

## A New Look at Forms of Address in the Spanish of Cali, Colombia

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### Abstract

The Spanish spoken in Cali, Colombia, is characterized by a tripartite system of address, with *vos*, *tú* and *usted* existing as options for speakers according to a variety of social and contextual variables. The present study, based on 801 surveys with native *Caleños*, finds a relatively stable system of address forms, but with preliminary evidence of a possible future change. Specifically, results show that, in comparison with verbal *voseo*, pronominal *vos* is disfavored by lower and middle social strata. Higher social groups, however, do not seem to stigmatize either form, suggesting that higher strata speakers are able to access the covert prestige benefits of the salient pronominal form in a way that lower class speakers are not. Additional findings, including the social factors influencing participants to report *vos*, *tú* or *usted*, are discussed.

### 1. Introduction

Research into second person singular (2s) forms of address across dialects of Spanish has been a highly productive field that has received increased attention over the past several decades (see Moyna, 2016 for an overview). Building on the theories of Brown & Gilman (1960), who present variation in 2s forms as a complex interplay between different levels of solidarity and power between interlocutors, many studies focus on the prototypical European binary system of address. In this model, the [-solidarity/+power] form is used in conjunction with a [+solidarity/-power] form, depending on the relationship between speakers. In standard Spanish, the form employed for distance [-solidarity/+power] contexts is *usted* (U), whereas *tú* (T) is used in more intimate, [+solidarity/-power] relationships. The current situation in many dialects of Latin American Spanish, however, is more complex, as standard T competes with another [-distance] form, *vos* (V<sup>1</sup>). *Vos* is an older form, cognate with French *vous*, that gradually fell out of favor and died out in Peninsular Spanish for a complex variety of reasons, but that was maintained as an intimate form in much of Latin America (see section 2 below; Benavides, 2003). In modern Spanish, V is only employed as an informal singular pronoun.

The present study adds to the literature on the system of address forms in Cali, Colombia.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that in many studies of address forms, authors use T to refer to intimate forms, while V refers to the form employed in the formal, power/distance context. In traditional terminology (Brown & Gilman 1960), both *tú* and *vos* are “T” forms, while *usted* corresponds to “V”. In order to capture the three-way pronominal system in (dialects of) Spanish, here we will use T=*tú*, V=*vos*, and U=*usted*.

Cali, the third largest city in Colombia, is characterized by a dialect that employs all three forms of address outlined above (T, V and U) (Simpson, 2002; Murillo Fernández, 2003; Millán, 2011; Newall, 2012, 2016). The present study seeks to elucidate the interplay of linguistic and social factors in determining speakers' reported forms of address, by means of survey data with 801 speakers of Cali Spanish. Results indicate different levels of prestige assigned to regional V across social classes, a novel finding not reported in previous studies, and they also provide additional insight into the complex system of address forms in Cali.

## 2. Vos, Tú and Usted in Latin American Spanish

Forms of address are known to vary widely across Latin American dialects, with some areas showing a binary T and U system, like most of Mexico and the Caribbean. Other regions, such as Argentina and Nicaragua, essentially show binary V vs. U (at least in spoken speech, Lipski, 2004, Moyna, 2016). A third set of dialects have a ternary system, with T, V and U all existing as options that speakers use across a variety of contexts (see Lipski, 2004; Rona, 1967; Benavides, 2003; Moyna, 2016). Although the social factors that encouraged the preservation of V in some Latin American dialects are complex and vary from region to region, the generalization can be made that more isolated regions without constant contact with Peninsular varieties of Spanish tended to preserve the older V form, such as the case in the Southern Cone and Central America (Benavides, 2003; see Baumler-Schreffler, 1994; Michnowicz & Place, 2010; and Sorenson, 2013 for El Salvador; Pinkerton, 1986 for Guatemala; Moser, 2010 and Michnowicz, Despain & Gorham, 2016 for Costa Rica; Weyers, 2009, 2013 for Uruguay; Torrejón, 1991, Stevenson, 2007 and Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010 for Chile). Areas that maintained stronger economic and socio-political ties to Spain underwent the same loss of *voseo* as in Peninsular Spanish, leaving only T and U in most of Mexico (excluding the far southern state of Chiapas that historically formed part of Guatemala; Lipski, 2004), the Caribbean and Peru (Benavides, 2003).

Colombia represents an interesting case; in fact, Lipski (2004, p. 237) notes that pronouns of address are the most notable morphosyntactic aspect in Colombian Spanish. Much of the research has centered on Bogota, which displays a three-way system of T and U, along with another unique [+power/distance] form, *su merced* (lit. "your grace") (Lipski, 2004; Lamanna, 2012; Bayona, 2006). Studies have also shown that Bogotá Spanish is among the dialects that utilizes U for both [+solidarity] and [-solidarity] interlocutors (Uber, 1985). At the same time, the Caribbean port of Cartagena has a binary system with T and U (like other Caribbean areas that maintained constant contact with Spain), whereas much of the rest of the interior, such as the cities of Medellín and Cali, employs *voseo* to one degree or another (Lipski, 2004).

## 3. Forms of address in Cali

Forms of address in Cali have received increased attention in the literature in recent years, in large part due to Colombia's unique situation, where the second and third largest cities (Medellín and Cali) are *voseante*, while the national standard centered on Bogotá is *tuteante*. This tension between the regional use of V - in two major, economically prosperous cities- and national standard T - creates the ideal environment to study the role of address forms in expressing and defining the multiple linguistic identities that speakers possess. Weyers (2016a,b) argues that a rise in local prestige and regional solidarity following the drug wars of the past decades in Medellín has led to a concomitant increase in prestige for regional V. In this way, a changing

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system of address forms may uniquely reflect changing social norms and allegiances. Given that the social context of Cali is similar to that of Medellín, the present study is ideally positioned to uncover changes in use, acceptance or prestige of the different address forms available to *Caleños*.

As seen in Table 1, V forms in Colombian dialects (Cali included) exhibit oxytonic stress in the present indicative and subjunctive, as well as in the imperative, corresponding to Rona's Type C *voseo* (Rona, 1967), with variant forms in the preterit and future, and morphology that overlaps with T in the imperfect indicative, imperfect subjunctive and conditional.

Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Preterit Indicative	Future Indicative	Present Subjunctive	Imperfect Subjunctive	Conditional	Imperative
cantás	cantabas	cantastes/cantates	cantarés*	cantés	cantaras	cantarías	cantá
comés	comias	comistes/comites	comerés*	comás	comieras	comerías	comé
vivís	vivias	vivistes/vivites	vivirés*	vivás	vivieras	vivirías	viví

Table 1. Verbal morphology of *voseo* forms in Cali Spanish. \*Future indicative forms alternate with *tuteo* forms (cantarás, comerás, vivirás). Adapted from Newall (2012, p. 40).

Research on address forms in Cali has identified a tripartite system of pronouns, with V, T and U coexisting as address options across a range of social and linguistic contexts, with the same speakers employing all three forms in informal speech (Millán, 2011; Newall, 2016). Studies do not agree, however, on who employs particular forms and in which contexts. For example, Simpson (2002) and Murillo Fernández (2003) both report that V is used more among lower class speakers, suggesting that V is stigmatized in Cali. Millán (2011, pp. 119-120), on the other hand, found more V among higher class participants (34% V compared with 19% for low class participants). These divergent results may be the result of different methods or participant pools, or they may suggest a shift in the perception of V, as has also been reported for Medellín (Weyers, 2016a,b). In fact, Simpson (2003, p. 30) suggests that a shift may be underway, as “[i]n the higher classes, the negative evaluation of *vos* seems to be stronger in the older informants than in the younger ones”, although the difference is not great. This finding seems to indicate that younger, higher class speakers may be reevaluating the role of V in Cali Spanish.

The distribution of address forms in Cali also differs across studies. Newall (2016) found 44% T, 31% U and 25% V for his role-play data, while Millán (2011) reports much lower rates of T (17%), higher rates of U (50%) and similar rates of V (28%) in her survey data. These differences, while likely largely due to methodologies (role-plays vs. surveys), also suggest a large degree of variation in the Cali address system.

Other social and linguistic factors have also been examined for Cali address forms, with results largely corresponding to many other varieties of Spanish. In Cali, men use and report more V than women (31% vs. 24% in Millán 2011; 41% vs. 31% in Newall 2016). This corresponds with other studies that have found that men tend to use more V than women, which can be viewed as vulgar or masculine (see Newall, 2016; Moyna, 2016; Benavides, 2003; Baumler-Schreffler, 1995). At the same time, studies show that women correspondingly employ higher rates of U (Millán, 2011; Newall, 2016). Newall (2016) also found higher rates of T for women (69% vs. 60% for men compared to V), while Millán (2011) reports slightly higher T among men (17% compared to 16% for women).

The relationship with the interlocutor is also an important factor in Cali address forms.

Newall (2016) found that both T and V dominate with known interlocutors, but with differences existing between the two forms. Specifically, V was more frequent with family members, whereas T was employed more often with friends and co-workers, suggesting an intermediate function for T. Millán (2011, p. 142) additionally found that T was used more than expected with both grandparents and siblings, leading her to conclude that “[i]n addition to the familiar function of this pronoun [T], there is also a solidary but respectful *tú*”. Likewise, while U is primarily used with unknown interlocutors or as the respectful, deferent option, both Millán (2011) and Newall (2016) report relatively high levels of U in known, [+solidarity] contexts, such as with siblings (32% U in Millán’s survey data). Newall (2016, p. 165) notes that this suggests a “[p]robable ‘dual function’” for U, as has also been found in some other varieties (cf. Uber, 1985 for Bogotá; Michnowicz, Despain & Gorham, 2016 for Costa Rican Spanish). The results of respectful T and solidarity U lead Millán (2011, p. 179) to propose a complex, five-level address system for Cali (along with Medellín), as seen in Figure 1.

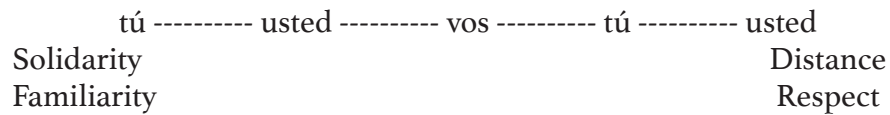


Figure 1. Proposed five-level address system for Cali and Medellín (adapted from Millán, 2011, p. 179).

In this proposed model, *vos* occupies a middle, neutral ground between solidarity and distance. In light of the complex picture that emerges from the few previous studies on the system of Cali address forms, the present study seeks to add to the literature by addressing the following research questions:

1. What is the reported distribution of address forms in Cali Spanish, as found in data from 801 online surveys?
2. Is there evidence of a change in prestige of V in Cali Spanish, as has been suggested for Medellín (Weyers, 2016a,b), and for upper class speakers in Cali (Simpson, 2003)?
3. If so, how does this affect the complex system of address, with both U and T serving both solidarity and distance functions, as suggested by Newall (2016) and proposed by Millán (2011)?

#### 4. Methodology

Data for the present study come from 801 online surveys with native speakers of Cali Spanish. The surveys asked participants which form of address they would use with a variety of interlocutors. The survey also included a short demographic section, as well as a multiple-choice question about which linguistic forms could be used to identify a person from Cali. The main portion of the survey consisted of 30 questions, based on 15 different interlocutors. Since some previous studies suggest that results may differ based on whether the question asked which pronoun would be used (*tú*, *vos* or *usted*) or whether the verb form alone was given (*hablas*, *hablás* or *habla*) (Stevenson, 2007; Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010), in the present study 15 of the questions required participants to choose which pronoun they would use in a particular context, as seen in Figure 2.

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Con su compañero/a de trabajo o universidad, usted se dirige usando:

Usted                      Tú                      Vos                      Su merced

Figure 2. Example of survey question with pronouns

The other 15 questions employed the same interlocutors, but instead of the pronoun, only the verb form was given. Testing the participants reported use for the same interlocutors with both pronominal and verbal forms allows us to compare the relative prestige of address forms (V in particular), since previous research suggests that in some varieties of Spanish, it is the pronoun *vos*, rather than the corresponding verbal conjugation, that is most stigmatized and avoided by speakers (see Stevenson, 2007 for Chile).

Con su compañero/a de trabajo o universidad, usted se dirige usando:

¿Quiere ir a comer?    ¿Quieres ir a comer?    ¿Querés ir a comer?

Figure 3. Example of survey question with verbal forms

Note that *su merced* was not explicitly addressed in the verbal forms, since this honorific lacks a specific morphology that distinguishes it from *usted*.

