically particular constructions. Given the high number of verb types, and the low number of tokens for all but the most frequent ones, in the end Verb Type was not included in the statistical model. These results are discussed in 7.5.5.

Hypothesis

- i. *Voseo* will not be conditioned by frequency per se, but rather will be favoured or disfavoured in certain lexically specific constructions regardless of frequency

6.4.2. The Entrenchment Hypothesis: *cachái*

Above (see 6.3.1), I discussed the 'priming hypothesis': *cachái* is a likely candidate for having promoted the proliferation of *voseo* through the linguistic system by creating "a temporary surge in retrievability" (De Smet, 2016: 95). This surge is the result of what might be called 'localised entrenchment' (or what Szmrecsanyi (2005: 141) refers to as "micro-

entrenchment”) as a result of priming. This is in fact, conceptually, an extension of the ‘entrenchment hypothesis’ that “innovative constructions should be more likely to emerge if their analogical models are better entrenched” (De Smet 2016: 83); that is the more ‘retrievable’, i.e. frequent, an utterance is in conventional usage, the more likely it will be to be used in innovative ways. To apply this hypothesis to the present study, we might expect that speakers for whom *cachái* is more entrenched (i.e. who use more *cachái*) will use a higher rate of *voseo* with other forms (excluding *cachái*) than speakers who use less *cachái*. In other words, we might expect more *voseo* usage in less common utterances from speakers who already use high rates of *voseo* in *cachái*.

To test this, the rate of use of *cachái* was calculated for each speaker, operationalised as a proportion of each speaker’s total number of variable 2sg tokens including *cachái* (i.e. *tuteo* + *voseo* + *cachái*), and correlated with their rate of *voseo* (excluding *cachái*). For example, one of the participants, Carmen, produces 125 2sg tokens (including *cachái*) of which 34 are *cachái*, giving her a rate of 27% *cachái*. Excluding those 34 tokens, she produces 91 variable 2sg tokens, at a rate of 77% *voseo*. Rate of *cachái* was calculated in this way – rather than, say, as a proportion of total words or IUs, because the hypothesis relates to the effect of *cachái* on this set of variable tokens.

An alternative method of calculating rate of *cachái* might have been as a proportion of expressions with a similar meaning (e.g. *sabes/sabís* ‘you know’ etc.). However, the method used was preferred given the difficulties of establishing a closed set of these expressions and the fact that previous studies have found *cachái* to dwarf any other expression in terms of frequency. For example, San Martín Núñez (2011: 151), using a sub-set of sociolinguistic interviews from the Santiago PRESEEA corpus (cf. 4.2.1), found that nearly 87% (N=1007) of all uses of “interrogative markers of contact control” (a type of phatic tag questions) were *cachái*. In the present study, in contrast with 361 tokens of *cachái*, the next frequent 2sg expression, *sabís*, only had 107 tokens, and only 43 of these were spoken by <35s who produce the great majority (328/361) of tokens of *cachái* i.e. *cachái* outnumbers *sabís* by nearly 9:1 for <35s. Furthermore, only six of these (6%) were standalone expressions (*sabís*) versus 322/361 (89%) for *cachái*. In sum, the low token numbers of other similar expressions and different contextual distributions did not permit this analysis.

Eventually, the rate of *cachái* was not included in the multivariate analyses, due to an interaction with Previous Realisation, perhaps unsurprisingly; given that the two hypotheses regarding *cachái* relate to entrenchment and priming, they may well be expected to interact. Nonetheless, I discuss the patterning below in 7.6.1.

Hypotheses:

- i. Younger speakers will have a higher rate of *cachái* than older speakers
- ii. *Voseo* will be favoured by speakers who also have higher rates of *cachái* (relative to speakers who have lower rates of *cachái*), regardless of age

6.4.3. Interlocutor

Given that so much of the previous discussion of *voseo* in the literature has recurred to the social deixis of the 2sg (see 2.4.2), it would be remiss not to discuss the role of the interlocutor. While the literature stresses the importance of the relative age, social position and solidarity between the interlocutors (e.g. Kim, 2006: 61), these factors have largely been controlled for within the study's design, which recorded informal conversations between interlocutors who know each other well, of the kind they would be likely to have anyway. As a result, it is not possible to analyse differences of register or social position with these data. To a certain extent, interlocutor SEC and age is mostly controlled for as well, given that most interactions were between close family members, friends and colleagues.

Nonetheless, there are some claims that can be investigated, at least tentatively, using these data. In particular, there are reports of an effect for the gender of the interlocutor. *Voseo* is often described as being characteristic of intra-male speech (e.g. Branza, 2012: 150). However, there are also conflicting claims that *voseo* is favoured by both genders with female interlocutors, disfavoured by females to males (Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 421, using survey data) and disfavoured by males to females (Helincks, 2012: 199, using TV data).

To test for the effect of interlocutor gender, each token was coded for the gender of the speaker and the interlocutor. In the corpus there are 12 dyads (see Table 18, below); the other five conversations had three or four participants, meaning that it was not possible to know who the intended interlocutor is in most cases, and so these transcripts were excluded from the interlocutor analyses. Two further dyads were excluded due to age differences

between the interlocutors (Ernesto & Humberto, and Trinidad & Valentín, who are father and son, and mother and son, respectively). Table 18, below, shows the 12 dyads, with the two below the thick black line excluded from further analysis. This left 10 dyads – two between male interlocutors, five between female interlocutors and three mixed-gender interactions – with which to test the role of the gender of the interlocutor on rates of *tuteo* and *voseo*. Interlocutor was not included as a factor group in the statistical analyses but is reported on in Chapter 7 (section 7.7.2).

Hypotheses:

- i. *Voseo* will be favoured to interlocutors of the same gender as the speaker
- ii. *Voseo* will be disfavoured to interlocutors of the opposite gender from the speaker

Table 18: Summary of Two-person Interactions in CCSS

#	Transcript	<i>Pseud. 1</i>	<i>Pseud. 2</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1	Football	<i>Matías</i>	<i>Alfredo</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	M-M	<i>Friends</i>
2	Barcelona	<i>Juan</i>	<i>José</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	M-M	<i>Friends</i>
3	A bit of everything	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>Magdalena</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	F-F	<i>Friends</i>
4	Nerds and geeks	<i>Marcela</i>	<i>Ángela</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	F-F	<i>Friends</i>
5	Cousins	<i>Carmen</i>	<i>Emilia</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	F-F	<i>Cousins</i>
6	Savings	<i>Carolina</i>	<i>Nicol</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	F-F	<i>Friends</i>
7	Movies	<i>Agustina</i>	<i>Cassandra</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	F-F	<i>Colleagues</i>
8	Relationships	<i>Tomás</i>	<i>Soledad</i>	<i>Same</i> (> 35)	M-F	<i>Colleagues</i>
9	Takeaway	<i>Cristián</i>	<i>Claudia</i>	<i>Same</i> (≤ 35)	M-F	<i>Spouses</i>
10	Southern Chile	<i>Javier</i>	<i>Alejandra</i>	<i>Same</i> ⁵¹ (≤ 35)	M-F	<i>Couple</i>
11	Memories	<i>Valentín</i>	<i>Trinidad</i>	> 35 ; ≤ 35	M-F	<i>Mother/son</i>
12	Back to Santiago	<i>Ernesto</i>	<i>Humberto</i>	≤ 35 ; > 35	M-M	<i>Father/son</i>

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter has presented a number of social, linguistic and other factors identified in the literature – on Chilean *voseo*, and language variation and change more generally – that may inform the use of *voseo* in contemporary Chilean Spanish. It has defined each predictor, outlined how it has been coded for the data set, and justified its inclusion based upon how it relates to the three overarching themes established in Chapter 2. It also introduced two

⁵¹ Javier and Alejandra are 31 and 36 respectively; for these purposes, they were treated as being of the same age

hypotheses related to the highly frequent, invariable form, *cachái*, and its potential role in promoting the change. These factors are summarised below.

6.5.1. Language Change

The first theme, regarding language change, asked how advanced the change in the Chilean 2sg was, what the social and linguistic constraints conditioning the use of *voseo* were and how this change might have moved through the linguistic system. If language change has occurred, we would predict that this would be evidenced not only in differences of rates but also in differing social and linguistic constraints between generations.

Given the common claims of change in progress in Chilean Spanish, we would expect to see an increasing use of *voseo* by generation in apparent time in the contemporary CCSS data, as well as an absolute increase in real time between this corpus and the *Habla culta* corpus from the 1970s. Given that *voseo* is claimed to be a historically stigmatised variant associated with a new-found covert prestige (e.g. Fernández-Mallat (2018)), we might also expect men to be leading the change.

Furthermore, if the reported change in usage reflects an underlying change in the sociolinguistic evaluation of *voseo*, we might also expect changing social constraints between generations. As stigmatisation is said to be diminished amongst younger speakers, we might also expect gender and SEC effects to be weakened or even to disappear entirely for speakers from younger generations.

While the above is an example of a changing social constraint, if there has been genuine grammatical change, we would also expect this to be evidenced in changes in the linguistic constraints governing the usage of *voseo*. In simpler terms, if a change in the grammar of younger speakers has occurred relative to older speakers, then we would expect there also to be differences in the set of factors that have a significant impact on the choice of *voseo*, the direction of effect, or the relative strength of the linguistic predictors.

Furthermore, in the context of frequency effects and language change, there is some suggestion that less frequent linguistic contexts will show lower rates of *voseo*. This is particularly relevant to Clause Type and TAM, where it has been suggested that subordinate

clauses may show a more conservative tendency towards new variants (i.e. lower rates of *voseo* in this case) and that the more ‘marked’ TAMs (i.e. everything other than the present indicative tenses and the periphrastic future) may show lower rates of *voseo*.

6.5.2. Stigmatisation

The second theme, stigmatisation, asked how contemporary speakers of Chilean Spanish orient to *voseo* forms, whether they still carry the stigmatisation of the past and, if so, whether this stigmatisation was connected to the *vos* pronoun or the verb forms, or both.

As suggested in earlier chapters, perhaps the most uncontroversial measure of stigmatisation in terms of linguistic behaviour is an association with lower SEC. Therefore, we might expect that, if *voseo* is still stigmatised, there will be lower rates of *voseo* (both the pronouns and the verb forms) amongst speakers from higher SEC groups, relative to lower SEC speakers. We would also expect higher rates of *voseo* from males than females, as non-overtly prestigious forms tend to be favoured by males, as has also been suggested by previous studies of Chilean *voseo*.

Regarding the question of the pronoun, rates of subject expression will tell us whether the *vos* pronoun is as infrequent as reports would suggest, and how speakers combine the various verbal and pronominal forms. While low rates alone are not evidence of stigmatisation, if the *vos* pronoun is as stigmatised as it has been said to be, we would predict it to be very rare, to only occur with *voseo* verb forms (i.e. never with *tuteo*) and perhaps only in certain highly specific contexts.

If, as Torrejón (1986) muses, the *voseo culto* is the new universal form, having freed itself of the stigmatisation of the historic ‘authentic’ *voseo*, then we would expect the most frequent combination to be this one (*tú + voseo*), and for there to be a stronger association between *tú* and *voseo* than with *tuteo*. Alternatively, if the mixed *voseo* (*tú + voseo*; even as a legitimised form of *voseo*) still carries with it the stigma of the authentic *voseo*, then we might expect speakers to avoid mixing the paradigms at all, at least relative to the ‘authentic’ *tuteo* (*tú + tuteo*). How speakers combine the pronouns with the verb forms will go some way to answering these questions.

6.5.3. Metalinguistic Awareness

The third theme questioned whether Chilean Spanish speakers were even aware that there were two separate 2sg paradigms and thus if they were able to separate *tuteo* and *voseo* in their internal grammars.

The main piece of evidence for evaluating this question is the priming analyses: if speakers genuinely do not distinguish between the *tuteo* and *voseo* paradigms because they have become conflated into a single paradigm, we would expect there to be no effect at all for the form of the previous occurrence in the discourse as both *tuteo* and *voseo* would be alternative forms of the same paradigm. If, however, speakers do successfully manipulate the two paradigms, we would expect them to be sensitive to other forms in the discourse. Regardless of their reported lack of explicit metalinguistic knowledge, their sensitivity (or lack thereof) to priming will be indicative of whether, cognitively at least, speakers are able to separate the two paradigms.

The subject expression analysis can also shed light on this question. If speakers really do not separate the verbal paradigms, then there should be no effect for subject expression (overt *tú* versus $\emptyset$, as the *vos* pronoun almost never occurs) as there would be no difference between combining a *tú* pronoun with either a *tuteo* or a *voseo* verb form. If, however, overt *tú* pronouns disfavour *voseo* relative to *tuteo*, this would be evidence that speakers distinguish between *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms and avoid ‘ungrammatical’ combinations.

Delving deeper into the cognitive side of the equation, comparing the analyses of priming and subject expression can give us an idea of the relative strength of associations between the respective forms: the question remains whether the pronouns or the verb forms exercise a stronger effect cognitively. If, as the literature suggests (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012, Hummel, 2010, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2009, Stevenson, 2007), the pronoun is the most salient item, then we would expect speakers to be more sensitive to subject expression (i.e. whether or not and which pronoun appears with verb forms) than to priming (i.e. the form of the previous 2sg token in the discourse). In concrete terms, then, we would expect the subject expression effect to be stronger than the priming effect in the statistical model.

6.5.4. How Change Moves through the Linguistic System: The Role of *cachái*

This chapter has also developed two hypotheses regarding the highly frequent, invariable lexically particular construction, *cachái*, to test whether it could have played a role in promoting the change. The first of these – the priming hypothesis – predicted that if *cachái* has played a role in the change, it should prime other, more innovative, uses of *voseo* with other verbs by creating “a temporary surge in retrievability” which, in turn, “facilitates an expression’s selection in unconventional contexts” (De Smet, 2016: 95).

The second one – the ‘entrenchment hypothesis’ – predicted that “innovative constructions should be more likely to emerge if their analogical models are better entrenched” (De Smet 2016: 83); that is, if *cachái* has promoted the change toward *voseo*, the more entrenched (i.e. frequent) *cachái* is in a person’s speech, the more likely those speakers are to use other *voseo* forms in less common utterances as the expression as a whole will become more ‘retrievable’.

If *cachái* has played a role in the proposed change, then, there should be evidence that it leads to an increase in use of other *voseo* forms both globally (in the speech of individuals) via entrenchment, and also locally via priming: not only should speakers who use more *cachái* (as a proportion of their variable 2sg usage) use more *voseo* forms overall (excluding *cachái*) than speakers who use less *cachái*; but *cachái* should prime other *voseo* targets in the discourse (at a rate equal to or higher than other *voseo* primes) as a form of ‘local entrenchment’.

These hypotheses are addressed in the following chapter, and their implications discussed in Chapter 8.

6.6. Summary

Below is a summary of the predictors, the hypotheses for each and which theme(s) each one relates to. The results of these analyses are presented in the following chapter.

Table 19: Summary of Factor Groups, Factors, Hypotheses and Related Themes

Predictors	Factors	Hypothesis	Theme(s)
Verb form	<i>Tuteo, voseo</i>	Dependent variable	n/a
Age	≤35, 36-55, >55	A gradually increasing rate of <i>voseo</i> over time (by generation), but possible lower rate in 36-55 than >55. General trend of weakening of other constraints for younger speakers	Language Change; Stigmatisation
Time Period (Corpus)	<i>Habla culta</i> (1970s), CCSS (2010s)	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured in the contemporary CCSS corpus relative to the older <i>Habla culta</i> corpus	Language Change
SEC	Higher; Lower	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured by speakers of lower SEC (but this effect will be weaker for younger speakers)	Language Change; Stigmatisation
Gender	Male, Female	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured by males over females (but this effect will be weaker for younger speakers, particularly from higher SECs)	Language Change; Stigmatisation
Priming (previous realisation)	Previous <i>tuteo</i> , Previous <i>voseo</i> , Previous <i>cachái</i> , Previous shared form, No 2sg form in previous 5IUs	If speakers are unaware of two separate verbal paradigms, we would expect no effect for priming for either a previous <i>tuteo</i> or <i>voseo</i> ; an effect for priming would be evidence speakers distinguish between forms If <i>cachái</i> has played a role in the change, <i>voseo</i> will be favoured by a previous <i>cachái</i> A previous syncretic form will neither favour nor disfavour <i>voseo</i>	Metalinguistic Awareness
Subject Expression	<i>Tú</i> , [<i>vos</i>], ∅	If speakers are unaware of two separate paradigms, we would expect there to be no effect for subject expression; if the presence of absence of a <i>tú</i> pronoun affects rates, this is evidence that speakers avoid mixing paradigms	Language Change; Metalinguistic Awareness

		If the pronouns (<i>tú</i> and <i>vos</i>) are more salient than the verb forms, the subject expression effect will be stronger than the priming effect	
Discourse Type	Specific, Generic, Reported	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured with generic subjects and reported speech and disfavoured with specific subjects	Language Change; Stigmatisation; Metalinguistic Awareness
Clause Type	Declarative Main Clause, Subordinate Clause, Question (including requests), Negative Imperative	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured in main clauses, and disfavoured in subordinate clauses, questions and negative commands	Language Change
TAM	1. Present indicative; all other tenses 2. Indicative; subjunctive and conditional	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured in the present tense in comparison with other tenses <i>Voseo</i> will be favoured in the indicative mood and disfavoured in the subjunctive and conditional moods These effects will be weaker for younger speakers.	Language change
Morphological Class	-AR, -ER, -IR (verb class)	-AR verbs will favour <i>voseo</i> -IR verbs will disfavour <i>voseo</i>	Language Change;
Frequency/ Lexical effects	Raw count of the verb type of the conjugated verb; cross-tabulation with TAM	No overall trend; will become evident in interaction with other variables e.g. TAM in lexically specific constructions	Language Change (these effects may differ between social groups)
Rate of <i>cachái</i>	Proportion of each speaker's total number of variable 2sg tokens including <i>cachái</i> (i.e. <i>tuteo</i> + <i>voseo</i> + <i>cachái</i>)	<i>Voseo</i> will be favoured by speakers who also have higher rates of <i>cachái</i>	Language Change; Metalinguistic Awareness
Interlocutor	Male, Female (gender of interlocutor)	Intra-gender speech will favour <i>voseo</i> Inter-gender speech will disfavour <i>voseo</i>	Stigmatisation

Chapter 7: Results and Analysis

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will present and discuss the results of a series of real time and apparent time analyses to test the hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter, and address what these results reveal about the current state of the Chilean 2sg pronominal and morphological systems. It will begin by comparing the overall rates of *tuteo* and *voseo* in the 1970s *Habla culta* corpus and the contemporary Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) to show that while *voseo* is almost categorically absent in the earlier data, it is the dominant form in Chilean Spanish today; there has unquestionably been a change in the intervening 40 years or so, even when only looking at speakers from within the same subgroups in each corpus.

Given the virtual absence of variation in the earlier corpus, it will then turn to the contemporary CCSS corpus to look in more detail at the social and linguistic conditioning of *tuteo* and *voseo* in the present day, in order to address the three main research themes motivating this thesis, as set out in Chapter 2: what evidence there is for a change having occurred in Chilean Spanish, how advanced this change is, and how it has spread through the linguistic system; if patterns of use are consistent with previous claims of stigmatisation of *voseo*; and whether speakers are aware that there are two separate 2sg pronominal and morphological systems.

I will present the results for each corpus, analysis and factor group (or predictor) individually, commenting on the implications of each. The following chapter will bring all these threads together to discuss the overall picture painted by the respective pieces of evidence and what they tell us about the present state of the Chilean 2sg.

7.2. Real Time Analysis

7.2.1. *Habla culta*: The 1970s

The first results that I will present in this chapter are those from the 1970s *Habla culta* corpus. This is because not only is it the earliest recorded data that we have, but it also provides a benchmark against which to compare the modern data.

If change has occurred in the 2sg system in Chilean Spanish, we would expect to see not only differences in rates of use between generations (in apparent time; see 7.4.1, below) – represented by a gradually increasing rate of *voseo* over time with the youngest speakers using the highest rates – but also a difference in real time between young educated speakers in the 1970s and young educated speakers in the 2010s.

In the *Habla culta* data, in over four hours of discourse between 12 speakers (of whom eight were ≤35) there were 648 2sg tokens, of which there were only two tokens of *voseo* verb forms, accounting for a mere 0.3% of the data.

Table 20: Distribution of *tuteo* and *voseo* in *Habla culta* Corpus

	N	%
<i>Tuteo</i>	646	99.7%
<i>Voseo</i>	2	0.3%
<i>TOTAL</i>	648	100%

The two *voseo* tokens appear below. These are both *voseo* verb forms, the first with no pronoun and the second appearing with a *tú* pronoun as the mixed *voseo*; there were no tokens of the *vos* pronoun in the data from *Habla culta*. Interestingly, in his study, Morales Pettorino (1972: 265) also noted that “*En nuestros recuentos, [tú + tuteo] es notoriamente más frecuente que las restantes combinaciones, mientras entre éstas [tú + voseo, vos+ tuteo, vos + voseo] existe una proporción análoga*”⁵², suggesting perhaps that *voseo* was still relatively infrequent at that time.

⁵² ‘In our figures, *tú + tuteo* is notably more frequent than the other combinations [*tú + voseo, vos+ tuteo, vos + voseo*], which all occur in similar proportions.’

- (65) *¿Tenís guindas o no?*
 Do you-Ø have-VOSEO cherries or not?
 (*Habla culta*; *Muestra 31*, p. 22, ll. 819-820, female, 25 years old)
- (66) *¿Qué **decís** tú, por ejemplo, de los Estados Unidos?*
 What do you-TÚ say-VOSEO, for example, about the United States?
 (*Habla culta*; *Muestra 32*, p. 35, ll. 352-3, Male, 30 years old).

Given the fact that there is (virtually) no variation in the data to study, no further analysis of the *Habla culta* data was conducted. From these results, it would be tempting to suggest that there was no (or virtually no) variation between *tuteo* and *voseo* in educated Chilean Spanish in the early 1970s. However, while we do not have sufficient nor representative enough data to analyse frequencies in any rigorous way, we do know that both *vos* and *voseo* were used in Santiago at that time; for example, we have recordings of the radio communications during the coup in 1973 where examples of *voseo* can be clearly heard from the mouth of Augusto Pinochet himself. Below are two examples (in bold) transcribed in Verdugo (1998: 75):

- (67) ***iVos sabís** que este gallo es chueco! En consecuencia **ya sabís** la cosa, si él quiere va al Ministerio de Defensa a entregarse a los tres Comandantes en Jefe.*

You-*vos* know-VOSEO that this guy [Allende] is sneaky. Consequently, you-Ø know-VOSEO how it is, if he wants to, he'll go to the Ministry of Defence and turn himself in to the three Commanders in Chief.

- (68) *O sea, quiere decir que a las once, cuando lleguen los primeros pericos, **vai a ver** lo que va a pasar. ¡A las once en punto se bombardea!*

In other words, it means that at 11 [o'clock], when the first guys get there, you-Ø are going to-VOSEO see what's going to happen. At 11 on the dot, the bombardment starts.

All we can really say is that there is simply very little evidence of *voseo* in the available data i.e. of educated speakers. This may be due to sampling, or something to do with the recording environment in the 1970s, but we cannot really know for sure (see 4.4 for discussion of *Habla culta* corpus, including which transcripts were included for these analyses). Whatever the explanation for the relative absence of variation in the data, we can

conclude, firstly, from the two tokens of *voseo* verb forms in the data that it *was* used at the time, and secondly, that *tuteo* was the overwhelmingly dominant familiar form in the educated speech of the time.

7.2.2. Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS): The 2010s

I turn now to the contemporary data set recorded by the present author in 2014-15. Overall, there are 1059 tokens of *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms at an overall rate of 80% *voseo*/20% *tuteo*. Of these, there were seven occurrences of the *vos* pronoun and 197 occurrences of the *tú* pronoun as subjects within the variable context (see 5.2). These will be discussed further in 7.5.2, below.

In contrast to the *Habla culta* data, it is clear just looking at these overall rates that the dominant form in the early twenty-first century is unambiguously *voseo* (see Table 21 below).

Table 21: Distribution of *tuteo* and *voseo* in CCSS Data

	N	%
<i>Tuteo</i>	215	20.3%
<i>Voseo</i>	844	79.7%
TOTAL	1059	100%

This in itself is a dramatic change from the earlier 1970s data. However, this could be due to the distribution of the contemporary sample which also includes speakers from different age groups and socio-economic classes (SECs). To make any meaningful comparisons with the *Habla culta* data, it is important that only those speakers who share similar demographic characteristics to those in the *Habla culta* are compared; i.e. we would not expect older *lower*-SEC speakers today to be comparable to young *educated* speakers in the 1970s.

Therefore, the tokens for young (≤ 35) university-educated speakers in the CCSS appear as a subset in Figure 5 below. These rates are even more pronounced than the overall CCSS figures, providing compelling evidence of a change in real time.

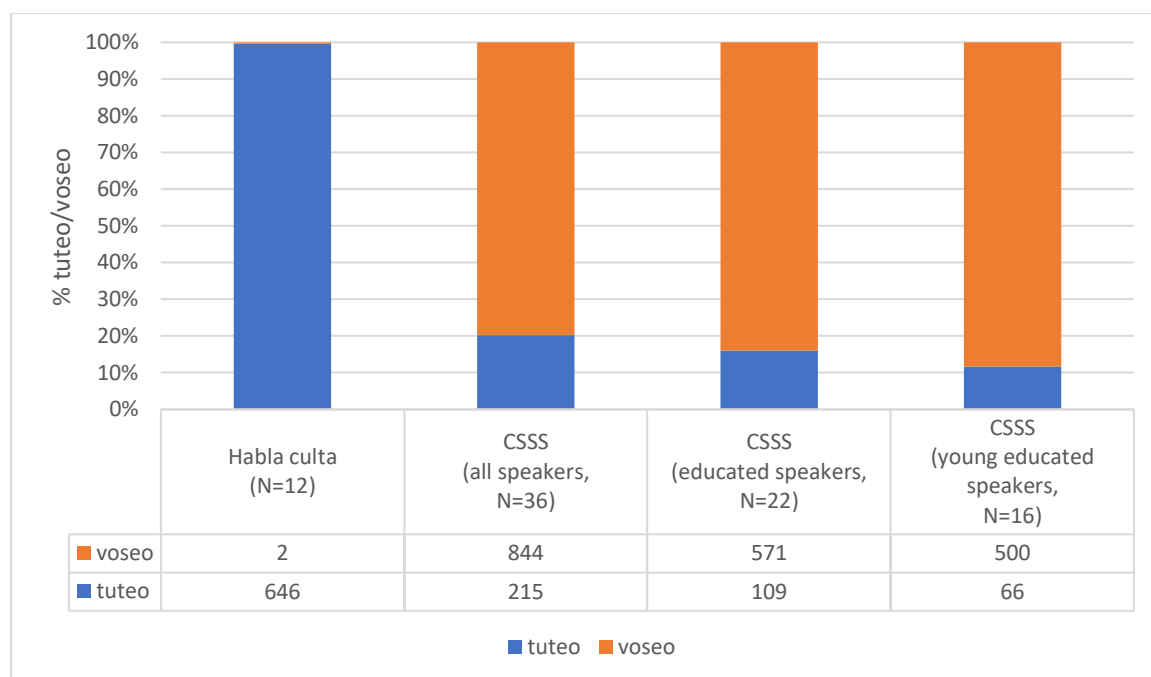


Figure 5: Comparison of Distributions of tuteo/voseo across Habla culta and CCSS Social Groups

Figure 5 shows unquestionably a dramatic change in the use of the 2sg going from nearly exclusively *tuteo* in the 1970s to 80% *voseo* in the 2010s across all speakers in the sample, and reaching nearly 90% for the young university-educated speakers who most closely resemble those from the earlier corpus.

Thus, in just 40 years, *voseo* has gone from almost non-existent to completely dominant in the speech of educated speakers, particularly young speakers, although older speakers for whom it was rare in the 1970s have also adopted it almost half the time (see 7.4.1, below). Therefore, the answer to the first research question – whether or not the Chilean 2sg has undergone a change – is yes: a significant grammatical change. In order to answer the remaining research questions, we must look at the social and linguistic conditioning in the contemporary CCSS corpus, which can inform our interpretations about the stage in the change, the level of stigmatisation which may be associated with the respective forms, and the degree of awareness speakers have about them. Furthermore, how did this change take place, from a few people adopting an innovative form (for reasons we can only speculate about) to that form becoming dominant? The following section will report on the results of the apparent time analyses of the CCSS data.

7.3. Apparent Time Analysis: CCSS

Having looked at the overall rates of the two corpora, a series of more detailed statistical analyses was conducted of the contemporary (CCSS) corpus, using Goldvarb Lion (Sankoff et al., 2012) to test the various hypotheses about social and linguistic conditioning of the Chilean 2sg in apparent time. Before presenting the results, the following two subsections will provide a brief description of the data set and the theoretical assumptions that will be used for the interpretation of the results and argumentation.

7.3.1. Description of Data

Table 22 shows the distribution of the CCSS token counts by speaker age, gender and SEC. It echoes Table 14 in 4.3.6 which shows the distribution of the sample in terms of the number of speakers and minutes per social group, but showing here the number of tokens instead.

Table 22: Distribution of 2sg Tokens in CCSS by Age, Gender and SEC

		Male		Female		Totals
		Lower SEC	Higher SEC	Lower SEC	Higher SEC	
AGE RANGE	57-62 (>55)	26	13	73	16	128
	36-53 (36-55)	0	27	246	29	302
	20-35 (≤35)	63	151	98	317	629
	Totals	89	191	417	362	
		280		779		1059

Table 22 clearly shows that the majority of the data comes from ≤35s (629/1059) and females (779/1059). There are no 2sg tokens from lower-SEC males between the ages of 36 and 55 and there are some low token numbers in some cells. Nonetheless, when the cells are collapsed into broader social categories (e.g. females >55 – dark grey shading; lower-SEC males – light grey shading), every group has sufficient tokens to run meaningful analyses. Furthermore, as will be seen in 7.3.2, the two older age groups also pattern similarly, providing further justification for collapsing these categories (and, consequently, boosting token numbers in each cell).

There is a total of 36 speakers in the sample. Figure 6 shows the distribution of these 36 speakers by age, gender and SEC according to rate of *voseo*, on the y-axis; age is on the x-axis and gender and SEC are denoted by shapes (circles = females; triangles = males) and colours (higher-SEC = red; lower-SEC = blue) respectively. Figure 6 shows a wide spread of ages (from 20-62) and rates of use (from 6 to 100% *voseo*). Token numbers (not shown) also vary considerably from 91 by Carmen to just four by Amanda; this will be discussed further in 7.6. Young speakers (≤ 35) are clustered in the top left-hand corner with high rates of *voseo* (oval #1), particularly for the higher-SEC speakers (in red). The solitary blue dot ≤ 35 is Nicol, a 32-year-old social worker. Older speakers are more spread out and seem to show more SEC and gender stratification: the dotted red line (illustrative only) through the red dots indicates higher-SEC females, while there are no higher-SEC speakers, male or female, in the top right-hand corner (oval #2; i.e. the highest red point is a 62-year old male at 62% *voseo*). There are no males below 50% regardless of age and SEC, concordant with the proposal that *voseo* is favoured in male speech across the board.

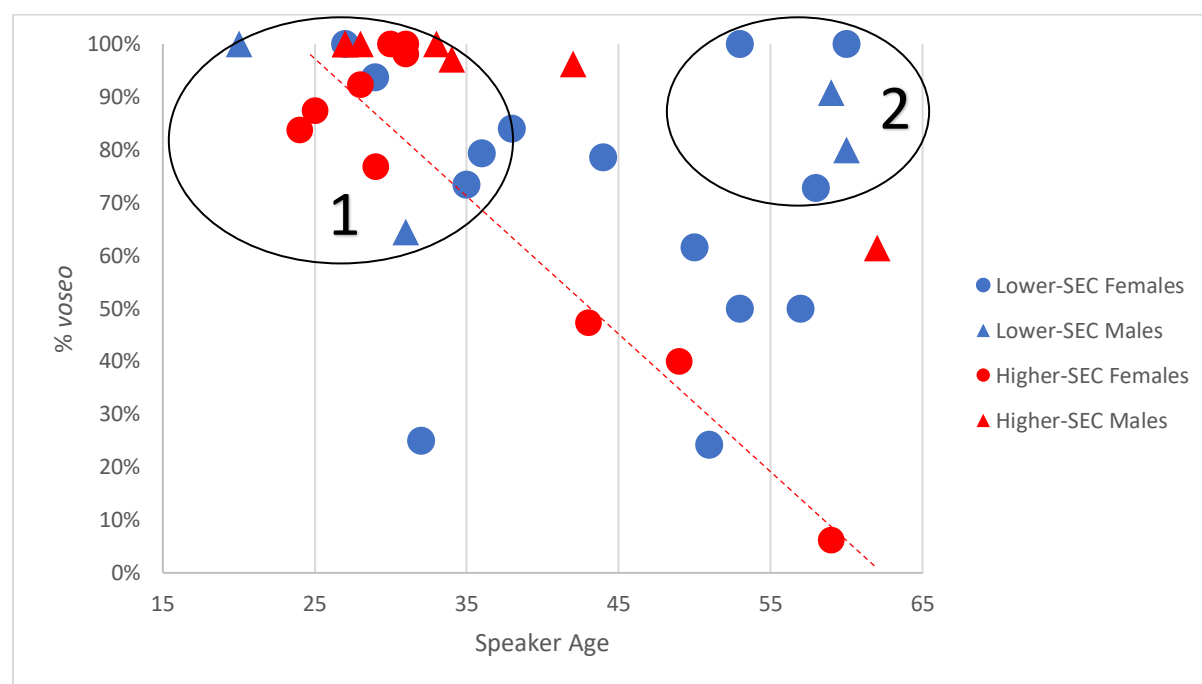


Figure 6: Distribution of *voseo* in CCSS by Speaker Age, Gender, SEC

7.3.2. Factors Conditioning the Second-person Singular in the CCSS

Given the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in Chile and the limitations of any research methodology, not all potential conditioning factors mentioned in earlier chapters

(cf. Chapter 6) could be included in the statistical analyses. Before these were selected for inclusion in the analyses, they were checked for linguistic reasons for inclusion, as well as for any potential interactions between variables (see Chapter 6). Two interactions were found, between Clause Type and TAM, and Previous Realisation and Rate of *cachái*, respectively, and, in both cases, the former was included at the cost of the latter (see 7.5.5 and 7.6.1, below, and Chapter 6). Similarly, Speaker, Lexical Frequency and Interlocutor were not included in the statistical analyses but are discussed in turn, below.

