

## **2 Literature Review**

In order to understand the issues brought up in this study, it is important to understand the background and theory behind the related topics. Section 2.1 will give an overview of discourse and pragmatics as they relate to this study. Discourse and pragmatics frequently deal with conversation analysis and politeness studies, so understanding the basic concepts of these areas will provide insight into this specific study. Section 2.2 will talk about speech communities. Forms of address will be discussed in the Section 2.3.

### **2.1 Overview of Pragmatics and Discourse**

#### **2.1.1 Pragmatics**

Since language is used for communication between two or more people, it is a social act. Language cannot be separated from social action, setting and knowledge (Stubbs, 1983). These extra-linguistic factors, or in other words, factors that go beyond just grammar, vocabulary, syntax and semantics, are studied in the field of pragmatics. “Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society” (Mey, 2001, p. 6). This study investigates the pragmatic consciousness that the participants have about social action, setting and knowledge when making language choices, specifically what social factors they use when deciding which form of address to use with me.

Social actions are performed by the use of language. Austin and Searle (in Mey, 2001) were the first linguists to study speech acts and the social actions performed with this type of language use. According to Mey, speech acts are verbal actions which bring

about a change in the existing state of affairs. Instead of just considering words or sentences as the basic unit of linguistic communication, linguistics can also look at speech acts to take into account the speaker's intentions, which are relevant and indispensable to the correct understanding and description of the speaker's language use. One such intention of language use is to establish and maintain social relationships (Agha, 1994; Stubbs, 1983). Such language use includes the formation and definition of the speaker's relationship with other people. The choice of certain language forms over others, for example, shows how the speaker chooses to define his relationship with another person. This study will look at the participants' language choice to define their relationships with me, the researcher.

Social situations are also inseparable from language. Language always occurs within a situational context. Situations include factors such as setting, time and emotions. These situational factors play a part in determining how language is used. These factors will be looked at in this study and discussed further in Chapter 3 (Methods) and in Chapter 4 (Results and Discussion).

Social knowledge is also connected with language. The speaker's knowledge of social relationships and social contexts or settings has an impact on how he uses language. Ways of speaking imply knowledge not only of language forms and their co-occurrence, but also their social distribution and appropriateness for social function (Patrick, 2003). In the present study, data was gathered on the kinds of social knowledge that each participant held via questionnaires and interviews.

Language use depends on shared knowledge and assumptions between speakers and their interlocutors (Stubbs, 1983). Agha (1994) states that a logical precondition of

language use is the “existence of intersubjectivity shared codes available to interactants as such” (p. 277). The amount of shared knowledge between the interlocutors may differ depending on characteristics of the individuals such as how they were brought up and educated, their hometown, etc. and they may have a different understanding of shared knowledge from someone who comes from a different background. For example, in this study some students may assume that a professor may be offended by the use of the informal form of address and for that reason use the formal form while others may assume that a person of their age would be offended by the use of the formal form which they associate with older people.

### **2.1.2 Discourse**

Discourse is the everyday use of language which is affected by the relations between language, action, knowledge and situation (Stubbs, 1983). Discourse is naturally occurring written or spoken language. Conversational discourse, or spoken language, is normally spontaneous and unrehearsed and it is also mostly interactive meaning that there is more than one person involved in the discourse. Spoken discourse is not spontaneous if it is prepared in advance by the speaker or someone else, such as in a speech, a play, etc. This study only addresses spontaneous conversational discourse. Conversational discourse will be part of the data in this study through ethnographical observations and recorded conversations.

Another type of discourse is written discourse. This type of discourse was observed through messenger conversations and emails between the students and me. Written discourse may or may not be spontaneous. Written discourse that may be

considered spontaneous includes diaries, emails and messenger conversations because these types of language use are usually written without considerable planning and without much editing. Messenger conversations are series of language acts exchanged in real time and can be considered spontaneous. However, written discourse is not truly spontaneous because the writer always has the option of going back and editing the language used. This can also be observed in the example of messenger conversations. Once a person has typed something, he can go back and edit it repeatedly until he actually sends the message, or he can choose to never send the message. In this aspect, the language use is not spontaneous. This study considers messenger conversations as spontaneous since they occur in real time giving the writer little time to plan and edit. Emails are also considered to be spontaneous in this study because the writer, although he has more time to write, plan and edit the language used, probably does not use this time as seen in the informality of the writing style used in the data collected (discussed in Section 4.3.1). Examples of this informality are misspelled words and non-capitalized letters, both of which would be changed with any editing. These errors lead me to believe that there was not significant time put into writing the emails which makes me consider them to be spontaneous.

In other cases of written language use such as books, magazines and newspapers, the writer is able to put significant thought into the language that he uses. Editing occurs by the writer himself and other people and is not spontaneous. Non-spontaneous discourse will not be used in this study because it is not available due to the fact that formal written discourse in Spanish is not part of the interactions between the students and me. However, since no type of written discourse is ever one hundred percent

spontaneous, the results and discussion chapter will discuss possibilities about how the data obtained through the so-called spontaneous written discourse may not be truly spontaneous.