Surveys were designed using Google Forms, and were distributed using various social media platforms, as well as by email. Participants were encouraged to share the survey with others, and the second author's social networks at various universities in Cali assisted in survey collection. A total of almost 900 surveys were initially collected; after excluding participants who did not click the consent box on the survey, were not from Cali, or did not meet the age requirement (over 18), 801 surveys remained for analysis. It must be noted that due to a problem with the online form, the first approximately 100 surveys were sent out without the box for participants to indicate their age<sup>2</sup>; these surveys were still included, with age removed from the analysis for those participants with the / function in Rbrul<sup>3</sup> (Johnson, 2009).

It is important to recognize that survey data of this type can be problematic, an issue that Morgan & Schwenter (2016) note has always affected research on forms of address. The issue is that participants may answer with what they think they say, or what they think is correct, rather than the form they actually use. Instead of being a faithful representation of language use, survey results are interpreted as participants' attitude toward and acceptance of certain forms in a given context, thereby providing important insight into how speakers think about forms of address. On the other hand, previous research has found that, while participants may under- or overestimate the frequency with which they use a given form, the pattern of usage uncovered by surveys does reflect real world use (Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010; Morgan & Schwenter, 2016).

A series of logistic regression analyses were carried out in Rbrul (Johnson, 2009), each one comparing one address form to the other two (i.e. *vos* vs. other; *tú* vs. other; *usted* vs. other). Factor Weights (FW) are reported in the results tables; a FW over 0.5 statistically favors the variant in question, while FWs under 0.5 disfavor; 0.5 is neutral. In all cases, the binary dependent variable was address form. Independent variables included interlocutor, participant social class, age, sex

<sup>2</sup> These surveys still had participants check a box verifying that there were over 18 years of age as required by IRB but lacked the option for participants to give their actual ages.

<sup>3</sup> This works similarly to / in Goldvarb, in that it removes tokens from one column while maintaining the rest of the survey in the analysis; In Rbrul, this is done by assigning / tokens a logodds of 0 and factor weight of 0.5, effectively removing the effect of those tokens from the analysis. See the release notes for Rbrul version 2.3 (October 4 2015) at [http://www.danielezrajohnson.com/Rbrul\\_release\\_notes.txt](http://www.danielezrajohnson.com/Rbrul_release_notes.txt)

and education level. Additionally, whether the survey question was phrased as a pronoun or a verbal form was included.

Participant social class was determined using the preset levels of *Estrato Social* established by the Colombian government, following Millán (2011). In Colombia, each neighborhood is assigned a score by the *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística* (DANE). This score, which ranges from 1 (lowest) to 6 (highest) is used by the Colombian government to charge residents differential rates for public services, based on their ability to pay<sup>4</sup>. Since this number is overtly assigned by the government and is based on factors such as home price and the economic well-being of particular neighborhoods, Colombians are acutely aware of where they fall on the official scale and are accustomed to self-reporting their strata. While not perfect, the use of the DANE scale does allow for an objective measure of socio-economic class in Colombia<sup>5</sup>. The scale is seen in Figure 4.

1. Bajo-Bajo
2. Bajo
3. Medio-Bajo
4. Medio
5. Medio-Alto
6. Alto

Figure 4. *Estratos sociales* according to the Colombian government.

Participants were divided into three age groups: Younger (18-29), Middle (30-49) and Older (50-70). Results of the analyses are detailed in the following section.

## 5. Results

First, the overall distribution of reported forms of address in Cali is found in Table 2.

<i>Vos</i>	<i>Tú</i>	<i>Ud.</i>	<i>Su Merced</i>
40.2% n = 9454	20.1% n = 4727	39.7% n = 9454	0.1% n = 12

Table 2. Overall distribution of address forms

The most striking finding in Table 2 is the almost equal reported frequency of *vos* and *usted*. This distinguishes Cali Spanish from some other varieties, where speakers are more hesitant to report *voseo* (Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010). The relatively high frequency of reported *voseo* suggests that this form enjoys a level of social prestige not found in many other *voseante* regions of

<sup>4</sup> “La estratificación socioeconómica es una clasificación en estratos de los inmuebles residenciales que deben recibir servicios públicos. Se realiza principalmente para cobrar de manera diferencial por estratos los servicios públicos domiciliarios permitiendo asignar subsidios y cobrar contribuciones en esta área. De esta manera, quienes tienen más capacidad económica pagan más por los servicios públicos y contribuyen para que los estratos bajos puedan pagar sus facturas”. DANE. (2015, Abril 2). Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística ESTRATIFICACIÓN SOCIOECONÓMICA PARA SERVICIOS PÚBLICOS DOMICILIARIOS. Retrieved January 29, 2018, from <http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/servicios-al-ciudadano/servicios-de-informacion/estratificacion-socioeconomica>

<sup>5</sup> Although as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the fact that the surveys were distributed online still likely skewed the socio-economic makeup of the participants, as potential participants without internet access would most likely have not been able to participate in the study. Future research should supplement these online surveys with other methods that avoid a technology bias.

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Latin America. Reported *tú* accounts for only 20% of the data, and as will be seen, is reserved for specific interlocutors and contexts, although there is some evidence that T may be increasing in some contexts. Finally, *su merced*, typical of Bogota Spanish, is virtually non-existent in the Cali data, again demonstrating the dialect differences between the two cities. Due to the extremely low token count for *su merced*, this address form is excluded from further analysis.

The following tables present the significant factors from three separate statistical runs (*vos* vs. other; *tú* vs. other; *usted.* vs. other). The most influential factor for all three address forms in Cali is interlocutor, as has also been found for other dialects (Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010; Michnowicz, Despain & Gorham, 2016). The results for interlocutor are also presented in visual form, in Figure 5.

<b>Vos</b>	<b>FW</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Tú</b>	<b>FW</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Usted</b>	<b>FW</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>
Friend	.90	85%	1329	Child	.88	55%	1002	Boss	.89	77%	1210
Sibling	.87	80%	1260	Partner/Spouse	.77	41%	649	Professor	.86	73%	1148
Coworker	.86	79%	1249	Child of friend	.76	40%	428	Stranger in the street	.85	72%	1125
Partner/Spouse	.61	50%	784	Foreigner	.55	22%	340	Employee	.85	72%	1120
Parents	.56	45%	704	Grandparents	.55	22%	335	Unknown person	.70	53%	833
Child of friend	.49	40%	942	Parents	.52	20%	306	Foreigner	.69	52%	818
Neighbor	.48	37%	578	Unknown person	.48	17%	268	Neighbor	.69	52%	811
Child <sup>6</sup>	.45	29%	223	Professor	.39	12%	194	Grandparents	.64	47%	729
Grandparents	.42	32%	496	Sibling	.39	12%	193	Parents	.52	35%	554
Unknown person	.40	30%	475	Boss	.38	12%	190	Child of friend	.32	17%	405
Foreigner	.35	26%	411	Friend	.37	12%	180	Child	.19	17%	130
Stranger in the street	.27	20%	305	Neighbor	.37	11%	180	Coworker	.16	9%	146
Employee	.27	19%	299	Coworker	.37	11%	180	Partner/Spouse	.14	9%	133
Professor	.20	14%	224	Employee	.32	9%	147	Sibling	.12	7%	113
Boss	.16	11%	175	Stranger in the street	.29	9%	134	Friend	.07	4%	60
Range	74			Range	59			Range	82		

<sup>6</sup> Child is collinear with Form (verbal vs. pronominal) for V; there are no tokens of verbal V for with children in the data. This overlap is seen in the percent V for Child being out of order with respect to the FW.