Once the final set of predictors had been established, two sets of analyses were conducted, which are presented in the coming pages. The first set looked at the social factors independently of the linguistic conditioning. Then, given the significance of Age as a social factor in the first analyses, and its importance for the hypotheses regarding change, the sample was split into older (>35) and younger (≤35) speakers, in order to analyse the social and linguistic conditioning and test for differences (i.e. changes) in constraints across these two groups, using the Variationist Comparative Method (Poplack and Meechan, 1998, Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1999).

1. Social factors only (Age, Gender, SEC)
2. Social (Gender, SEC) and Linguistic (Previous Realisation, Subject Expression, Discourse Type, Clause Type, TAM, Morphological Class) factors combined: comparison of ≤35 and >35

Before discussing the results of the multivariate analyses, it is appropriate to discuss some of the assumptions and conventions that will be used for the interpretation of the results, drawing upon four main lines of evidence of fine-grained grammatical change (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006: 235).

The first, and perhaps most simple, is **rate** of use. Although no statistical analyses were possible (or necessary) for the analysis of the *Habla culta* data, the stark differences in rates of each variant provided strong evidence of grammatical change.

The second one is **statistical significance**. When Goldvarb selects the best runs, the predictors (or factor groups) included in that run are those that have a significant effect on the choice of form (that is, of the *tuteo* variant in this case) within a statistically significant level of certainty (i.e. 95%). All factor groups presented in Table 23 and Table 24 are significant

unless indicated in square brackets. Differences in the significance of a series of factor groups across analyses can indicate a loss (or gain) of constraints.

The third relates to ***relative strength of effect***, represented by the ranges for each factor group – the range is the difference between the highest and lowest factor weights within a factor group (i.e. the difference between the weight of the factor that most favours the variant of interest, *tuteo*, and the weight of the factor that most disfavours it). The range is taken as an indication of the relative strength of effect of each predictor factor group. While an absolute value (e.g. a range of 0.6) cannot tell you a great deal about the strength of the factor group outside of that particular analysis, it does give you an indication of how strong an effect that particular factor group has in relation to the other factor groups included in a particular analysis (Tagliamonte 2006: 235). This should also (and did) coincide with the order of selection of factor groups in the statistical model. When changes in relative strength of effect are evident between different social groups, this can be indicative of weakening of constraints.

The fourth line of evidence is the ***hierarchy of constraints***: the ordering of the factors (by factor weights) within each factor group, related to the direction of effect. The factor weights within each factor group represent the probability of the variant of interest being realised in a given context, from 0 to 1 (i.e. 100%). Factor weights indicate whether or not a particular factor (e.g. a previous token of *tuteo* or *voseo*) favours or disfavours the selection of the *tuteo* variant. The closer to 1, the more the relevant variant is favoured, and the closer to 0, the more it is disfavoured. A weight above 0.5 is considered to favour *tuteo*, and a weight below 0.5 to disfavour it. Thus, “if a number of factor groups exhibit dissimilarities across varieties, then their variable grammars are more likely to be distinct” (Tagliamonte, 2006: 241); that is, in the context of Chilean *voseo*, if the hierarchy of constraints differs between social groups (i.e. older and younger speakers), then this could constitute evidence of a change in the grammar.

For ease of comprehension, the results will be presented as follows. Firstly, the two sets of analyses will be presented. Then the results of each individual factor group will be reported and discussed (with social factors reported first followed by linguistic factors), with reference to all analyses, as appropriate to the argumentation.

Although the change has been from *tuteo* to *voseo*, the application value, in Goldvarb terms (or the variant of the dependent variable which is being acted upon by the various independent variables), was set as the less frequent variant – in this case, *tuteo* – as this will allow us to interpret the results in terms of factors favouring retention of the older variant.

7.3.3. Analysis 1: Social Conditioning of *tuteo*

Given the evidence of change in real time (above), and the hypotheses of an increasing rate of *voseo* (or a decreasing rate of *tuteo*) in apparent time, the first multivariate analysis looked only at social factors (Age, Gender and SEC) independently of linguistic variables. The results of this analysis appear in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Social Factors (Only) Contributing to Occurrence of *tuteo* in CCSS

Social Factors (All speakers) (N=1059; Input: 0.173; overall rate = 20%)				
	Prob.	% <i>tuteo</i>	N	% Data
Age				
>55	.75	40%	128	12%
36-55	.59	29%	302	29%
≤35	.40	12%	629	59%
Range	35			
Gender				
Female	.58	25%	779	74%
Male	.28	8%	280	26%
Range	30			
[SEC]⁵³				
Lower	[.53]	28%	506	48%
Higher	[.48]	14%	553	52%

Age and Gender were both found to be significant in conditioning choice of the *tuteo* variant. SEC was found not to be significant (this will be discussed in 7.4.3, below). The 36-55 and >55 age groups both strongly favoured *tuteo*, while younger speakers (≤35) disfavoured *tuteo*. Similarly, women were found to favour *tuteo*, while males strongly disfavoured *tuteo*.

⁵³ Square brackets indicate “not significant” (n.s). Probability values for non-significant factor groups are from the first “stepdown” run in Goldvarb, in which all factors are included in the regression.

The strong effect for Age combined with the hypotheses regarding changes in constraints between generations were the justification for splitting the sample for the subsequent analyses. The fact that the two older groups favour *tuteo* (relative to the younger group) motivated dividing the sample in two (rather than three as it was conceived of for the purposes of sampling). If, as we expect, there are differences in the constraints governing the variable grammars of these two groups, it is more revealing to analyse them separately in order to test these hypotheses and best illuminate the grammatical and social differences across the groups (cf. Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2019). Therefore, the data was split into two age groups in order to compare the constraints between the two generations: ≤ 35 and > 35 .

7.3.4. Analysis 2: Comparison of > 35 s versus ≤ 35 s (All Factors)

Having split the sample into two age groups, social and linguistic factors were combined, in order to test the conditioning in a more representative and complex sociolinguistic situation⁵⁴. The results for each group appear in Table 24, below; the differences between these constitute the bulk of the discussion for each factor group, presented in the subsequent sections.

⁵⁴ Because the two age groups exhibited such clearly different constraints, with opposite directions of effect for a number of factors (as will be presented below), a combined analysis of social and linguistic factors for all speakers in the sample produced misleading results and is not presented here.

Table 24: Social and Linguistic Factors Contributing to Occurrence of *tuteo* for Speakers >35 and ≤35s in CCSS

>35s (N=430; Input: 0.283; Overall rate: 32%)					≤35s (N= 629; Input: 0.062; Overall rate: 12%) ⁵⁵				
	Prob.	% <i>tuteo</i>	N	% Data		Prob.	% <i>tuteo</i>	N	% Data
Previous Realisation					Previous Realisation				
Previous <i>tuteo</i>	.81	70%	46	11%	Previous <i>tuteo</i>	.93	64%	25	4%
No t/v in previous 5	.48	31%	271	66%	No t/v in previous 5	.56	14%	327	53%
Previous voseo	.38	18%	94	23%	Previous voseo	.37	5%	261	43%
Range	43				Range	56			
Gender					Gender				
Female	.57	35%	364	85%	Female	.62	16%	415	66%
Male	.19	15%	66	15%	Male	.29	6%	214	34%
Range	38				Range	33			
SEC					SEC				
Higher	.75	44%	85	20%	Lower	.76	24%	161	26%
Lower	.43	29%	345	80%	Higher	.40	8%	468	74%
Range	32				Range	36			
Clause Type					Clause Type				
Subordinate	.69	50%	76	27%	Subordinate	.67	21%	119	26%
Main	.45	28%	120	43%	Main	.56	15%	229	49%
Question	.40	25%	85	30%	Question	.23	5%	118	25%
Range	29				Range	44			
Discourse Type					[Discourse Type]				
Reported	.58	48%	63	16%	Specific		13%	339	63%
Specific	.54	31%	257	65%	Generic		11%	158	29%
Generic	.29	26%	73	19%	Reported		7%	44	8%
Range	29								
Subject Expression					Subject Expression				
Expressed tú	.73	53%	64	15%	Expressed tú	.69	21%	133	22%
Ø pronoun	.46	28%	357	85%	Ø pronoun	.44	10%	469	78%
Range	27				Range	25			
Morphological Class					Morphological. Class				
-AR	.64	39%	122	35%	-ER	.61	16%	292	57%
-IR	.53	42%	24	7%	-AR	.40	8%	177	35%
-ER	.41	25%	200	58%	-IR	.22	5%	42	8%
Range	23				Range	39			

⁵⁵ Typically, the input value is close to the percentage. While it is quite similar for >35s (input= 0.283, rate: 32%), it differs somewhat for ≤35s, likely due to excluded tokens, particularly for Clause Type, Discourse Type and Morphological Class.

The diverging results of these two analyses offer some valuable evidence of language change in terms of differing constraints (i.e. grammatical differences) between the two groups (≤ 35 s and >35 s). For speakers over the age of 35, all factors tested are significant in conditioning the use of *tuteo*. For ≤ 35 s, all factors are significant except Discourse Type.

As the differing relative strength of effect of the factor groups across the two analyses is difficult to see in the table, it has been presented graphically in Figure 7, below. While not too much can be read into the relative heights of the bars across the two analyses (e.g. between the orange bars for Gender for ≤ 35 s and >35 s), the relative strength of each *within* each analysis can be indicative (shown by the colour-coding for each factor group).

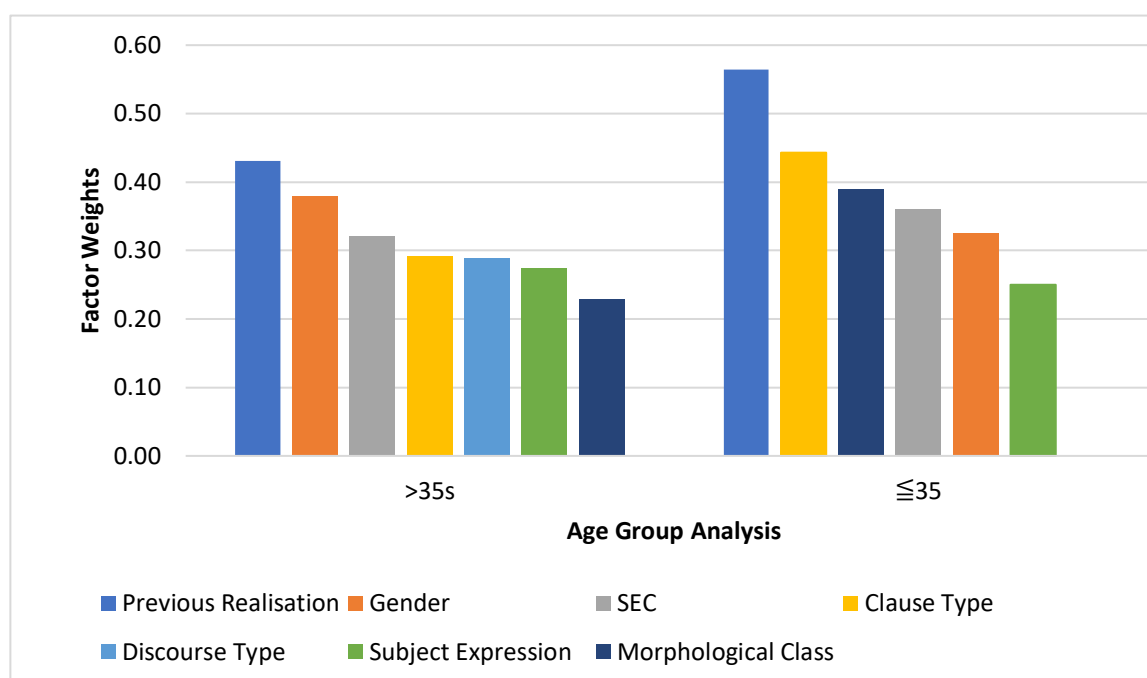


Figure 7: Comparison of Weight Ranges for >35 s versus ≤ 35 s in CCSS

For >35 s, Previous Realisation (priming) has the strongest effect, and Gender is relatively stronger than SEC, Clause Type, Discourse Type and Subject Expression which all cluster together; and finally, Morphological Class.

For ≤ 35 s, Previous Realisation, again, has the strongest effect, perhaps even more so than for >35 s. Clause Type, Morphological Class and SEC group together above Gender, which appears to be weakened for ≤ 35 s and, then, Subject Expression. Discourse Type ceases to have an effect for younger speakers (a lost constraint, discussed in 7.5.3 below), and SEC and Morphological Class have both jumped ahead relative to Gender and Subject Expression,

perhaps meaningful given that they both show reversal of constraints (discussed in 7.4.3 and 7.5.6, below). These broad patterns are summarised in Figure 8, below. The following sections will discuss in greater detail the results for each factor group in turn.

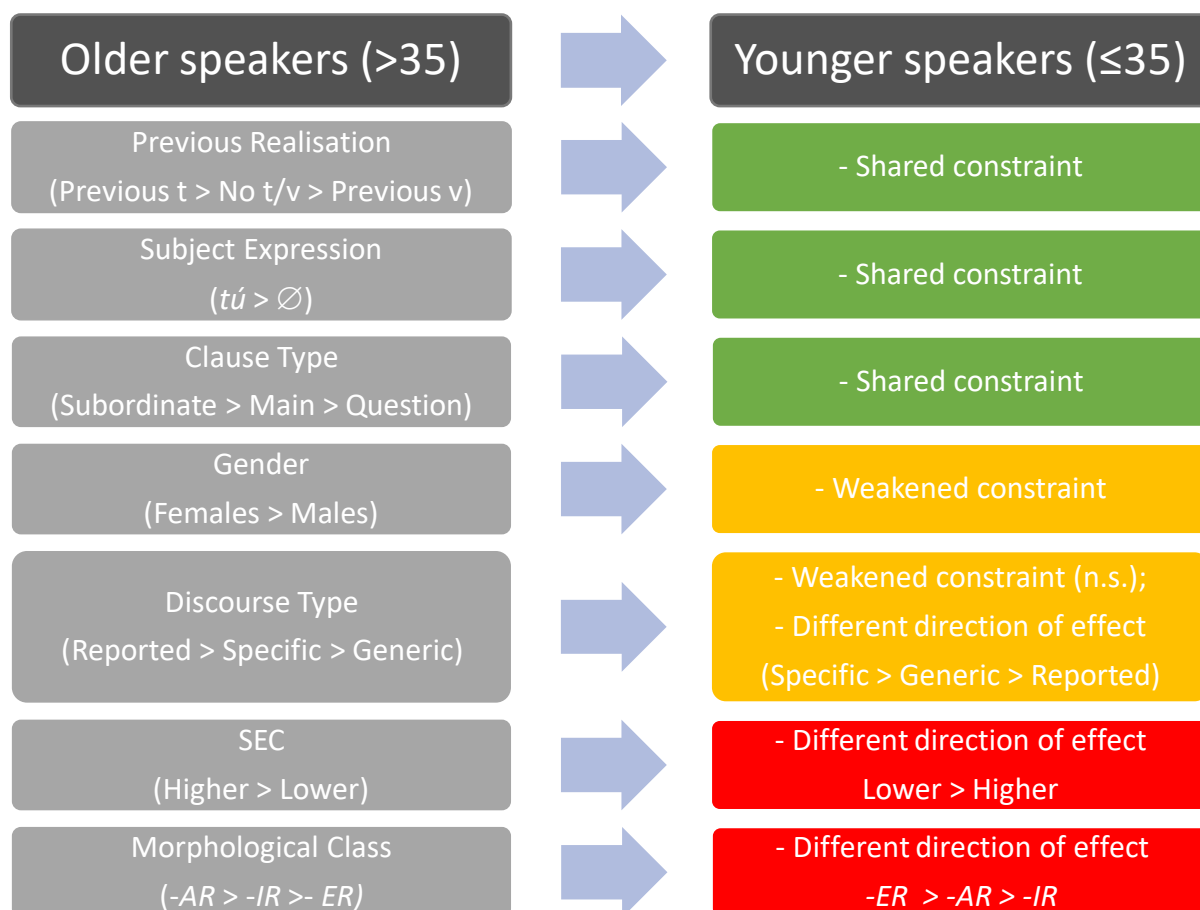


Figure 8: Comparison of Constraints Governing the Use of the Chilean 2sg in the CCSS (>35s vs ≤35s)

- All factors significant for older speakers
- Shared (green), weakened (yellow), reversed (red)
- Direction of effect (favouring *tuteo*) indicated by > (context 1 > context 2)

7.4. Social Factors

7.4.1. Age

Age is the strongest social factor, and thus the sample was split into older and younger speakers for the subsequent analyses. While the two older generations favour *tuteo*, the youngest generation (≤35s) disfavours *tuteo* (or favours *voseo*).

In 6.2.1, it was hypothesised that if Chilean *voseo* was undergoing (or had undergone) a change in progress we would expect this to be evidenced by a gradually decreasing rate of

tuteo (or increasing rate of *voseo*) over time, represented by the three generations in apparent time. This is clearly evident in the significant results in the multivariate analyses presented in Table 23 above. The distribution shows a clear trend of decreasing *tuteo* (and increasing *voseo*) by generation: older speakers use *voseo* 60% of the time, while ≤ 35 s use *voseo* nearly 90% of the time, and the intermediate age group sits comfortably in between. This is strong evidence supporting the hypothesised change. However, these findings do not support the hypothesis that the middle generation (36-55) will have reduced their rate of *voseo* compared to the younger and older generations, as the ones most heavily invested in the linguistic market.

This result is also borne out in real time, as discussed in the comparison of the two corpora in section 7.2.2 above. This can be seen in Figure 9, which shows the percentages of *tuteo* (in blue) and *voseo* (in orange) in the contemporary data collected by this researcher, on the right hand side of the vertical dotted line; and those from the 1970s *Habla culta* data to the left hand side of the line, with 99.7% *tuteo*. While the CCSS data includes speakers from all levels of education (as discussed in 7.2.2 above), eight of the twelve 1970s speakers were ≤ 35 , meaning there has been a clear change in the speech of younger speakers in real time, a result which strengthens the generational change interpretation over that of age grading.

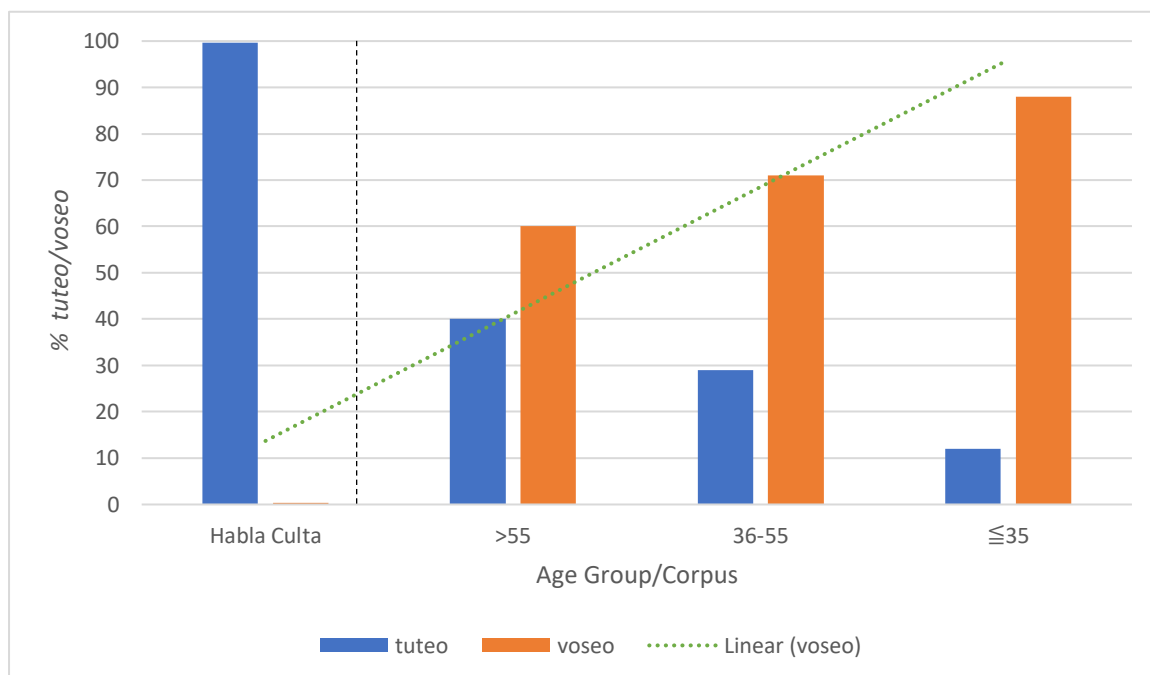


Figure 9: Rate of *tuteo/voseo* by Age Group/Time Period in CCSS and *Habla culta*

It is also worth mentioning that the *Habla culta* speakers are contemporaries of the older (>55) generation from the contemporary data set; i.e. speakers >55 in 2014/15 would have been born well before 1970, which indicates that there has been a change not only in the speech of younger speakers but also in the speech of the >55 generation over the course of their lifetimes – at least for the data that we have available.

According to Sankoff (2019), there are three possible trajectories for individual speakers over their lifespans with respect to wider community language change. The first of these is the traditional assumption underpinning the Apparent Time Construct: “speakers remain stable across their lifespans, making them effectively time capsules of the language as it was spoken at their time of acquisition” (Fruehwald, 2017: 4-5). The second trajectory – older speakers moving in the direction of change – occurs when older speakers adapt their speech in later life due to the greater influence of a larger body of younger speakers at the forefront of a change. The final trajectory – retrograde lifespan change – involves (principally higher-class) adults becoming more conservative in adulthood towards a variant they did not use (as much) in their youth.

While “lifespan” is used as a technical term to discuss individual speakers in panel studies (such as Sankoff (2019)), some insights from lifespan studies can inform the interpretation of these results. As the speakers in the *Habla culta* and CCSS data are not the same people, and to avoid confusion, I will henceforth use the term “lifetime” (cf. Fruehwald, 2017) when discussing groups of speakers.

Although the gradually increasing rates by generation could be indicative of a certain degree of stability, there is certainly evidence that the first trajectory – stability – is not the case with this change: the older generation, as a group, have changed their rates of use over their lifetimes. But, if anything, they have become less conservative, ruling out the third possibility. What we have here is a clear case of the second of these trajectories, where older (educated) speakers have adapted their speech in the direction of a change in progress being led by younger speakers, adopting an innovative form (*voseo*), which was not used (or was used significantly less) by their cohort in their youth.

However, we do not know what has happened with the middle age group. According to the apparent time results, the 36-55 age group sits comfortably between the ≤ 35 s and the > 55 s. However, as we do not have data from the time when this group was 18-35, we do not know what their usage might have been like, especially as these were in all likelihood innovators – have they maintained their rates of *voseo* over their lifetimes, have they also increased them in line with the direction of community change, or have they increased their rates of *tuteo* away from the change as they have moved into adulthood and positions of leadership? Indeed, it is this middle group of young adult speakers who may tend to show the most conservative tendencies in this kind of trajectory (Sankoff, 2019: 217-8). Without intervening data, we may never be able to say for sure.

Even with the caveat that there was probably more variation in the use of the Chilean 2sg than is evidenced in the data we have from the *Habla culta* corpus (see discussion in 7.2.1), we can say, with a fair degree of confidence, that the rate of *voseo* in the speech of the older generation has increased in real time over their lifetimes. The < 35 speakers in the *Habla culta* data used almost categorical *tuteo*; however, their contemporaries (> 55) in the CCSS data, showed a dramatic increase to 60% *voseo*. While these are not the same speakers, their demographic characteristics are similar enough to allow us to compare them, as groups. Indeed, the fact that the speakers in this generation (in this sample, at least) have joined the change could also help to explain its rapid progress (Sankoff, 2019: 222).

7.4.2. Gender

Gender is a significant factor for all analyses and operates in the same direction with female speakers favouring *tuteo* more than males. This result is consistent with one of the hypotheses for this study that, as a stigmatised form, *voseo* would be favoured by men. It is also concordant with the results of previous studies which have suggested that, firstly, men may lead changes with stigmatised variables (Labov, 1990, Labov, 2001: 279-84, 303-06, Trudgill, 1972), and, secondly, that men use higher rates of *voseo* in the Chilean context (e.g. Branza, 2012, Morales Pettorino, 1972: 272, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016, Stevenson, 2007, Valencia Espinoza, 2006).

However, while these two pieces of evidence (significance and hierarchy of constraints) suggest the importance of gender, it is also worth noting that the relative strength of effect differs for the two age groups. That is, for speakers >35, Gender is relatively stronger than all factor groups except Previous Realisation. While the absolute value of the range is not very meaningful across analyses, the fact that it is the second strongest of seven is – especially when compared with the results for speakers ≤ 35 . For younger speakers, Gender has a slightly smaller range than Clause Type, Morphological Class and SEC (as well as Previous Realisation), perhaps indicating that while Gender is important to older speakers, this constraint is relatively weaker for speakers ≤ 35 , though still significant (with women more than doubling the *tuteo* rates of men – see Figure 10).

It is also worth noting that these results would seem to contrast with those of some previous studies (e.g. Branza, 2012: 147) which have proposed that middle aged women were at the forefront of the change. As is evident in Figure 10, men use lower rates of *tuteo* (or higher rates of *voseo*) in all three generations and appear to be a full generation ahead of their female compatriots.

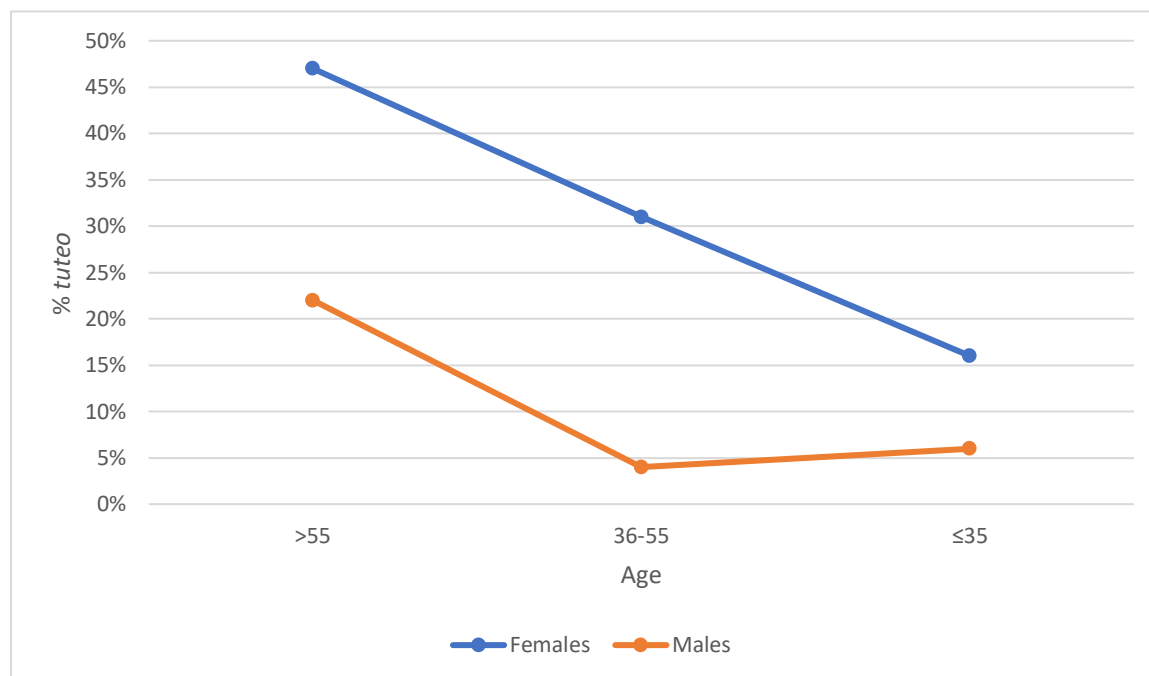


Figure 10: Rate of *tuteo* in CCSS by Age and Gender

7.4.3. Socio-economic Class (SEC)

SEC was not significant looking at Social Factors alone (Analysis 1), a notable finding given the importance of SEC to traditional discussions of Chilean *voseo*. However, when the sample was broken down into two age groups, the reason for this became clear: SEC was significant for both groups (see Figure 11) but with reversal of constraints for the younger speakers; i.e. the effect is operating in the opposite direction for both groups, as can be seen by the opposing directions of the lines in Figure 11. While for older speakers (the blue line), higher-SEC speakers favour *tuteo* – shown by the upward sloping line from left to right – for ≤ 35 s (the orange line), *tuteo* is disfavoured by higher-SEC speakers (i.e. *voseo* is favoured), shown by the downward sloping line from left to right. The dotted grey line represents the non-significant overall trend from Analysis 1.

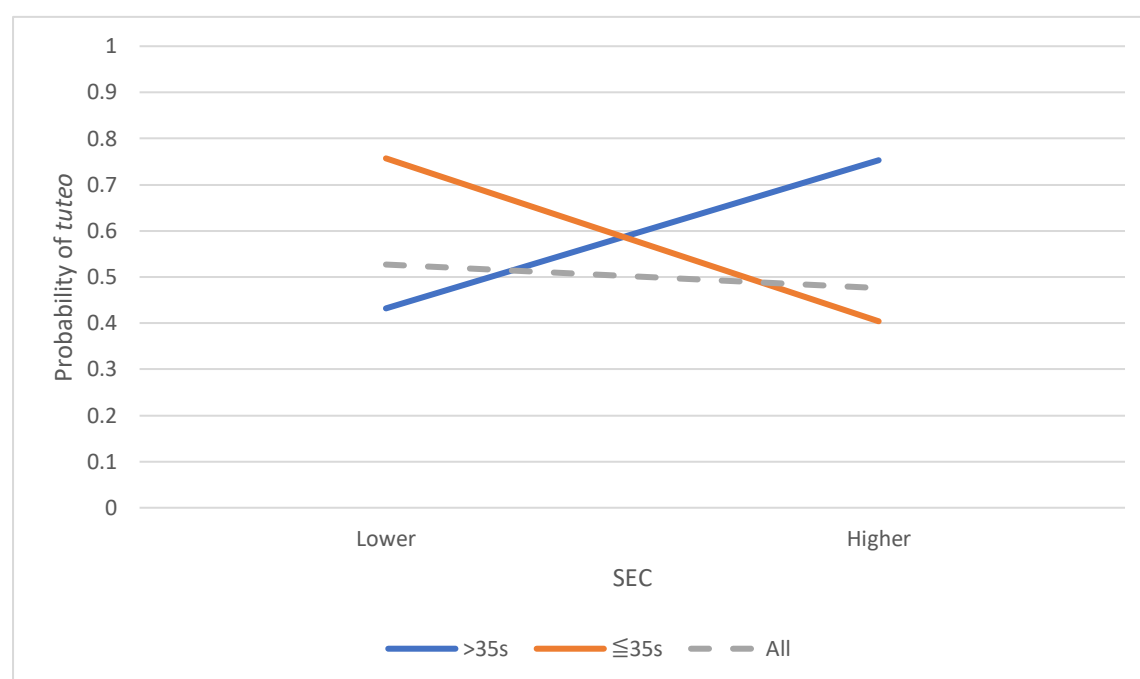


Figure 11: Probability of *tuteo* (vs *voseo*) by SEC of Speaker for >35s, ≤35s and All Speakers in CCSS

In Chapter 6 it was hypothesised that, if *voseo* was a historically stigmatised form, older higher-SEC speakers would avoid using *voseo* compared to lower-SEC speakers. Similarly, if a change has occurred in the usage and evaluation of *voseo*, we might expect this SEC effect to be less pronounced in younger speakers. As expected, amongst older speakers, *tuteo* is favoured by higher-SEC. However, *younger* higher-SEC speakers disfavour *tuteo*.

This situation becomes even more complex when broken down by Gender as well. Figure 12 shows a cross-tabulation of Age, Gender and SEC⁵⁶. Young higher-SEC speakers use the lowest rates of *tuteo* (or the highest rates of *voseo*), while older women from both SECs – but especially from higher-SEC – use the highest rates of *tuteo*. Amongst younger speakers, lower-SEC favours *tuteo* more than higher-SEC, and within each SEC, females favour *tuteo* more than males. Lower-SEC females use the highest rates of *tuteo* amongst the young. For older speakers, it turns out that the SEC effect only seems to affect females, with older males of both SECs having almost identical rates of *tuteo*. Importantly, the effect is reversed for (older) women, with higher-SEC speakers favouring *tuteo*, (whereas for younger speakers, it is lower-SEC women who most favour *tuteo*).

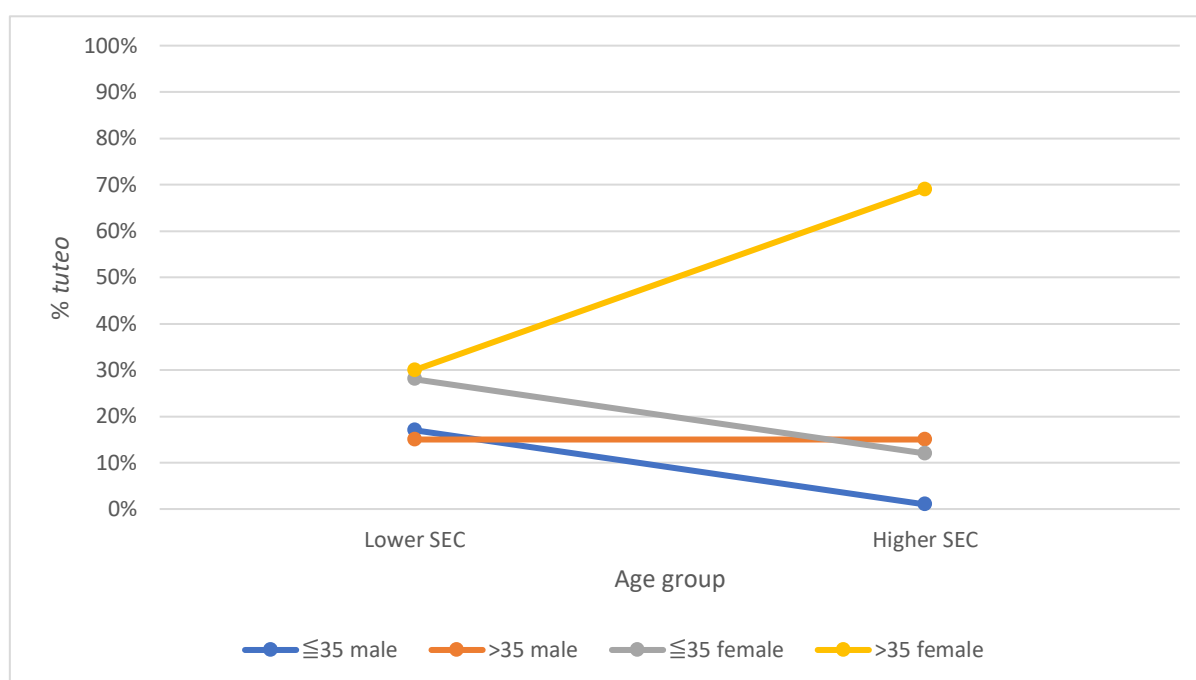


Figure 12: Rate of *tuteo* by SEC, Gender and Age (All Speakers) in CCSS

⁵⁶ Bearing in mind that there are low numbers of both tokens and speakers for some groups. See Table 25.