Discourse is a behavior which may at times be automatic, unselfconscious and spontaneous, but at other times may also be highly organized in ways that are or are not recognized by the language users (Stubbs, 1983). This brings about different types of so-called natural discourse. Stubbs mentions four types of natural discourse that are studied by linguists. Three out of these four types of discourse are used as data for my study. The four types may be completely automatic or they may be natural discourse which is organized on a level that is not consciously known by the speaker. One type is “language which occurs naturally without any intervention from the linguist” (p. 33). This is data that is collected without the presence of the researcher. Another type of discourse is “language which is spontaneous in the sense of unplanned, and which is composed in real time in response to immediate situational demands” (p. 33). With this type of discourse, the linguist is involved in the setting as an observer but does not actively elicit information for his study or experiment. These first two types are discourse which is completely automatic and spontaneous. Since I am present in the classroom setting, only data on the second type of discourse was able to be collected, using tape recordings and ethnographical observations. The third type of discourse is “language which is elicited by the linguist as part of some experiment” (p. 33). This type of discourse is considered as data in the questionnaires that the participants filled out for my study. This language, although organized by the linguist, is also considered to be natural, spontaneous and automatic on the part of the speaker in this study. The advantages and disadvantages to

this type of collection method are discussed in section 3.2.4. These two types of discourse are valid as naturally occurring and authentic discourse and were used in the study. The fourth type of discourse (planned, edited, analyzed and altered) is the discourse used in formal writing and was not applied in this study because it does not represent discourse used in real-time social interactions and there was no data available to be collected about this type of discourse that is related to this study because the student participants did not write long writing assignments in Spanish in this level of English classes. This study includes all data gathered through spoken discourse as well as the spontaneous written discourse of emails and messenger conversations.

### **2.1.3 Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis (DA) is the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring spoken or written discourse (Stubbs, 1983). DA is often used to investigate apparent language problems or dilemmas (Palmquist, 2001). It attempts to reveal the motivation or the cause of these problems or dilemmas through in-depth analysis of discourse. DA is used in this study to try to identify the cause of the apparent dilemma that the participants have in choosing a form of address to use with the researcher.

In this study, I used the analytical philosophy perspective on discourse analysis (Slembrouck, 2006) to investigate speech acts to see what kind of intentions (both conscious and unconscious) the students might have had when they used a particular form of address. The different reasons or intentions that the students might have for using one form of address over the other are discussed in the following sections.

## **2.2 Speech Communities**

In speaking of social relationships and social interactions in this study, it is important to discuss the role of social identity because it forms the basis for the type of social interaction that takes place and social relationship that exists between the people in the interaction. One type of social identity that people have is membership to speech communities. Speech communities are defined in Section 2.2.1 and used through the course of this study.

### **2.2.1 Definition and Theoretical Perspectives**

Although speech communities are used in many branches of linguistics, there is no standard definition and very little theory related to the concept of a speech community. Due to the variation in definitions of speech communities, it is necessary to specifically define what the term “speech community” means in this study. A community of any kind can be defined as a group of individuals who interact within an enclosed area. The boundaries of the community can be based on either a physical enclosure or a characteristics enclosure. A physical enclosure that encompasses a community may be a geographical boundary such as a city, state, country, region, etc. (Patrick, 2003). For example, one would say that New York City encloses a community of New Yorkers who all identify themselves as belonging to this community. But within the community of New Yorkers there are also other smaller communities such as the Bronx, Manhattan, Harlem, and others which all have members with their own community identity.

The community can also be enclosed by characteristics of its members. These characteristics can be political views, physical characteristics, social status and others.

For example, Patrick (2003) states that age can be a characteristic that defines a community such as a community of children.

The concept of speech community may be defined either as primarily linguistically-based or primarily socially-based but at the same time include both characteristics. The first word “speech” indicates the linguistic nature of the term. One belief is that speech communities are created by the linguistic features of the group. Gumperz (1972) defines a speech community as “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences of language usage” (p. 212). This means that the members of this group must share some type of linguistic code used by each member to communicate with other members. This characteristic is present in the participants in the current study because all the participants use both Spanish and English as their shared linguistic codes. For the purposes of this study, only the interactions in Spanish will be studied.

The second word of the term speech community is “community”. This indicates the social nature of the concept. In addition to the community defining itself by linguistic features, it is also defined in sociolinguistics by the shared cultural interaction of its members (Williams, 1992). If two people speak Spanish but one is an executive and the other is a migrant farm worker and have no contact with each other, they are not considered to be in the same community because they do not interact. A common language or characteristic does not in itself form a community. Interaction is also necessary. The shared cultural interaction of the members part of the definition makes it possible for a speech community to also be defined in the same way as the concept of



community that was discussed in the previous paragraph. For example, because New Yorkers or children share social interactions with each other that they do not share with other people who are not part of their communities, these communities are also considered to be speech communities (as long as the members share the same linguistic code). Therefore, the two main criteria of a speech community are the shared linguistic features and the shared subjective cultural values of the members (which are a consequence of the members' interaction with each other). The fact that the students and the researcher both live in the same geographical area and have regular linguistic contact with each other fulfills this definition of a speech community.