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n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.265 Input prob. = 0.434 Log likelihood = -12810.97 R2 = 0.291 p-value = -0	n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -1.57 Input prob. = 0.172 Log likelihood = -10532.6 R2 = 0.16 p-value = -0	n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.914 Input prob. = 0.286 Log likelihood = -11418.89 R2 = 0.43 p-value = -0
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Table 3. Results of analyses: Interlocutor

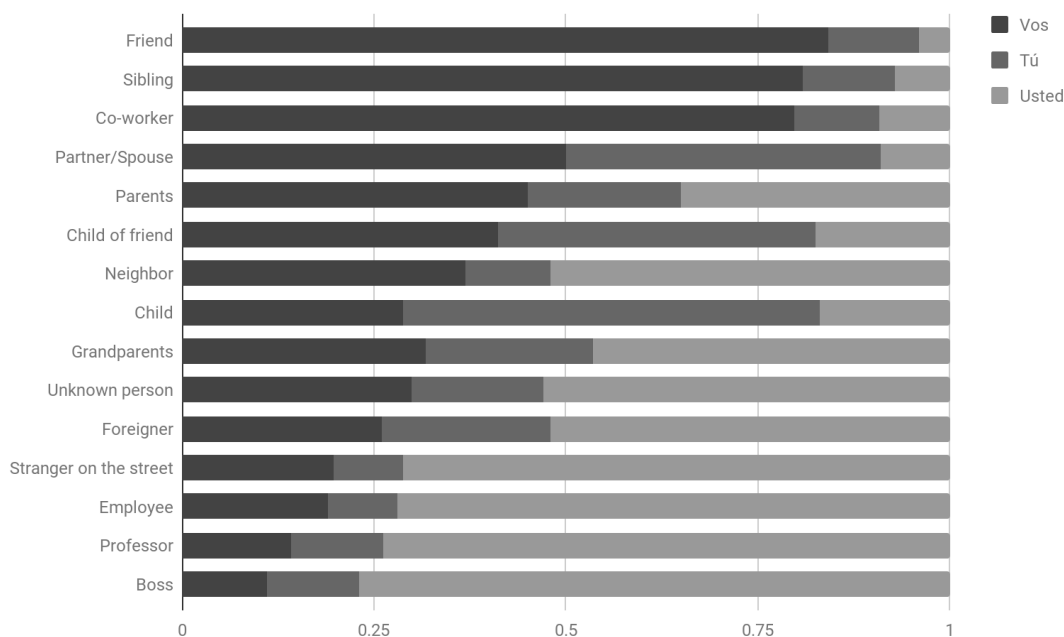


Figure 5. Frequency of Address forms across interlocutors

*Usted* is preferred primarily as expected, for [-solidarity/+power] interlocutors, such as bosses, professors and unknown persons, with very little use reported for [+solidarity/-power] relationships. In this way, Cali Spanish behaves like most other varieties of Spanish studied to date. At the same time, the fact that U registers at all with intimate interlocutors (partner/spouse, siblings and friends) supports the “dual function” (Newall, 2016, p. 165) for U reported in previous studies (also Millán, 2011).

*Tú* and *vos* show some degree of overlap in reported use. Both forms are reported for partner/spouse at similar rates (41% T vs. 50% V). Likewise, both forms show a statistically favoring effect for parents, although the rate of accepted V is more than double that of T (45% V vs. 20% T). Additionally, T shows some evidence of behaving like an intermediate pronoun in some contexts, as has also been reported for other varieties with a ternary pronoun system (cf. El Salvador, Michnowicz & Place, 2010). *Tú* is favored with interlocutors where U may be too distancing, whereas V would indicate an equality of relationship that does not exist. T is favored with children, and grandparents (although not at the same level as U). As has been found for other dialects, T is also preferred when speaking to foreigners, who may not be familiar with V usage. Additionally, the reported use of T with [+power/distance] interlocutors, such as bosses, professors and grandparents, while not high, lends support to Millán’s (2011) model of a dual



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function T as well.

V is clearly the default informal pronoun in Cali, as indicated by the high reported frequencies of use with friends (85%), siblings (80%) and co-workers (79%). Like T above, V is reported by some participants in [+power/distance] contexts, perhaps reflecting a broadening of *voseo*, at least for some *Caleños*.

Vos	FW		N	Tú	FW	%		Usted	FW	%	N
Verb	.57	45%	5335	Verb	.57	23%	2717	Pro	.63	48%	5598
Pro	.43	35%	4114	Pro	.44	17%	2005	Verb	.37	32%	3721
Range	14			Range	13			Range	26		
n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.265 Input prob. = 0.434 Log likelihood = -12810.97 R2 = 0.291 p-value =4.89e-68				n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -1.57 Input prob. = 0.172 Log likelihood = -10532.6 R2 = 0.16 p-value =5.82e-47				n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.914 Input prob. = 0.286 Log likelihood = -11418.89 R2 = 0.43 p-value =2.4e-213			

Table 3. Verb Form vs. Pronoun

Table 3 presents the results based on verb form, where participants chose between different verbal conjugations corresponding to forms of address (*Quiere/Quieres/Querés ir a comer*), compared with pronouns, where participants chose between pronominal forms (*Usted/Tú/Vos*) for the same interlocutors. U was favored more in the questions with pronominal forms, whereas both V/T were chosen more with the verbal forms. These results suggest that much of the respect inherent in the U form is found mainly in the pronoun, whereas the precise conjugation used is less important in contexts of [+power/-solidarity]. V/T, on the other hand, were both favored in contexts without a pronoun, based solely on the verbal conjugation. We will return to possible explanations for this trend in the discussion.