Table 25: Distribution of tokens for Cross Tabulation of SEC, Gender and Age (all speakers) in CCSS

		Male		Female		Totals
		Lower SEC	Higher SEC	Lower SEC	Higher SEC	
AGE	>35	26	40	319	45	430
	≤35	63	151	98	317	629
	Totals	89	191	417	362	
		280		779		1059

Tuteo is traditionally described as standard and more educated, lending it a certain amount of overt prestige historically; conversely, *voseo* is often described as being associated with working-class male speech (e.g. Hummel, 2010). Typically, overtly prestigious forms are associated with the speech of females and higher SECs (e.g. Labov, 1990: 205-6), and while males, across the board, do use more *voseo* than females, the fact that there is no significant difference in use of *voseo* between young higher-SEC females and young lower-SEC males is indicative of the loss of previously reported stigmatisation. This is, it almost seems obvious to state, further evidence of change in progress, and consistent with previous studies that have found young higher-SEC women to be the only female group to admit using the *vos* pronoun (Valencia Espinoza, 2006) and to use *voseo* verb forms at an equivalent rate to their male counterparts (Stevenson, 2007: 141, 145-6). The finding that young higher-SEC males still use significantly higher rates of *voseo* than their female equivalents is also consistent with a degree of covert prestige associated with *voseo* (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 76, Stevenson, 2007)⁵⁷.

7.5. Linguistic Factors

7.5.1. Previous Realisation

For all analyses in which linguistic factors were included, Previous Realisation had the strongest effect even when social and linguistic factors were combined. As hypothesised, a previous analogous form in the discourse strongly conditioned the form of the subsequent

⁵⁷ It is worth noting that these results are not consistent with Fernández-Mallat's (2018: 77) finding that young adult females use the lowest rates of *voseo* when compared to older speakers of both genders. While they use lower rates than their young adult male counterparts, older speakers use lower rates of *voseo* than young women.

token, i.e. a previous *tuteo* primes *tuteo* and a previous *voseo* primes *voseo*. This effect appears to be even stronger for younger speakers (see below).

Previous Realisation (priming) was operationalised in terms of the occurrence and form of the previous 2sg form within the preceding environment (defined for the purposes of these analyses as five intonation units (IUs)). The previous 2sg form could be produced by either the same speaker or an interlocutor. As foreshadowed in 6.3.1, there were insufficient tokens to conduct a detailed analysis of priming in terms of whether the previous 2sg form in the discourse was produced by the same or a different speaker. However, the direction of effect is the same in both contexts with a previous *voseo* favouring a subsequent *voseo* and a previous *tuteo* strongly favouring a subsequent *tuteo*. Furthermore, when the previous token is spoken by the same speaker, this effect is stronger than when it is produced by a different speaker, as we would predict (Gries, 2005: 373-374); while a Fisher's Exact Test showed Previous Realisation to be significant for tokens produced by the same speakers ($p < 0.0001$), there are too few tokens to reliably test for the effect of a different speaker. So as not to distract from the discussion here, these results are presented in Appendix 9.

Therefore, each token of *tuteo* or *voseo* was coded for the form of the previous 2sg occurrence, regardless of whether it was produced by the same or a different speaker, which resulted in the following five categories: previous *tuteo*, previous *voseo*, previous *cachái*, previous syncretic form, and no other 2sg form in the preceding environment i.e. ≤ 5 IUs (see examples (40) to (43) in 6.3.1). The proportions of *voseo* and *tuteo* in each of these contexts (i.e. preceding environments) are shown in Figure 13 below.

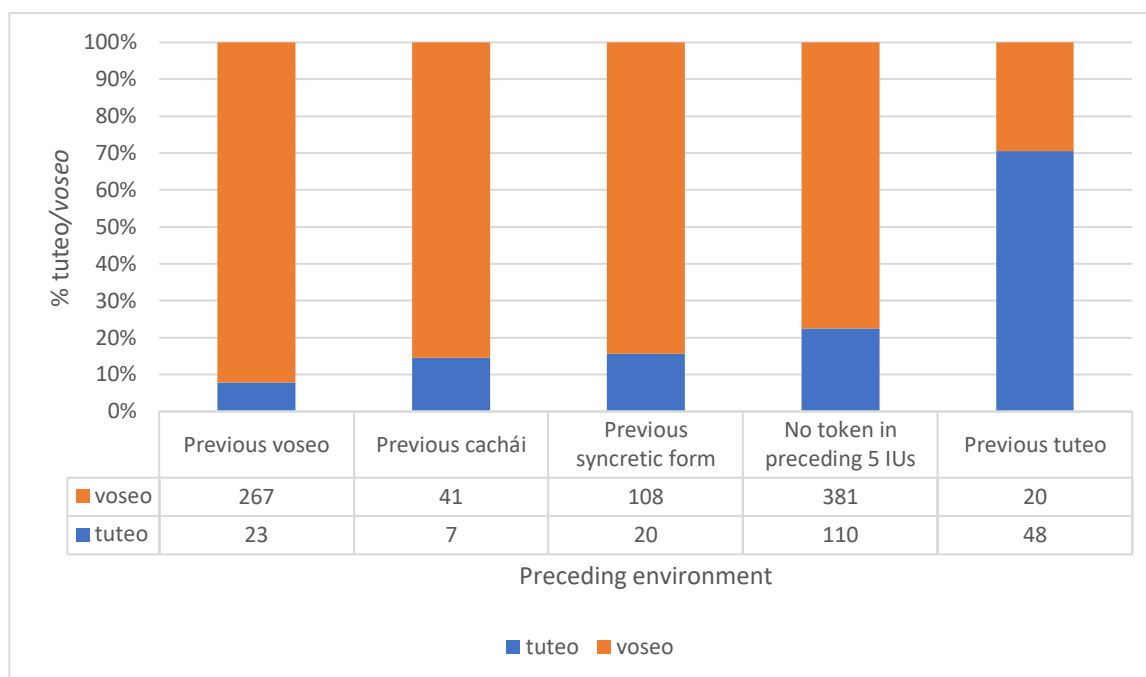


Figure 13: Rate of tuteo/voseo by Previous Realisation within Five IUs in CCSS (All Speakers)

Only about a third of tokens (358/1059) had a previous *tuteo* (N=68) or *voseo* (N=290) in the preceding environment. Of the remaining 701 tokens, the great majority (N=491) had no previous token within five IUs. A further 48 were preceded by the highly frequent, invariant form *cachái*. Similarly, 128 tokens had a previous syncretic form (that is, a form which is morphologically shared by both *tuteo* and *voseo*). 34 were excluded because the previous realisation was also an excluded token (e.g. due to unclear audio) (N=28) or the first token in a transcript (N=6). These latter two sets were set aside as uncodable.

In Figure 13, the significant effect of a previous *tuteo* is immediately evident, against all other categories: *tuteo* primes *tuteo* at a significantly higher rate against all other preceding tokens. However, the other four categories are much closer, visually at least. Indeed, a series of chi-square analyses revealed that a previous *voseo* is not significantly different from a previous *cachái*; i.e. *cachái* primes *voseo* just like any other *voseo* form, and thus, it could be argued, despite fossilisation, speakers consider it to be a *voseo* form (see section 7.6.1 on *cachái*). Hence, it is not entirely autonomous and remains analysable for speakers despite fossilisation (cf. Bauman and Torres Cacoullos, 2013).

Similarly, a previous syncretic form was not significantly different from when there is no token in the preceding five IUs, indicating that these have no significant effect on the selection of 2sg form, i.e. syncretic forms are not more associated with *tuteo* than *voseo*,

despite having a historically *tuteo* form. Furthermore, this fact validates the (necessary) exclusion of these tokens (see 5.4.1) and allays concerns about how this may affect the results. This is an example of how the analysis of priming can be used as a means of narrowing down the variable context (cf. Tamminga, 2016).

However, as seen in Analysis 2 (Table 24), a previous *voseo*, like a previous *tuteo*, is significantly different from when there is no token in the preceding five IUs: *voseo* primes *voseo* at a significantly higher rate than when there is a *tuteo*, a syncretic form, or no other 2sg form in the previous environment.

The aim of this analysis was to see what effect a previous *tuteo* or *voseo* has on the selection of 2sg variant. However, as only a third of the data had a previous *tuteo* or *voseo*, and nearly half (491/1059) had no previous occurrence within five IUs, and a further 176 were a previous *cachái* or syncretic form (both outside the variable context; see 5.4), a large proportion of the data is unanalysable and, thus, lost.

Therefore, to reduce the number of categories and boost the number of tokens for the purposes of the statistical analyses, Previous Realisation was recoded to also look beyond a previous syncretic form or previous *cachái* to the second preceding token within five IUs. When the immediately previous token was *tuteo* or *voseo*, or there was no intervening 2sg material in the previous five IUs, these were not recoded. However, in the case of a previous *cachái* (N=48), or a previous syncretic form (N=128), these were analysed for whether there was another 2sg token within the priming context. Examples (69) and (70), below, show a previous syncretic form and a previous *cachái*, respectively, with another 2sg mention within five IUs (prime(s) underlined and **targets** in bold).

(69)	Tatiana:	<u>Sabís</u> que --	(prime)
		<u>ábrete</u> --	(skipped)
	Gerardo:	[<u>Oye</u> estuve --]	(skipped)
		Sabís –	(target)
	Tatiana:	You-Ø know-VOSEO what --	
		Open-SYNYCRETIC yourself up	
	Gerardo:	[You-Ø] Listen-SYNYCRETIC I was --	

		You-Ø know-VOSEO -- (CCSS; Barbeque; 1357-1361)	
(70)	Matías:	<u>tú tenís</u> capitán, cinta de capitán, y él era un cadete po huevón	(prime)
	Alfredo	@@[@]	
	Matías	[cachái?] lo tenís que apapachar huevón,	(skipped) (target)
	Matías:	you-TÚ have-VOSEO a captain, a captain's sash, and he was a cadet dude	
	Alfredo	[LAUGHTER]	
	Matías	You-Ø know-CACHÁI? You-Ø have-VOSEO to take him under your wing dude, (CCSS; Football; 601-606)	

If there was another 2sg (*tuteo* or *voseo*) mention within five IUs, as in the above examples, this was re-coded with the form of the second preceding token, accounting for 33 additional tokens. Another 41 tokens with only a previous *cachái* (N=35), or with a previous syncretic form where there was a second preceding token of *cachái* within five IUs, were re-coded as a previous *voseo*, given the morphological relationship and that a previous *cachái* did not differ significantly in terms of its priming effect from other *voseo* forms (at 11% *tuteo*). A further 102 tokens where the only 2sg variant in the preceding environment was one or more syncretic forms were recoded as having nothing in the preceding environment as they did not differ significantly from syncretic forms (at 19% *tuteo*; see Figure 13 above). In this way, 176 additional tokens – 74 with a previous *tuteo* or *voseo* – were added as part of the three-way breakdown used in the final statistical analyses.

Figure 14 shows the rate of *tuteo* versus *voseo* in each of the preceding environments for >35s and ≤35s, following the recoding described above. For >35s when there was no 2sg form in the previous five intonation units the rate of *tuteo* was 32% (84/271) versus 32% overall (weight = .48); and for ≤35s, this context has a rate of 14% (45/327) versus 12% overall (weight = .56) i.e. when there is nothing in the preceding environment, this context shows no effect for either age cohort.

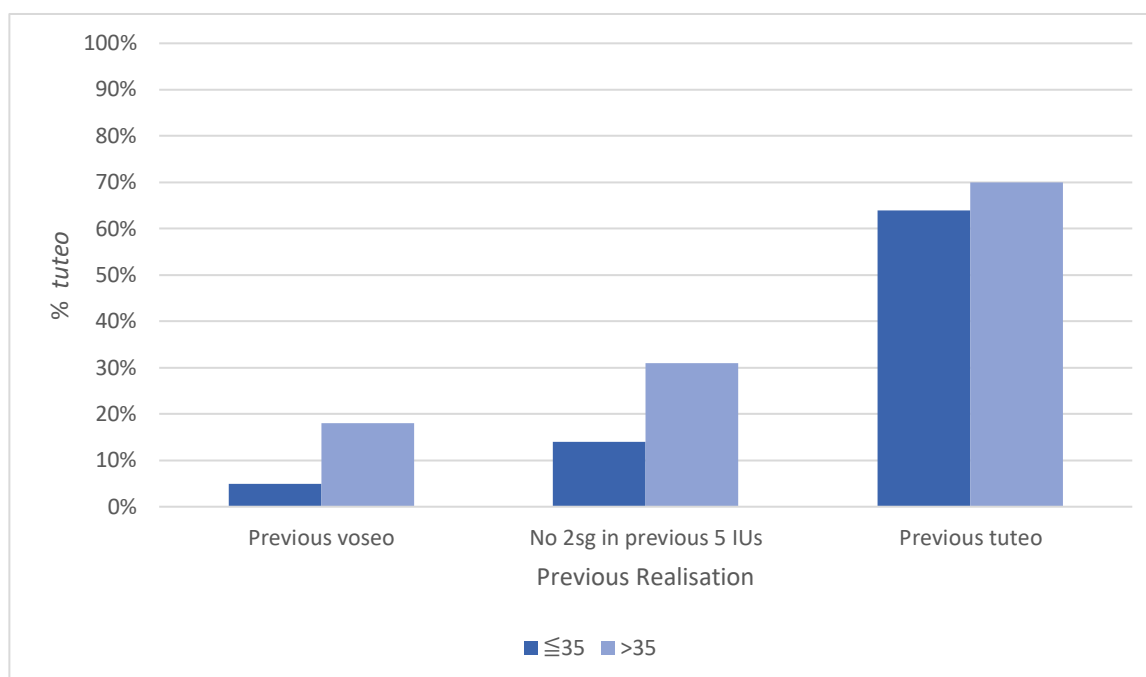


Figure 14: Rate of *tuteo* (versus *voseo*) by Previous Realisation within Five IUs in CCSS (≤35s versus >35s)

For >35s (the light blue bars), when there is a *voseo* in the preceding environment, the rate of *tuteo* drops to 18% (17/94) (in other words, *voseo* climbs to 92%) strongly disfavouring a subsequent *tuteo*, and when there is a *tuteo* in the immediately preceding environment, the rate of *tuteo* climbs to an astronomical 70% (32/46; weight = 0.81), the highest rate in any context for either age group.

For ≤35s (the dark blue bars), the pattern is the same, but the effect even stronger: in the context of a preceding *voseo*, the rate of *tuteo* drops to just 5% (13/261) and following a preceding *tuteo* skyrockets to a massive 64% (16/25; versus just 12% overall), favouring *tuteo* more than in any other context (weight = 0.93).

The strong priming effect would certainly seem to reject the hypothesis that speakers do not differentiate between the two paradigms. Such a result can only mean that speakers are sensitive to the differences between the two 2sg paradigms and track them in the discourse.

Given the high proportion of young, higher-SEC speakers in the sample, and consequently the uneven proportion of speakers with high rates of *voseo*, it is possible that these speakers are responsible for the strong priming effect of *voseo*. However, Previous Realisation appears to have an even stronger effect for younger speakers than older speakers

when the sample is split by age group (7.3.4), as mentioned above. For >35s, Previous Realisation has the greatest range (43) followed closely by Gender (38) – a difference of about 15%. For ≤35s, Previous Realisation has a range of 56, followed by Clause Type (44) – nearly 30% greater. If the high rate of *voseo* by ≤35s were the cause of the strong priming effect, this would be easy to explain. However, while a previous *voseo* does favour a subsequent *voseo*, the much stronger priming effect is by a previous *tuteo*, and this is truer still for speakers with high rates of *voseo*, for whom *tuteo* is rarer; it is amongst these, predominantly younger, speakers that strongly favour *voseo*, that the *tuteo* priming effect is strongest. This is, so it happens, precisely what we would expect from the less frequent variant in processes of change: “in obsolescence processes [where one form is being replaced by another], the obsolescing construction [in this case *tuteo*] will have a stronger persistence [or priming] effect” (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 5).

Secondly, to account for the impact of speakers who show very high rates of *voseo*, the effect of priming on speakers with different baseline rates of *voseo* was compared (cf. Sankoff and Laberge, 1978b, Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018: 90). Speakers were binned into groups according to their overall rate of *voseo*: 0-25% *voseo* (three speakers, 73 tokens), 26-50% *voseo* (four speakers, 75 tokens), 51-75% *voseo* (five speakers, 122 tokens), 76-90% (seven speakers, 373 tokens) and 91-99% *voseo* (six speakers, 155 tokens). Figure 15, below, shows the rate of *tuteo* for these groups of speakers in the context of a previous *voseo* (the orange line), a previous *tuteo* (the blue line) and when there is no 2sg form in the previous five IUs (the grey line). It shows clearly that regardless of the speakers’ overall rate of *voseo* (from less than 25% to over 90%), their rate of *tuteo* decreases when there is a *voseo* in the preceding environment (indicated by the orange line below the grey line) and increases when there is a *tuteo* in the preceding environment (indicated by the blue line above the grey line). There is no data in the context of previous *tuteo* for speakers with an overall rate of *voseo* above 90%, perhaps also unsurprising, given that the higher the rate of *voseo*, the fewer opportunities there are to be primed by *tuteo*.

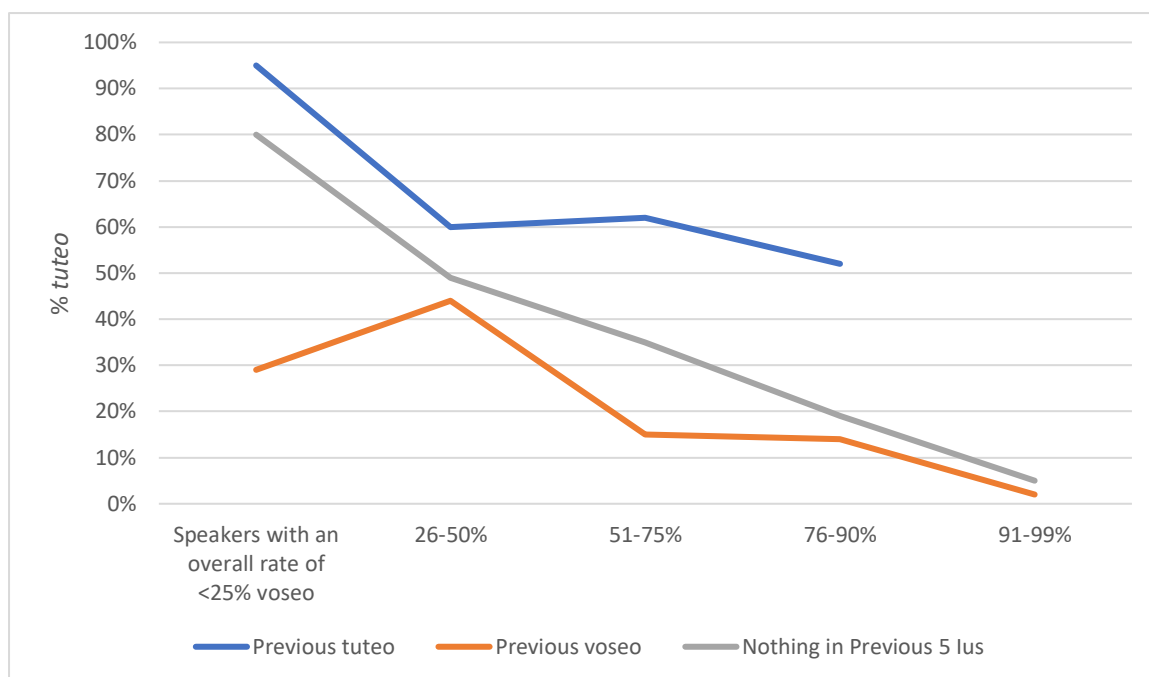


Figure 15: Rate of tuteo by Previous Realisation in CCSS (Speakers Binned by Overall Rate of voseo)

7.5.2. Subject Expression

Tokens were coded for whether or not they appeared with a null or an overt subject pronoun, and whether that subject pronoun was *tú* or *vos* (see examples (44) to (46) in 6.3.2). Of 1030 tokens of *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms (29 tokens were excluded; for example, when there was unclear speech around the token), there were only seven subject uses of *vos* pronouns, all occurring with *voseo* verb forms (i.e. there were no occurrences of *vos* with morphologically marked *tuteo* verb forms; see Table 17 in 5.2.). Six of these occur in the same transcript (*Football*), and the other occurs as quoted speech (in *Relationships*). This is compared with 197 *tú* pronouns and 826 $\emptyset$ pronouns (with both *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms), as shown in Table 26.

Table 26: Distribution of Subject Pronouns (*tú*, *vos*, $\emptyset$) Occurring with *tuteo* and *voseo* Verb Forms in the CCSS

	<i>tú</i>	<i>vos</i>	$\emptyset$	Total
<i>Voseo</i>	135	7	681	823
<i>Tuteo</i>	62	0	145	207
	197	7	826	1030

As discussed in 2.5.2, the *vos* pronoun is frequently described as being highly stigmatised and/or having very particular (usually aggressive) discursive functions. The results here, where it is (virtually) absent in the data, are not inconsistent with these reports,

although they are not sufficient in themselves to say that the *vos* pronoun is definitely stigmatised, and there are too few tokens to conduct any further analyses. Of the seven tokens, all but one are from the same conversation, and five are produced by Matías ‘jostling’ his friend Alfredo. What can be said with confidence regarding the *vos* pronoun is that it seems to be exceedingly infrequent in friendly informal conversational discourse, and that *vos* does not form part of the variable context, in these data at least, as it is so infrequent and categorically occurs with *voseo* verb forms; the real comparison is not between the *tú* and *vos* pronouns, but rather between *tú* and null subject expression ($\emptyset$). Therefore, for the statistical analyses, the seven tokens with *vos* pronouns were excluded. The rate of *tú* expression with *tuteo* is 31%, nearly twice that with *voseo* (18%), as shown in Figure 16, below.

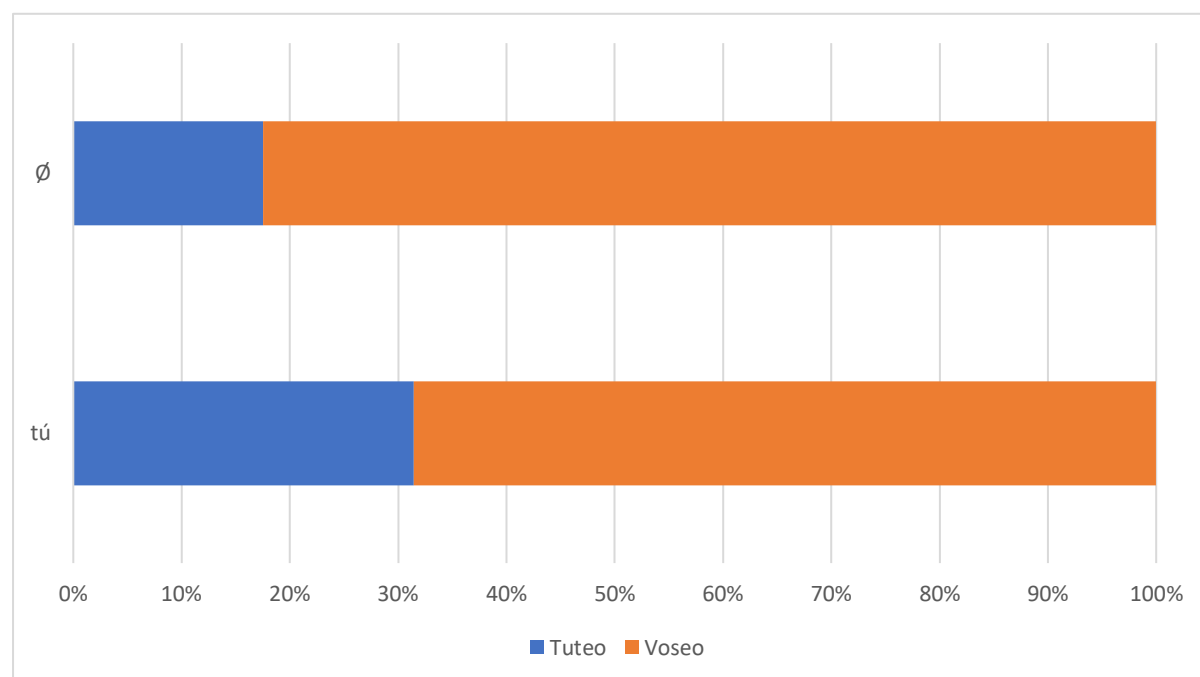


Figure 16: Rate of *tuteo/voseo* by Subject Expression ($\emptyset$ vs *tú*) in CCSS

Subject Expression is significant in all analyses in which linguistic factors are included. In all cases an overt *tú* pronoun (versus a null subject) favours *tuteo*, or disfavours *voseo*; i.e. there is a significantly higher rate of *voseo* in contexts of a $\emptyset$ pronoun. This would seem to suggest that speakers actively avoid mixing a *tú* pronoun with a *voseo* verb form, (though they do mix the paradigms about 13% of the time). Although this effect is relatively weak, the fact that Subject Expression remains consistent across the two age groups is further evidence that speakers distinguish between *tuteo* and *voseo* as two separate (verbal and pronominal)

paradigms: even younger speakers who might most be expected to conflate the paradigms (according to the metalinguistic awareness hypothesis; see 6.5.3), and who show changes in other constraints, show a significant effect for Subject Expression, indicating that this constraint has been retained even as the change has progressed.

It was argued in Chapter 6 that subject pronoun expression, like priming, could be used as a measure of the strength of association between forms; in the case of subject expression, this refers specifically to the association between the pronominal and morphological systems. By analysing the rates of use of the verbal paradigms with the different combinations of subject expression (here, *tú* and $\emptyset$, as *vos* is virtually absent), it is possible to state that there is a stronger association between the *tú* pronoun and the *tuteo* verbal paradigm than between the *tú* pronoun and the *voseo* verbal paradigm, despite the reported predominance of the so-called mixed *voseo* in the literature (Torrejón, 1986: 682).

However, this association is weaker than the association between verb forms as seen in the greater relative strength of the priming results (see Previous Realisation, above). Figure 17, below, shows a cross-tabulation of Previous Realisation and Subject Expression; i.e. the rate of *voseo* in each of the priming contexts, when the target verb has no overt pronoun, in the first instance (the green columns) and when there is an overt *tú* pronoun in the second (the blue columns). When there is no 2sg token in the preceding environment (the middle two bars), an overt *tú* pronoun significantly favours *tuteo* (Fisher's Exact Test, $p = 0.0017$; Graphpad.com). In the context of a previous *voseo* (the two left-most columns), the effect is the same, although only just reaching significance ($p = 0.0398$). However, in the context of a previous *tuteo* (the two columns on the right hand side), there is no significant difference in the rate of *tuteo* regardless of whether there is an overt pronoun or not; i.e. the form of the previous token in the discourse actually overrides the presence of the pronoun.

This suggests that, although in the literature greater emphasis is usually placed on the salience of the pronouns (e.g. Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012, Hummel, 2010), the morphology actually overrides the pronoun effect, at least in speakers' linguistic behaviour.

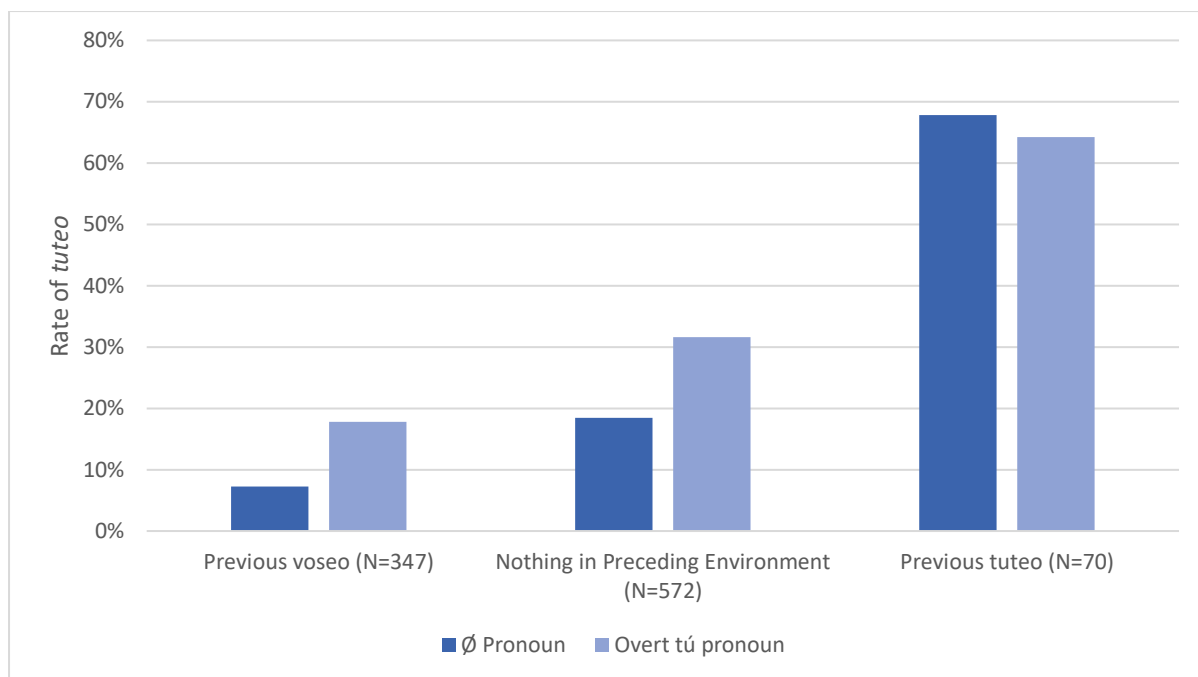


Figure 17: Rate of tuteo by Previous Realisation and Subject Expression (Ø vs tú) in CCSS

7.5.3. Discourse Type

For Discourse Type, tokens were coded for whether they referred directly to a specific interlocutor as in (71), whether they were used generically, as in (72), or as part of reported speech, as in (73).

- (71) **Andabas** con tu tía.
 You-Ø were-*TUTEO* with your aunt.
 (CCSS; Memories; 1262; Trinidad)

- (72) *Si uno tiene que vivir.*
*Lo más cerca de dónde **te mueves**.*
 [If] one has to live,
 As close as possible to where you-Ø move-*TUTEO* around.
 (CCSS; Barbeque; 349-50; Viviana)

- (73) *el día que yo me muera les dijo,*
vélenme en el club.
.. y los cabros,
*“¡qué **te vai a morir vos** chico”,*

The day that I die he said,
 hold my wake in the club.

And the guys [said]
“As if you_{-vos} are going to_{-voseo} die, squirt”
(CCSS; Relationships; 663-6; Soledad)

Discourse Type is significant for >35s, but not for ≤35s. This is an interesting result which needs to be unpacked. For >35s, generic speech strongly disfavours *tuteo* while specific as well as reported speech favour *tuteo*; in contrast, for ≤35s, although not significant, reported speech actually shows a trend *disfavouring tuteo* (i.e. favouring *voseo*) while specific and generic hover around 0.5. The fact that generic speech strongly disfavours *tuteo* for older speakers can be interpreted as *voseo* being perceived as less ‘abrasive’ in generic speech; that is generic speech could ‘licence’ the use of *voseo* for older speakers, for whom it could be considered rude or overly forward (Fernández-Mallat, 2011: 54) in utterances directed at a specific interlocutor. Conversely, it is perhaps unsurprising that for >35s reported speech favours *tuteo* (Weight=0.58) as *tuteo* is more prevalent in this group than for younger speakers, making it, relatively, more likely to be ‘reported’. Indeed, it appears that reported speech in particular is affecting *voseo* differently in the two age groups (see Figure 18).

The fact that Discourse Type is not significant for ≤35s implies that this constraint has been lost; i.e. for younger speakers, generic speech no longer licenses *voseo* any more than specific speech, and, indeed, although not significant, reported speech seems to favour *voseo* (93%, N=41/44), perhaps reflective of the fact that *voseo* is the default form for ≤35s and, so, more likely be to be reported. Figure 18 plots the factor weights for reported, specific and generic speech in the two analyses.

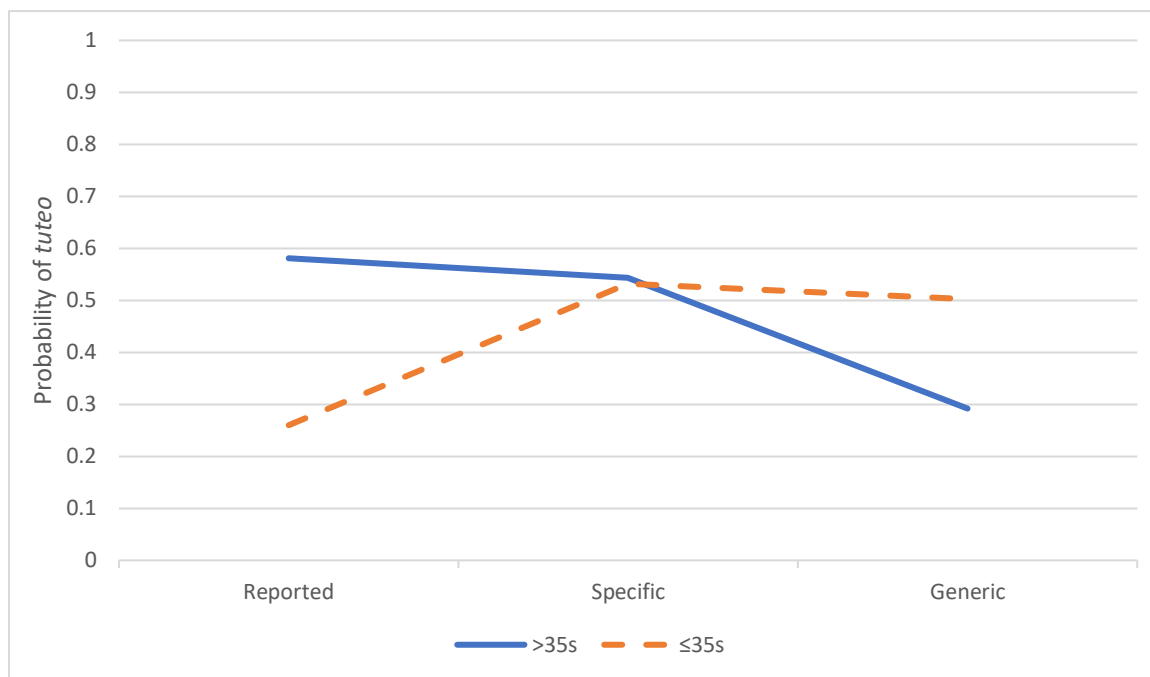


Figure 18: Probability of tuteo (vs voseo) by Discourse Type of 2sg Referent for >35s and ≤35s in CCSS

7.5.4. Clause Type

For Clause Type, tokens were coded for whether they were in a main clause, a subordinate clause, a negative command or a question (see examples (51) to (54) in 6.3.4). About a quarter of the data was set aside: 103 tokens of discourse markers and expressions with a pragmatic function (see Table 27, below and examples (58) to (61) in 6.3.4); and 185 tokens (at 87% *voseo*) where Clause Type was unclear (see examples (56) and (57), in 6.3.4). In other words, due to the conservative nature of the coding, only unambiguous cases were included in the analyses.