The duality of the definition of a speech community has caused a wide range of definitions used in linguistics. Wardhaugh (1998) generally sums up what a speech community is as “some kind of social group whose speech characteristics are of interest and can be described in a coherent manner” (p. 116). Some linguists such as Gumperz (1972) and Bucholtz (in Patrick; 2003) place more emphasis on language as the defining characteristic of the speech community. These linguists group people by linguistic characteristics, and then apply these communities to social groups, relationships, interactions etc. Other linguists place more emphasis on the social feature of speech communities. Linguists such as Wardhaugh (1998), Hymes (in Patrick, 2003) and Patrick (2003) first construct the speech community as a social group and then study the linguistic features of this group. Hymes defines a speech community as “an object defined for purposes of linguistic enquiry” which “postulates the unit of description as a social, rather than linguistic, entity” (in Patrick, 2003, p. 9).

For the purposes of this study, the speech community will be defined as a group of people who share a certain social characteristic and a linguistic code from which linguistic data can be gathered. As stated above, all participants in this study share the linguistic code of Spanish. They all share the same social characteristics of age and being students, and the female participants share the characteristic of female sex with the researcher.

### **2.2.2 Shared Characteristics of Members**

If speech communities are defined as socially based, then these communities are formed by the similar characteristics of their members. A speech community can be formed by any one characteristic that a group of speakers of a common linguistic code have in common. A speech community can exist without regard to class or geographical borders (Patrick, 2003). For example, a speech community of children is made up of all the children around the world who share a linguistic code, regardless of whether they are poor or rich or live in the United States or China. If a child lives in China and his mother is American, he may grow up learning American English and Chinese and, therefore, would be part of the children speech communities of both the United States and China (if he shares social interaction with both American and Chinese children). Their shared linguistic code and the “child” characteristic of the members of this speech community are what define them and the features that enclose their community.

Gumperz (1972), although he places more importance on the shared linguistic features of the speech community, also agrees that the members share certain social features which make them a community. He states that a fundamental element of speech

communities is the frequency of social interaction. If a group shares characteristics, it is likely that the frequency of their social interactions will be greater and they will become more of a community because of this. Obviously, this also implies a set of shared linguistic characteristics because without a shared code, the group would not interact very frequently. Labov (2001) and Gumperz (1972) share the view that linguistic characteristics are shared by a speech community because they share a set of social norms.

Speech communities can be formed based on any shared characteristic of a population. These characteristics include age, professional status, geographical location, ethnicity, sex, birthright (Hymes, 1971) and so on. Speech communities could also be made up of smaller groups such as a group of friends, the presidential cabinet, etc. Because of the relativity of speech communities, their size differs greatly (Bloomfield, 1933). The defining characteristics of the speech communities that will be used in this study are defined by the characteristics of age (college student age), sex (male and female), and status (student and professor). During the majority of the time that I was teaching, I saw myself as a member of the student speech community because I was about the same age as my students, and I was used to belonging to the student speech community since I had been a college or master's student for the previous five years. It surprised me that some students would refer to me in the same way that I would refer to one of my professors (with *usted*) but then, as more time passed, I grew more accustomed to having them address me as *usted* and identified myself with both the professor speech community and the student speech community.

Due to the shared characteristics of the members of a speech community, solidarity is also an important criterion of the speech community. Solidarity is a specific type of relationship characterized by “the unity-integrity of an obligatory link and the plurality of the actors bounded by this link” (De Lucas, 1998, p. 1). Although variations exist among the speech community members such as their specific lifestyles, beliefs and/or behavior, there are specific characteristics which define the community as a whole. There are systematic regularities in the community at the level of statistical social facts (Williams, 1992) which means that these regularities are present in random samples of the population of that community. Gumperz (in Patrick, 2003) also shares this idea. He states that a speech community is made up of organized diversity. In other words the individual differences in characteristics seem contradictory to the idea of a community, but the community is organized or formed at a level that goes beyond the apparent individual differences. It is held together by “common norms and aspirations” (Gumperz, in Patrick, 2003, p. 17). Patrick (2003) says that various research projects have determined that speech communities have norms that exist in each group and that irregularities are minor across communities of social classes, sex, age, and ethnic groups. Speech communities are created based on a shared characteristic and, therefore, its members have solidarity with respect to this characteristic. In this study, even though each individual student participant differed in birthplace, educational background and other factors, they were all students in the same university and, therefore, were members of the same student speech community. They also are all of the same so they also belonged to this speech community.

### **2.2.3 Role of the Individual**

Although speech communities are groups with shared characteristics, it should also be taken into consideration that speech communities are made up of individual members. As stated above, individual members may and will differ from other speech community members in individual characteristics. No individual is exactly the same as another. Even if they belong to a specific speech community and have solidarity with that community, the individual person still differs from the other members. The speech community is a functionalist concept involving rational actors operating under the influence of an uncontrolled and unspecified social norm (Williams, 1992). Speech communities have “internal variation and external boundaries” (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 42). This means that the members inside a speech community are all different and distinct from the others. The community has internal variation. However, there is something that binds all of the members together and encloses the speech community. The external boundary of the speech community is made up of the common feature of all of its members. For example, despite the diversity of individuals in New York, New York is still considered to be a speech community. The geographical boundary of New York City constructs the external boundary of the speech community. Labov has stated that even though the members of the New York City speech community differ in the application of the norms of the speech community, New York is still a single speech community because it is united by a common set of evaluative norms (Labov, 2001). These norms include the shared daily experiences that New Yorkers have by living in the city and the shared knowledge that they have about the city.