Vos	FW	%	N	Tú	FW	%	N	Usted	FW	%	N
Estrato 6	.54	45%	257	Estrato 6	.55	24%	136	Estrato 3	.59	43%	4376
Estrato 5	.54	44%	1137	Estrato 1	.52	22%	585	Estrato 4	.54	40%	2094
Estrato 4	.50	41%	2157	Estrato 2	.52	22%	799	Estrato 2	.51	38%	1356
Estrato 1	.49	41%	352	Estrato 5 <sup>7</sup>	.51	23%	585	Estrato 1	.50	37%	319
Estrato 2	.48	40%	1456	Estrato 4	.46	19%	1006	Estrato 5	.44	33%	847
Estrato 3	.46	38%	3906	Estrato 3	.45	19%	1918	Estrato 6	.42	31%	178
Range	8			Range	10			Range	17		
n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.265 Input prob. = 0.434 Log likelihood = -12810.97 R2 = 0.291 p-value =2.47e-08				n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -1.57 Input prob. = 0.172 Log likelihood = -10532.6 R2 = 0.16 p-value =3.22e-10				n=23516; df = 27; intercept = -0.914 Input prob. = 0.286 Log likelihood = -11418.89 R2 = 0.43 p-value =5.6e-33			

Table 4: Social Strata

<sup>7</sup> Estrato 5 is slightly out of order in the analysis of T due to rounding of FWs and percentages; Estratos 1, 2 and 5 behave essentially identically for T.

Social class shows interesting patterns across all three forms of address. U and T show opposite patterns, where T is statistically favored by the highest (6) and the two lowest (1 and 2) social strata, although the overall differences in reported use are not great. U, on the other hand, is favored by the middle three strata (2, 3 and 4), with strata 5 and 6 showing the strongest disfavoring. V, however, is favored by the two highest strata (5 and 6). These results suggest some level of covert prestige for V for some higher strata speakers, while at the same time pointing towards hypercorrection away from V for some lower strata speakers.

Additional insight is gained by examining the cross-tabulation between social strata and pronoun/verb, seen in Figure 6.

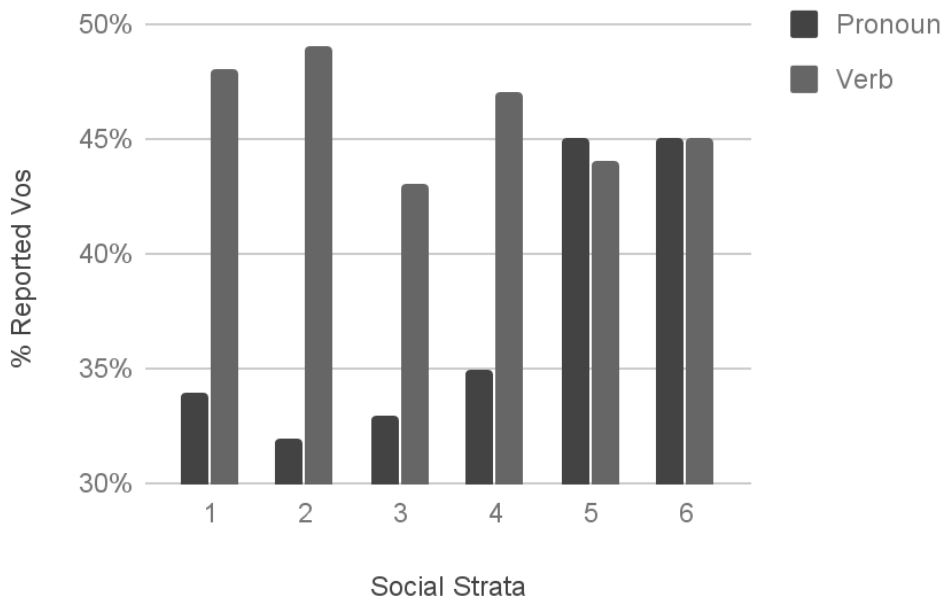


Figure 6. Pronoun/Verb by social strata: *Vos*

Previous literature has indicated that, in some *voseante* dialects of Spanish, such as Chile, it is actually the pronoun *vos*, rather than the corresponding verb forms, that is stigmatized (Stevenson, 2007). Figure 6 clearly demonstrates this tendency, with participants choosing verbal *voseo* (i.e. only the verb form without the corresponding pronoun) at much higher rates than pronominal *voseo* (i.e. only the pronoun without the corresponding verb form) in the first four social strata. For example, participants in those strata were much more likely to say they used *querés* with their grandparents than to say they used the pronoun *vos* with them (46% verbal vs. 18% pronominal average across strata 1-4), suggesting that it is the pronoun that may be inappropriate with particular interlocutors, but that the verbal form is not as salient or stigmatized. That trend is halted, however, among participants from the two highest strata (5 and 6). These participants show roughly equal acceptance of verbal and pronominal forms (44-45%). A comparison of reported uses for pronominal and verbal *voseo* for each interlocutor across social strata clearly shows this discrepancy. Figure 7 gives a comparison of the two extreme social strata, 1 and 6.