Table 27: Discourse Markers and Expressions with Pragmatic Functions Set Aside for Analyses of Clause Type

Expression	Translation	N	% <i>voseo</i>
<i>Sabís/sabes (qué)</i>	You know (what)	43	79%
<i>te acuerdas, te acordai</i>	Do you remember?	35	57%
<i>no (me) huevís</i>	Don't mess with me	7	100%
<i>(me) estái hueveando</i>	You're kidding (me)	7	100%
<i>te imaginái</i>	Can you imagine?	1	100%
<i>(me) entendís</i>	You understand (me)?	10	100%
TOTAL		103	77%

There were only 24 cases of negative commands in the data set, but they did show a considerably lower rate of *voseo* (63%) than questions (87%) and main clauses (81%), and slightly lower than subordinate clauses (68%). In the end, negative commands were excluded as there were too few tokens to include them as a separate factor; they will be discussed further in 7.5.5, below.

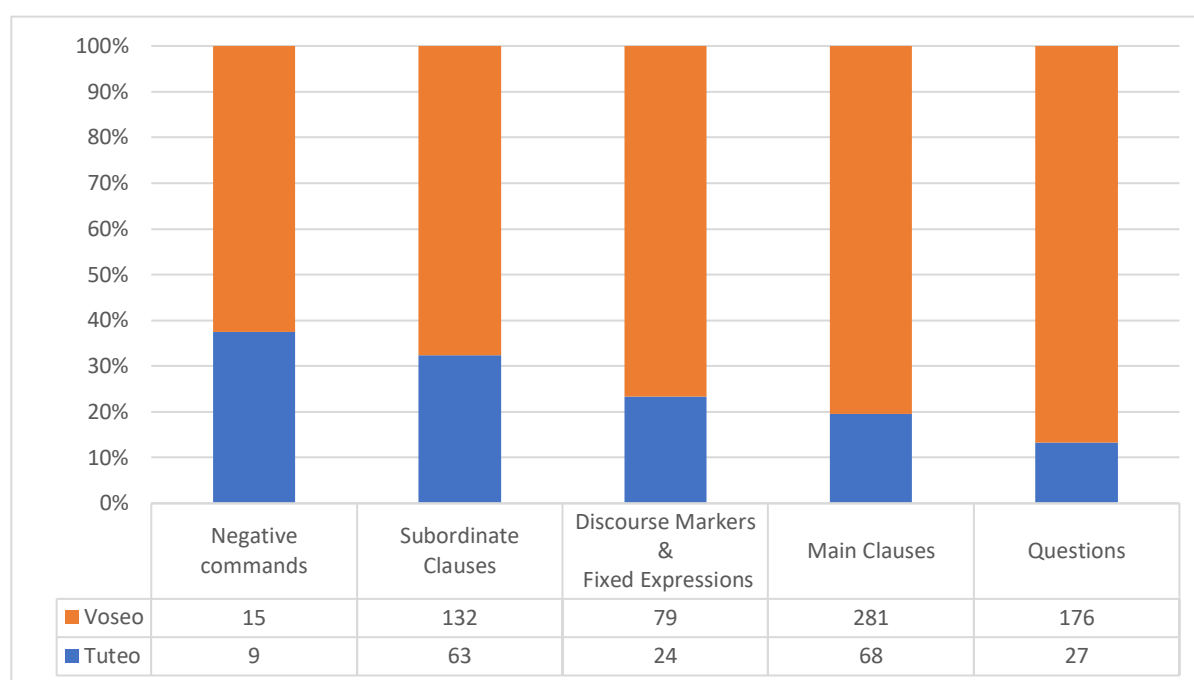


Figure 19: Rate of *tuteo/voseo* by Clause Type (All Contexts) in CCSS (All Speakers)

This left three factors for the statistical analyses: Main Clauses, Subordinate Clauses, and Questions. The results for Clause type appear in Figure 20, below.

Clause type was a significant factor in the analyses of both age groups. In both cases, subordinate clauses favoured *tuteo* while questions disfavoured *tuteo*, although this was strongest with ≤ 35 s where questions strongly disfavoured *tuteo* (0.23). In fact, for ≤ 35 s Clause Type jumped to the second most significant factor group in terms of range (from fourth equal for > 35 s). Main clauses hovered around 0.5 neither favouring or disfavours either variant.

This is consistent with the hypothesis that subordinate clauses would be more conservative and disfavour the incoming variant: *voseo* (Bybee, 2002). This is further evidence of change, and that this change may still be in progress; were this change ‘complete’, so to speak (and there is no reason to assume it will ever be), we would expect that subordinate

clauses would be used with *voseo* at similar rates as with *tuteo*, i.e. this effect would disappear.

Perhaps more interesting is the fact that questions so clearly favour *voseo* for both older and younger speakers, especially considering that discourse markers and fixed expressions have been excluded (see Table 27, above) which are often formulated as questions and tend to take the *voseo* form. One potential discourse-related explanation for this, consistent with previous reports (e.g. Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 109), is that *voseo* is used to generate solidarity with the interlocutor, and thus is potentially more likely to be used in both requests and appeals – here coded as questions (as in (74) and (75) below) – although there were relatively few examples of these in the data.

(74) *por qué no me lo decís tú primero?*
 Why don't you-TÚ say-VOSEO it to me first?
 (CCSS; A bit of everything; Andrea: 303)

(75) *y por qué no dejái de fumar tú mejor?*
 and why don't you-Ø quit-VOSEO smoking instead?
 (CCSS; Family; 953; Andrea)

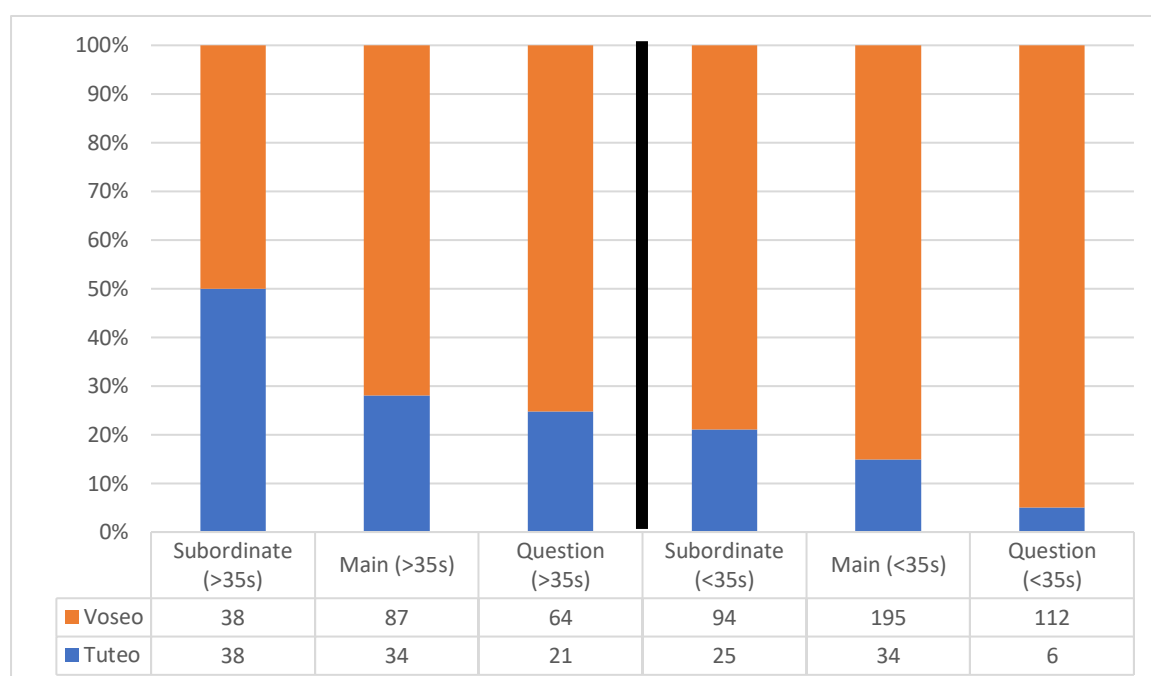


Figure 20: Rate of tuteo/voseo by Clause Type for >35s and ≤35s in CCSS

7.5.5. TAM

Although TAM was not included in the statistical analyses, it is presented here for the purposes of transparency and comparability with previous studies which have included TAM as a factor group. In the present case, TAM was not included principally because it interacted with Clause Type: the great majority (333/350) of main clauses were in the indicative mood (and 256 of these were the present indicative); and subjunctive tokens were almost categorically found in subordinate clauses (39/41)⁵⁸.

Secondly, the sheer number of TAM categories, the gross imbalance of the data (with nearly three quarters of the data (N=727/1059) in the present indicative), and the small numbers of tokens for some, meant that their inclusion in the logistic regression analysis was not practical, and any attempt to combine categories was somewhat arbitrary and less than optimally explanatory. Clause Type was preferred as it provided better explanatory power and more balanced and coherent categories.

Excluding syncretic forms, only seven of the 15 TAMs represented in the data set have 30 tokens or more; these are presented in Table 28 and discussed below.

⁵⁸ The two examples of subjunctives in main clauses were both produced by the same speaker and, while formally subjunctive, were functionally conditionals:

(1) *Tú la **hubieses** amado.*

You-_{TÚ} would have-_{TUTEO} loved her.

(CCSS; Savings; 164; Carolina);

(2) *Como que **te hubiese** cagado de la ris[a].*

Like, you-_Ø would have-_{VOSEO} pissed yourself with laughter.

(CCSS; Savings; 250; Carolina)

Table 28: Number of Tokens and Proportions of voseo for Most Common TAM in CCSS (>30 Tokens)

TAM	Example	% Voseo	Total N	% data
INDICATIVE				
Present Indicative	(76) <i>Me hueveái.</i> You-Ø hassle-VOSEO me. (CCSS; Friends; 1381; Eduardo)	81%	727	69%
Analytic Future	(77) <i>.. y vai a buscar pega huevona o no?</i> .. And are you-Ø gonna-VOSEO look for work? (CCSS; Football; 455; Matías)	85%	86	8%
Present Progressive	(78) <i>estái manejando y no podís=,</i> you-Ø are-VOSEO driving and you can't (CCSS; Back to Santiago; 891; Ernesto)	90%	30	3%
Present Perfect	(79) <i>nunca te hai curado o no?</i> you-Ø have-VOSEO never got drunk or what? (CCSS; Relationships; 1242; Tomás)	86%	35	3%
Imperfect	(80) <i>... y andabai feliz po</i> ... and you-Ø were-VOSEO thrilled. (CCSS; Southern Chile; 665; Javier)	69%	67	6%
SUBJUNCTIVE				
Present Subjunctive	(81) <i><Q para que postulís Q>,</i> <i><Q So that you-Ø apply-VOSEO Q>,</i> (CCSS; Nerds and geeks; 11; Marcela)	56%	32	3%
IMPERATIVE				
Negative Imperative	(82) <i>no le hagái ni una huevada tú.</i> Don't you-TÚ do-VOSEO anything to him. (CCSS; Family; 1798; Sara)	71%;	31	3%
OTHER				
All other tenses		71%	41	4%
Grand Total	(Excluding 10 tokens of composite tenses with truncated auxiliaries as in examples (83) and (84))	80%	1049	100%

(83) *pero me estás--*
but you-Ø are-TUTEO --
(CCSS; Barbeque; 417; Viviana)

(84) *Cómo vas a --*
How are you-Ø going to-TUTEO --
(CCSS; Dinner with the boss; 1408; Vanessa)

Of the tenses in the indicative mood, all seem to favour voseo with the exception perhaps of the imperfect (69%). The present indicative, overwhelmingly the most frequent TAM in the data set is, unsurprisingly, very close to the overall rate of 80% voseo, at 81%

voseo. The present perfect (86%), the analytic future (85%) and the present progressive (90%) in particular seem to favour *voseo*. These four tenses account for 83% of the data set (878/1059). The latter three TAMs are all composite tenses; the 2sg forms of both *ir*, in the analytic future, and *estar*, in the present progressive, occur in their own right as main verbs.

The present subjunctive and the negative imperative would both appear – as we might expect from the results for subordinate clauses in the previous section on Clause Type – to disfavour *voseo*. It has been suggested for Argentinian Spanish (e.g. Moyna, 2015: 5) that a so-called ‘semantic split’ has occurred between the present subjunctive and the negative imperative. A Fisher’s Exact Test revealed no significant difference; i.e. the negative imperative does not differ significantly from other subjunctive forms in Chilean Spanish.

To test whether the conservative subordinate clause effect found for Clause Type (above) was actually a subjunctive effect, all the indicative and subjunctive tenses, respectively, were binned together. A Fisher’s Exact Test showed a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.0005$) between indicative versus subjunctive (and negative imperative) tenses, suggesting that the effect could be due to mood rather than subordination⁵⁹. The fact that subjunctives are ‘lagging behind’ is also consistent with hypotheses about language change: Rivadeneira Valenzuela (2009: 160) suggests that Chilean *voseo* has spread through the ‘unmarked’ TAMs such as the present indicative first before moving into the more ‘conservative’ subjunctives. The fact that this effect still lingers in this data set also suggests that this change could still well be in progress.

⁵⁹ There are only 32 tokens of the present subjunctive (see Table 28) and no verb has more than four tokens, although *tener* and *estar* are both 75% *tuteo*. Therefore, this does not appear to be an effect of (relatively) frequent subjunctive verb forms favouring *tuteo*.

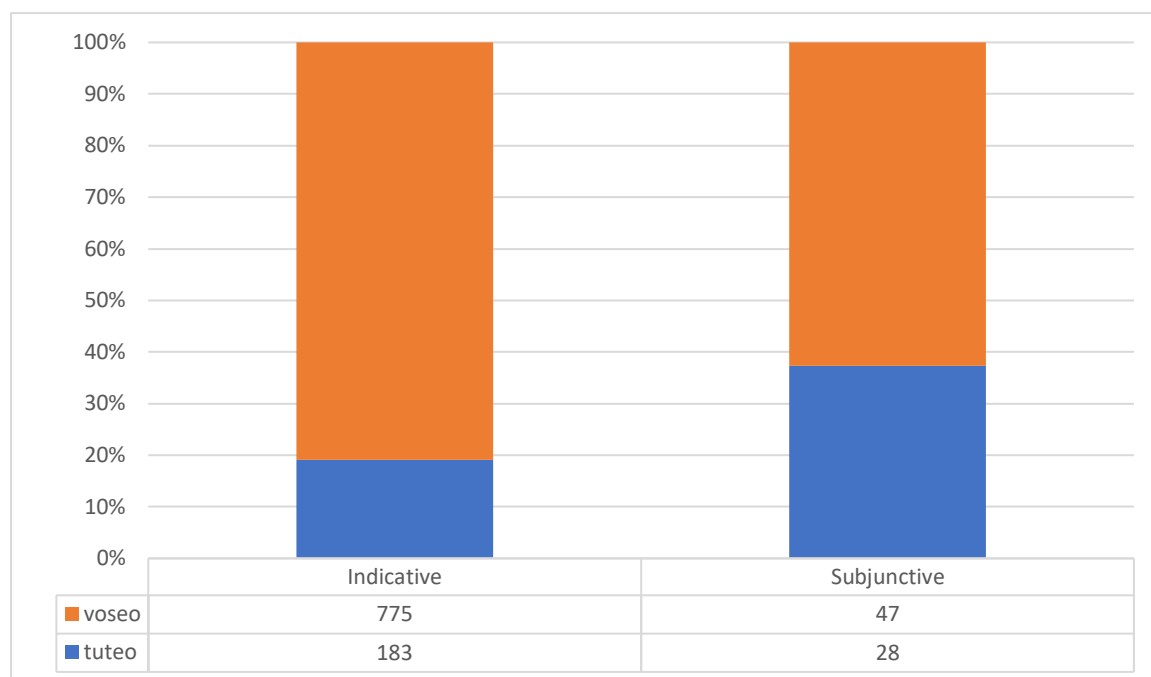


Figure 21: Rate of tuteo/voseo in CCSS by Mood (All Speakers)

7.5.6. Morphological Class

Morphological Class was operationalised in terms of the three Spanish verb “conjugations distinguished by the vowel of the infinitive” (Butt and Benjamin, 2004: 169). Tokens were coded as *-AR*, *-ER* or *-IR* according to the stem of the conjugated verb. (The irregular verbs *ser*, *ir* and *haber* were excluded from the Morphological Class analyses, due to their totally different morphology. See 7.6, below, for further discussion of these three verbs).

Morphological Class was found to be significant for both >35s and ≤35s, but with different directions of effect (see Figure 22). For >35s the constraint ordering is: *-AR* > *-IR* > *-ER*. For over 35s *-AR* verbs clearly favour *tuteo*, while *-ER* verbs disfavour *tuteo*, and *-IR* verbs seem to do neither. However, for ≤35s, it is *-ER* > *-AR*, *-IR*. Effectively *-ER* has replaced *-AR* as favouring *tuteo*, while both *-AR* and *-IR* disfavour *tuteo*.

But why is it that *-ER* verbs, which disfavour *tuteo* for older speakers, now favour *tuteo* for younger speakers? Why do different morphological classes favour *tuteo* for these two age groups? Is this further evidence for linguistic change or is it merely an anomaly in the data? Is it that, as a corollary to the linguistic change, as suggested by Stevenson (2007), entire morphological classes favour one 2sg variant over the other, or are there one or a small

number of particular lexical items which favour one variant and which are frequent enough in the discourse to influence the distribution? This requires further analysis and will be investigated in 7.6.

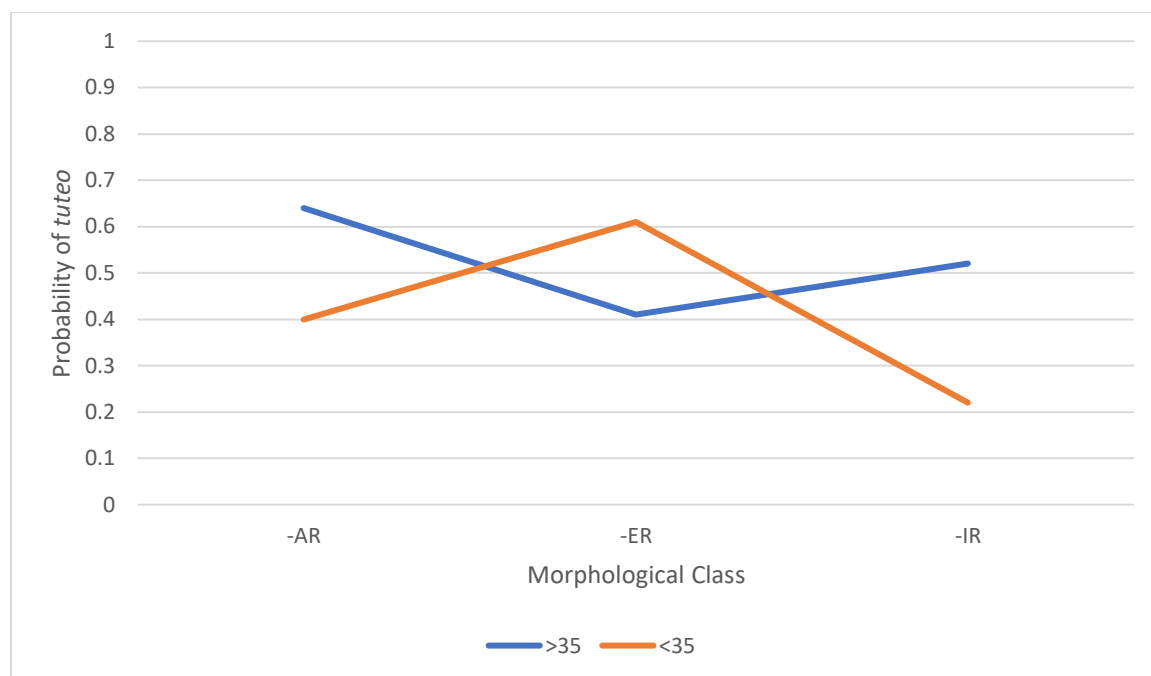


Figure 22: Probability of tuteo (vs voseo) by Morphological Class of Verb Type in CCSS (>35s and ≤35s)

7.6. Lexical Effects (and Lexical Frequency)

There are a number of other factors that do not easily fit into the categories of social or linguistic, and were not included in the statistical analyses, but are still important parts of the Chilean 2sg puzzle. The first of these is Lexical effects. Lexical frequency was not included in the multivariate analyses presented here, principally because it is a ‘slippery’ variable whose effects can vary depending on the type of feature (phonological, morphosyntactic etc.) and the other independent variables with which it interacts: “the frequency effect [...] is complex; statistically, it has no independent direct effect, but operates entirely through interaction with other constraints” (Erker and Guy, 2012: 526). As a result, while there may well be frequency effects in a given data set, these may not be immediately evident in overall rates or in multivariate analyses as they may pattern differently for different lexical items. As argued in Chapter 6, “it is not the frequency of individual verbs that matters, but individual verbs in specific grammatical structures” (or “lexically particular constructions”); and, crucially, these display “idiosyncrasies” (Torres Cacoullos and Travis, 2018: 105), such as favouring *voseo* or *tuteo*. Just because a verb is frequent (or not) does not mean that its effect

can be predicted and this effect can also often depend on how frequency is defined (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010).

Lexical item is often included as a random effect in this type of research. This is especially common for phonological variables, which typically have much higher token numbers than morphosyntactic variables and can occur in many common words throughout the data set. However, given that this variable is limited to the verbal system, there were too low numbers of tokens for all but the most frequent lexical items, rendering this type of analysis impracticable, and, arguably, unnecessary. Indeed, only six verbs have 50 or more variable 2sg tokens (i.e. accounting for more than 5% of data set). Furthermore, these six verbs all range from 71% to 84% *voseo*, approximating the overall average of 80%.

Table 29: Most Common Verbs with >50 Variable Tokens in the CCSS

Verb	Meaning	N	% <i>voseo</i>
<i>Tener</i>	To have	150	81%
<i>Ir</i>	To go	134	83%
<i>Saber</i>	To know	128	84%
<i>Estar</i>	To be	95	79%
<i>Poder</i>	To be able to (can)	65	71%
<i>querer</i>	To want/love	50	84%

Nonetheless, the discussion of lexical frequency below will account for any lexical effects. As argued previously (see Chapter 6), while a specific verb can show a specific tendency in order for a lexical item to affect overall rates, it has to be sufficiently frequent; if it is not frequent, then its impact will be negligible given a sufficiently broad representation of tokens. Furthermore, speakers require a certain degree of frequency in order to generate enough linguistic evidence to formulate hypotheses about individual lexical items (Erker and Guy, 2012: 526). Therefore, any important lexical effects in the data caused by the fossilisation of specific constructions should emerge in the analysis of the most frequent verbs.

As discussed in Chapter 6, each token within the variable context of the 2sg was coded for the verb-type of the conjugated verb (regardless of whether this was the main verb of the clause, or an auxiliary (modal or TAM marking) verb). The main verb and auxiliary uses of *tener*, *ir*, *estar*, *poder* and *querer*, respectively, were combined, as Fisher's Exact Tests showed no significant differences in rates of *voseo* between these uses for any of these verbs, for

either age group. Furthermore, *haber* (the auxiliary verb for the perfect tenses) was included as the seventh most common conjugated verb overall, considering that there were no differences for the other grammaticised auxiliaries *ir* (the analytic future marker) and *estar* (present progressive) between their main verb and auxiliary uses.

Then each verb type was counted and ranked for frequency within the corpus. To test if there was any correlation between the relative frequency of a verb and the rate of *voseo*, the rate of *voseo* was also plotted for each verb. Figure 23 and Figure 24 show the Ns and rates of *voseo* for the 12 most frequent conjugated verbs for both >35s (blue columns and line) and ≤35s (orange columns and line)⁶⁰.

While the set of most frequent verbs is largely the same, the frequency ranking was not the same for the two age groups: the most frequent verb for >35s, *saber* (N=81), is only the fifth most frequent for ≤35s (N=47). This is likely due to the prolific rise of *cachái* (see 7.6.1) amongst ≤35s who account for 328/361 tokens of this new, highly frequent discourse marker; while for >35s, the present indicative *voseo* form, *sabís* ‘you know’ (see example (85)), accounts for 81% of 77 indicative forms (of a total 80 occurrences of *saber*).

(85) *Apoya ene en --*
En mi opinión.
Sabís.

It helps a lot in --
 In my opinion.

You-Ø know-VOSEO.

(CCSS; Barbeque; 445-447; Viviana)

Similarly, for ≤35s, *tener* (N=108), while way behind *cachar* (N=329 by ≤35s; not included in Figure 24), seems to have left *saber* (N= 47) in its dust (as well as *ir*, *estar* and *poder*, which are all also more frequent than *saber* for ≤35s). As *tener* does not have obvious discourse functions and does not appear in any well-known discourse marker constructions in Chilean Spanish (Rojas Inostroza et al., 2012), why this verb has become so frequent in the

⁶⁰ *Ver* is not actually one of the 12 most frequent for >35s, but was included for the purposes of comparability.

speech of younger speakers is unclear. There does seem to be a slightly (but not significantly) higher proportion of modals (*tener que*) as a percentage of all *tener* uses for <35s (37%, N=108) than >35s (21%, N=42), which might account, in part, for the greater frequency of *tener* overall for <35s, but this difference is not significant and is difficult to explain. No single speaker uses more than 22 tokens of *tener* (out of 150 in the corpus) and it is used by 31 of the 36 speakers, meaning it is spread across the speakers and interactions. This could be related to the distribution of the data (see 7.7, below).

Comparing the rates of *voseo* per conjugated verb, there is no discernible pattern for relative frequency for either age group except perhaps greater variability with less frequent verbs for >35s (although this could merely be due to low token numbers rather than low frequency per se). However, individual verbs vary between 18% (*ser* for >35s; N=11) and 100% (*decir* for ≤35s; N=26).

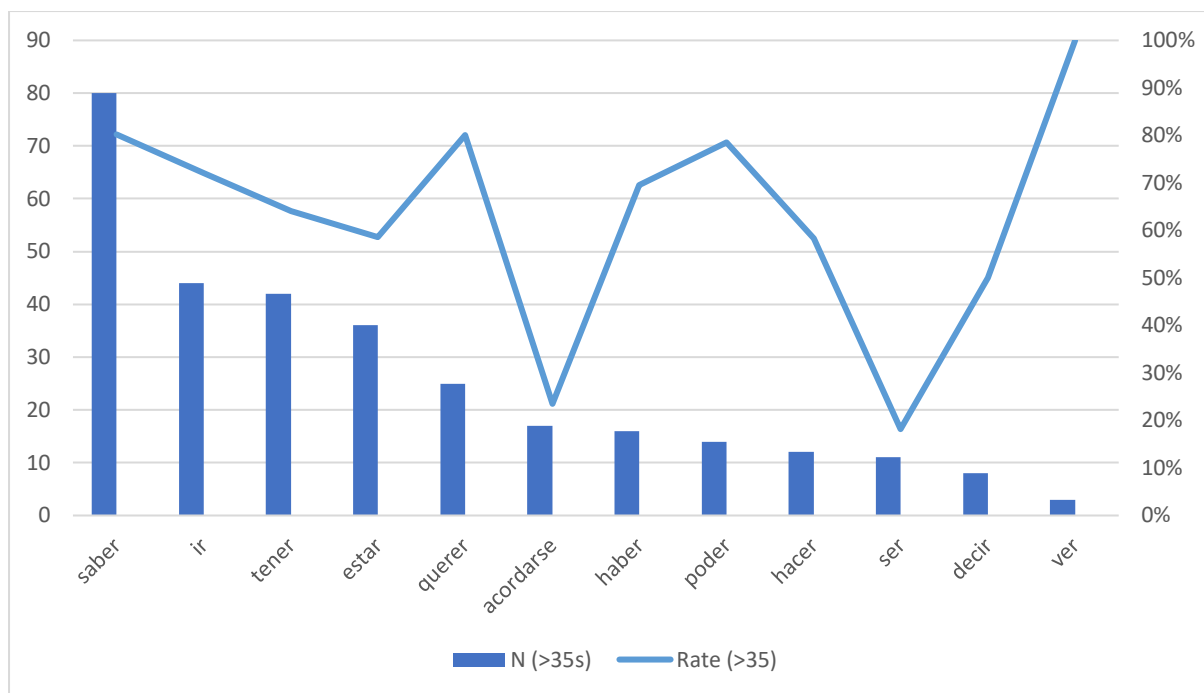


Figure 23: Numbers of Tokens and Rates of voseo for Twelve Most Frequent Verbs in CCSS (>35s Only)

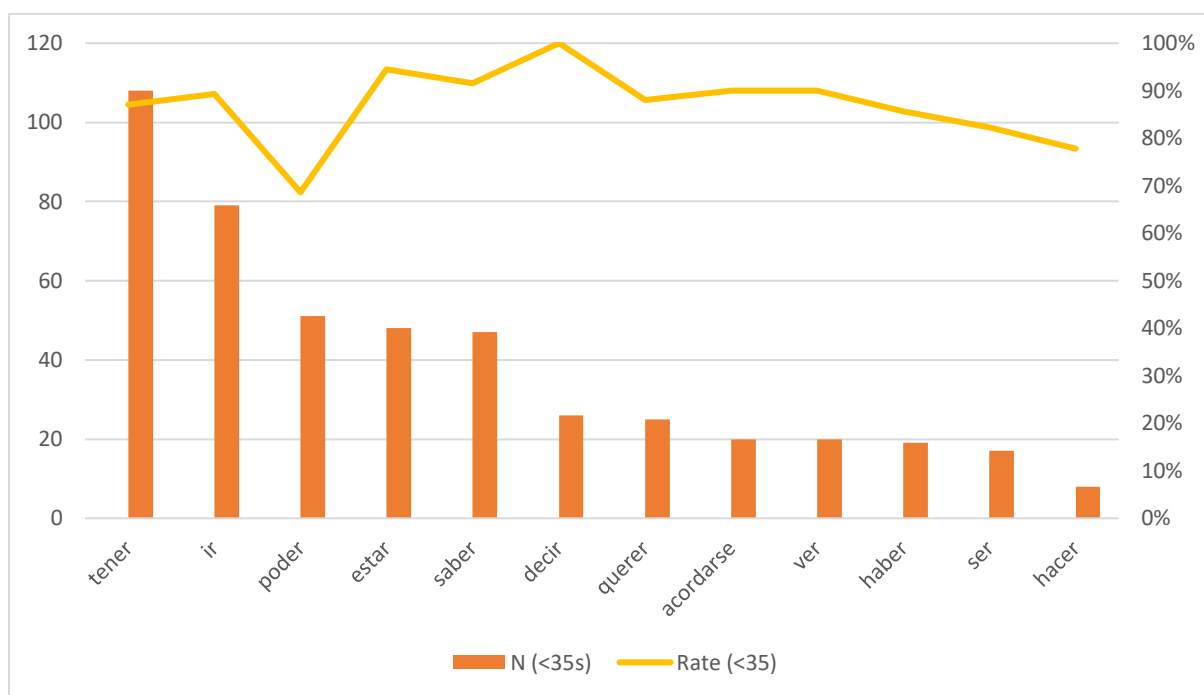


Figure 24: Numbers of Tokens and Rates of voseo for Twelve Most Frequent Verbs in CCSS (≤35s Only)

With the exceptions of *ir* (analytic future), *estar* (present progressive) and *haber* (present perfect) all verbs are dominated by their uses in the present indicative⁶¹. Given that the present indicative accounts for nearly three quarters of the tokens (727/1059) and any lexical frequency effects are most likely to operate on specific frequent constructions (rather than on verb stems), Figure 25 shows the rate of *voseo* for the *present indicative* forms (only) of the most frequent conjugated verbs (from most frequent on the left to least frequent on the right). The rates for ≤ 35 s are represented by the orange line and the >35 s in blue.