This can also be applied to the participants in this study. Even though there were many differences between the individual participants, their membership to shared speech communities included common characteristics. For example, one male student was overweight and dressed in dark, punk clothes while one female student was thin and dressed in the latest fashion. However, these two students still formed a bond in the classroom because they were members of the student speech community.

As stated before, each individual member of a speech community is distinct. An individual is a free agent and able to define parts of his identity in his own manner. For this reason, membership to some speech communities involves a rational decision on the part of the individual while membership to other speech communities is by default. An individual's lifestyle choices affect membership to some speech communities. For example, an individual may decide to study at a university and it becomes the rational decision of the individual to belong to the speech community of university students. This was true in the case of the participants in this study. Labov has found that children may reject membership to other groups (in Patrick, 2003). While it is debatable whether children's choices are rational since they may not be mature enough to make rational decisions, adults do have this ability and can rationally decide to enter or to reject a speech community. Returning to the example of university students, it is each individual's decision of whether to study in a university and what university to attend. This exemplifies that an individual is capable of acting rationally to choose to belong to a speech community. As stated above, for the majority of the time that I was teaching, I unconsciously identified myself more with the student speech community than with the professor speech community. This identity was also conflicting for me because I wanted

to form solidarity with the students because I viewed myself as part of their group; however, I realized that this was not always possible because I had to maintain order in the classroom, assign homework and teach the participants, all of which were activities that did not emphasize solidarity.

On the other hand, there are some characteristics that define an individual which are not rational choices of the individual. Age and sex are not voluntary choices by the individual. However, these characteristics give membership to an individual in these communities. For example, a child has no choice but to be a child and therefore is ascribed membership into the child speech community. When the child grows older, he will not have the option of remaining in the child speech community because he will no longer be a child. A person may consciously try to remain a part of one of these speech communities but will not be able to do so because he does not have the characteristic required to belong to that community. For example, a parent may use baby talk to try to belong to the children speech community but he will never truly belong because although he attempts to use the same linguistic code, he does not have the other characteristics of young age and little maturity needed to be a community member. This goes back to the concept that a speech community is not just made up of a shared linguistic code but also of a shared social characteristic.

#### **2.2.4 An Individual's Membership to Speech Communities**

Social identities are expressed through the language expression of each individual since language is an expression and construction of the social being. Linguistic interaction between individuals involves negotiation of social identity. Any one speaker

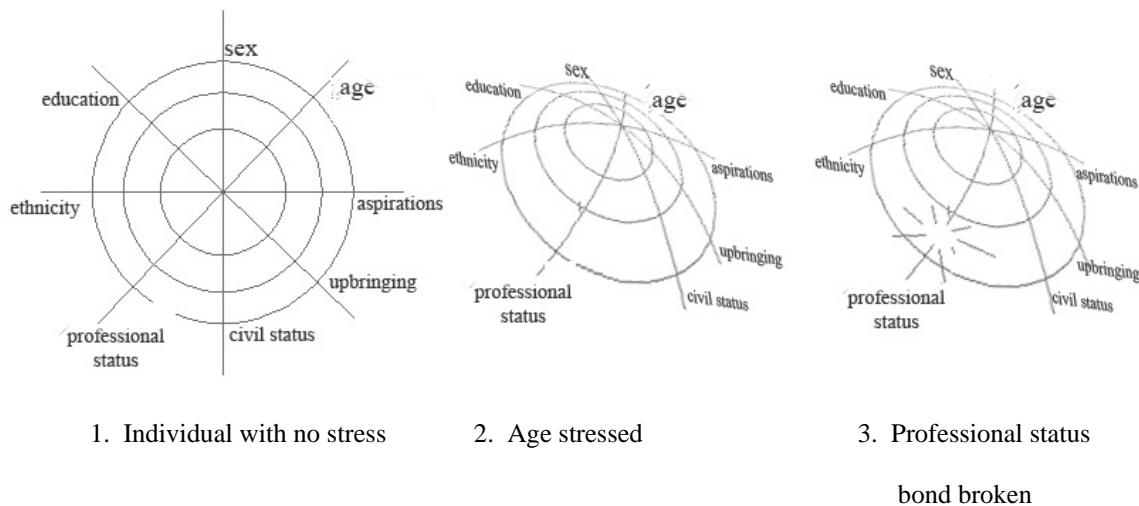
has a variety of codes, styles and registers from which to choose (Saville-Troike, 1982). Through language interaction, individuals actively define themselves in the social world and define others by placing them into categorical groups or speech communities. Social identity involves the individual's knowledge and evaluation of his membership and the membership of others to social groups (Williams, 1992). The current study deals with how the students evaluate my social identity and with which speech community or communities they associate me.