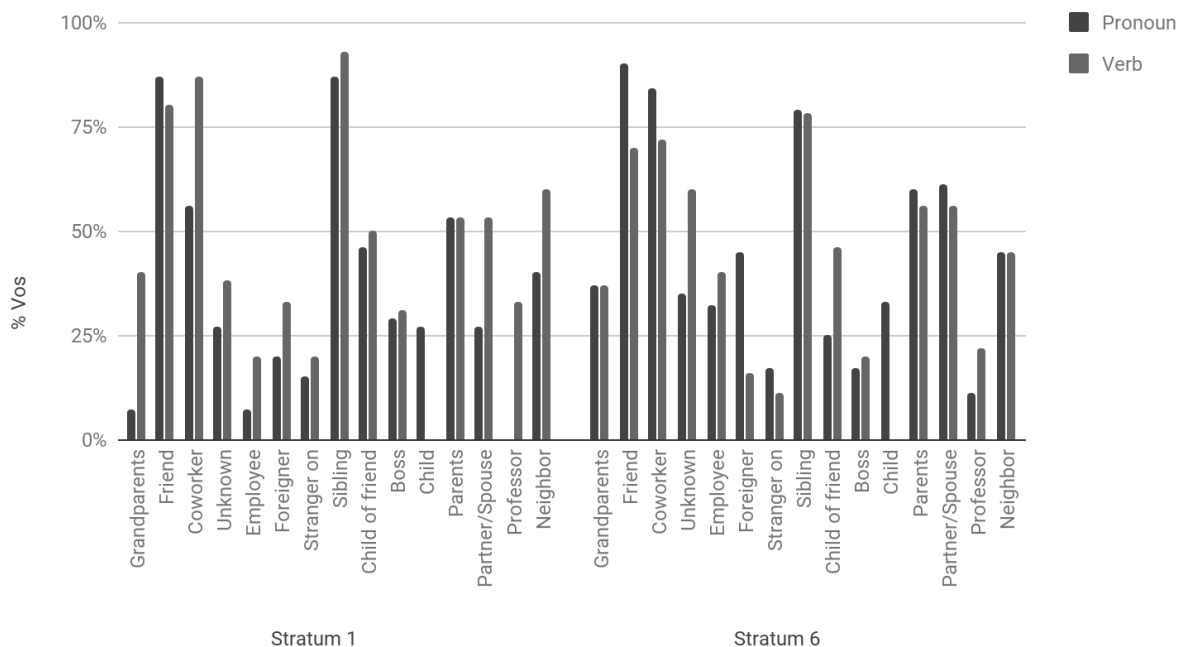


Figure 7. Pronoun/Verb by Interlocutor: Strata 1 and 6.

In stratum 1, verbal *voseo* is reported more than pronominal for all interlocutors except *friend* and *parents* (there are no tokens of verbal *voseo* for *child* in the data). In stratum 6, on the other hand, pronominal *voseo* is preferred over verbal with seven interlocutors (*friend*, *coworker*, *foreigner*, *stranger on the street*, *siblings*, *parents* and *partner/spouse*), with an additional two showing equal values between verbal and pronominal forms (*grandparents*, *neighbor*). Of particular interest is *friend*, where participants reported more pronominal *voseo* in both social strata, suggesting that the pronoun *vos* is used among both groups to build solidarity among friends. At the same time, both groups show a preference for verbal *voseo* with *professor*, *boss*, *child of a friend*, *employee* and *unknown person*, again suggesting that the pronoun *vos* may not be appropriate in all contexts, but where verbal *voseo* does not produce the same reaction. This differential use of *voseo* across social strata, as well as the possible use of *vos* as a solidarity/identity marker, will be further addressed in the discussion.

Vos	FW	%	N	Tú	FW	%	N	Usted	FW	%	N
Older	.53	44%	1598	Younger	.51	20%	1930	Middle	.51	40%	2022
Younger	.49	41%	4084	Middle	.51	20%	1000	Younger	.50	39%	3859
Middle	.49	41%	2098	Older	.48	18%	651	Older	.49	38%	1355
Range		4		Range		3		Range		2	

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n=23516; df = 27 intercept = -0.265 Input prob. = 0.434 Log likelihood = -12810.97 R2 = 0.291 p-value =2.44e-31	n=23516; df = 27 intercept = -1.57 Input prob. = 0.172 Log likelihood = -10532.6 R2 = 0.16 p-value =2.44e-12	n=23516; df = 27 intercept = -0.914 Input prob. = 0.286 Log likelihood = -11418.89 R2 = 0.43 p-value =7.98e-08
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Table 5. Age group

Age was a significant factor for each pronoun, although the differences across generations are not great. This distinguishes Cali Spanish from some other varieties that have shown clear increases in the use of some forms among younger speakers (e.g. more V in Chile, Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010; more U in Costa Rica, Michnowicz et al., 2016). The more positive reaction among younger, higher class speakers reported in Simpson (2003) is not duplicated in our data. Older strata 5-6 speakers report 53% V, compared with 36% and 39% V for middle and younger groups respectively, although this difference may be due in part to differences in methodology. We will return to the possible role of age in the discussion.

Participant sex was a significant factor in the analysis of T and U, but not V. While women slightly favor T, men show a slight favoring of U, although the differences are minimal.

Vos	FW	%	N	Tú	FW	%	N	Usted	FW	%	N
Men	.50	40%	2521	Women	.52	21%	3556	Men	.51	41%	2544
Women	.50	40%	6933	Men	.48	19%	1171	Women	.49	39%	6791
Range			0	Range			4	Range			2
n=23516; df = 27				n=23516; df = 27				n=23516; df = 27			
intercept = -0.265				intercept = -1.57				intercept = -0.914			
Input prob. = 0.434				Input prob. = 0.172				Input prob. = 0.286			
Log likelihood = -12810.97				Log likelihood = -10532.6				Log likelihood = -11418.89			
R2 = 0.291				R2 = 0.16				R2 = 0.43			
p-value =0.476				p-value =0.000488				p-value =0.011			

Table 6. Speaker Sex

Likewise, education level (university vs. *bachillerato*) is a significant factor for T and U, but not for V, again with minimal differences across levels. For the present data, social stratum is a much stronger predictor of form of address than education (see Table 4). The slight increase of T for university-educated participants reflects the role of T as the standard pronoun, correlated with educational contexts in Cali Spanish (see Millán, 2011).

Vos	FW	%	N	Tú	FW	%	N	Usted	FW	%	N
Univ.	.50	40%	7515	Univ.	.52	21%	3849	Bach.	.52	42%	2003
Bach.	.50	40%	1939	Bach.	.48	18%	878	Univ.	.48	39%	7332
Range			0	Range			4	Range			4
n=23516; df = 27				n=23516; df = 27				n=23516; df = 27			
intercept = -0.265				intercept = -1.57				intercept = -0.914			
Input prob. = 0.434				Input prob. = 0.172				Input prob. = 0.286			
Log likelihood = -12810.97				Log likelihood = -10532.6				Log likelihood = -11418.89			
R2 = 0.291				R2 = 0.16				R2 = 0.43			
p-value =0.485				p-value =0.000559				p-value =6.31e-05			

Table 7. Speaker Education

Finally, as noted in the methodology, all survey participants were native *Caleños*, but as the surveys were shared across social media platforms, some participants do not currently reside in Cali. These participants' responses account for 4402 tokens, compared with 18,134 for current Cali inhabitants. Based on survey responses, participants were divided into three areas of current residence: Cali, other areas of Colombia, and outside of the country. Current residence was not a significant factor in any of the analyses ( $V p.=0.0968$ ,  $T p.=0.601$ ,  $U p.=0.14$ ). Due to the lack of effect for current residence, all of the surveys were kept in the final analysis.