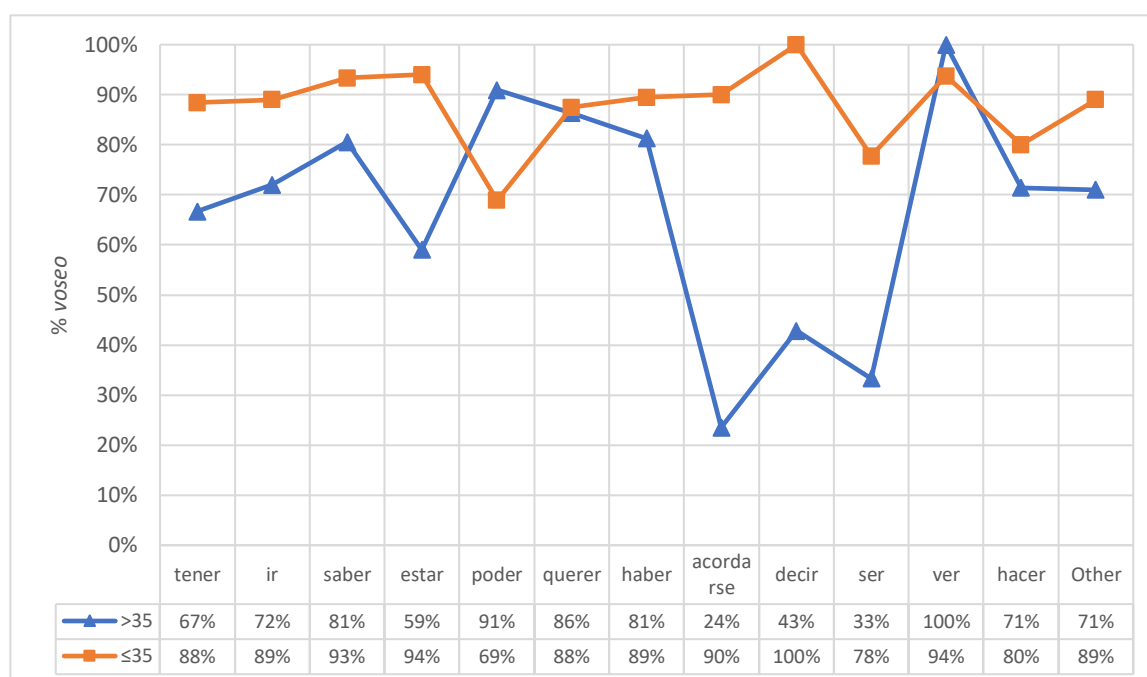


Figure 25: Rates of *voseo* (>35 s versus ≤ 35 s) for Twelve Most Frequent Verbs in CCSS (Present Indicative Only)

While >35 s generally have a lower rate of *voseo* for all verbs (indicated by the blue line predominantly being below the orange line) there are a number of verbs which stand out as having a markedly different rate of *tuteo* or *voseo*. Firstly, for >35 s, the present indicative forms of *acordarse* (24%, N=17), *decir* (43%, N=7), *ser* (33%, N=6)) and, to a lesser extent, *estar* (59%, N=19), show notably lower rates of *voseo*, although, admittedly, these rates are based on low token numbers.

⁶¹ It should be noted that a number of very frequent 2sg forms in the corpus fall outside the variable context, and thus were not counted for the purposes of lexical frequency. Looking at all 2sg forms for all speakers, the most frequent form by far is the invariable form *cachái* (N=361), followed by the syncretic form *oye* (N=168). Similarly, *mira* (N=96), *imagínate* (43) and *pon(te/le)* (N=40), all of which perform discourse marker functions, were excluded as syncretic forms.

Similarly, for ≤ 35 s there is a trough for *poder* at 69% *voseo* (N=45) – the only time the orange line drops more than 1% below the blue line (versus 91% for > 35 s). The rates of *acordarse* (N=20) and *decir* (N=18), amongst the lowest for > 35 s, are also at 90 and 100% *voseo* respectively for ≤ 35 s. The low rate of *voseo* for *poder* (N=51; all TAMs) and the 100% rate for *decir* (N=26; all TAMs) is also likely the cause of the significant result for Morphological Class for ≤ 35 s with *-ER* verbs favouring *tuteo* and *-IR* verbs disfavouring.

It is worth noting that *ser* is amongst the verbs with the lowest rates of *voseo* in the indicative for both > 35 s (33%; N=6) and ≤ 35 s (78%; N=9), but this effect is much stronger for older speakers. While the token numbers are low, these findings are consistent with previous reports of the stigmatisation of the traditional *voseo* form *soi* (example (86), below), which would be used by older speakers (and only occurs once in the data set), and the emergence of a new *voseo* form *erís* (87) amongst younger speakers (González Vergara, 2002: 216), alongside the standard *tuteo* form *eres* (88). In a study of the variation between “*eríh/soi*”, González V. (2002: 216) found that *eríh* is used more by younger speakers from higher socio-economic backgrounds who he hypothesises have adopted the form *eríh* “*como rasgo identificadorio y de diferenciación frente a los otros grupos*”⁶². In response, Echeverría Arriagada (2014) argues that rather than as a means of social differentiation, *erís* emerged as a form of what he calls verbal therapy i.e. a new form emerging due to the ambiguity produced by the homophony of *soy* as a 1sg form and *soi* as a 2sg form. Regardless of the origin, as he says *erís* “*ha logrado abrirse camino como una forma bastante usada en el español de Chile, conviviendo con soi, y, en cierto sentido, sustituyéndola*” (Echeverría Arriagada, 2014: 18)⁶³. This would account not only for the lower rates overall but also the discrepancy between the two age groups.

- (86) *soi muy cabrito,*
 you-*TÚ* are-*VOSEO* just a kid.
 (CCSS; Relationships; 109; Soledad)

⁶² ‘as an identifying feature and a way of differentiating oneself from other groups’

⁶³ ‘has managed to clear a path for itself as a pretty frequently used form in Chilean Spanish, living alongside and, in a certain sense, substituting *soi*’

(87) **tú erís puntual cachái,**
 you-TÚ are-VOSEO punctual, you-Ø know-CACHÁI?
 (CCSS; Back to Santiago; 188; Ernesto)

(88) **Eres feliz.**
 You-Ø are-TUTEO happy.
 (CCSS; Barbeque; 28; Viviana)

In sum, lexical frequency does not appear to produce an effect in terms of rate of *voseo*. There are, however, a number of verb types which appear to favour either *tuteo* or *voseo* for the two age groups, primarily related to constructions in the present indicative (and associated auxiliary forms). In particular, for >35s, *acordarse*, *decir*, *ser* and *estar* show lower rates of *voseo*, while for ≤35s, *poder* shows a lower rate of *voseo* and *decir* a higher rate, also potentially explaining the Morphological Class effect for ≤35s, in 7.5.6. While there are a number of lexically specific constructions which favour or disfavour *voseo*, there does not appear to be a unifying trend to these (i.e. they are not obviously driven by frequency), and no one construction is sufficiently frequent to affect the overall rates (with the exception of those already accounted for as being outside the variable context, namely *cachái* – discussed below – and the imperatives *oye* and *mira*).

7.6.1. Rate of *cachái*

Cachái is the most frequent 2sg lexical item in the CCSS by a factor of nearly three. It is used predominantly by ≤35s (328/361) but there were 43 tokens produced by >35s, and while others have suggested it is not used at all by older speakers, though token numbers are low, there are some instances produced by >55s (N=8). It is also used widely by both genders, with females actually producing more tokens of *cachái* (N=248) than *tuteo* (N=193) equivalent to 24% of their data (N=1027 *tuteo*, *voseo* and *cachái*). In contrast, *cachái* accounts for 29% of males' data (N=392).

Given the frequency, invariability and relatively recent emergence of *cachái* alongside the change in use in the Chilean 2sg system, coupled with the strong priming effect described in 7.5.1, above, the question arises whether this form has played a role in promoting this change. While tokens of *cachái* were excluded from the regression analyses, due to their invariability, it was hypothesised, in Chapter 6, that speakers who use more *cachái* overall in

their speech would also use higher rates of *voseo* overall (excluding *cachái*). This was called the ‘entrenchment’ hypothesis, from De Smet’s (2016) prediction that “innovative constructions should be more likely to emerge if their analogical models are better entrenched” (De Smet 2016: 83). That is, the more ‘retrievable’ (i.e. frequent), an utterance is in conventional usage, the more likely it will be to be used in innovative ways. Therefore, we might expect more *voseo* usage in less common utterances from speakers who already use high rates of *voseo* in *cachái*.

To test this, speakers’ rate of use of *cachái* (as a proportion of their produced 2sg tokens: *tuteo+voseo+cachái*) was correlated with rate of *voseo* (excluding *cachái*) to test for whether there was an association between the two variables. For this analysis, speakers with fewer than 20 tokens (*tuteo*, *voseo* and *cachái*) (N=10), zero tokens of *cachái* (N=4) and 100% *voseo* (N=7) were excluded, leaving 15 speakers. This is plotted in Figure 26 below, which shows a positive correlation between use of *cachái* and rate of *voseo*: speakers who use more *cachái* (as a proportion of their 2sg data) also use higher rates of *voseo*, and speakers who use less *cachái* use less *voseo*. This was confirmed by a Pearson’s r correlation value of 0.650.

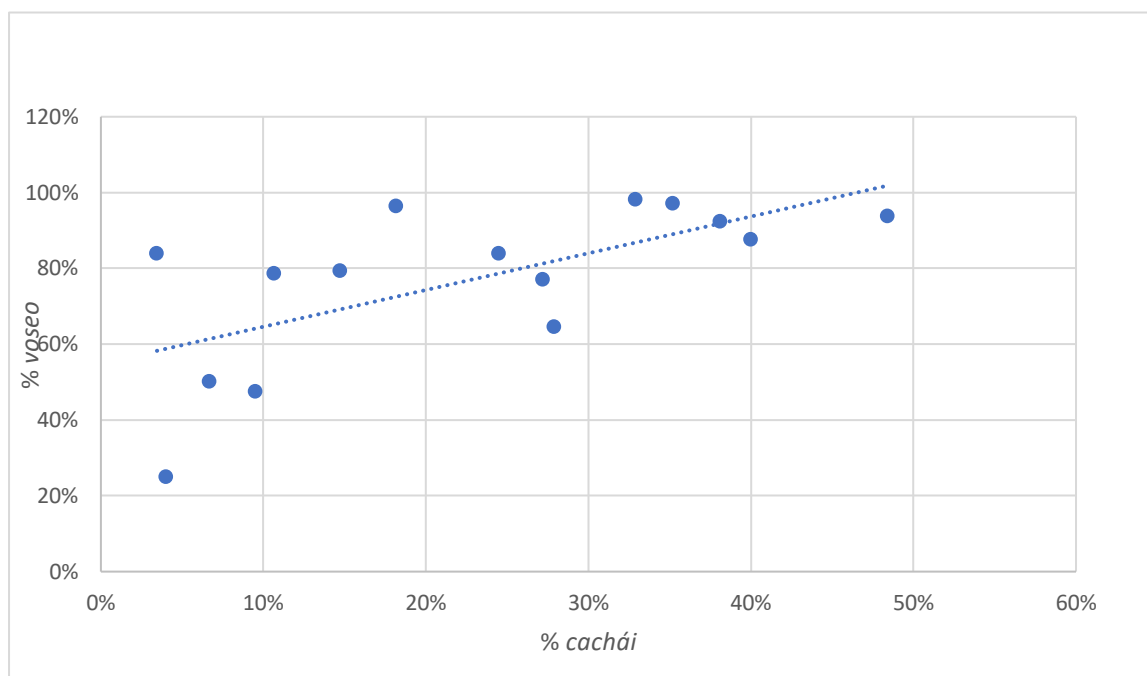


Figure 26: Correlation between Rate of *voseo* and Use of *cachái* in CCSS

To corroborate this effect, the same 15 speakers were divided into high and low users of *cachái*, and a Fisher’s Exact Test was conducted to compare the effect of use of *cachái* on the rates of *tuteo* and *voseo* across these two groups. Speakers for whom *cachái* accounted

for more than the overall mean of *cachái* as a proportion of their 2sg tokens (23%) were classified as High (N=8) and those with less than 23% *cachái* were classified as Low users (N=7). This breakdown is illustrated in Figure 27 below with Low users in blue and High users in orange. The overall mean proportion of *cachái* as a proportion of 2sg tokens is indicated by the red dotted line.

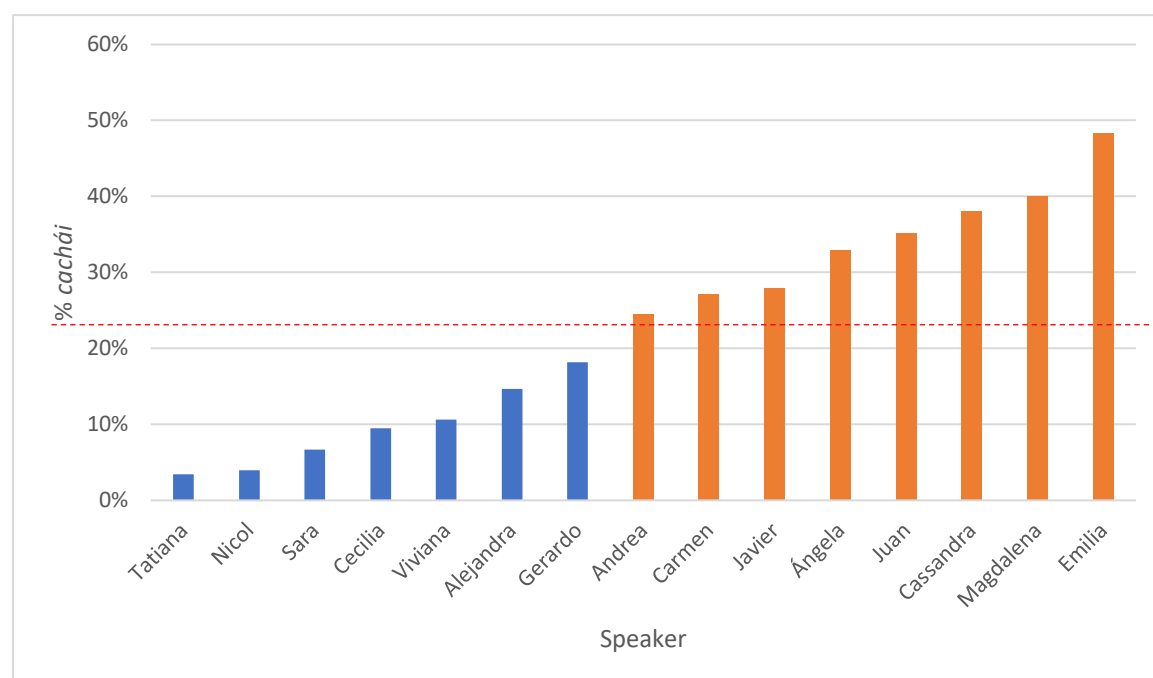


Figure 27: Breakdown of Speakers into High and Low *cachái* Users in CCSS

Figure 28 shows the resulting rates of *tuteo* and *voseo* for the two groups. The effect was found to be statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$); speakers in the High *cachái*-using group ($>23\%$ *cachái*) used 85% *voseo* (N=491 including *cachái*) versus just 70% *voseo* (N=310 including *cachái*) in the Low *cachái* group ($<23\%$ *cachái*). To rule out the possibility of this being an age effect (as all eight speakers in the High *cachái* group are ≤ 35), the analyses were repeated just for speakers ≤ 35 , with a 30% *cachái* cut off (the mean proportion for ≤ 35 s). Again, High *cachái* users used a statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$) higher rate of *voseo*: 95% *voseo* (five speakers; 225 tokens including *cachái*) versus 72% *voseo* amongst the Low *cachái* group (four speakers; 291 tokens including *cachái*).

Rate of *cachái* was not included in the statistical model because it interacted with Previous Realisation, perhaps unsurprisingly given that a previous *cachái* in the preceding environment was found to favour a subsequent *voseo* form (see 7.5.1, above). Even so, these analyses do show, fairly convincingly, that speakers who use more *cachái* (as a proportion of

their 2sg tokens) also use higher rates of *voseo*, consistent with the entrenchment hypothesis, and further evidence for the proposal that *cachái* may have promoted this change.

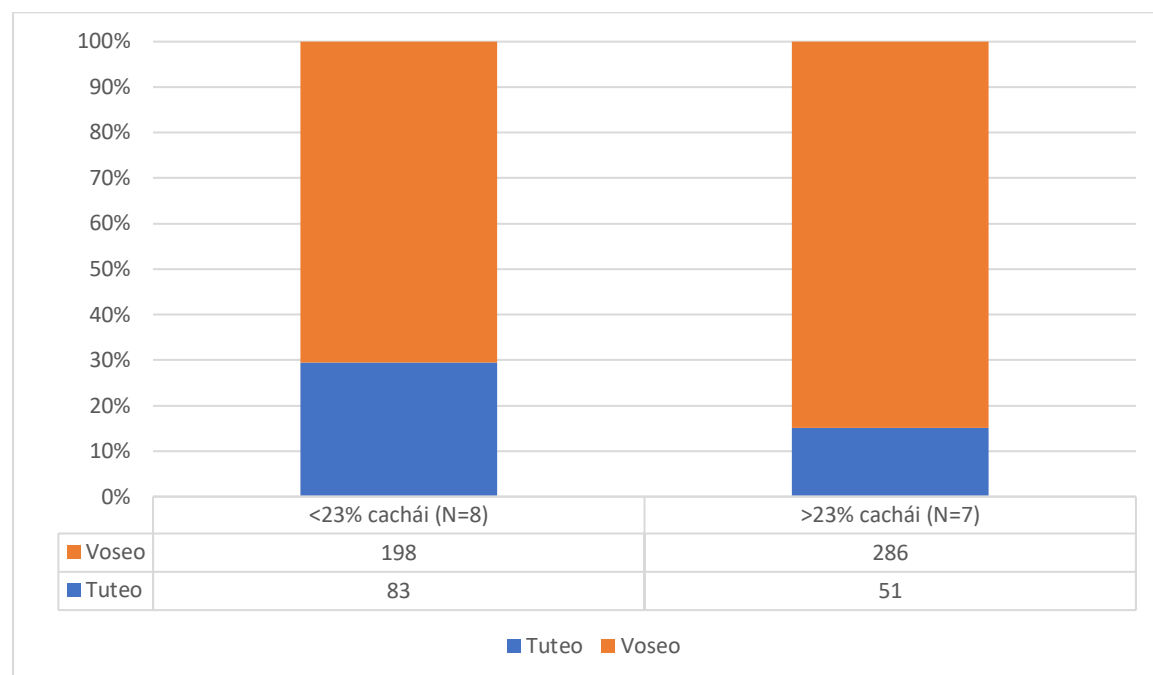


Figure 28: Rate of tuteo/voseo for High and Low Users of *cachái* (<23% *cachái*) in CCSS

7.7. Speaker Effects

Figure 29 shows the number of tokens and proportion of each variant for each of the 36 speakers in the CCSS. Only two speakers have fewer than 10 tokens. There are a number of points to highlight. Firstly, there is a wide range in terms of the number of tokens produced by each speaker, and some speakers produce relatively few tokens: from 91 by Carmen to just four by Amanda (50% *tuteo*). This is a natural consequence of spontaneous (compared to experimental) data. Figure 30, below, shows the relationship between total number of IUs produced per speaker and the corresponding number of variable (*tuteo and voseo*) tokens. Each dot represents a single speaker in the CCSS, with their total number of IUs on the x-axis, and variable tokens on the y-axis. As might be expected, there is a positive correlation, but also a reasonable amount of variability.

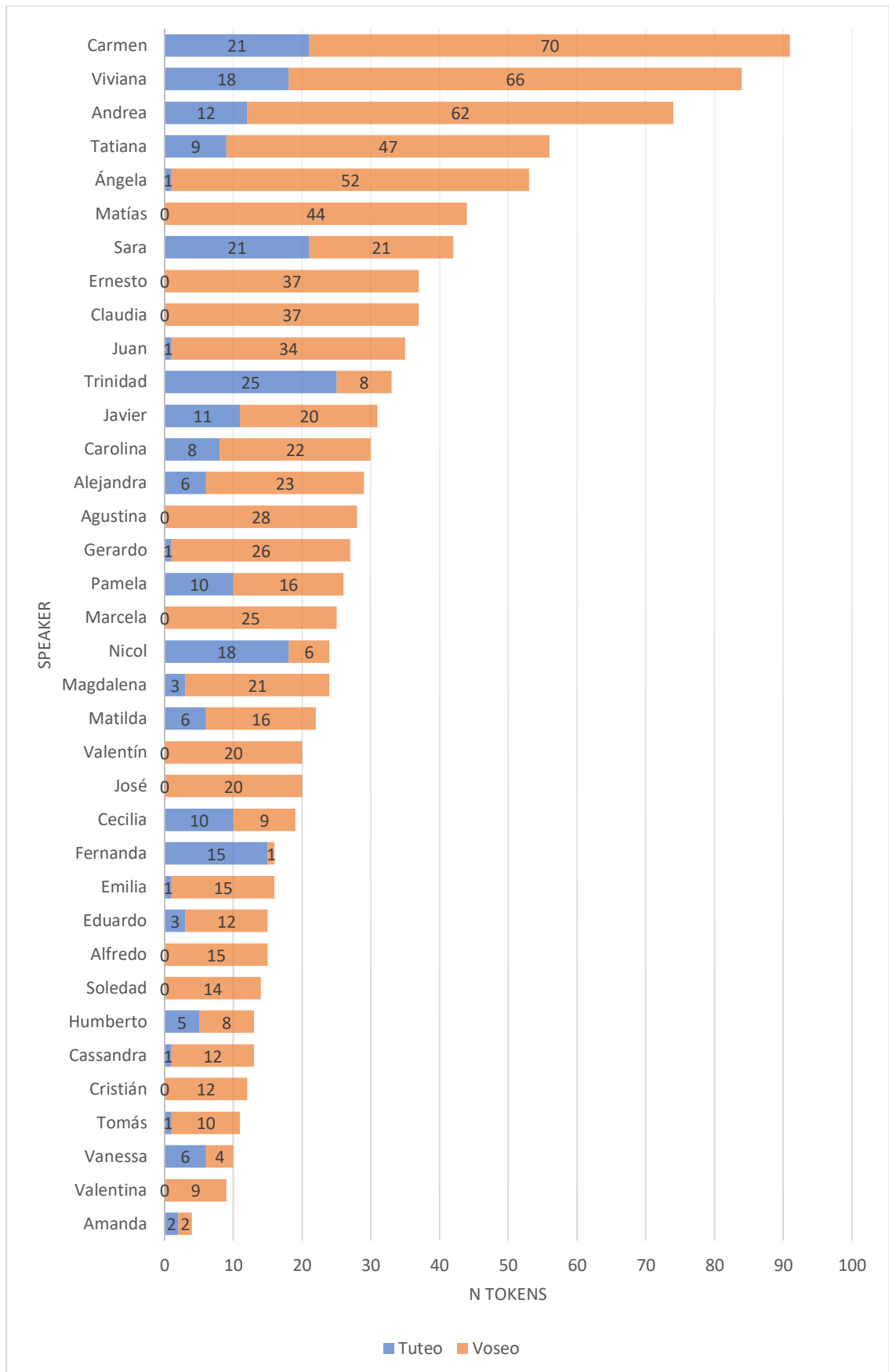


Figure 29: Number and Proportion of tuteo and voseo per Speaker in CCSS

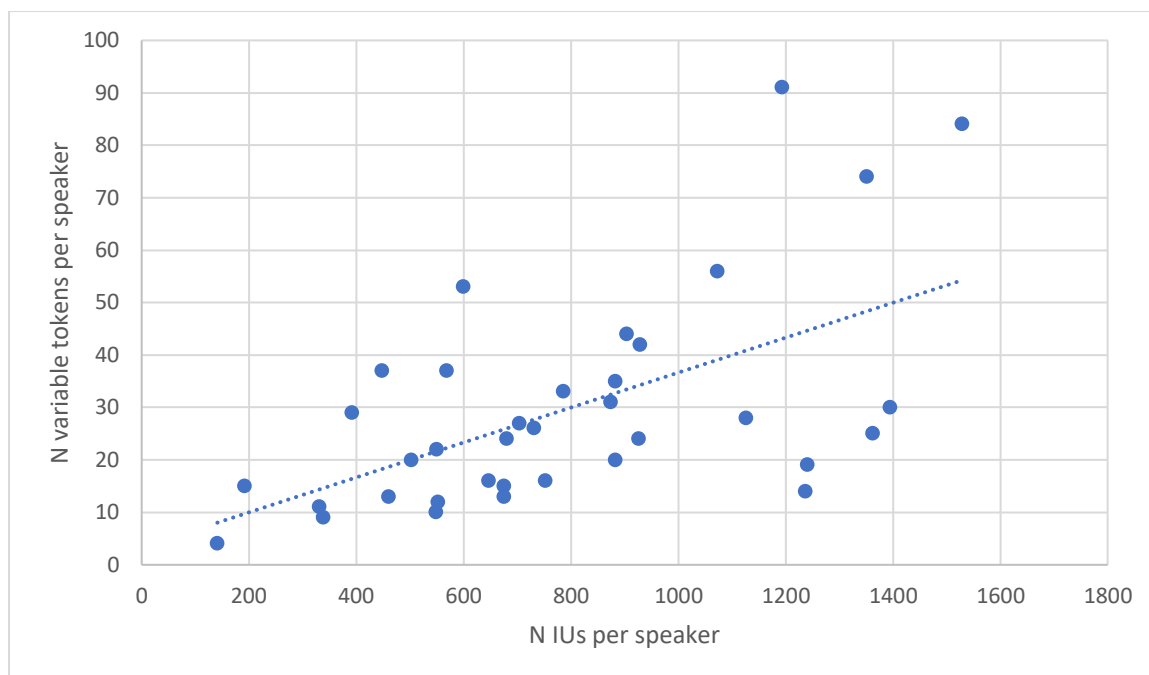


Figure 30: Correlation between Number of IUs and Number of Variable Tokens Produced per Speaker in CCSS

Only five speakers produced more than 50 tokens (approximately equivalent to 5% of the data set), meaning that no one speaker is likely to outweigh all the others, and all of them (with >50 tokens) except Angela show robust variation. While it is common to run speaker as a random effect in some variationist studies (using mixed effects models), given the low token numbers for many speakers in this data set, this is not really plausible in this case.

Secondly, there are 11 speakers (Agustina, Alfredo, Claudia, Cristian, Ernesto, Jose, Marcela, Matias, Soledad, Valentin and Valentina) for whom variability does not emerge in the available data (100% *voseo*), while there are no speakers who only use *tuteo* in the collected data.

The low token numbers for some of the speakers could well account for the fact that some speakers in the data set do not display variability: six of the 11 speakers who show no variation produce 20 or fewer tokens. Nonetheless these 11 speakers as a group account for nearly a quarter of the data (261 tokens). One criticism that could be levelled at these analyses is that these speakers could skew the results, as speakers do not truly have a choice if they show no variation. However, we know that there is variation in the community, so it is an open question as to whether these speakers are truly invariable, or whether it is a product of the data.

There is no social group without variation. While the majority of tokens produced by speakers who do not exhibit variability in the data are by males (57%; 113/261), there are males who show variation: 133/799 tokens by speakers who *do* show variation are produced by males. Similarly, while the great majority of tokens spoken by speakers who do not show variation are produced by young speakers (238/261), again, there are young speakers who do: 391/799 tokens spoken by variable speakers were produced by young speakers. Even amongst young higher-SEC males, the social group with the highest occurrence of *voseo*, 1/151 tokens is *tuteo*; hardly relevant perhaps, but as Trudgill and Gordon (2006: 240) have said about rhoticism in New Zealand English, “1% rhoticity is nevertheless most definitely rhotic”; any evidence of variation demonstrates the existence of variation.

The question comes down to whether these speakers are anomalies that are not representative of the speech community from which they were drawn, or whether we simply have not recorded enough data from these speakers to capture the variability in their speech. For these analyses, I assume the latter: if we had enough data from these speakers, all of them would show some variation.

Therefore, for the analyses presented above, the speakers for whom variability does not emerge in this data set have been included. While this might seem dubious, this decision was taken following a rigorous analysis of the data: to make sure that these 11 speakers were not skewing the results, the analyses were repeated excluding these speakers. Comparisons were made between each analysis with and without these speakers respectively, comparing significance, relative strength of effect and hierarchy of constraints. Furthermore, the distributions of contexts in the data were also analysed comparing variable speakers and speakers without variability in the data to see if uneven contextual distributions might explain the lack of evidence of variability for some speakers compared with others. The results are presented below.

Firstly, the multivariate analyses were run excluding the speakers for whom variability was not evident in the data set. Once these speakers were excluded from the analysis, the number of tokens dropped by nearly a quarter from 1059 to 799 and the rate of *tuteo* climbed to 27% (i.e. the rate of *voseo* dropped from 80% to 73%). However, for all analyses reported above, when excluding these 11 speakers:

1. the same factor groups remained significant and the non-significant factor groups remained non-significant as in the analyses of all speakers.
2. Age remained the most important social factor and Previous Realisation remained the most important linguistic factor. There was some reordering of the intermediate factor groups (i.e. by range) in some analyses, but this can largely be explained through changes in the distribution of the data with fewer tokens and, in any case, these factor groups clustered together in both sets of analyses.
3. The direction of effect was the same in both sets of analyses.

There were some discrepancies between the ordering of the factor weights and the corresponding percentages for each factor (not the case for the analyses including all speakers) although these were minimal and likely due to the lower numbers of tokens in these analyses. In fact, these inconsistencies were limited to two linguistic factors, Discourse Type and Morphological Class which are not related to social factors, and actually strengthen the case for including the speakers for whom variability was not evident in the data set.

7.7.1. No Evidence of Variability: Contextual Distributions and Linguistic Conditioning

In spontaneous data, such ‘non-variable’ speakers can, in fact, help us understand the linguistic conditioning, especially if they are not really non-variable. That is, rather than being categorical *voseo* users, I will argue that their high rate of *voseo* in these recordings is a direct consequence of the contextual distribution of the linguistic conditioning in the data – or in the words of Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2018: 8 cf. Poplack 1997), “because of the fortuitous preponderance or dearth of some very propitious context.” To analyse this further, the distribution of the data within each factor group was compared for variable speakers and speakers for whom variability was not evident in these data.

For social factors, as you would expect, the majority of the speakers for whom variability is not evident are young (9/11), male (6/11) and higher-SEC (6/11), all social groups in which *voseo* is favoured. However, the results of these analyses for linguistic factors are much more revealing. Figure 31 shows the distribution of the different types of Discourse Type for speakers who show variability (on the left) and speakers who show no variability (on the right). It is immediately clear, looking at these two columns, that for speakers who show no variability in the data, there is a much lower proportion of specific uses (in blue) (i.e. referring to the interlocutor directly) – a context which disfavors *voseo* – and a much higher proportion of generic uses (in orange) – a context which favours *voseo*. There is also a greater

proportion of reported speech uses, also a context which favours *voseo* for younger speakers (of which nine of the 11 are non-variable in the available data).

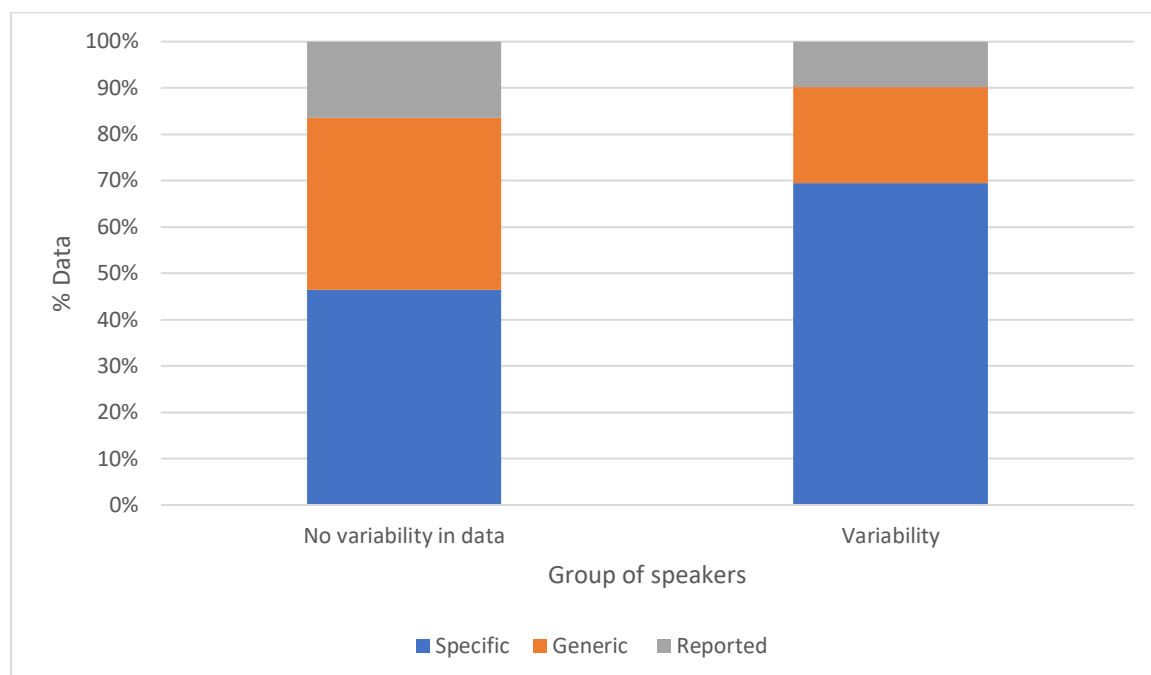


Figure 31: Distribution of Discourse Type for Variable Speakers versus Speakers who Show No Variability in CCSS

For Morphological Class (see Figure 32), there are higher proportions of both *-AR* and *-IR* verbs amongst speakers for whom variability was not evident in the data set, both contexts which favour *voseo* for <35s – bearing in mind that nine of these 11 speakers are <35. Conversely, there is a lower proportion of *-ER* verbs, a context which favours *tuteo*.

Similarly, Figure 33 shows the distribution of Clause Types, for non-variable speakers. There is a higher proportion of questions, a context which favours *voseo*, and fewer subordinate clauses, a context which disfavours *voseo*. The proportion of main clauses, perhaps unsurprisingly, is almost identical for the two groups of speakers: 50% (91/183) for non-variable speakers and 46% (259/565) for variable speakers.