An individual possesses multiple characteristics and social identities and based on these belongs to multiple speech communities. People may and do have simultaneous membership in multiple overlapping speech communities (Saville-Troike, 1982). Due to this fact, speech communities may have an overlap in terms of space and membership. Bolinger (1975, in Patrick, 2003) states that there is no limit on the number and variety of speech communities. In this study, there was overlap between my age speech community and, as a graduate teaching assistant, the professor status community. The concept of overlapping speech communities has very little theoretical background (Patrick, 2003). This is important to my study because my study may be used as data by other linguists to form a theory about overlapping speech communities in the future in order to further explore the social construction of an individual's identity through language.

I view the multitude of speech communities that all individuals have like a web. The web is shown in Figure 1 below and an explanation of the figure will be provided subsequently.



Figure 1: The Individual as a Web



Each individual person is a web made up of many spindles branching out to different axis points. The spindles represent the different characteristics that each individual has. Some characteristics (and therefore spindles) are stronger than others because they are not chosen by the individual. Examples of these ascribed characteristics/spindles are age, sex, ethnicity, and other characteristics that are beyond the individual's control. These spindles are stronger than the spindles that are comprised of characteristics chosen by the individual.

The axis points represent speech communities. All individuals that have the common characteristic of the speech communities have a spindle leading to that community's axis point. In the above figure, if there was a second individual who shared the age speech community with the individual shown in the figure, their age spindles would connect in a common access point.

Since there are so many speech communities, the individual's web overlaps with other webs and interpersonal interactions become confusing. With so many spindles, and

so much overlap, an individual web becomes ambiguous. When two spindles are seemingly contradictory, they pull the web in different directions. If a decision is not made between the two spindles, the web will break. The rupture will most likely occur in a weaker spindle. The same happens with a person who belongs to seemingly contradictory speech communities. The individual must make a choice between the two speech communities when the nature of the social interaction makes them contradictory or opposing and problematic. If the individual does not make this choice, the interlocutor must negotiate the speech community membership of the individual. If this situation of strain on the individual's identity, or spindles, occurs, then the spindle that is stronger (one whose speech community membership is not chosen by the individual) or has more supporting spindles will be the dominant one. For example, the parent who uses baby talk to try to belong to the children speech community has conflicting spindles. He has the use of the shared linguistic code with the child but he also has characteristics that conflict with the shared characteristic, namely the size and maturity of being an adult. Therefore, the adult parent is not going to be a real member of the children speech community because the other spindles (or characteristics) are stronger because there are more of them that pull him away from the child community.

In the case of this study, I originally identified myself with the student speech community in my mind but I never told the students of this choice. I also chose to work as a professor and in choosing this I identified myself with the professor speech community in the eyes of the students. Since I did not explicitly choose one spindle (professor or age) to be stronger, the students must make that choice when they interact with me. They must decide which of my spindles has a stronger pull toward the axis

points of either the age speech community which they share with me or the professor speech community which they do not share with me. This is shown in parts 2 and 3 of the above Figure.

To give another example, Little and Gelles (1975) state that graduate students often have a hard time defining into which speech community they belong in relation to their professors because they are still students but they are often interacting with their professors as academic peers, as well as teaching other classes at the university. Their confusion stems from membership to multiple speech communities that they are linked with through their characteristics of being students of the professors but also being coworkers. This is similar to my study. I am a graduate student and therefore relate to the student speech community, but I also differ from the students because I am their professor. Whichever community the speaker chooses to orient himself with and also whichever one he chooses to orient his interlocutor with is part of social negotiation strategy (Saville-Troike, 1982). I believe that I was also having a hard time deciding which speech community (student or professor) I belonged to and since I did not make it clear, the students had to decide for themselves.

### **2.3 Forms of Address**

When speaking with other people, the speaker may choose what kind of social relationship he will have by choosing to use certain language features to define the relationship. The use of forms of address is one way that language users can form and define social relationships with other people. Norrby and Warren (2006) say that forms of address are crucial in marking social relations and therefore they are also central to

human relationships. Agha (1994) states that in order for forms of address to be used, there must be a set of “intersubjectively shared codes of behavior available to interactants as such” (p. 277) and these codes are included in the nature of speech communities. Forms of address define relationships, especially honorification where relationships may have social status, respect, or deference implications for the people who are interacting. Relationship definition may be done either consciously or automatically by the speaker. There is no general consensus among linguists as to the extent of strategic manipulation of forms of address by speakers. My study investigates what influences the participants to use either the formal or informal form of address with me and how conscious they are about this decision. In this way, it may contribute to this field.

Every language has various linguistic units which are used to address, designate or refer to a person. These linguistic units are nouns, noun phrases, pronouns (Agha, 1994) and also morphemes found in verbs or verb phrases which refer to a certain noun form. To examine the use of forms of address, one must study the use of pronouns because in many languages pronouns are indicative of whether the speaker uses the formal or informal form of address. Pronouns are the linguistic unit that has been most studied with forms of address. This is true in Spanish. When analyzing the data in this study, I will look for the pronouns *tú* (T) and *usted* (V) and the second person formal and second person informal verb forms that the students use when speaking with me. It is necessary to look at the verb forms because, in Spanish, it is not always necessary to use a noun or pronoun in a sentence since the morphemes found in verb forms indicate what subject is being used.