In sum, the strongest factor by far in determining reported forms of address is interlocutor, in line with the pragmatic nature of address form choice. Following interlocutor, in order of importance, is form (pronominal/verbal), social strata, and finally participant age. Participant sex and education played much smaller roles, and only for T and U. Current place of residence was not a significant factor in any of the analyses.

## 6. Discussion

We now return to the research questions detailed above, repeated here for convenience.

1. What is the reported distribution of address forms in Cali Spanish, as found in data from 801 online surveys?

Results indicate that V and U are the dominant forms in Cali Spanish, at least as reported by speakers on a survey. Both V and U were reported at a rate of 40%, although who favors each form and with whom differs across social groups and interlocutors. The overall frequencies differ from those reported in previous studies. Newall (2016) found much higher rates of T (44%), and along with Millán (2011), lower rates of V (25% in Newall's role-plays; 28% in Millán's surveys). As mentioned previously, part of this difference is likely due to the distinct methodologies used in each study, although Millán's (2011) survey is similar to the methods for the present study. Part of the difference for V might be due to the fact that Millán (2011) had participants choose only among pronominal forms (abbreviated as T, V, U etc. on the survey), whereas the present study took both pronominal and verbal forms into account. We found a 10% difference between pronominal and verbal answers with respect to *voseo* (45% verbal V vs 35% pronominal V), which may account for some of the discrepancy. The other 7% increase in pronominal V between Millán (2011) and the present data may indicate an increase in V acceptance over the past decade, although as will be addressed below, the sociolinguistic locus of any potential change is not evident.

2. Is there evidence of a change in prestige of V in Cali Spanish, as has been suggested for Medellín (Weyers, 2016a, b), and for upper class speakers in Cali (Simpson, 2003)?

As noted above, while there is some evidence that V may be increasing in acceptance over time, the lack of a significant main effect for participant sex, as well as the minor differences across age groups, make it difficult to pinpoint who might be leading such a change. Additionally, cross tabulations of both sex and age group, as well as age and social class, show very few differences across groups for V.

What the data do show is a differential use of pronominal vs. verbal V across social strata, as seen in Figure 6. Strata 1 through 4 report much more V when presented with the verb form,

and are much more reluctant to choose the overt *vos* for the same interlocutors. Speakers from Strata 5 and 6, however, do not distinguish between verbal and pronominal *voseo*, reporting both at nearly equal rates. Some previous work, on Chilean Spanish in particular, has noted that the pronoun *vos* is much more stigmatized by speakers than the corresponding verbal morphology (Stevenson, 2007; see Lipski, 2004, p. 161 on *crypto-voseo*). The present study supports this idea, as lower and middle-class speakers avoid pronominal V with much higher frequency than verbal V, suggesting that for these speakers, the pronoun carries negative social weight that the verbal morphology does not. The pronominal form is likely more salient, whereas the verbal form differences between T and V are subtle; most rely on stress alone, and several are identical in form. Upper class speakers, on the other hand, due to the social status that increased wealth and opportunity bring, are free to use the most overt [+solidarity] forms without incurring a social penalty. Chappell (2016) notes how some groups have the social capacity to access covert prestige in a way that others do not. Referring specifically to gender and non-standard /s/ variants, Chappell (2016, p. 372) states: “Male speakers, who stand to benefit socially from production of both the standard variant and the nonstandard variant are able to choose the variant most suited to their needs given the context and social identity they hope to project. Female speakers, however, are limited in how they are able to negotiate a positive social identity through their variant use, and, as a result, are more inclined to employ the only variant that benefits them socially...[t]hat is, women are more limited in the indexical meanings activated by their use of nonstandard variants, and their awareness of this limited accessibility impedes their use of said variants”. The use of stigmatized forms by women is only associated with the negative connotations of those forms, whereas men are able to tap into the positive aspects of the vernacular (e.g. masculinity, “street smarts”, etc.).

While Chappell (2016) is speaking about gender, we argue that this discussion provides a useful lens through which to understand the different behavior across social strata for V in Cali. Higher class speakers are able to employ both pronominal and verbal V with impunity, as the social context requires. To use the terminology of Chappell (2016), lower and middle-class speakers are likely aware of their lack of access to positive aspects of V, and are thereby more restricted in their use of stigmatized pronominal V.

So while there is no direct evidence of a shift in prestige for V in the present data for Cali, as Weyers (2016a,b) reports for Medellín, V forms are used differentially across social groups. The lack of stigma for pronominal V among the highest social classes may indicate a possible future change. Research has suggested that in most cases, a shift in address systems is most often brought about by radical social changes (Lipski, 2004). In the Spanish-speaking world, this has most often accompanied the rise and fall of dictatorships or totalitarian regimes and civil strife, either on the right (Spain, Chile) or on the left (Nicaragua, El Salvador). In Spain and Chile, the transition to democracy has been accompanied by a loosening of the previously rigid norms of address. The result is an increased use of [+solidarity] pronouns (Calderón Campos & Medina Morales, 2010; Bishop & Michnowicz, 2010; Rivadeneira Valenzuela, 2016; see also Molina Martos, 2016 for the gradual shift to T, beginning in the Republican period in Spain). In Nicaragua and El Salvador, socialist regimes encouraged the use of *voseo* as a way to mark the supposed egalitarianism of those countries, leading to an increase in V in the latter and the dominance of V in the former (Lipski, 2004, pp. 160-161; Michnowicz & Place, 2010). Weyers (2016a,b) argues that Medellín’s cultural and economic renaissance following the drug wars of the past decades has led to an increase in regional pride, which is also reflected in speech. Weyers (2016b, p. 72) states “[g]iven the relationship between culture and language, it is reasonable to expect that as-

pects of *paisa* speech - in this case, we emphasize *vos* - might enjoy a similar increase in prestige”. Thus, while Colombia has not suffered under a totalitarian regime in the same way as Chile or Spain, the civil war and drug-related violence may have had a similar effect on some of the most hard-hit regions of Colombia, encouraging solidarity among *Caleños* in a way that may be reflected in the use of autochthonous linguistic forms, such as *voseo*, which serves to distinguish Cali from Bogotá and coastal regions, such as Cartagena. The equal use of pronominal and verbal V among the upper classes may be an indication of a future change from above (Labov, 2001). Additional evidence that this change may be underway is seen in Figure 7, comparing Strata 1 and 6 across interlocutors. The only interlocutor for which Strata 1 speakers favor pronominal V is with friends, suggesting that the overt use of *vos* can mark in-group solidarity for these speakers. Future research should examine these possibilities with a variety of methodologies, including looking at the use of V in public announcements, as in Weyers (2016a,b).