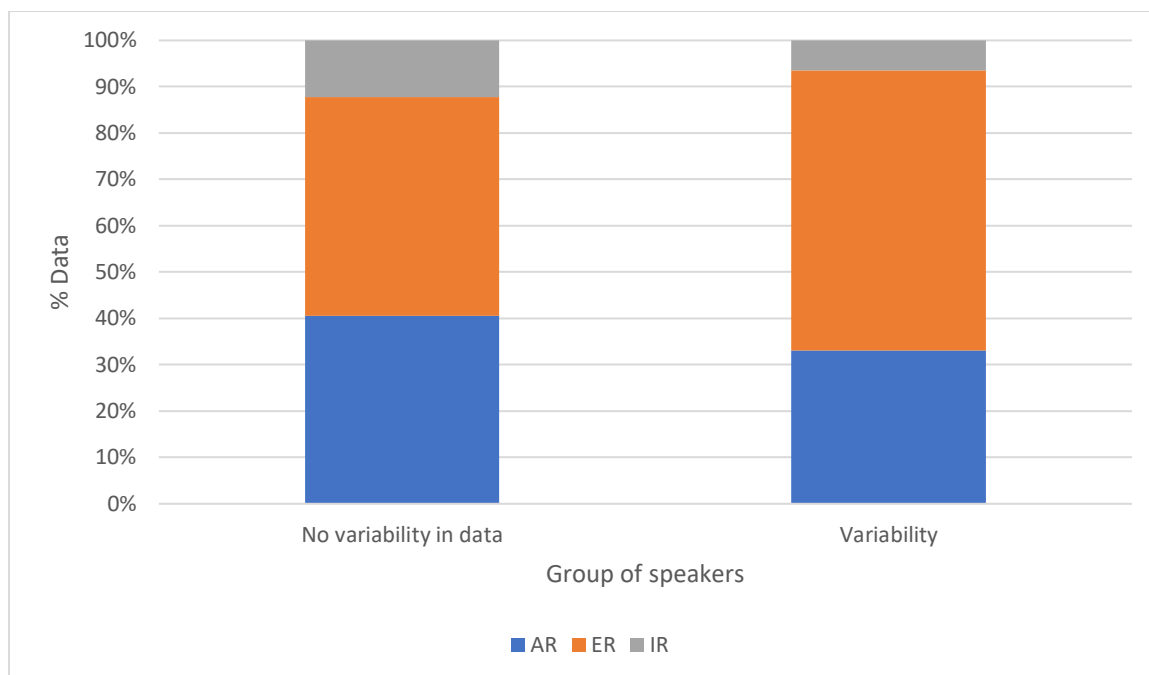


Figure 32: Distribution of Morphological Class for Variable Speakers versus Speakers who Show No Variability in CCSS

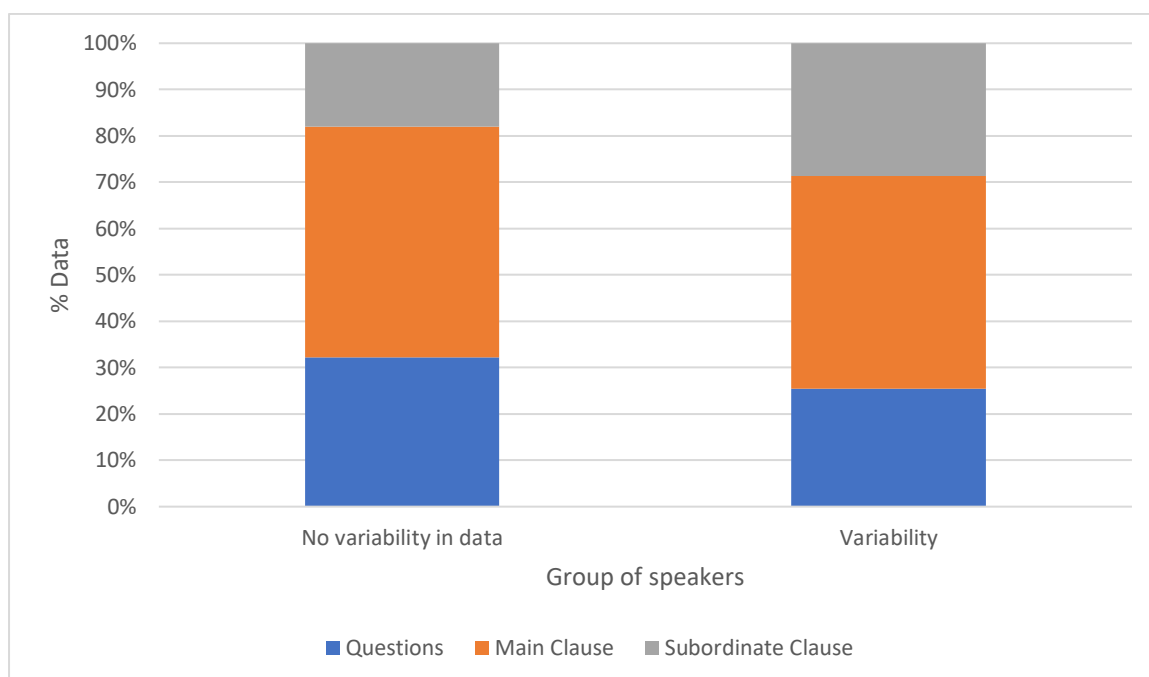


Figure 33: Distribution of Clause Type for Variable Speakers versus Speakers who Show No Variability in CCSS

Finally, for Previous Realisation, it is immediately telling in Figure 34 that there are no tokens with a previous *tuteo* for non-variable speakers. Clearly, there is no opportunity for being primed by a form if there are no contexts in which that form occurs. Given the strength of the Previous Realisation effect, especially with a previous *tuteo*, the complete absence of previous *tuteo* for these 11 speakers is meaningful. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the proportion of contexts in which there was no preceding 2sg form within five IUs is almost

identical for the two groups, indicating that the opportunity for priming is the same; it is just the variants by which a speaker can be primed that differ.

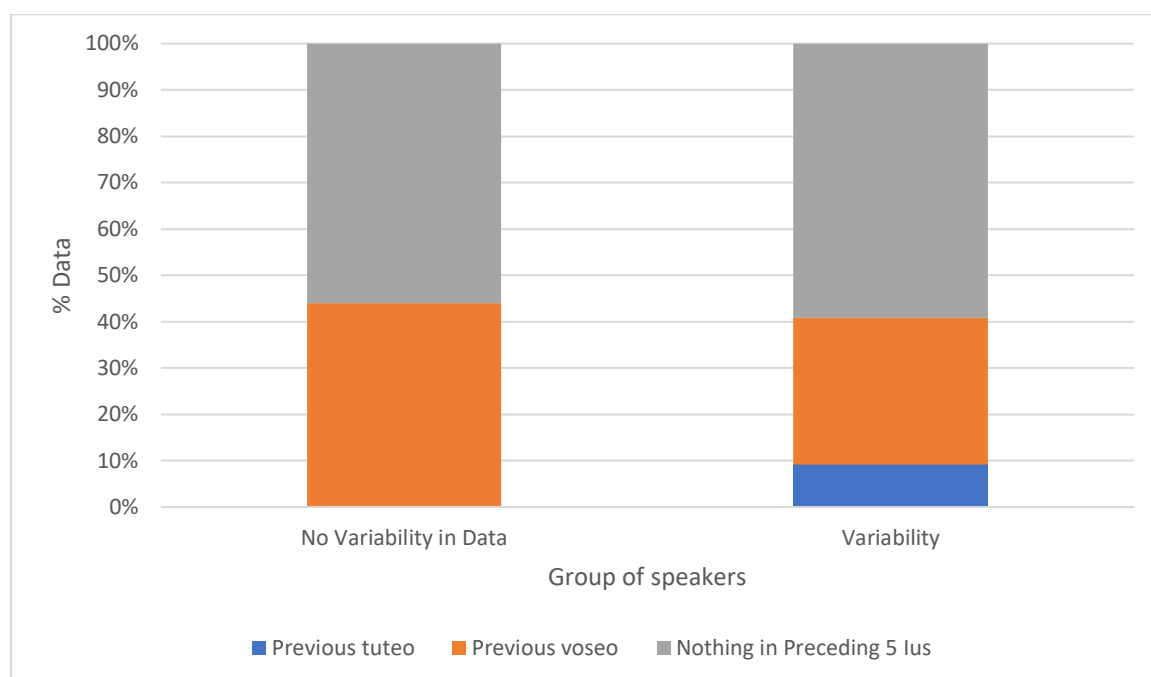


Figure 34: Distribution of Previous Realisation for Variable Speakers versus Speakers who Show No Variability in CCSs

In other words, for the seemingly categorical speakers, there is a compelling case to be made that the reason why they do not show evidence of variability in these data could simply be due to the nature of the discourse situations in which their data were collected, which resulted in fewer contexts where *tuteo* might be likely to occur. This fact is especially relevant given the strong priming effect for *tuteo*. These analyses, as well as going some way to justifying the inclusion of apparently categorical speakers, highlight the importance of analysing the contextual distribution of spontaneous data.

7.7.2. Interlocutor

One of the suggested explanations in the literature for the variability between *tuteo* and *voseo* in Chilean Spanish is social deixis; i.e. that it is used differentially depending on the interlocutor (e.g. Hummel, 2010, Kim, 2006, Stevenson, 2007). While it has also been suggested that there is rampant variability, even in interactions between the same interlocutors, this is worth further investigation.

Unfortunately, as a result of the very design of the corpus which aimed to gather a certain kind of data and to control for the effects of context, interlocutor and style of speech,

there was not enough diversity in the interactions to allow for a rigorous investigation of the effects of interlocutor. Furthermore, it was not practicable to include interlocutor as a factor group in the multivariate analyses. This is just one of the realities of working with spontaneous data. However, it was possible to test the effect of the gender of the interlocutor. After excluding three- or four-party conversations and controlling for SEC and age, as discussed in 6.4.3, we were left with 10 dyads with which we could test, tentatively, the effect of interlocutor gender: two between male interlocutors, five between female interlocutors and three mixed-gender interactions.

Figure 35, below, shows the rates of *tuteo* and *voseo* in the three types of interaction. It is clear that the highest rate of *voseo* is in interactions between male speakers (99%), while the lowest rate of *voseo* are in female only interactions (84%). The rate of *voseo* in mixed gender interactions (i.e. to an interlocutor of the opposite gender) is somewhere in between (87%). This would seem to suggest that the gender of the interlocutor affects the use of *voseo*, but what is less clear is whether this is true for both males and females, warranting further investigation.

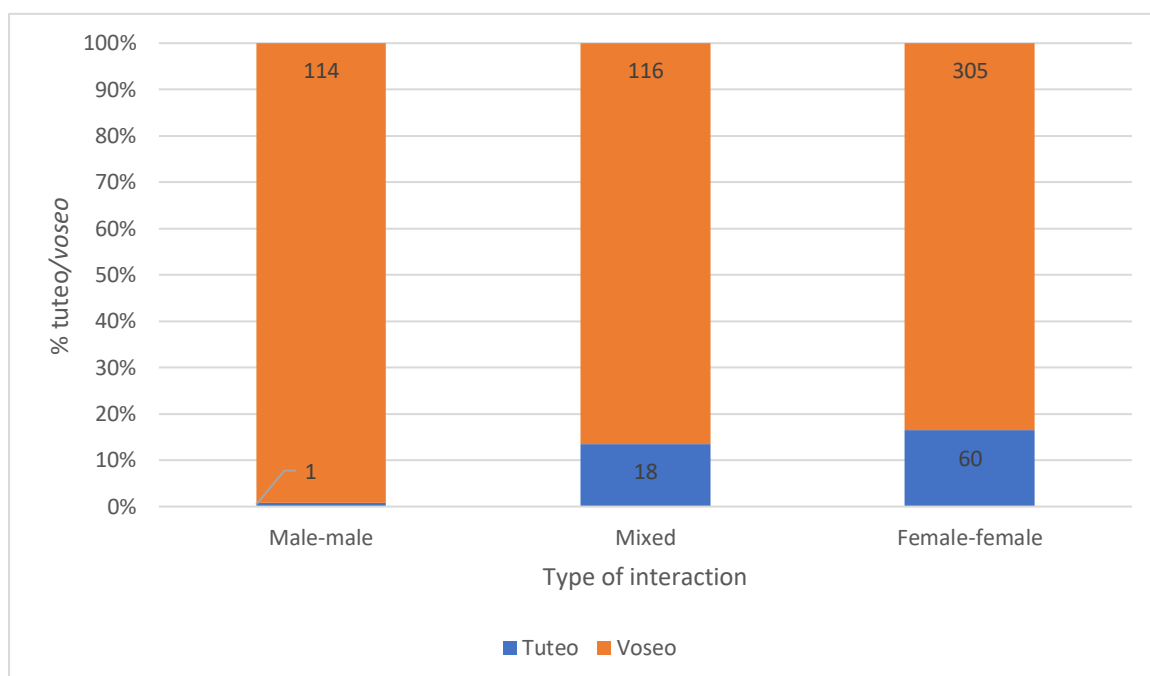


Figure 35: Rates of *tuteo*/*voseo* in Same and Mixed Gender Interactions in CCSS

There are three mixed gender interactions; i.e. there are three males that speak to female interlocutors (54 tokens), and three females that speak to male interlocutors (81 tokens). The rates of *voseo* for Tomás, Cristián and Javier, and Soledad, Claudia and Alejandra

(females to males), respectively, were binned together and compared with the single-gender interactions in Figure 35 to test the effect of the gender of the interlocutor on use of *voseo* for both male and female speakers.

The intersecting lines in Figure 36, below, suggest an effect for interlocutor gender on the use of the 2sg. When compared with interlocutors of their same gender, male speakers (the blue line) reduce their rate of *voseo* when speaking to females, to an even lower rate than female speakers speaking to either gender; females, however, show no effect for the gender of the interlocutor (seen by the flat orange line). Fisher's Exact Tests reveal these results to be statistically significant for male speakers ($p < 0.0001$) while, conversely, there is no significant effect for female speakers.

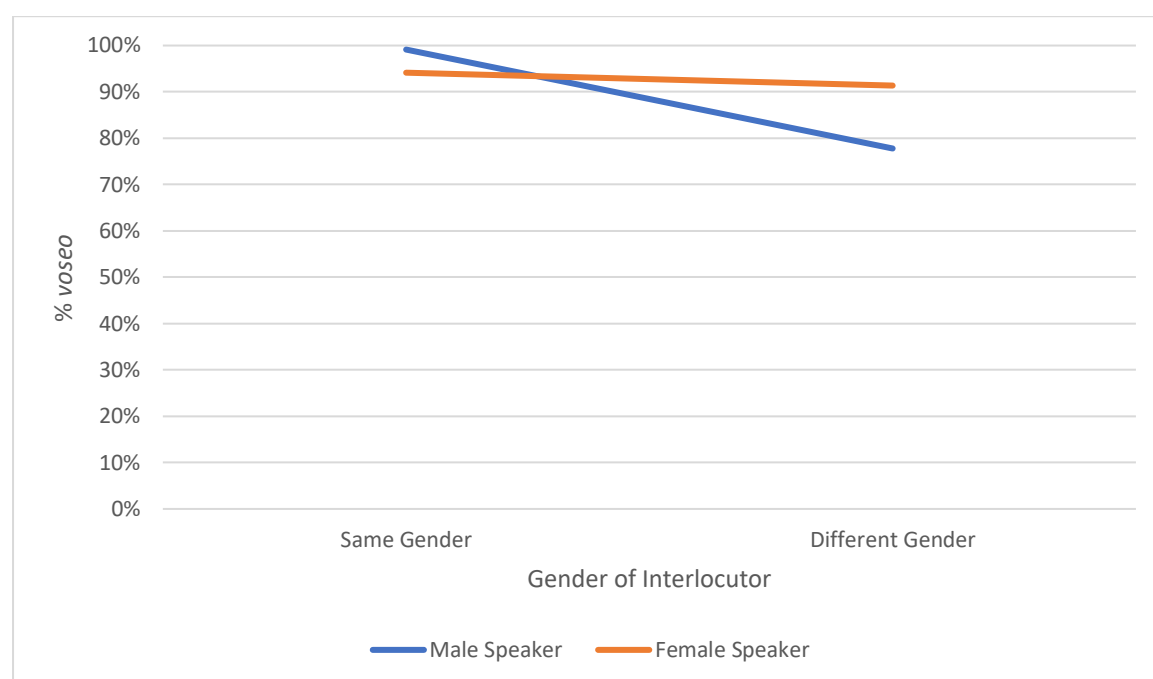


Figure 36: Rate of *voseo* for Male and Female Speakers by Gender of Interlocutor in CCSS

The effect for males who adapt their rates of use towards the rate of their interlocutor is entirely consistent with 'speech accommodation theory' (Giles et al., 1991), whereby speakers converge (adopt similar styles of speaking) towards their interlocutors to reduce social distance and diverge (adopt different styles) to distinguish themselves or increase social distance (Mesthrie et al., 2009: 150-1). However, the fact that females do not adjust their rates is interesting, as it suggests they are unaffected by the gender of the person they are speaking to.

While they do not reduce their rate of *voseo* with males, the fact that they do not increase it either is not inconsistent with Bishop and Michnowicz's (2010: 421) claim that use of *voseo* "by a woman to a man may imply too much intimacy". Furthermore, the cursory analyses presented here are consistent with other reports in the literature (Helincks, 2012: 14), suggesting that males decrease their use of *voseo* with female interlocutors, favouring a 'distancing' *tuteo* as a form of 'gallantry' between the sexes.

A further point is that this accommodation effect could well be linked to the priming effect: males use more *voseo* and females use less, and when they speak to each other they prime each other respectively leading to a converging tendency. The fact that *tuteo*, as the obsolescing form (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017), exerts a much stronger effect than *voseo* (see Previous Realisation), is also consistent with the effect on males (primed by females who use higher rates of *tuteo*) and not females (primed by males who use higher rates of *voseo*). However, low token numbers for interlocutor priming mean that the link between interlocutor gender and priming will remain an open question for future studies.

These results should be taken in the spirit that they are intended: as suggestive rather than conclusive. They only include a few speakers, and the analyses only look at a single variable (gender) while keeping SEC and age constant. Future investigations with a larger sample and a wide spread of types of interactions should be conducted to better address the question of interlocutor, which is clearly an important one for understanding the Chilean *voseo*.

7.8. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of a series of analyses of two corpora and the implications of these results for answering the key questions motivating this thesis. I began by presenting the results from the *Habla culta* corpus which showed, albeit with some reservation, that *voseo* was rarely used in the early 1970s in educated speech. Having established change in real time evident through the existence of robust variation in the contemporary data of the CCSS, I then proceeded to present the results of two sets of multivariate analyses of these data, looking at the social and linguistic conditioning of *tuteo*, first independently, and then together. Looking just at social factors in the first analysis, the

strong effect for Age – with a gradually increasing rate of *voseo* by generation – was the motivation for splitting the sample into two age groups for the second, which conducted two identical analyses comparing the constraints governing the variable grammars of older and younger speakers. Differences in the constraints between the two generations was used as evidence of fine-grained grammatical change.

The results for each factor group were then presented one by one referring to all relevant analyses. In some cases, there was evidence of continued shared constraints (Previous Realisation, Subject Expression and Clause Type); in others, there was weakening (Gender) and loss (Discourse Type), and even reversal of constraints, in the form of a different direction of effect (SEC and Morphological Class).

The first shared constraint was Previous Realisation, which was also the most important predictor across all analyses, with a previous occurrence of either *tuteo* or *voseo* strongly favouring a subsequent occurrence of the same form, although this effect was much stronger for *tuteo* than *voseo*. This priming effect was stronger for younger speakers (for whom *tuteo* was less frequent overall) and was found to be robust regardless of speakers' baseline rates.

Subject Expression was also significant across the two age groups, with an overt *tu* pronoun favouring *tuteo*; or disfavouring mixing with *voseo* (relatively). The robustness of this constraint amidst a change in progress is striking and further evidence of speaker sensitivity to the paradigms.

Clause Type, too, continued to be a significant predictor for younger as well as older speakers with subordinate clauses favouring and questions disfavouring *tuteo*, although perhaps even more strongly for ≤ 35 s where questions strongly disfavoured *tuteo*. A continued “conservative” subordinate clause effect (Bybee, 2002) echoed in the results for TAM (disfavouring the incoming *voseo* variant) was proposed as yet more evidence that the change is yet to ‘go to completion’.

Although Gender was significant for both age groups, with *tuteo* favoured by women, the Gender effect was weaker for younger speakers), especially in the higher-SEC; and while SEC was not significant for all speakers combined, when the sample was split into two age

groups, *tuteo* was favoured by older higher-SEC speakers, but disfavoured by young higher-SEC speakers, indicating a reversal of constraints.

For Discourse Type, generic speech (that is, utterances not directed at a specific interlocutor) disfavoured *tuteo* for older speakers, and so, it was argued, permitted greater freedom to use *voseo* where it might be considered rude in other contexts. For younger speakers, this constraint has been lost; i.e. generic speech no longer has any effect on use of *voseo* which is evenly distributed across all types of discourse. Reported speech is used differentially, favouring *tuteo* for older speakers for whom it is more prevalent than for younger speakers.

Morphological Class also appeared to show a reversal of constraints, whereby a context which favours *tuteo* for older speakers, -AR verbs, disfavours *tuteo* for younger speakers. However, the analyses of Frequency Effects revealed a number of lexically particular constructions which explained the significant result for Morphological Class. Similarly, the discussion of speakers for whom variability does not appear in the data set (see 7.7.1) shows the importance of looking at data distribution in spontaneous discourse data to avoid wrongly interpreting significant results when they are merely the product of 'fortuitous' distributions of data.

The following chapter will discuss these results and draw conclusions regarding the three main themes driving these analyses, as well as summarising the main contributions of the thesis and areas for future research.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

In the 1970s data, *tuteo* accounted for 99.7% of 2sg tokens in the data set. In the 2010s, *tuteo* has been overrun by *voseo*, which now accounts for over 80% of the data. How has this change happened? Is *voseo* still stigmatised? Are Chilean Spanish speakers able to separate the two paradigms, or have they become conflated through mixing and “*invisibilización*” (‘invisibilisation’) (Huerta Imposti, 2011-2012: 54) as a result of stigmatisation?

This chapter will draw all of the strings of this thesis together into a coherent narrative to address these questions. It will begin with a summary of the main points from each chapter to explain how they culminate in the results in Chapter 7, and the discussion that is to follow. The following section will discuss the results from the previous chapter in the context of the three main interconnected themes identified in Chapter 2: language change, metalinguistic awareness and stigmatisation. Then I will highlight the main contributions of the present study as well as the areas that require further investigation, and finally suggest some of the practical implications of these results.

8.2. Summary of Thesis

This thesis set out to examine a number of oft-repeated but seldom tested claims about a reported change in progress in the 2sg system in Chilean Spanish. To do this, I designed and carried out a project to record a corpus of spontaneous naturally-occurring unmediated conversations by a sample of speakers from Santiago de Chile, stratified by age, SEC and gender. Then I analysed this statistically to provide a quantitative and usage-based account of the contemporary Chilean *voseo*, and gain insights into how language change occurs and how innovations can spread through linguistic systems.

However, before launching into a discussion of the results and the contributions of this thesis, now is an appropriate time to pause and look back at the previous chapters and contemplate how they have led to this point.

The introductory chapter provided an overview of the structure and principal concerns of the thesis introducing the variable under study – the Chilean *voseo* – and contextualising it within the Variationist Method, the theoretical framework and methodology used in this study. Using variationist terminology, the Chilean 2sg was established as a linguistic variable; that is *tuteo* and *voseo* can be seen as essentially two ways of saying the same thing and the selection of one or the other is conditioned by the social and linguistic context in which they are used – a key insight in the analysis of the Chilean *voseo* upon which much of the subsequent argumentation has hinged.

Chapter 2 delved deeper into the history and contemporary situation of the 2sg in Spanish, and the Chilean *voseo* in particular, identifying three main interconnected themes (and a series of related research questions) concerning the Chilean 2sg; namely, language change, stigmatisation and (lack of) metalinguistic awareness.

Numerous scholars have reported a **change** in progress affecting the Chilean 2sg system, whereby *voseo* verb forms, typically associated with rural and working-class speech, have gained ground at the expense of *tuteo* in the speech of young people from across the social spectrum. However, despite much-repeated previous assertions of linguistic change in the Chilean 2sg system, they have been based largely on anecdotal or questionnaire data. Until recently, there has been little quantitative evidence of real usage to corroborate them, and enormous variability in the methods used and, consequently, the results obtained. Thus, the first theme and set of research questions sought to ascertain how advanced the change is, and how it might have spread through the system.

The second related but separate question concerns the long history of claims of reported **stigmatisation** of the *voseo*. While this is often taken for granted, the literature is unclear about whether this relates to the pronoun, the verb forms, or both; and there are suggestions that the sociolinguistic evaluation of *voseo* also may be changing in tandem with the reported change in usage. The situation is complicated further by the mixing of the

paradigms – the so-called mixed *voseo*. Therefore, the second theme and associated research questions ask whether the Chilean *voseo* is still stigmatised, whether any stigmatisation is equally associated with the *vos* pronoun or the *voseo* verb forms and whether there is evidence of change in their sociolinguistic evaluation over time.

The third interrelated theme, (lack of) **metalinguistic awareness**, is motivated by the disconnect between reported and actual rates of use. It is evident in reported rates in survey data, and responses to attitudinal studies in the literature, that Chileans demonstrate limited explicit metalinguistic knowledge about *voseo*. They routinely underreport their own use in surveys, or deny using it outright; they associate *voseo* only with the *vos* pronoun and not the verb forms, often considering them to be *tuteo* when used with the *tú* pronoun, or simply to be lexical items rather than part of a morphological paradigm; they do not know what it is at all, or even that it is used in Chile, associating it instead with Argentina. Given the complex context of language change and stigmatisation, the third theme (metalinguistic awareness) probes whether Chilean Spanish speakers are able to separate *tuteo* and *voseo* as two separate paradigms in their internal grammars, or whether, as a result of long-term mixing, they are no longer analysable as separate paradigms, having become conflated into a single 2sg paradigm.

Having established the three key themes motivating the thesis, I described in Chapter 3 the strengths of the Variationist (Comparative) Method for this particular study. Firstly, the variation between *tuteo* and *voseo* is a clear case of a linguistic variable and had been described as such in the literature; indeed, there had been a call in the literature for precisely this kind of study. Secondly, there were reports of a change in progress as well as social stratification of *voseo*, and the Variationist Method offered a means of tracking change over time and looking at both the social and linguistic conditioning. I explained the benefits of cross-group comparisons of the social and linguistic conditioning and how they can contribute to our understanding of fine-grained linguistic change; and some general predictions regarding language variation and stigmatisation were generated from the long tradition of research in the variationist tradition. Finally, I presented two complementary concepts from usage-based linguistics – frequency and syntactic priming – which would be used to shed light on the questions of speaker awareness and how innovations spread through the linguistic system.

Chapter 4 outlined the concrete methods used in the collection of data for the present study. I presented the results of a pilot study which revealed the greater suitability of what I labelled ‘conversational’ data rather than sociolinguistic interviews for the present study, given the more even distribution of data and the possibility of inclusion of all parties in the interaction (i.e. there is no interviewer whose data might need to be excluded). The important contribution of using spontaneous, conversational data (rather than survey or interview data) was emphasised given the stigmatised nature of the *voseo* in Chile. Other characteristics of the data included the sampling method starting from within my own social network, the use of in-group research assistants, collection of detailed demographic data and stratification of the sample by age, gender and SEC, and how these, particularly the latter, were divided (using an index of education and *comuna*). The use of a time-aligned transcription method segmented into intonation units allowed for objective division of the discourse into meaningful chunks, which were also used as a measure of distance for the analyses of priming. Additionally, the use of a second, previously unanalysed, corpus from the 1970s allowed for a real-time comparison to be conducted between the two time periods, marking another key distinction of the present study.

Chapter 5 moved onto the results. A first step was to define the linguistic variable and to delineate the variable context, i.e. to determine what to count and what not to count in relation to the Chilean 2sg. This was another key contribution of the thesis, both in terms of validity and comparability, as it has been done inconsistently in previous studies. The first step was to define two linguistic variables, following Stevenson (2007), by separating the subject pronouns and verbal morphology (although insufficient tokens of *vos* pronouns meant I only analyse the latter). I also excluded the ‘polite’ *ustedeo* forms due to their clearly different pragmatic and contextual characteristics and the fact that they are not conditioned by the same factors as *tuteo* and *voseo*. Then I identified and excluded syncretic tense forms (the imperative and the preterit) and the highly frequent non-variable discourse marker *cachái* – all or some of which have been typically included in the rates reported in previous studies.

While Chapter 2 described the main claims made about the Chilean *voseo*, which in turn motivated the research questions driving this thesis, it did not identify how actually to test these claims. Chapter 6 identified a number of relevant factor groups and operationalised

a series of hypotheses about the social and linguistic conditioning of the Chilean 2sg which would be tested in the analyses in Chapter 7. These were selected based upon the previous literature on the 2sg in Chile and elsewhere, as well as their ability to address the three main themes at the heart of the thesis. Primarily, in terms of testing the reported change, I hypothesised an increasing rate of use of *voseo* in apparent time (i.e. by generation) in the contemporary corpus and an absolute increase in real time between the two corpora, with *voseo* also being favoured by men and lower socio-economic classes (SECs). Additionally, I hypothesised that, if a change had occurred in the grammar, this would also be reflected in a change in constraints between older and younger speakers.

To investigate the question of how this change may have moved through the linguistic system, I hypothesised that the highly frequent invariable discourse marker *cachái* may have played a role and that if it had, following De Smet (2016), not only would users with high rates of *cachái* use more *voseo* overall than speakers with low rates of *cachái* (the 'entrenchment hypothesis') but that a *cachái* in the discourse would favour the occurrence of subsequent tokens of other *voseo* forms as a form of 'localised entrenchment'.

Perhaps more importantly, I generated a number of hypotheses related to testing the more complex claims of stigmatisation and metalinguistic awareness. Regarding the former, I predicted that the *vos* pronoun would be more stigmatised than the verb forms, and that there would be weakening of the Gender and SEC constraints amongst the younger group as indicators of decreasing stigmatisation; if *voseo* is losing its stigma, we would expect that it would no longer be avoided (relatively) by women and the higher SECs (with whom prestige forms are typically associated).

Finally, in order to probe the questions of metalinguistic awareness – whether speakers separate the respective *tuteo* and *voseo* forms in their internal grammars – I hypothesised that an effect for priming (Previous Realisation) and overt subject pronoun expression would be evidence for speaker sensitivity to the different paradigms, as measures of speaker associations between forms. I also hypothesised – if the pronouns are more salient in speakers' minds than the verb forms, as suggested in the literature – that the presence of an overt pronoun would exert a stronger effect than the form of the previous 2sg verb in the discourse.

Chapter 7, then, reported the results of the analyses proposed in Chapter 6, conducting a real time analysis between the 1970s *Habla culta* and the contemporary Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (CCSS) and a comparative apparent time analysis of the CCSS involving three multivariate analyses. The almost categorical use of *tuteo* in the 1970s contrasted strongly with the rampant variability in the 2010s data, providing compelling evidence for a process of change. The apparent time results, similarly, showed an increasing rate of use of *voseo* by generation and changes in both the social and linguistic conditioning between younger and older speakers, further indicating a process of change.

To answer the remaining research questions requires a nuanced examination of various different analyses and strands of evidence. This final chapter will discuss the interpretation of these results and bring the various threads of evidence and argumentation together to draw some conclusions about the main themes at the heart of the thesis.

8.3. Language Change

The first main theme addressed the reported change in progress: how advanced the change is, and how it might have spread through the system. There is considerable evidence that significant grammatical change has occurred, in both real and apparent time – at least in informal discourse between familiar interlocutors with symmetrical relationships in Santiago. This evidence takes several main forms: not only is there a significant change in the rate of *tuteo* (and, thus, *voseo*) in both real and apparent time, but there are also changes in the linguistic conditioning. Furthermore, these changes include changes in the grammar: a weakening of some constraints, and a reversal of others. Thus, the resulting system in use by young people today is markedly distinct from that used in previous generations.

There is a major shift in rates of use between the different age groups. The apparent time interpretation of the lesser use of *tuteo* (or, more *voseo*) by younger relative to older speakers is also borne out in real time when comparing the rates of use of younger speakers (≤ 35 s) today with younger speakers in the 1970s, as well as those of older speakers (> 55 s) with their contemporaries in the 1970s (who were ≤ 35 s when they were recorded). It is also pertinent at this point to return to the definition of the age groups in Chapter 4. The corpus was broken down into age brackets based upon when speakers' linguistic development

happened relative to Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) in order to test, indirectly at least, claims of a correlation between social change and linguistic change. Specifically, the increase in (mixed) *voseo* had been hypothesised to be linked to the breaking down of social barriers in Chilean society (cf. Torrejón, 1986), having begun in the youth of the 1970s before taking off in those speakers who grew up in democratic Chile after the dictatorship. The prediction would be a successively greater use of *voseo* by generation with younger speakers in the corpus using more than the previous generations. While it is not the aim of this thesis to prove causation in this sense, the fact that the increase in rate of use of *voseo* correlates with these so-defined age groups is at least consistent with such a possibility.

As well as changes in rates, the conditioning of the variation is different: there is both weakening and reversal of the constraints across these two age groups. For older speakers (>35s), all factors are significant in conditioning 2sg variants: *tuteo* is favoured by females and higher-SEC speakers; when there is a previous *tuteo* in the preceding environment; in subordinate clauses; in both reported speech and speech directed at specific interlocutors; with an expressed *tú* pronoun; and with -AR verbs. For younger speakers (≤35s), Gender is weakened, Discourse Type ceases to have an effect, Previous Realisation is actually strengthened, and both SEC and Morphological Class show reversal of constraints. We see for Gender that, where males strongly disfavour *tuteo* for >35s, this factor is much less important for younger speakers, for whom there is little difference between the genders, being surpassed by SEC, Clause Type and Morphological Class. Discourse Type, which is a significant factor for older speakers, ceases to be significant for younger speakers; thus, while *tuteo* was favoured in reported speech and to specific interlocutors, this context no longer favours either, showing that the type of discourse is no longer a constraint for young speakers with familiar interlocutors in informal contexts.

There is substantial evidence that the change is considerably advanced. This is evident not just in the high rates of *voseo* overall, but the analysis of gender also reaffirms the advanced stage of this change, although the gender patterns in the current results do not seem to follow any of Labov's principles (see 3.5.3). It has been argued (e.g. Labov, 1990: 205-6, Labov, 2001: 272-79) that in situations of change from above or below, women nearly always lead and that in situations of stable linguistic variation, "women show a lower rate of stigmatised variants [i.e. *voseo*] and a higher rate of prestige variants than men" [i.e. *tuteo*]

(Labov, 2001: 266). However, in the case of the Chilean *voseo*, males would seem to have led the change and the Metalinguistic Awareness results would seem to suggest that *voseo* is above the level of social awareness. According to Labov, changes from above are typically led by women and typically correspond to the “importation of prestige forms from outside the speech community, or the redistribution of forms with known prestige values within the community” (Labov, 2001: 274) (although changes from above led by men are not unattested elsewhere (e.g. Trudgill (1972), Labov (1972a: 303)). While the change in the usage of *voseo* is certainly a redistribution of existing forms with known values in the community, they are not precisely prestigious, at least not overtly so. In this paradox lies a potential explanation of why Chilean *voseo* differs from other types of changes: the change in the usage of *voseo* is simultaneously a change from *above* the level of awareness and socially from *below*. Whether or not men led this particular change (a question we may be unable to answer definitively without data from an earlier period), the higher rates of *voseo* by men than women in the data could certainly suggest that this change is nearing a stage of stable variation.