The first well-known research into pronominal honorification and forms of address was done in 1960 by Brown and Gilman. They stated that there are two types of pronouns which exist in opposition to each other. The T form pronouns represent the informal form of address in a language. The T form is based on the French informal pronominal form of address *tu*. The V form pronouns represent the formal form of addresses in a language. The V form comes from the French formal form of address *Vous*. Brown and Gilman set up a model of pronoun usage which is called the power-and-solidarity model of pronominal usage. In this model, they analyze historical developments in pronoun use in European languages such as French, Russian and German. They say that the use of either the formal V form pronoun or the informal T form pronoun has the functions of power and solidarity. The non-reciprocal use of the formal form by one interlocutor and the informal form by the other forms and/or maintains a power relationship. One of the interlocutors has some sort of authority, power or higher social standing which gives him the ability to control the behavior in some way of the other person. However, as other research which will be discussed in section 2.3.5 has shown, this is not the only factor in form of address use. This may be one reason why the students would opt to use the formal form of address with me because I have some authority over them as their professor. I always used the informal form of address with the students, so in order to show a reciprocal relationship, the students would have had to use the informal form also, and to show a relationship of more social distance they would have had to use the non-reciprocal formal form.

On the other hand, the reciprocal use of the informal form or of the formal form signifies a shared solidarity between the two interlocutors. This solidarity would

theoretically be based on similar characteristics of both interlocutors which could be social groups such as family, religion, schools, or profession. This suggests that when two interlocutors have membership to the same speech community and therefore solidarity within that speech community, they are likely to carry that bond of solidarity over into their choice of how to use language. As a result, people are likely to use the informal T form of address with other members of the same community. There are some exceptions to this supposition such as religious or legal communities. However, these communities are not part of my study. Solidarity may be one reason why the students in this study would choose to use the informal form of address with me since I belong to the same age speech community.

Friedrich has shown that pronominal use depends on macrosociological variables or the relationships between the speakers such as speaker age, generation, sex, kinship status, group membership, and relative authority (in Agha, 1994). According to Brown and Gilman (1960) and to Friedrich's theories on pronominal usage, it would be likely that a woman in her twenties would be likely to refer to another woman in her twenties in the informal form because they share this community. However, this is not always the case. If the two twenty-year-old women have other characteristics which place them into contradicting speech communities, they may not use reciprocal pronouns. Their other characteristics may pull them into speech communities which they do not share. These forms of address depend upon membership to speech communities, but the fact that individuals belong to multiple speech communities makes it unclear at times when a speaker should use reciprocal formal or informal forms of address or nonreciprocal forms of address. Because this linguistic phenomenon differs depending on each case and each

individual, it is practical to make some sort of generalization about form of address use. The current study will examine only the case of my students and me and although the specific results cannot be applied to other people because each case is specific, there are several guidelines that may be drawn from the results.

In addition to depending on the social relationship between speakers, pronominal usage also depends on other variables of the speech act (Little & Gelles, 1975). These include the topic and setting of the speech event and the affective relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Friedrich, in Agha, 1994). This means that pronominal use is not determined only by speech community membership, but that the setting in which the speech event takes place has an affect on the relationship or the perceived relationship between the interlocutors. “The use of honorifics in all societies is constrained by the social status of individuals to whom deference is paid, but it is also sensitive to interactional variables” (Agha, 1994, p. 294). For example, a secretary should refer to her boss in the formal V form according to the macrosociological factors, in that she does not belong to the same professional speech community. However, if the secretary and boss meet at a Christmas party, for example, then they may use the informal T form of address due to the less formal setting and more friendly relationship in that setting. For this reason, when gathering the data in this study, I not only recorded what was said but the conversational context and setting of the speech act to see if these were factors which affected the form of address used by the participants.

Recent research has also suggested that there is a third factor that affects the use of informal or formal forms of address. This factor is societal beliefs about the usage of forms of address (Agha, 1994). This research says that socially distributed pragmatic

norms might be responsible for some uses of the formal or informal forms of address. For example, a child might be taught by his parents that he should always refer to people who are older than him in the formal form of address. Even if he has an extremely close relationship with his mother and is in the same speech community (the family unit) as her, he may refer to her in the formal form because of the pragmatics that he has been taught. There are cases where the child even refers to one parent in the formal form and the other parent in the informal form. For example, my husband who is Mexican refers to his mother as *usted* which is the formal form and his father as *tú* which is the informal form, while his sister refers to both their mother and father as *tú*. This again shows that the use of forms of address is very complex and must be studied case by case. It is important in this study to try to determine through interviews whether the student was educated in a specific way by his parents about the use of forms of address to determine whether upbringing affects form of address use.

In summary, forms of address are used depending on the social relationship between the interlocutors, which are extremely complex, the topic and setting of the speech act, and pragmatic norms that have been taught. Social relationships may change over time or as the interactions between the interlocutors change the relationship. Speech act variables are different for each speech act because they depend on the topic, setting and relationship between the interlocutors. Also, metapragmatic norms are different for each person depending on what he has been taught by his parents, family and other people. These factors that should define when and how a speaker will use forms of address are remarkably the same as the factors which define a speech community. Age, sex, geographical location, frequency of interaction and other social characteristics are



used to form speech communities, as well as determine the form of address that a speaker will use with his interlocutor. For this reason, I think that speech communities are a possible criterion used when a speaker is deciding whether and how to use pronominal address forms. However, both form of address use and speech community membership are very complex and unable to be generalized because of their ambiguity and complexity, and therefore each individual will probably take into account different criteria such as solidarity and politeness when making linguistic decisions. This criteria will be discussed in the following sections.