Finally, additional evidence is gleaned from the final survey question, where participants could choose from among various regional forms to identify what linguistic forms are characteristic/identifying for Cali speech, in multiple choice format (participants could choose more than one answer). Sixty nine percent of participants identified the pronoun *vos* as indicative of Cali, while another 17% selected the corresponding verbal morphology. This result further supports the notion that the pronoun is much more salient as a marker of identity than verbal morphology<sup>8</sup>. In total, 86% of participants identified *voseo* as a defining characteristic of Cali Spanish, lending weight to the argument that many *Caleños* employ V in some form as a marker of local identity.

3. If so, how does this affect the complex system of address, with both U and T serving both solidarity and distance functions, as suggested by Newall (2016) and proposed by Millán (2011)?

As noted above, although participant age was a significant factor in the analysis of all three address forms, there are few important differences across age groups. Thus, in spite of the possible incipient changes outlined for pronominal V, the address system in Cali appears to be relatively stable for the time being. And while pronominal V shows a lack of stigma among higher social strata, the fact that V is still not a prestigious form of address for some speakers is seen in the conditional inference tree comparing T and V, found in Figure 8<sup>9</sup>.

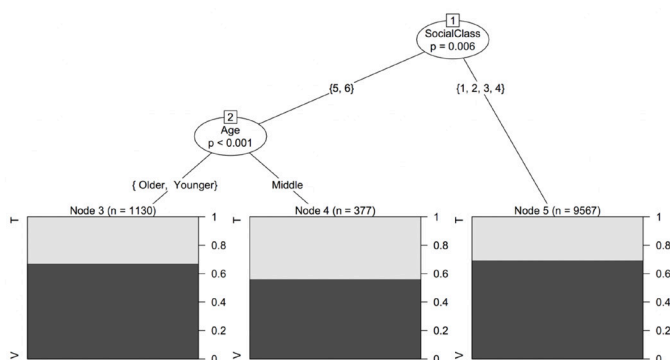


Figure 8. Conditional Inference Tree: V vs. T

8 Thank you to an anonymous review for making this connection.

9 A conditional inference tree presents significant factors in a binary branching, graphic format, finding the important break points in the data. See Tagliamonte (2012) for more information.

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Starting at the top node (1), the primary significant distinction between reported V and T is social class, with the two highest strata (5, 6) branching together, while strata 1-4 behave the same statistically, with relatively high levels of V compared with T. This result is likely due to the role of T in formal education and as the national standard form centered on Bogotá (see Millán, 2011). Lower strata speakers may have reduced access to this form for those reasons.

For strata 5 and 6 there is an additional significant branch point, age. Here, older and younger speakers behave identically (and similarly to all speakers from strata 1-4), with middle age speakers reporting significantly more T than the other groups. This U-shaped distribution, where middle age groups involved in the linguistic marketplace use or report less of a non-standard form, reflects the lack of overt prestige for V that leads working adults to report higher rates of standard T (see Trudgill, 1988). This speaks to the continued normative pressure exerted by T in Cali Spanish, in spite of the role of V as the dominant [+solidarity] form.

At the same time, there is some preliminary evidence that T may be expanding under this pressure from education and the national standard, as suggested by previous work (Millán, 2011). Results show 20% T overall, a slight increase from Millán's (2011) 17% T, similar to the 18% T for older speakers in the present data. In fact, cross-tabulation shows that older speakers show lower rates of T across all social strata (18% T average, compared with 21% average T for younger/middle speakers). The possible expansion of T is not surprising, given the national norm centered on Bogotá. Further research should examine the tension between national and regional norms with respect to T and V.

Regarding the intimate U reported in previous studies (Millán, 2011), a comparison of V and U with close interlocutors only reveals that U is reported very infrequently for most [+solidarity/-distance] contexts, although much more so with children than with other interlocutors, a use also found in some Central American varieties (Lipski, 2004). So while U does register in these contexts, it is clear that V continues to be the primary [+solidarity] form of address.

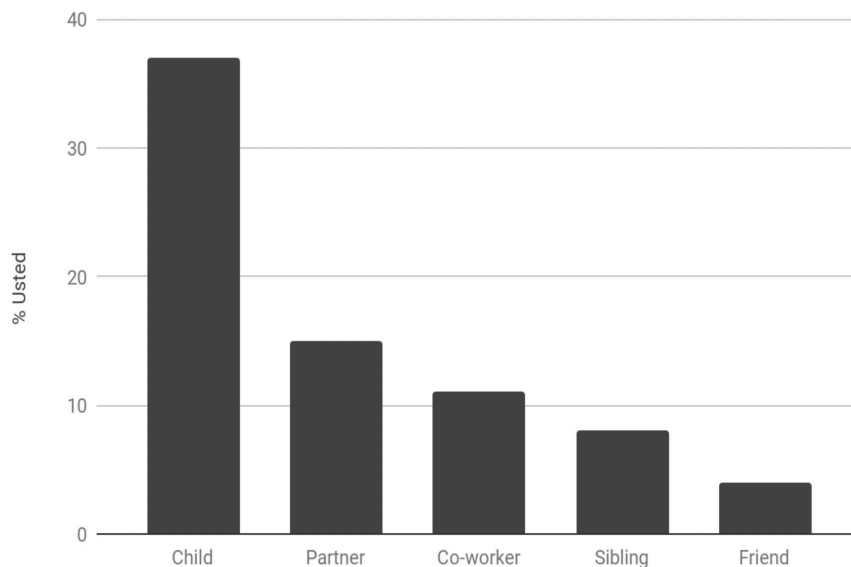


Figure 9. Comparison of *Usted* and *Vos* for [+solidarity/-distance] interlocutors



## 7. Conclusions

The results of the present study add to the growing body of literature on forms of address in Cali, Colombia. Cali is of particular interest due to its status as a *voseante* region in a country where *tuteo* dominates the national standard centered on Bogotá. Results indicate a largely stable system of address forms, dominated by V and U. At the same time, hints of possible changes to come were evident, primarily in the lack of stigma for pronominal V among the highest social strata, as well as the “filtering down” of pronominal V in certain circumstances, particularly with friends. Likewise, there is some preliminary evidence of an expansion of T among some groups, although it is still unclear whether T might expand at the expense of V, U or both. Future research is needed to determine if the intricate patterns of *vos*, *tú* and *usted* will remain relatively stable, or if the changes in V and T hinted at in these results will alter the system in the coming years.

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