The late stage in the change is also supported by the priming analyses. While *voseo* primes *voseo* at a significant rate (82% *voseo* for the older generation and 95% *voseo* for the younger), the high rate of *voseo* overall (68% and 88% respectively) means that the strength of the priming effect between *tuteo* and *voseo* is most likely due to the pronounced effect of *tuteo* priming *tuteo* (70% and 64% *tuteo* respectively versus just 32 and 12%, respectively, overall), an effect which is even stronger amongst younger speakers, for whom *tuteo* is even less frequent. This is precisely what we would expect in this type of situation, what Rosemeyer and Schwenter (2017: 5) call an obsolescing process, as one form gradually replaces another: “in obsolescence processes, the obsolescing construction [in this case *tuteo*] will have a stronger persistence [or priming] effect” (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017: 5). While *tuteo* is infrequent in comparison to *voseo*, this dramatic effect may actually be slowing down the progress of the change. In the same way that the frequency of *cachái* may have advanced the change at an earlier stage, at this late stage the strong effect of *tuteo* priming may actually be retaining traditional *tuteo* forms and preventing the innovative *voseo* from completely dominating the 2sg system in Chilean Spanish. The fact that *tuteo*, the ‘obsolescing’ form, exercises such a strong effect is in itself suggestive of the late stage in the process.

Finally, the fact that the innovative form, *voseo*, is more common in the most frequent (and, thus, least marked (Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016: 93, Rivadeneira Valenzuela and Clua, 2011: 690)) TAM and clause types and less common in less frequent (and more marked ones) is consistent with what we might expect in a situation of advanced grammatical change, in line with Bybee's (2002) 'conservative' subordinate clause effect. However, the fact that there is still an effect indicates that there is still variation.

Given the long history of change in the Chilean 2sg (see 2.5.1), from a long-term perspective, the present change can be seen not just as an innovation but also as a sort of revival: *voseo* is not innovative in the strict sense; it is as old as *tuteo*, and indeed change once occurred in the opposite direction. From this perspective, the 'return' of *voseo* to the informal oral language of the youth of Santiago could well be indicative of a certain degree of liberation from oppressive social barriers and the waning influence of education, as hypothesised by some authors (e.g. Morales Pettorino, 1972: 261, Torrejón, 1986). Only time will tell whether *voseo* will move into more domains, registers and formal written language.

Taken together, these analyses provide compelling evidence for an advanced stage of linguistic change and a change in the grammar (that is, changes not just in rates but also in constraints) in informal familiar spoken discourse between equals. The question remains, though, of how this change has moved so quickly through the linguistic system.

8.3.1. Change through the System

While not one of the central themes of this study, how such a significant change can spread through both the linguistic system and the speech community in such a short space of time (just 40 years) is certainly a question of interest to the field of linguistics as a whole, and one which it would be remiss not at least to attempt to investigate.

Previous scholars have discussed the increase in *voseo* in educated speech in terms of increasing solidarity with the working classes, greater social freedoms and the breaking down of social barriers, (e.g. Torrejón, 1986). These claims are intuitively sensible. However, given that the *Habla culta* data from the 1970s does not allow for the analysis of conditioning (due to the absence of variability), and without attitudinal evidence from the 1960s and 70s (which we simply do not have), this is no more than speculation, well-meaning and plausible though

it may be. While the change in social evaluation of *voseo* has clearly been a deciding factor in its spectacular rise, the exact moment in time and social motivation that initiated it may never be known. Nonetheless, once it gained some sort of positive social evaluation, whether covert or otherwise, there was still a long way to go before it came to dominate the 2sg as it largely does today. That is where this thesis is able to contribute some empirical evidence about the linguistic conditioning of the Chilean *voseo*, particularly regarding two linguistic factors often linked to language change: frequency and priming.

The earlier discussions of priming have certainly shed light on one of the mechanisms by which language change can be propagated (as well as restrained, as one form obsolesces). The strong priming effects we see for the 2sg are certainly favourable to a rapid change of this sort. Roughly one in every three tokens have a *voseo* in the preceding environment (N=338, including 48 *cachái*). Even given the high overall rates of *voseo*, these continue to significantly condition the selection of a subsequent *voseo*, and this effect is even stronger for a previous *tuteo* as the obsolescing form (only one in every 16 tokens has an immediately preceding *tuteo*, yet 71% of them are a *tuteo*). If, at an earlier stage in the change when *tuteo* was still the dominant form, *voseo* exerted an effect anywhere near as strong as *tuteo* does now, it certainly would have helped move along this change.

There was some compelling evidence that one lexical item, *cachái*, may have helped promote the change, and there may well have been other lexical items that played a similar (or even an opposite role) at earlier stages in the process. The ebbs and flows in linguistic change can only be captured in a given moment and their trajectories can often only be seen in longitudinal real time data of the kind we simply do not have for the Chilean *voseo*. However, for the given data set, the prevalence of *cachái* is unquestionable (N=361), with more than three times as many tokens as the next variable 2sg construction (*tenís* N=108) and more than twice as many as any other invariant 2sg form (*mira*, N=168). In the *habla culta* data from the early 1970s, *cachái* did not occur.

Given the invariability, frequency and contemporary emergence of *cachái* in tandem with the ‘rise’ of *voseo*, it is a prime contender for having promoted the change. This fact offered an opportunity to investigate how/whether a single lexical item could affect a system-wide grammatical change (cf. Bybee and Torres Cacoullos, 2009). Two hypotheses were

generated (based on De Smet (2016)) to test whether *cachái* could have played a role in the gradual expansion and diffusion of ‘innovative’ *voseo* forms: the first, the ‘entrenchment hypothesis’, hypothesised that speakers who used more *cachái* would be more likely to use more *voseo* overall; the second ‘priming’ hypothesis predicted that if *cachái* had promoted *voseo*, *voseo* forms would be more likely to occur in environments following a preceding token of *cachái*, as a form of localised entrenchment.

The results are inconclusive but not inconsistent with either hypothesis. As we saw in 7.6 for the entrenchment hypothesis, speakers who use higher rates of *cachái* also use higher rates of *voseo*. This result was very robust and was significant even for younger speakers (≤ 35), who show higher rates of *voseo* and *cachái* overall.

Additionally, *cachái* primes other *voseo* forms, meaning that at a local level *cachái* begets other *voseo* forms, lending some support to the priming hypothesis. However, while *cachái* does prime *voseo*, it does not prime *voseo* at a higher rate than any other *voseo* form; i.e. even though it is fossilised, speakers perceive it like any other *voseo* form (see 7.5.1). While the fact that *cachái* does not prime at a higher rate than other *voseo* verbs is not enough to falsify the hypotheses, especially given that the entrenchment hypothesis was confirmed, it does raise some questions that require further discussion.

Use of *cachái* seems to favour use of *voseo*, both locally (via priming) and systematically (via entrenchment), and the fact that speakers seem to associate *cachái* with a *voseo* form suggests that *cachái* is not fully autonomous (Torres Cacoullos, 2015) even as a highly frequent and fossilised discourse marker. This leaves the door open for analogy – one process by which innovative forms emerge from more entrenched ones. This finding certainly lends strength to the hypothesis that it could have played a role in the change: if *cachái* was completely autonomous, we would expect that it would not prime and would have little effect on innovative analogous forms. However, if speakers consider *cachái* a *voseo* form, its high frequency – particularly when this change was taking off – certainly could have promoted the rise of *voseo*.

It is possible that at an earlier stage in the change, when *voseo* was less frequent, *cachái* did prime at a higher rate than other *voseo* forms; or perhaps, being so frequent meant

that even just priming at the same rate helped to promote the use of other *voseo* forms through an increase in favouring contexts. Whatever the case may be, the reason why it is not possible to confirm the role of *cachái* probably has to do with the advanced stage of this change. Overall, the rate of *voseo* is 80%, and amongst younger (≤ 35) speakers who use a lot of *cachái*, the rate of *voseo* is already in excess of 90%. This, again, highlights the importance of timing when studying language changes in progress. Perhaps it is too late to capture the role of *cachái* in this change, and in the absence of comparable data between 1970 and 2010, it may remain an elusive question.

8.4. Stigmatisation

On the question of stigmatisation, the literature repeats time and time again that *voseo* (both pronominal and morphological) is a historically stigmatised form, and that even today it still carries with it some of the baggage of this stigma. However, the prolific rates of *voseo* verb forms in these results, the fact that they are used by speakers across all SEC, age and gender groups, and the reversal of the SEC constraint bring this orthodoxy into question.

Firstly, the almost categorical absence of the *vos* pronoun (N=7) in the data is consistent with claims that the *vos* pronoun, specifically, is a stigmatised form. However, there is also discussion in the literature of different discursive functions related to the usage of the *vos* pronoun (e.g. the *vos de enojo*) (Hummel, 2010: 111), which could explain its relative absence in these data. It is necessary to look deeper than just at overall rates to answer this question; we need to analyse the social and linguistic conditioning factors to delve into the social evaluation of *vos* and *voseo*. While there are high rates of *voseo* for all social groups, there is nonetheless significant variation. The principal social factors associated with stigmatisation are Gender and SEC: while standard features are typically associated with females and higher SECs, non-standard (including stigmatised) features are often associated with the working classes and males (cf. Labov, 1990; see Chapter 3).

Gender has a significant effect on *voseo* use for all speakers and across the two age groups with females favouring and males disfavours *tuteo* for both. However, the effect is weaker for younger speakers (perhaps because the rates of *voseo* are so high – 84 % and 94% respectively). The weakening of the gender effect in the younger generation is concordant

with loss of stigmatisation over time. Nonetheless, the fact that there is still a gender effect for both age groups suggests that this may not yet be absolute since it is still associated to some degree with male speech. Additionally, as mentioned in relation to language change, above, this weak gender effect for younger speakers could also be further evidence that this change is reaching a stage of stable variation, at which point males tend to favour non-standard forms. This could be indicative of *voseo* ceasing to be associated with lack of education and instead coming to be seen as simply non-standard and, in this case, associated with male speech.

Interestingly, the association of *voseo* with male speech is consistent with findings in a number of other Latin American varieties of Spanish, where *tuteo* is seen as a sign of *afeminamiento* ‘effeminacy’ (e.g. Jang, 2015: 95-6, Marín Esquivel, 2012: 33, Pinkerton, 1986). For example, in El Salvador, Michnowicz and Place (2010: 366) posit that “the general avoidance of *tú* by men may be due, at least in part, to the fact that *tuteo* is perceived as characteristic of female speech” (although see Quintanilla Aguilar, 2009: 327). Conversely, perhaps, if *tuteo* can be a sign of effeminacy, perhaps *voseo* is a sign of masculinity in Chile. This could certainly help to explain the unexpected gender pattern with men leading the change towards *voseo*, in apparent violation of Labov’s gender principles (see 3.5.3).

SEC is more complex; when the data are broken down into younger and older speakers, SEC is significant but has opposite directions of effects for the two groups. For older speakers (>35), higher-SEC speakers favour *tuteo* (the standard ‘prestigious’ form) – evidence consistent with stigmatisation of *voseo*. However, for the younger group (≤ 35 s), higher-SEC speakers – the most linguistically prestigious members of society – favour the historically stigmatised *voseo*, which indicates that this stigmatisation has diminished considerably for the younger generation. Stevenson (2007: 180) has also suggested that *voseo* has lost its association with lower-SEC speech and has come to simply mark solidarity and youth.

However, at this point it may be worth returning to the composition of the sample in the CCSS. In 4.3.6, I split the sample into two SECs – higher and lower SEC – by combining speakers from the two bottom classes (corresponding to the “middle” and “lower” classes) into a single lower SEC group. As there was only one speaker who might be called lower class, and acknowledging the reality that we do not have access to the highest social echelons, the

speakers in the sample essentially represent the upper- and lower-middle classes of Chilean society. As flagged in 3.5.2, “the innovators of change” are often found in the middle classes, who can behave even more conservatively with regard to prestige forms than the upper-classes whom they seek to emulate (Labov, 2001: 190); and the gender principle (i.e. the tendency for women to use a higher proportion of prestige forms and to avoid stigmatised forms) is especially pronounced in the (lower-)middle class (Labov 2001: 272). Stigmatisation of *voseo* might, then, actually be more likely to appear in the speech of the *second* highest SEC group, rather than the highest. Therefore, the “crossover effect” (cf. Labov, 2001: 272) we see for SEC, and the favouring of *tuteo* by lower-SEC women (corresponding perhaps to the lower-middle class), could actually be exactly what we would expect to see as evidence of continued stigmatisation of *voseo*.

This is also largely consistent with previous reports of Chilean *voseo* acquiring a degree of covert prestige (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018: 76, Stevenson, 2007: 228). The idea that *voseo* is covertly, as opposed to overtly, prestigious is consistent with the contrasting results between survey and usage data, as discussed in Chapter 2. There is also some evidence of traces of stigmatisation in the results for Subject Expression. Although it is a weak effect, the very fact that there is a Subject Expression effect at all for ≤ 35 s shows that younger speakers do actively avoid mixing the paradigms, which is consistent with canonical *tuteo* (*tú + tuteo*) being more prestigious than the mixed form (*tú + voseo*) and ‘authentic’ *voseo* (which is almost non-existent in these data).

Finally, if we accept that the change in the usage by the younger generations is indicative of a change in the social evaluation of *voseo*, then it follows that the disappearance of the Discourse Type effect in the younger generation is additional support for this contention. For older speakers, *tuteo* was strongly disfavoured in generic speech, which was interpreted as indicating greater freedom of use of *voseo* in generic versus specific uses, where it might be deemed inappropriate. The fact that Discourse Type drops out of significance for younger speakers means that this constraint has been lost for speakers in the younger generation, for whom *voseo* is routinely favoured across all discourse types. This too is consistent with a reduction in stigmatisation of *voseo* over time as speakers no longer perceive its usage as more or less appropriate when speaking generally or directly to an interlocutor (at least in informal oral discourse).

In sum, the evidence presented here is consistent with the previous claims of stigmatisation of the *vos* pronoun, and to a certain extent the *voseo* verbal morphology as well, and also with claims that this is reducing in the younger generation. It also suggests that *voseo* may be gathering a degree of covert prestige particularly amongst higher-SEC men, as has been claimed in previous work, or simply losing social meaning and becoming non-standard. While no longer associated with lack of education and used by nearly all speakers, *voseo* is still not considered ‘correct’ or appropriate in certain situations. However, as these analyses rely exclusively on linguistic behaviour independently of style shifting or attitudinal data, which would be required to make any concrete claims about stigmatisation, they can only support what has been said in previous studies.

8.5. Metalinguistic Awareness

The third overarching theme raised in Chapter 2 was whether, given this profound change, speakers were aware that there were two separate pronominal and morphological paradigms for *tuteo* and *voseo*, and whether the pronoun or the verb form was more salient in speakers’ minds. The literature on Chilean *voseo* (see Chapter 2) indicates that speakers appear to be much more attuned to pronominal usage (especially regarding the *vos* pronoun) than the morphology of the verb, often suggested as one of the reasons why the mixed *voseo* emerged, as the more salient pronoun was easier to prescriptively suppress than the verb forms (e.g. Torrejón, 1986: 680).

Indeed, the various forms of *voseo* are often described as ‘slang’ or ‘words’ (Stevenson, 2007: 163) rather than part of a structured system, suggesting a lack of explicit metalinguistic awareness. While perception tasks are often employed to extract attitudinal information (e.g. Hay et al., 2004), speakers’ own intuitions and judgements are notoriously unreliable for this and other stigmatised variables (e.g. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010), and the analyses presented in the previous chapter sought to address these questions based uniquely on the speakers’ own linguistic behaviour. The two pieces of evidence for addressing this question are the analyses of priming (Previous Realisation) and Subject Expression.

Priming, that is repetition of a previous form in the discourse, supplies one test: we would expect that speakers, if they did not distinguish between the two paradigms, would

not be influenced by the form of the previous occurrence in the discourse. However, this is overwhelmingly not the case. Priming exercises the strongest effect across all analyses: a previous *tuteo* in the immediately preceding environment strongly favours a subsequent *tuteo*; and a previous *voseo* favours a subsequent *voseo* more than when there is a *tuteo*, or no 2sg subject, in the previous five IUS. In other words, speakers are strongly influenced by the form of the previous token, and thus are clearly aware that there are two separate morphological paradigms and are sensitive to the variation between them.

Secondly, for subject expression, the hypothesis was that if speakers do not distinguish between the two paradigms, there should be no difference in the rates of subject expression with *voseo* and *tuteo*. Remember that this means the *tú* pronoun with either verb form since the *vos* pronoun is almost categorically absent. However, again, this is resoundingly not the case. Subject expression was consistently significant across the various analyses, with overt expression of a *tú* pronoun strongly favouring a *tuteo* verb form. In other words, despite all of the literature on the “mixed *voseo*”, speakers of all ages actively avoided expressing a *tú* pronoun with a *voseo* verb form, favouring instead a $\emptyset$ pronoun – Lipski’s (1994: 143) *crypto-voseo*. Once more, this provides strong evidence for speaker sensitivity to the two paradigms at the pronominal as well as the morphological level, and highlights the fact that this sensitivity has remained relatively constant even in the context of quite rapid and dramatic grammatical change.

The question remains, however, of whether the pronoun or the verb forms are more salient in speakers’ minds. The literature, based largely on impressionistic surveys of native speakers, would tend to suggest that the pronoun is more salient in speakers’ grammars than the verbal morphology. In contrast, the analyses here show that priming (i.e. the verb forms) exerts a stronger effect than Subject Expression (i.e. the pronouns) on the selection of 2sg variant⁶⁴. That is, while the overt expression of a *tú* pronoun is a significant predictor,

⁶⁴ While it is true that primes occur more frequently in the data than subject pronouns (424 tokens with a previous *tuteo* or *voseo* versus 197 overt *tú* and *vos* pronouns), there are only 79 tokens with a previous *tuteo* and these account for the lion’s share of the strong priming effect.

speakers are more sensitive to the form of the previous verb (operationalised here by the previous occurrence in the discourse) than whether or not there is a pronoun attached.

In sum, the analyses of priming and subject expression have shown that – in their linguistic behaviour, at least, if not in their explicit metalinguistic commentary – speakers are sensitive to the existence of two separate *tuteo* and *voseo* pronominal and morphological paradigms. The *vos* pronoun is almost categorically absent and speakers actively avoid combining a *tú* pronoun with a *voseo* verb form, relative to *tuteo* verb forms. Furthermore, a previous occurrence of either *tuteo* or *voseo* strongly favours a repetition of a subsequent analogous form, a fact starkly at odds with claims about the so-called mixed *voseo*. Finally, the fact that the effect of a previous verb form overrides the presence of a pronoun indicates that although speakers may talk more about the pronouns, their linguistic behaviour is more influenced by the verb forms.

8.6. Contributions of this Thesis

The most obvious contribution of this thesis has been to elucidate the nature of a significant change that has occurred in the Chilean 2sg system in just 40 or so years, using spontaneous data and quantitative analytical methods. It has confirmed – in both real and apparent time – that the previously (allegedly) stigmatised *voseo* has gained substantial ground at the expense of the standard and overtly prestigious *tuteo*. Moving beyond mere rates, it has also demonstrated a clear change in the grammar, evidenced by the weakening, loss and reversal of constraints. Furthermore, it has also corroborated some other change-related claims from previous studies, such as men leading the change and *voseo* being favoured in the higher classes by younger speakers, highlighting a fascinating disconnect between overt language attitudes and linguistic behaviour.

But the contribution of this thesis is not limited to showing that linguistic change has occurred. This is incontrovertible at this stage and has been suggested, if not satisfactorily demonstrated, in a number of previous, as well as several contemporary, studies (e.g. Fernández-Mallat, 2018, both of which have been published since this project began, Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016). Rather, this thesis has gone beyond verifying the change and studying the social conditioning which has been the focus of so much of the previous

discussion of Chilean *voseo*. It has also investigated the linguistic conditioning and, in so doing, the way that the change has spread; and the attitudes and awareness that speakers have about *voseo*, as manifested in their linguistic behaviour.

The analyses of priming and subject expression offered invaluable insights into the associations speakers make between the various forms that are part of the complex jigsaw puzzle of the 2sg in Chilean Spanish – between verbal paradigms (*tuteo* and *voseo*), between pronouns and verb morphology, and between fixed expressions and their respective paradigms. These analyses offered a way of not just charting change over time but also charting speakers' changing social evaluations of variants and the degree of awareness and control they have of paradigms which, consciously at least, they show little explicit knowledge about.

Moreover, the stability of the priming and subject expression results across the two age groups was robust evidence of the fact that, despite the significant grammatical change that has occurred in such a short space of time, the system itself is not in disarray; it is systematic and, more to the point, speakers are able to skilfully manage their variable grammars even as they are changing.

Furthermore, the priming results allowed us to confidently circumscribe the variable context – which forms are part of the puzzle and which forms are not – a valuable contribution to a complex problem. While *cachái* was invariable and had to be excluded, it was shown to prime in a similar way to other *voseo* forms, indicating that speakers continue to be able to analyse it as a *voseo* form. Similarly, the syncretic forms, while also invariable in a certain sense, were shown to have no priming effect whatsoever, indicating that speakers do not associate them more closely with *tuteo* than *voseo* given their historically analogous *tuteo* form. The fact that these syncretic verb forms occurred with both *tú* and *vos* pronouns further strengthens this case. These findings alleviate concerns about the effect of eliminating a significant portion of the data set. By clearly defining where variation is permitted in the Chilean 2sg system, this thesis has addressed one of the key challenges of previous research which was, at least partly, responsible for the inconsistency in the reported rates across previous studies.

The differences in the (social and linguistic) constraints between the two age groups offered a much more detailed picture of the fine-grained grammatical change that has occurred. The strengthening of the priming effect for younger speakers suggested that the change is at an advanced stage where *tuteo* exercises a stronger effect as it nears obsolescence (Rosemeyer and Schwenter, 2017). The effect of gender has been weakened over time while the loss of significance for Discourse Type (i.e. *voseo* is no longer avoided in utterances directed at specific interlocutors) for younger speakers suggests that this constraint no longer has social meaning for younger speakers at all. Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence, however, is the complete reversal of the SEC constraint where *voseo*, once disfavoured by the educated classes, has come to be actually favoured by young higher-SEC speakers – a strong indication that the social evaluation of these forms has changed significantly. The careful analyses of these complex patterns provide a far clearer image of grammatical change than differing rates of use alone and provides evidence to counter concerns that the generational differences could simply be due to age-grading.

The thesis has also made a number of methodological contributions. The first relates to the use of what I have defined as ‘conversational’ data rather than sociolinguistic interviews: while the latter are typically preferred in studies of linguistic variation, given the claims of stigmatisation surrounding Chilean *voseo*, there was a real risk that speakers might avoid using *voseo* forms in sociolinguistic interviews. Thus, interviews might not have captured genuine usage, nor the full range of functions, especially between an interviewer and an informant who did not know each other well. Furthermore, the analyses of the distribution of tokens between interviewer and informant in the pilot study suggested that, at least for the 2sg, informants produced far fewer tokens, and were at risk of being primed by their interviewer, which would have undermined the validity of the data. The results of the present study, using conversational data, highlight the value of this kind of data for studies of variation within the 2sg and other variables which carry a degree of social awareness or stigmatisation.

Secondly, the inclusion of spontaneous data from the 1970s *Habla culta* corpus made possible for the first time a real-time analysis comparing similar data from two time periods to corroborate the scale of the change that has occurred. In addition to the changing

constraints between the two age groups, this real time comparison further eliminated the possibility that the variation was merely due to age-grading.

A final methodological contribution relates to the interpretation of the data, particularly in terms of the distribution of spontaneous naturally-occurring data. As discussed in 7.7.1, there were 11 speakers in the sample for whom variability did not appear in the data set. However, it was also shown that their apparent lack of variability was, at least in part, due to the distribution of the data for those speakers, which was skewed towards contexts which disfavoured *tuteo* (or favoured *voseo*). Furthermore, the patterns were largely the same when excluding those speakers (although with far fewer tokens): the same factor groups remained significant (and non-significant); the most important social and linguistic factors continued to be Age and Previous Realisation respectively; and the direction of effect was the same for all factors in both analyses. Moreover, I argued that including these speakers' tokens actually enabled a more robust analysis of the linguistic conditioning by bolstering token numbers without significantly inflating rates. Indeed, while in a perfect world, the researcher might replace these speakers with other variable speakers, this is in fact somewhat artificial; they are a reality of this kind of research where a lot of work goes into collecting, transcribing and analysing this data and there is a compelling case to be made to keep them in our data sets. As I argued, rather than being anomalies who are not representative of their speech community, they are actually far more likely to be variable speakers whose lack of variability is simply an artefact of the data set; if we collected enough data distributed across enough discourse situations where *tuteo* might be likely to occur, variability would emerge. Therefore, a further contribution is to highlight the importance of analysing the contextual distribution of spontaneous data and of making a case, where appropriate, for the inclusion of apparently categorical speakers.

8.7. Areas for Future Research

The results regarding metalinguistic awareness show that there appears to be a disconnect between what Chileans think (or, at least, say) they do, and what they actually do. Whether or not they are genuinely (consciously) unaware of the fact that there are two separate paradigms, speakers' linguistic behaviour resoundingly shows that unconsciously they are highly sensitive to the fact that there are. This disconnect, and the related issue of

linguistic insecurity (see 8.8, below), is something that this thesis, which did not explicitly ask speakers about their usage, cannot directly address, but nonetheless warrants further attention from future researchers.

The almost complete absence of the *vos* pronoun is at least partly attributable to the nature of this particular data set. While it is certainly infrequent (a fact corroborated in other studies), at least in the speech of many *santiaguinos*, it is perhaps not as infrequent as these results would suggest. It is definitely a form that one hears, and which may be limited to certain social groups, or specific situations or types of discourse (which were not captured in the CCSS).

The *vos* pronoun is, anecdotally at least, more associated with lower SECs, a group conspicuously missing from this sample. Due to the sampling method which was limited by the bounds of my own social network, there was only one genuinely working-class speaker in the sample; all other speakers were from the upper or middle classes. A sample with more speakers from lower socio-economic groups with less education, and from disadvantaged areas, could well deliver higher rates of the *vos* pronoun, and should be a focus of future studies.

Notwithstanding, the only conversation where the *vos* pronoun was used in an utterance directed at a specific interlocutor was between Matías and Alfredo (both educated speakers from wealthy families). This interaction is perhaps suggestive of the kind of discourse where *vos* can emerge: in hypermasculine banter where one speaker exerts their dominance (literally or jokingly) over the interlocutor through their use of the *vos* pronoun. This would certainly be consistent with reports but requires further investigation of specific types of context to say with any confidence.

Given that the *voseo* is a historically stigmatised variable which was reportedly associated with uneducated urban and rural speakers, it would be interesting to compare the rates of use of *voseo* by working-class speakers from the two generations, both with each other and with speakers from other SECs. This also raises, of course, the question of how SEC is defined. The present study offered one model based on level of education and *comuna* of residence, and it produced meaningful results, lending it some degree of legitimacy. However,

given the complexity of SEC and the way it is manifested in different places and contexts, this is certainly an area where there is scope for further exploration.

A related avenue for further work in this area is to investigate the role of social networks (e.g. Milroy and Milroy, 1985, Milroy and Gordon, 2003) and identity (e.g. Eckert, 1989, Eckert, 2000) in this picture. While undoubtedly linked to level of education and where one lives, the people one speaks to on a regular basis and how speakers view themselves and their place in society are key ingredients that were outside the scope of the present study. There is a dearth of empirical data from the inception of this change, but it is likely that it began with the increased contact (and greater solidarity) between young speakers from different social backgrounds in the public schools and universities of Santiago in the 1960s and 1970s. It is these ‘weak ties’ (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 364) – in this case, between upper- and lower-class classmates – to which language change is often attributed, and it would be interesting to see how social networks are related to usage in the present day. Furthermore, the suggested interlocutor gender effect could well be more about social network than the gender of the interlocutor per se.

There is a pressing need for a study of the interfaces between different discourse situations to study the pragmatically motivated use, and switches in use, of 2sg forms (see 2.4.3). Such pragmatic uses as the *vos de enojo* (e.g. Hummel, 2010: 111) and switches between *tuteo* and *voseo* to communicate fluctuations in social distance (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 174-5) or “degree of confidentiality” (Helincks, 2015: 747) have been claimed in previous studies, but rarely systematically observed. For valid methodological reasons, this study only looked at intimate conversations between friends, family members and colleagues, but the downside was that these interactions were contextually limited. In order to answer the questions about situational conditioning factors, it is imperative to record interactions across a controlled set of formal and informal, as well as equal and unequal, situations.

On a related point, the analyses of interlocutor presented in Chapter 7, while suggestive of certain patterns (e.g. accommodation by males to females), were unable to delve deeply into this area due to the intentional design of the data set. In order to produce the types of informal situations where *voseo* is most likely to occur, the study design intentionally limited the types of relationships between participants to people who know

each other well and speak to each other often in the same kinds of interactions as those being recorded. As a result, there was not a sufficient variety of interlocutors to conduct a meaningful analysis of SEC, age or other types of interlocutor differences. One area for future study would involve capturing a wide variety of social relationships and sufficient numbers of speakers of each type in order to study the effect of the characteristics of the interlocutor in different interactions.

While most of the previous suggestions have looked forwards, the final one looks backwards. There are a number of questions which remain unanswered due to the absence of any variation in the 1970s *Habla culta* data (with which to compare the conditioning from the contemporary CCSS results); and comparable data from the intervening period. While I was unable to obtain it for the purposes of this thesis, recorded spontaneous data from the 1990s does exist. It would be fascinating to chart, using this intermediate data, the development of the change in progress to see if the rates are, as we would expect, between those of the 1970s and 2010s, respectively. Another, equally illuminating, path would be to analyse the role of *cachái*, and priming more generally, in data from this intermediate time period, to answer questions left open by the present study. Would *cachái* (and *voseo*) have primed more strongly in the earlier stages of the change? Was *cachái* even used at this time? When did it emerge? Was it considered too colloquial even to use in sociolinguistic interviews? How did it interact with other discourse markers? These are all questions which would be interesting to address using data from the 1990s.

8.8. Contradiction, Linguistic Insecurity and Chilean Identity

All of the above has demonstrated that in just 40 years, *voseo* has gone from being a minority form – reportedly socially stigmatised and rarely used by educated speakers – to become the dominant 2sg form in informal conversations between intimate interlocutors from across the social spectrum. This change seems to be correlated with greater freedoms and breaking down of social barriers in Chilean society over the same period (Torrejón, 1986: 681). Furthermore, the ‘difficult to explain’ variation with *tuteo*, often attributed to pragmatic changes in the discourse (e.g. Torrejón 2010:762), is largely explainable in terms of highly systematic variable grammars which speakers manage with surprising sensitivity given the speed at which the change has occurred.

The fact that speakers are moving towards a form which they claim to be overtly stigmatised indicates that it carries a sort of covert prestige. However, in these closing words, I would like to go further and suggest that *voseo* is also a manifestation of Chilean identity.

There is little, if any, literature on linguistic insecurity in Chilean Spanish, except the small amount related to Chilean *voseo* (e.g. Stevenson, 2007: 71-76). However, there is much evidence to demonstrate the existence of such a phenomenon. As late as 2000, esteemed Chilean linguist Ambrosio Rabanales wrote the following:

La juventud, si no estudia y lee más, seguirá caracterizándose por su desinterés por la lengua, lo que se traduce en pobreza de vocabulario, atentados contra la morfosintaxis y pronunciación muy informal. Finalmente, la prensa, oral y escrita, tiene, en materia de lenguaje, una responsabilidad que, en general, no ha asumido, pues son frecuentes en ella las desviaciones de la norma culta que se detectan. Su mal ejemplo no permite augurar un mejor futuro para el español que se habla en Chile. (Rabanales, 2000: 141)⁶⁵

Anecdotally, this is just as pronounced when talking to non-linguists. Chileans routinely denigrate the way they speak, and Chilean Spanish is frequently described, by Chileans and others alike, as the ‘worst Spanish’. For sociolinguists, the idea of any dialect being ‘worse’ than another is an absurdity, but many Chileans wholeheartedly believe that their Spanish, despite completely fulfilling their communicative needs, is objectively worse than the Spanish spoken by Mexicans, Colombians or Peruvians. Yet it is their Spanish, and while they may think it inferior, it binds them to every other Chilean, like perhaps nothing else does. And *voseo* is part of this equation, no doubt one of the ‘attacks on morphosyntax’ mentioned by Rabanales.

⁶⁵ ‘Unless they study and read more, the young people [of this country] will continue to be characterised by a general disinterest in language, resulting in poor vocabulary, attacks on morphosyntax and very informal pronunciation. In the end, both spoken and written media bear a responsibility in terms of language issues which, broadly speaking, they have not assumed, as attested to by the frequent deviations from the educated norm that can be found in them. The poor example they have set does bode well for the future of the Spanish spoken in Chile.’

In Chapter 3 (section 3.3), I discussed Labov's (1972a: 237-251) three types of linguistic variable – indicators, markers and stereotypes – and suggested that Chilean *voseo* was a prime contender for the latter. Stereotypes are variables which members of a speech community consciously recognise as being characteristic of the speech of a certain group, but which do not necessarily behave in the way that they are perceived to by speakers. At this point, it should be evident that Chilean *voseo* is such a case. Phrases such as *cómo estái*, 'how are you', and *cachái*, 'you know', are stereotypes of Chilean Spanish, recognised as such by Chileans and other Spanish speakers alike, but, in the words of Fernández-Mallat (2018: 76), "*aquello que los hablantes creen o piensan hacer es enteramente lo opuesto de lo que hacen en realidad*"⁶⁶.

Furthermore, stereotypes have been correlated with linguistic insecurity (cf. Labov 1984: 45). I am convinced that this disconnect between what Chileans say they do and their linguistic behaviour when it comes to *voseo* is a product of the conflict between national identity and linguistic insecurity (cf. Bishop and Michnowicz, 2010: 426, Stevenson, 2007: 162). The Chilean *voseo* is like a badge of *chilenidad* (being Chilean): the prestige that it enjoys is concurrently the product of pride and a source of shame.