### **2.3.1 Solidarity**

There are some implications put forward by the speaker when he uses either a formal or informal form of address. One of these implications is the social distance of the relationship between the interlocutors (Little & Gelles, 1975). As mentioned before, a power-relationship is associated with the non-reciprocal use of the formal V form of address. The use of the formal V form by just one of the interlocutors may indicate that there is a large social distance between the interlocutors. This may be due to a power relationship or it may be due to the unfamiliarity in the relationship of the interlocutors. (Agha, 1994). A very small social distance is usually present in the relationship between speakers who use the reciprocal T form or sometimes the reciprocal V form of address. Solidarity is an implication associated with reciprocal use of the informal T form or in some cases the formal V form. An example of one of the cases in which the reciprocal use of the V form is a sign of solidarity is between politicians in Spanish speaking countries. They use the formal *usted* to show that they are both worthy of respect of

others. Another example is the case of my father-in-law who uses the reciprocal formal *usted* with one of his very close friends who he has known for over ten years.

Also, the reciprocal use of the formal form of address may be indicative of a large social distance and not solidarity. However, this must be explained case by case. Solidarity is said to be present when there is an inherently symmetric relation between the two speakers (Brown, & Gilman, 1960). The feeling of solidarity may be based on an equal social relationship or on a relationship that is very close. A reciprocal use of form of address is based on the interlocutors' membership to the same social group such as family, religion, school, age, profession, sex, etc. Theoretically, if my students associate me with their age speech community, they should use the reciprocal informal form of address with me to show solidarity. If they associate me with the unshared professor speech community they should use the non-reciprocal formal form of address with me to emphasize social distance. However, there are real life instances of when this postulation is not true. As previously mentioned, in Mexico, it is often common for a child to refer to his parents in the formal form of address even when he has a very close relationship with them. Non-reciprocal use may be indicative of not always social distance but respect or politeness for another person. Therefore, in this study it is necessary to examine all possible motives that the students might have for using a particular form of address with me.

If a relationship can be seen to be one of solidarity or of power by observing the pronominal forms of address used by the interlocutors, then the interlocutors can define what kind of relationship they have by pronominal use. When an interlocutor chooses to use the non-reciprocal form of address (either the T form or the V form depending on

which form the other interlocutor uses or his judgment of the complex situation) or in some cases the reciprocal use of the formal V form, then he chooses to define the relationship as a power relationship, a relationship of social distance or a relationship of respect and politeness as shown by the Mexico example above. He chooses to either distance or show respect for the other interlocutor through the pronominal markers. Some situations may decide what kind of relationship the interlocutors have. Formality is a property of social situations which has effects on language forms (Fairclough, 1989). People will use particular language forms, such as *tú* and *usted*, in certain social situations depending on the relationship that they wish to express towards their interlocutor. As seen here, the choice of forms of address differs case to case and this makes it impossible to have a specific formula for figuring out when to use which form of address.

### **2.3.2 Politeness**

Politeness is also a reason why someone, such as the students in this study, would choose to use a formal or informal form of address. Politeness itself is socially prescribed (Wardhaugh, 1998). Politeness includes not just language forms, but also the social and cultural values of the community (Holmes, 2001). In addition to creating solidarity or power relations, politeness may also be a reason why a person would choose to use a certain form of address over another.

In order to understand the connection between politeness and forms of address, it is important to discuss the concept of face. Face, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987), is the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself. They also

postulate five strategies used for politeness. In using the Bald On-Record strategy, the speaker does not make any attempt to minimize the face-threatening nature of his speech. In using the Positive Politeness strategy, the speaker recognizes that the person with whom he is speaking wishes to belong to the group. Positive Face is “the positive self-image that people have and want to be appreciated and approved of by at least some people” (p. 61). In using the Negative Politeness strategy, the speaker recognizes that the other communicator wants to be respected but also assumes that he is imposing upon the other communicator. Negative Face is a “basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. freedom from imposition” (p. 61). In using the Off-Record Indirect strategy, the speaker removes himself or herself from any imposition by indirectly implying his intentions. The final strategy is to not perform the face-threatening act.

Politeness is often expected in situations that are face threatening (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Face threatening acts are situations in which the self-esteem or image of one of the communicators is put at risk. Politeness strategies alleviate the threatening nature of these speech acts. Politeness strategies are used to establish and maintain social relationships between interlocutors (Holmes, 2001).

Politeness strategies offer a second explanation for the use of pronominal forms of address. Besides a speaker wishing to identify the interlocutor as a solidarity or a power relationship, politeness strategies may also be a reason behind the use of forms of address. According to Yanagiya (1999) the use of honorifics is undeniably a linguistic politeness phenomenon. Politeness actively serves to enhance, maintain or protect face

and consists of people's rational interaction and preserves the face of each interlocutor by exercising various politeness strategies.