It is hardly surprising, then, that sentiments demonising the vernacular speech of the youth of Chile should be echoed in the lay population. And as we know, these kinds of attitudes disproportionately affect people from disadvantaged groups whose speech is the most stigmatised. If nothing else, it is hoped that this thesis establishes that *voseo* is the dominant 2sg form in the speech of Santiago, that it is as Chilean as *piscola* and *marraquetas*, that it has been there since before there was a nation of Chile, and that it is nothing to be ashamed of. That the educated classes have taken ownership of it and it is here to stay. If this goes any way towards generating a sense of pride in the way that Chileans speak, or at least, diminishing the shame they feel about their dialect, then I shall be satisfied.

To attempt to answer Torrejón's (1986: 682) question, then, of whether the mixed *voseo* might one day replace *tuteo* as the "*norma universal de tratamiento de los chilenos*

⁶⁶ 'What speakers believe or think they do is the complete opposite of what they actually do'

cultos en situaciones formales y familiares”⁶⁷, from the evidence here it does not appear to be taking over, but only time will tell. The mixed *voseo* continues to be a minority – but fully productive – form. Speakers certainly distinguish between the two paradigms, which they are able to keep separate, and use adeptly for negotiating sociolinguistic meaning. If anything, the best contender for the title of “universal form” in these data is Lipski’s “crypto-*voseo*” ($\emptyset$ + *voseo*), which is the most frequent combination by a factor of five.

Whether or not *voseo* loses any remaining stigmatisation and what will happen with the pronouns remains to be seen. One thing is for sure though: given the complexity of this variable in Chilean as well as nearly all Spanish varieties where it exists, and its propensity to change, this study is unlikely to be the last.

⁶⁷ ‘universal standard form of address for educated Chileans in informal and familiar situations.’

Appendices

Appendix 1. Transcription Conventions

All examples given are from the Corpus of Conversational Santiago Spanish (the CCSS), unless otherwise indicated. Examples are reproduced verbatim with some exceptions, for the purposes of readability, for example: the removal of lengthening (=), some overlaps ([overlapping speech]) where only one overlapping part is reproduced, and some vocal noises (in- and out-breaths (H), (Hx); and some cases of marked voice quality (e.g. whispering).

Table 30: Transcription Conventions (Du Bois et al. 1993)

New line	new Intonation Unit
.	final intonation contour
,	continuing intonation contour
?	appeal intonation contour
--	truncated intonation contour
..	short pause (0.2 secs)
...	medium to long pause (> 0.3 secs)
-	truncated word
=	lengthened syllable
[]	overlapped speech
[2 2]	consecutive overlapped speech (numbers used to distinguish what is overlapped with what)
(())	transcriber's comment
!	speech pronounced with notably high pitch
X	one syllable of unclear speech
<X X>	unclear speech (transcriber's best guess)
@	one syllable of laughter
<@ @>	speech uttered while laughing
<Q Q>	quoted speech uttered with marked voice quality
Capital initial letter	Higher initial pitch level

Standardised Spellings used for CCSS

1. Present indicative forms of –AR verbs / present subjunctive forms of –ER/IR verbs end in –ái (i.e. with an accent and without a final ‘s’ as discussed in 2.4.1; e.g. *cachái/estái/comái* etc
2. Present indicative forms of –ER/–IR verbs/ present subjunctive forms of –AR verbs end in –ís (i.e. with an accent **and** a final ‘s’ regardless of degree of aspiration, as discussed in 2.4.1; e.g. *comís/veís/pesquís* etc.
3. BUT: monosyllabic forms of the present indicative are written without an accent or ‘s’: e.g. *vai, hai, soi* etc.
4. Voseo verb forms in other tenses do not have accents on the last syllable, or final ‘s’
 - a. Imperfect: *estabai, poníai*
 - b. Conditional: *iríai*
 - c. Imperfect Subjunctive: *fueraí, hubieraí*
 - d. Preterit: *fuiste(s)*; NB: the preterit was the exception where a pronounced /s/ was transcribed (given the variation in forms as opposed to realisations)
5. *vos* (not **bo*, **boh*, **vo* or **voh*)
6. *Huevón* (not **hueon* or **weón*)
7. *Huevada* (not **weá*)
8. *Hueva* (not **wea*)
9. *Po* (distinct from *pues*)
10. *conchadetumadre* (as a single word), not **conchetumadre*

Appendix 2. Consent Form (Spanish)

Formulario de consentimiento escrito para participantes

El lenguaje y la sociedad cambiantes de Chile

Número de aprobación ética de la ANU (ANU Ethics Clearance Protocol #): 2014/413

Confirmando que he leído y entendido la Hoja de Información que me han entregado sobre este proyecto de investigación, y que me han aclarado y contestado todas las preguntas acerca del proyecto en cuestión, a mi entera satisfacción. Consiento a participar en este proyecto.

Por favor, marque **todas las casillas** que correspondan en las siguientes categorías:

Consiento a que:

SÍ ☐ NO ☐ se grabe el audio de la entrevista;

SÍ ☐ NO ☐ se les hagan disponibles la grabación de audio y la transcripción (una vez editadas para eliminar todo rasgo identificativo) a otros investigadores para sus futuras investigaciones;

SÍ ☐ NO ☐ se reproduzcan las grabaciones de audio (una vez editadas para eliminar todo rasgo identificativo) en ambientes públicos (por ejemplo presentaciones en conferencias).

Nombre en letras mayúsculas

Firma

Fecha

NO LLENAR (SÓLO INVESTIGADORES):

ENTREVISTADOR(A): _____

ET #: _____

PSEUD _____

COD _____

Appendix 3. Consent Form (English)

Written Consent Form for Participants*

*to be translated into Spanish

Changing language and society in Chile

ANU Ethics Clearance Protocol #: 2014/413

I have read and understood the Information Sheet you have given me about the research project, and I have had any questions and concerns about the project addressed to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the project.

Please check **all that apply** in the following categories:

I consent to:

YES ☐ NO ☐ the interview being audio recorded

YES ☐ NO ☐ the anonymised audio recording & transcription being made
available to other researchers for future projects

YES ☐ NO ☐ the anonymised audio recordings being played in public settings (e.g.
conference presentations)

Printed Name

Signature

Date

Office Use Only:

INTERVIEWER INITIALS: _____

ETH#: _____

PSEUD _____

CODE _____

Hoja de información sobre el proyecto

Investigador:

Mi nombre es Matthew Callaghan y soy estudiante de doctorado de la Escuela de Literatura, Idiomas y Lingüística (*School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics; SLLL*), de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales (*College of Arts and Social Sciences; CASS*) de la Universidad Nacional de Australia (*Australian National University; ANU*), en Canberra, Australia. Mis estudios anteriores contemplan el idioma castellano, la traducción y la lingüística, y actualmente estoy escribiendo una tesis doctoral sobre el lenguaje y la sociedad de Chile, de la cual la presente investigación formará una parte importante.

Proyecto: El lenguaje y la sociedad cambiantes de Chile

Número de aprobación ética de la ANU (*ANU Ethics Clearance Protocol #*): 2014/413

Antecedentes Generales:

Descripción y Metodología:

Gracias por su interés en participar en este estudio sobre el español chileno. Su participación ayudará a desarrollar un recurso importante para el estudio de la sociedad, el lenguaje y la identidad, tanto en las comunidades hispanohablantes de Santiago de Chile, como en el mundo hispanohablante en general.

El objetivo principal de este estudio es la grabación de conversaciones orales entre hablantes nativos del español de Santiago de Chile, así como recoger datos sociales sobre los mismos participantes para estudiar la relación entre el uso del lenguaje y la sociedad. Estas grabaciones se guardarán como archivos de audio, se transcribirán y se unirán con grabaciones de otros hablantes para constituir un corpus de datos lingüísticos. Luego, estos datos se podrán analizar para identificar patrones y hacer comparaciones dentro del español chileno y entre éste y otros dialectos e idiomas.

Los participantes

Se recogerán los datos – en la forma de grabaciones de conversaciones casuales entre amigos y familiares – de aproximadamente 72 hablantes nativos de español provenientes de Santiago de Chile, tanto hombres como mujeres, y representativos de una amplia gama de grupos etarios y socioeconómicos de Santiago.

Usos de los datos y retroalimentación

Estos datos formarán la base de mi tesis de doctorado (la cual pretendo entregar a fines de 2017), además de futuras presentaciones y publicaciones (artículos en revistas académicas, capítulos de libros especializados, las ponencias de conferencias etc.). Los datos se guardarán después de la entrega de la tesis doctoral, y el corpus puede ser utilizado para estudiar otros temas de interés en el futuro. Si da su permiso, la transcripción y / o grabación de su conversación, una vez editada para eliminar todo rasgo identificativo, se les hará disponible a otros investigadores para proyectos futuros de investigación; y retazos de las grabaciones editadas se podrán reproducir en conferencias y otros eventos académicos donde se presenten los resultados de la investigación.

Para proteger su anonimato cualquier ejemplo reproducido de su grabación siempre se presentará usando un pseudónimo y ningún dato personal que permitiera su identificación aparecerá en ninguna publicación. Además, recibirá una invitación a un seminario público sobre el progreso del estudio a principios de 2015, y tendrá acceso a un sitio web con los resultados de la investigación apenas estén disponibles.

Participación

Participación voluntaria y retiro del estudio:

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria, y no debe sentir ninguna obligación de participar si no se siente cómodo al respecto. Los participantes están libres a retirarse del estudio, y pueden hacerlo sin explicación, siempre y cuando le informe a un miembro del equipo de investigación de su decisión de retirarse dentro de cuatro (4) semanas después de la fecha de su conversación grabada. Si opta por retirarse, toda información asociada a su participación será destruida.

¿Qué tendrán que hacer los participantes?

Si decide tomar parte, se le pedirá que participe en una conversación grabada (audio) (que dura aproximadamente una hora) con un conocido – un amigo/a, pariente, compañero – en un lugar de mutuo acuerdo. Se le pedirá firmar un formulario de consentimiento que autoriza que su conversación sea grabada antes de que se empiece a grabar. La idea es que la conversación sea lo más casual y espontánea posible, y que no sea un entrevista; trate de hablar como si no fuera una grabación. Durante la misma reunión, se le pedirá que conteste una corta encuesta grabada sobre sus antecedentes lingüísticos y sociales. Si está dispuesto/a, se le invitará a atender a una segunda reunión más adelante para completar otra encuesta de seguimiento (también grabada), sobre sus actitudes respecto a ciertos elementos de español chileno.

Aunque las transcripciones no estarán disponibles hasta varios meses después de su grabación, tendrá derecho a escuchar las grabaciones de sus conversaciones y entrevistas y a pedir que cualquier parte se elimine, siempre y cuando avise a un miembro del equipo de investigación dentro de cuatro (4) semanas.

Lugar y duración:

La grabación se realizará en un lugar que acuerden con el otro participante (por ejemplo, un café, una de sus respectivas casas), y donde se sienta cómodo. En total, se espera que la conversación grabada y las dos encuestas verbales no tardarán más de dos horas.

Los incentivos:

No hay ningún beneficio directo relacionado con participación (Nótese: el participante encargado de arreglar la reunión y grabar la conversación recibirá un monto menor por cada conversación en agradecimiento de su ayuda); sin embargo, este estudio nos ayudará a entender la relación entre el lenguaje y la sociedad, y cómo los cambios sociales se reflejan (o no) en el idioma, con especial relevancia para el contexto chileno. Además recibirá un certificado de participación, y lo/la mantendremos al tanto sobre los resultados.

Los riesgos:

Aunque el enfoque de este estudio es lingüístico, hay cierto peligro mínimo asociado con participación en este estudio, ya que vamos a recoger datos personales. Debe tener en cuenta que otros pueden tener acceso a su

grabación y, por tanto, debe tratar de evitar decir cualquier cosa que sea confidencial o que pueda causarle daño o a usted, al otro participante o a otra persona.

Criterios para la exclusión

Puede que algunos hablantes se excluyan del estudio si:

- No son hablantes nativos del español
- No son de Santiago de Chile, o han vivido mucho tiempo en otra parte
- Sus padres no son de Chile, o son de regiones de Chile fuera de Santiago
- Ya se ha alcanzado el número mínimo de hablantes de su grupo etario, género o grupo socioeconómico.

Confidencialidad:

Su confidencialidad será protegida cuidadosamente, dentro de lo permitido por la ley. A todo participante le será atribuido un pseudónimo con el cual únicamente se le hará referencia, y su nombre verdadero sólo aparecerá en el formulario de consentimiento. Sus respuestas a las encuestas y sus contribuciones en la transcripción de la conversación grabada aparecerán bajo este pseudónimo. Asimismo, en todas las publicaciones o presentaciones públicas donde se usen retazos de las transcripciones o grabaciones, éstas serán atribuidas usando el pseudónimo.

Una vez que se complete la recopilación de datos, las grabaciones serán ‘des-identificadas’ para la transcripción, análisis y archivamiento – lo cual implica eliminar todos los nombres de personas y lugares que podrían identificar a los participantes o a terceras personas. Por lo tanto, las transcripciones y las respuestas a las encuestas serán completamente anónimas. Las grabaciones de audio archivadas también serán anónimas para cualquier persona que las escuche; el único posible rasgo identificativo de las grabaciones sería su misma voz, no el contenido.

Al mismo tiempo, de la misma manera en que haremos todo lo posible para proteger su confidencialidad, dado que habrá más de un participante en cada conversación grabada, le pedimos que también trate de mantener la confidencialidad de los otros participantes en su conversación.

Almacenamiento de los datos:

¿Dónde?

Las respuestas a las encuestas y las grabaciones serán almacenadas de forma segura durante todo el proceso de recopilación en un notebook protegido con contraseña y un disco duro externo, y en ningún momento serán asociadas a su identidad real.

¿Cuánto tiempo?

Sus datos serán archivados indefinidamente para que se pueda continuar utilizándolos para estudiar nuevos temas de investigación a medida que vayan surgiendo. Si acepta, su transcripción y / o grabación de audio editada(s) se les hará disponible a otros investigadores

Preguntas y dudas:

Si aún le queda alguna duda, o tiene una pregunta respecto al estudio, por favor no dude en contactar a cualquier miembro de nuestro equipo de investigación.

Investigador Principal:

Matthew Callaghan

W2.24, Baldessin Precinct Building

School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics (*Escuela de Literatura, Idiomas y Lingüística*)

ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences (*Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*)

The Australian National University (*La Universidad Nacional de Australia*)

Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia

T: (+61) 2 612 57084 (Australia)

M: (+56) 9 6141 4284 (Chile)

E: matthew.callaghan@anu.edu.au

Directora de Tesis:

Prof. Catherine Travis

W3.17, Baldessin Precinct Building

School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics

ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences

The Australian National University

Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia

T: (+61) 2 6125 0634 (Australia)

E: catherine.travis@anu.edu.au

Contacto en Chile

Dra. Carolina Holtheuer Beausire

Centro de Investigación Avanzada en Educa
(CIAE)

Universidad de Chile

Periodista José Carrasco Tapia N° 75

Santiago, Chile.

T: (+56) 2 9782762 (Chile)

E: carolina.holtheuer@gmail.com

Aprobación del comité de investigación ética:

Los aspectos éticos de esta investigación han sido aprobados por el Comité de Ética para la Investigación Humana de la ANU. Si le preocupa o quiere hacer una queja sobre cómo se ha llevado a cabo esta investigación, favor contáctese con:

The Ethics Manager

The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee

The Australian National University

Teléfono: +61 2 6125 3427

Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Project Information Sheet*

*to be translated into Spanish

Researcher:

My name is Matthew Callaghan and I am a PhD student from the School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics (SLLL), part of the College of Arts and Social Sciences (CASS) at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, Australia. I have a background in Spanish language, translation and linguistics, and I am currently writing a thesis on the language and society of Chile, of which this research will form a part.

Project: Changing language and society in Chile

ANU Ethics Clearance Protocol #: 2014/413

General Outline:

Description and Methodology:

Thank you for your interest in participating in this study on Chilean Spanish. Your involvement will help to develop an important resource for the study of society, language, and identity both within the Spanish-speaking communities of Santiago de Chile, and more generally.

The purpose of this study is to gather recordings of spoken conversational Spanish between native Spanish speakers in Santiago de Chile, as well as social information about these participants in order to study the relationship between language use and society. These recordings will be saved as audio files, transcribed and combined with data from other speakers to create a corpus of linguistic data. This data can then be analysed to identify patterns and make comparisons within Chilean Spanish, and between Chilean Spanish and other dialects and languages.

Participants

Data will be collected – in the form of recorded casual conversations between friends and family members – from approximately 72 native Spanish speakers from Santiago de Chile, both male and female, and representing a broad range of different age and socioeconomic groups.

Use of Data and Feedback

The data will form the basis of my PhD thesis (which should be submitted by the end of 2017) and academic presentations and publications (journal articles, book chapters, conference proceedings). The data will be kept following the PhD thesis and the corpus may be used as further topics of research arise. If you agree, your anonymized transcript and / or audio recording will be made available to other researchers for future research projects; and anonymised recordings may be played in conferences and academic events when presenting research. Any examples drawn from your recording will always appear under a pseudonym to protect your anonymity and no personal details which would allow for your identification will appear in any publication. As

well as this, you will be invited to a public seminar about the progress of the study in early 2015, and will be given access to a website with results as soon as they become available.

Participant Involvement:

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you should not feel any pressure to participate if you do not feel comfortable doing so. Participants are free to withdraw from the study, and you may do so without providing any explanation provided that you inform a member of the research team of your choice to withdraw within four (4) weeks after your interview date. If you do choose to withdraw, all data associated with your participation will be destroyed.

What will the participants have to do?

If you choose to take part, you will be asked to participate in an audio-recorded conversation (of approximately one hour's duration) with someone you know – a friend, relative, or acquaintance – in a place the two of you agree upon. You will be asked to sign a consent form allowing the conversation to be recorded before any data is captured. It is meant to be a casual conversation and not an interview, and you should try and talk as if you were not being recorded. At the same meeting you will also be asked to complete a short recorded verbal survey about your linguistic and social background. If you are willing, you may also attend a second meeting at a later date to complete a follow-up questionnaire (also recorded) about your attitudes towards certain elements of Chilean Spanish.

Although the transcripts will not be available for several months after your interview, you will have the right to listen to your recordings and request that any part of the recording be deleted, once again as long as you inform a member of the research team of this within four (4) weeks.

Location and Duration:

The recording will take place in a location the two of you agree upon (e.g. a café, one of your houses etc.), and where you feel comfortable. Altogether, the recorded conversation and the two verbal questionnaires should take no more than two hours.

Incentives:

There are no direct benefits from participation (NB: the person in charge of arranging the meeting and recording the conversation may be paid a small amount (TBC) per interview for their assistance); however, this study will help us to understand the relationship between language and society, and how social changes are (or are not) reflected in language, specifically in the Chilean context. You will also receive a certificate of participation, and will be kept informed about results.

Risks:

Although the focus of this study is linguistic, there are minimal risks associated with participation in this study because we are collecting personal information. You should be aware that as others may have access to your recording, you should be careful to avoid any confidential or potentially damaging information.

Exclusion Criteria

Some speakers may be excluded from this study if:

- They are not native Spanish speakers;
- They are not from Santiago de Chile, or have lived for an extended period of time elsewhere;
- Their parents are not from Chile, or are from regions of Chile outside of Santiago
- The required number of speakers of their age, gender or socioeconomic group has already been reached.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality will be carefully protected, as far as the law allows. All participants will be attributed a pseudonym by which they will be referred to, and your real name will only appear on the consent form. Your responses to the surveys and on the transcript of the recorded conversation will appear under this pseudonym. In any publications or public presentations, snippets of transcriptions and audio recordings will be attributed using the pseudonym.

Once data collection is complete, audio recordings will be de-identified, including removal of identifying person and place names, for transcription, analysis, and archiving. Therefore, transcripts, and survey responses will be completely anonymous. The archived audio recordings will also be anonymous to anyone who hears the recording; the only possible identifying feature in the recordings would be your voice, not the content itself.

At the same time, while we will do all that we can to protect your confidentiality, as there are multiple participants in each recorded conversation, we request that you also maintain the confidentiality of the other participant(s) in these conversations.

Data Storage:

Where:

Survey responses and recordings will be stored securely throughout the collection process on a password-protected laptop and an external hard-drive, and will not be associated with your real identity.

How long?

Your data will be archived indefinitely so that I may continue to draw from the corpus as further topics of research arise. If you agree, your anonymized transcript and / or audio recording will be made available to other researchers for further investigations, and anonymised recordings may be played in conferences and academic events when presenting research.

Queries and Concerns:

If you have any remaining questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact a member of our research team.

Principal Investigator:

Matthew Callaghan
W2.24, Baldessin Precinct Building
School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics
ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia
P: +61 2 612 57084
E: matthew.callaghan@anu.edu.au

Supervisor:

Prof. Catherine Travis
W3.17, Baldessin Precinct Building
School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics
ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia
P: +61 2 6125 0634
E: catherine.travis@anu.edu.au

Chilean Contact

Dr. Carolina Holtheuer Beausire
Centro de Investigación Avanzada en Educa
(CIAE)
Universidad de Chile
Periodista José Carrasco Tapia Nº 75
Santiago, Chile.
P: +56 2 9782762
E: carolina.holtheuer@gmail.com

Ethics Committee Clearance:

The ethical aspects of this research have been approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee.

If you have any concerns or complaints about how this research has been conducted, please contact:

The Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: +61 2 6125 3427
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Appendix 6. Demographic Survey (Spanish)

NO LLENAR (SÓLO INVESTIGADORES):

ENTREVISTADOR(A): _____ ET #: _____

PSEUD _____ COD _____



Australian
National
University

Antecedentes del Participante

(para ser completado por el 'entrevistador(a),' al terminar la grabación de la conversación).

A. Datos de la grabación

1. Fecha y hora de la grabación _____
2. Lugar de la grabación (ej. casa, depto., café, restaurante etc.) _____
3. Duración de la grabación (no llenar) _____
4. ¿Cuál es la relación del hablante con otro(s) participante(s)? _____

B. Datos del participante

5. Año de nacimiento _____
6. Género _____
7. Lugar de nacimiento _____
8. Nivel de escolaridad del participante (lo más alto cumplido: ej. primario, secundario, técnico, universitario etc.) _____
 - a) Si tiene estudios secundarios, ¿A qué colegio asistió? (público/privado) _____
 - b) Si tiene estudios universitarios, ¿qué y dónde estudió? _____
9. Profesión (¿en qué trabaja el participante?) _____
 - a) si está jubilado/a o cesante, indicar y poner anterior(es)); _____
 - b) Si es estudiante, indicar y poner
 - ¿Qué estudia? ¿Dónde? _____
 - ¿Qué hacen sus padres? _____
 - c) Si trabaja/estudia, ¿cuánto tiempo lleva en su trabajo actual/su carrera universitaria? _____
10. ¿En qué comuna de Santiago vive el hablante? _____
11. ¿Arrienda/es dueño/a de su propia casa? _____
12. Estado civil (ej. casado/a, separado/a, en una relación etc.) _____

C. Datos de la familia del participante

Si está casado/a/en una relación,

- a) ¿De dónde es su esposo/a/pareja?
- b) ¿Qué nivel de escolaridad tiene su esposo/a/pareja?
- c) Si su esposo/a/pareja tiene estudios secundarios, ¿A qué colegio asistió? (público/privado)
- d) ¿cuál es la profesión/en qué trabaja su esposo/a/pareja?

13. ¿Dónde nacieron los padres del hablante?

14. ¿Cuáles son/eran las profesiones de sus padres?

15. ¿Qué nivel de escolaridad tienen sus padres?

16. ¿A qué colegio asistieron sus padres? (público/privado)

17. ¿De dónde eran sus antepasados?

D. Otros idiomas/dialectos

18. ¿Ha vivido el hablante fuera de Chile?

En el caso de que sí,

- a) ¿Dónde?
- b) ¿Cuándo?
- c) ¿Por cuánto tiempo?
- d) ¿Qué idioma/dialecto se hablaba allí?

19. ¿En cuáles otras ciudades de Chile ha vivido el hablante?

- a) ¿Cuándo?
- b) ¿Por cuánto tiempo?

20. ¿Es el castellano el primer idioma del hablante? Si no, ¿cual es?

Appendix 7. Demographic Survey (English)

Office Use Only:

INTERVIEWER INITIALS: _____ ETH #: _____

PSEUD: _____ CODE: _____



Participant Information Sheet

(to be completed by interviewer, upon completing the recording of the conversation).

A. Recording Details

1. Date and time of interview _____
2. Place (e.g. house, apartment, café, restaurant etc.) _____
3. Recording duration _____
4. What is the speaker's relationship to other participant(s)? _____

B. Participant Details

5. Year of birth _____
6. Gender _____
7. Where was speaker born? _____
8. Level of education (highest attainment; e.g. primary, secondary, technical, university etc.)
 - a) If secondary, what school attended? (public/private) _____
 - b) If university, what studied and where? _____
9. Occupation (what job done)
 - a) If retired or unemployed, list previous _____
 - b) If student,
 - What studied? Where? _____
 - What do parents do? _____
 - c) If work/study, how long in current job/degree? _____
10. In what *comuna*¹ of Santiago does the speaker live? _____
11. Rent or own home? _____
12. Civil status (e.g. married, separated, in a relationship etc.) _____

¹ "Neighbourhood/district" – Santiago is split into administrative units called *comunas*

INTERVIEWER INITIALS: _____ ETH #: _____

PSEUD: _____ CODE: _____



C. Family Details

If married/in a relationship,

- a) Where is partner from? _____
- b) Partner's level of education (highest attainment) _____
- c) If secondary, what school attended? (public/private) _____
- d) Partner's occupation (what job done) _____

13. Where were speaker's parents born? _____

14. Parent's occupation (what job done) _____

15. Parent's level of education (highest attainment) _____

16. What school did parents attend? (public/private) _____

17. Where were speaker's ancestors from? _____

D. Other languages, dialects

18. Has the speaker lived outside of Chile? _____

If so, _____

- a) Where? _____
- b) When? _____
- c) For how long? _____
- d) What language/dialect did they speak there? _____

19. What other cities in Chile has the speaker *lived* in, when, and for how long? _____

- a) When? _____
- b) For how long? _____

20. Is Spanish the speaker's first language? If not, which is? _____

21. Does the speaker speak any other languages? _____

If so, which ones? _____

22. Are there any other languages the speaker uses on a regular basis (weekly)? What are they? _____

Appendix 8. Extract from Novomerc (2014)

"GSE: ABC1

Así, el "ABC1" santiaguino de hoy representa a un 10 % de la sociedad. Son profesionales universitarios con carreras de prestigio, que tienen altos cargos ejecutivos y que viven en los mejores y mas exclusivos sectores de la ciudad, con áreas verdes bien ornamentadas, con calles bien pavimentadas y limpias, en casas amplias o departamentos de lujo, de construcción sólida y con detalles de buen gusto en las terminaciones. Están ubicados, principalmente, en Providencia, Las Condes, Lo Barnechea y Vitacura, aunque en los últimos años han emigrado a comunas periféricas tradicionalmente de grupos mas modestos, como Colina y Huechuraba. Cuentan en sus hogares con dos o más vehículos, todos de marcas de prestigio, con menos de cinco años de uso y de mas de siete millones de pesos. Según Nelda Soto, de ICCOM Empresa que actualiza la descripción de los parámetros utilizados por la AIM, el "ABC1" es quizás el grupo social mas heterogéneo, ya que pueden integrarlo quienes perciben un ingreso familiar mensual de un millón 800 mil pesos y los que ganan mas de ocho millones. Convencionalmente, se tiende a agrupar al "AB" con el "C1", debido a que los primeros apenas superan el 2,5 %, y son de mas difícil acceso debido, entre otras razones, al recelo con que mantienen la información sobre sus bienes. Si se sabe que son los mas adinerados, pertenecientes a las familias mas convencionales y que llevan los apellidos tradicionales de la aristocracia criolla.

GSE: C2

Los "C2", en cambio, que corresponden a lo mas típico de la clase media, son menos del 20 % del total de la población santiaguina. Viven en sectores tradicionales, alejados del centro de la ciudad, generalmente en condominios con muchas viviendas, en calles limpias y cuidadas. Hoy, se les puede encontrar en Las Condes, Providencia, La Reina, Ñuñoa, La Florida y Macul. Los jefes de hogar generalmente son profesionales universitarios, con carreras de primer y segundo nivel de prestigio, que se desempeñan como ejecutivos o jefes de departamentos. Su ingreso familiar puede variar entre los 670 mil pesos al millón 800 mil pesos, lo que les permite tener un vehículo (a veces dos), de modelos medianos, por un valor inferior a los siete millones de pesos.

GSE: C3

Un poco mas abajo en la "escala social", esta la clase media baja, que bordea el 30 %. Son los "C3", que corresponde, en su mayoría, a personas sin estudios de nivel superior, aunque si se incluyen en este grupo a profesores y a técnicos. Son característicos los comerciantes, empleados administrativos, taxistas, vendedores y obreros. Según ICCOM, el promedio ponderado del ingreso familiar es de 540 mil pesos, lo que les permite vivir en San Joaquín, Independencia, Peñalolen, La Florida y Maipu, y contar con algunos vehículos, especialmente de trabajo, como furgones o taxis.

GSE: D

Poco mas del 30 % constituye el "D", calificado por algunas empresas de estudios de mercado como la clase baja. Se trata de personas con estudios básicos o medios incompletos, aunque cada vez es mas difícil ubicar a gente de este grupo sin su escolaridad completa. Sin embargo, suelen carecer de profesión, por lo que se desempeñan generalmente como obreros, empleadas domesticas o jardineros, que pueden tener un ingreso familiar mensual entre 245 mil pesos y 440 mil. Viven en poblaciones antiguas, de tipo popular y con alta densidad poblacional, en calles con veredas estrechas y pavimento en regular estado, sin áreas verdes y medianamente limpias. Sus casas son pequeñas, de tipo económica y están en Cerro Navia, Recoleta, Conchali y El Bosque.

GSE: E

En el ultimo eslabón de la pirámide esta el grupo "E", con poco menos del 7 % de la población que raya en la extrema pobreza. Se concentran en sectores populares y peligrosos, como La Pintana, Huechuraba, Renca y Lo Espejo, donde las calles están sin pavimentar y con poca urbanización. Las viviendas son de material ligero, pequeñas, con una o dos habitaciones que funcionan como comedor, cocina y dormitorio. El promedio de escolaridad del jefe de hogar no sobrepasa los cinco años, por lo que se desempeñan en trabajos ocasionales, como aseadores, lavadores de autos o salen del paso con los típicos "pololos". El promedio ponderado de su ingreso familiar mensual es de 120 mil pesos. La mayoría de las empresas de mercado no dirige sus mensajes a este grupo y si alguno llega a el es por añadidura, como el caso de la Coca Cola, por ejemplo, que ya se masifico a tal nivel que es consumida desde el

"ABC1" hasta el "E". La explicación de los expertos esta en una mejoría en la calidad de vida de la población. Eso explica por que el televisor en colores, el teléfono fijo, el refrigerador e incluso el calefont ya no son bienes que permiten segmentar a la población, como hace 20 años. Por ello, ahora se tiende a diferenciar según las marcas de los productos de consumo."

Appendix 9. Previous Realisation by Same or Different Speaker

Table 31: Distribution of *tuteo*/*voseo* According to Previous Realisation by Same or Different Speaker in CCSS

	Previous <i>tuteo</i>		Previous <i>voseo</i>	
	<i>tuteo</i>	<i>voseo</i>	<i>tuteo</i>	<i>voseo</i>
Same Speaker	45	13	17	203
Different Speaker	2	6	6	57

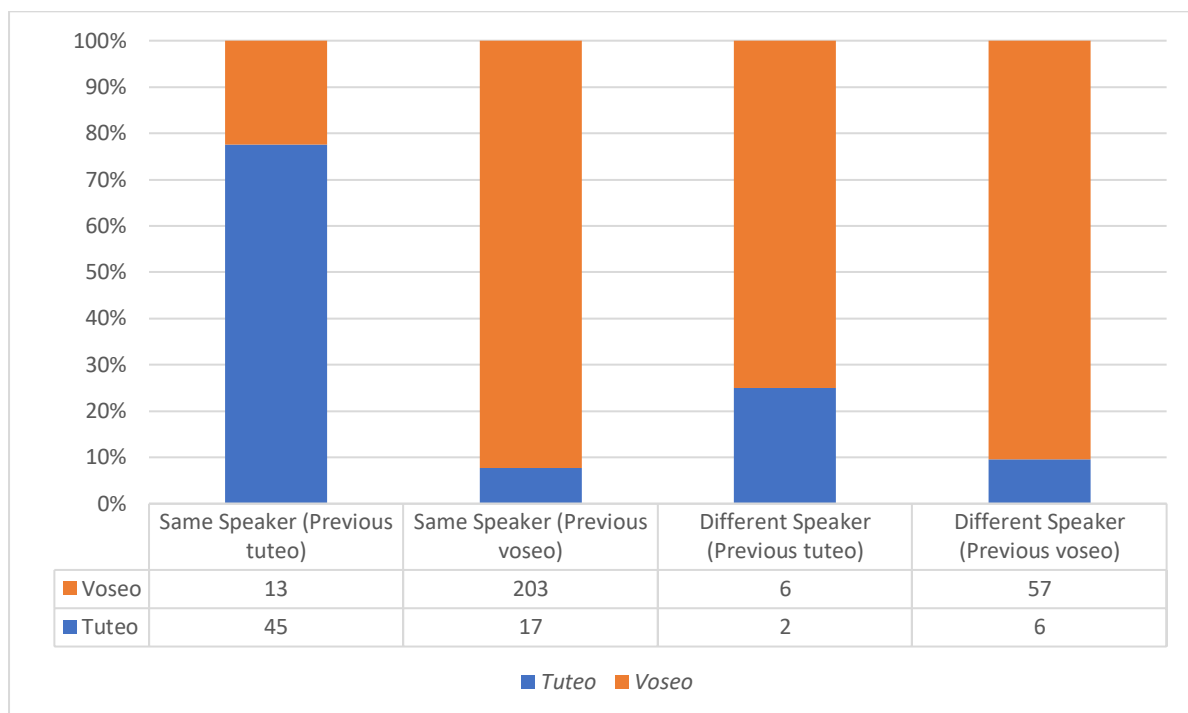


Figure 37: Rate of *tuteo*/*voseo* by Previous Realisation by Speaker in CCSS

A Fisher's Exact Test of Previous Realisation by same speaker (i.e. the top row of Table 31) found the effect to be significant ($p < 0.0001$).

However, a Fisher's Exact Test of same Previous Realisation by *different* speaker (i.e. the bottom row of Table 31) was found not to be significant (although this likely has to do with the low token numbers ($N=8$) in the context of a previous *tuteo* produced by an interlocutor).

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