Politeness strategies that have reparative or corrective actions result in negative politeness. These strategies are characterized by indirectness, formality, emphasis of social distance and respect for the hearer's entitlements and resources (Yanagiya, 1999). Brown and Levinson (1987) state that forms of address express the speaker's perception of the social distance between himself and his interlocutor. Negative politeness involves expressing oneself appropriately in terms of social distance and respecting status differences (Holmes, 2001). Negative politeness leads to formality in language use (Wardaugh, 1998; Holmes, 2001). Formality can be characterized by the use of non-reciprocal use of formal V form of address or in some cases the reciprocal use of the V form. When the non-reciprocal forms of address or at times the reciprocal V form are used, the speaker wishes to create or maintain a more distant social relationship to emphasize status differences. Also, when social distance or difference in status is perceived by the speaker, he will use the non-reciprocal address form or the reciprocal formal form. However, as stated before, this is not always the case. Non-reciprocal forms can also indicate respect for the other person and in this way also politeness. Desire to express politeness may be a possible reason why the students in this study use the formal form of address with me.

Politeness strategies that mitigate the threat to solidarity result in positive politeness. These strategies are characterized by emphasis of common ground, registers used to mark group membership (Yanagiya, 1999) and informal use of slang, swear words and language (Holmes, 2001). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), positive

politeness strategies are used to create and maintain a small social distance and solidarity between people. Positive politeness is solidarity oriented and represents shared attitudes and values (Holmes, 2001). Positive politeness strives to achieve solidarity through friendship, compliments and/or informal language use (Wardaugh, 1998). One way that informality may be characterized in language use is the reciprocal use of informal T form pronouns or the reciprocal use of formal V form pronouns. The reciprocal use of informal or formal forms of address signifies that the speakers wish to create and/or maintain a solidarity bond and a close social relationship. Also, when there is reciprocal use of the informal T form pronoun, it may signify that the interlocutors have a close social relationship of solidarity. For this reason, if the students in my study feel a strong sense of solidarity with me, they may use positive politeness with the reciprocal use of the informal form of address with me.

One can cause offense by not using the appropriate politeness strategy with his interlocutor. The speaker can offend or threaten the interlocutor's face. This can be done by treating someone too familiarly, and therefore violating the standards of negative politeness, or it can be done by treating someone too distantly, and therefore violating the standards of positive politeness. Being polite is getting the linguistic expression of social distance right as far as the addressee is concerned (Holmes, 2001). Social distance has implications to speech communities. If a person is in the same speech community as his interlocutor, he will be more likely to use positive politeness strategies such as informal forms of address because belonging to the same speech community creates solidarity and close social distance between its members. In this study, if the students identify me as a member of their age speech community, they would theoretically be more likely to use

the informal form of address with me. On the other hand, if a person belongs to a speech community that is in conflict in terms of members or space with the speech community of his interlocutor, he will likely use negative politeness strategies to emphasize the social distance between the communities or to maintain his own distance. This would imply that if the students identify me more with the non-shared professor speech community, they would likely use the formal form of address.

### **2.3.3 Sex**

Since sex will be used as a defining characteristic of one of the speech communities in my study, it is important to discuss what effects sex has on language. First, sex is different from gender. Sex refers to the biological distinction between male and female while gender is used to describe constructed categories based on sex which are usually defined as a continuum ranging from masculine to feminine (Coates, 1993). Meyerhoff (1996) states that speakers have different identities, some of which are personal and some of which are group. Their personal identities include gender and group identities would be their membership to speech communities.

Gender is a personal identity because the concept is not simply limited to a limited number of choices like sex is. A person's sex is either male or female (or in some rare cases both). These characteristics make up two distinct social groups. However, a person's gender can be placed at any point along the continuum. Instead of being a black and white concept like sex is, a person's gender can be any shade of gray, making it personal to each individual. It is impossible to form groups out of millions of different degrees of gender. Therefore, I have chosen to use sex as a defining characteristic of a

speech community in this study because it is physically observable and definable into only two categories, unlike gender which varies in degrees of masculinity and femininity making it impossible to form groups.

Coates and Cameron (1989) state that when writing about linguistics, many authors prefer to use the term sex instead of gender because gender includes many technicalities in the definition and sex is a more definite concept. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) say that gender is a social construction. Society is continuously changing and this means that societal constructs, such as gender, will also change. It would be impossible to define each participant's gender along the gender continuum since it is an identity that cannot be precisely defined for each individual upon just observation, then relate it to the societal construct of gender and finally analyze their responses based on that gender. For this reason, sex, and not gender, is used as the defining characteristic for one of the speech communities in this study.

Linguists such as Tannen (1993) and Thorne, Kramarae and Henley (1983) have written about the effects that sex has on language stylistics. My study does not attempt to analyze the stylistic differences between the sexes. It does, however, attempt to see if there is any additional solidarity between individuals due to a certain shared characteristic, which is in this case sex. The awareness of women as belonging to the female social group or speech community has been growing (Coates, 1993). Theoretically, this awareness would also increase the solidarity of the group. Coates says that one of language's functions is to act as a symbol of group identity. The speakers can use the same type of language to emphasize solidarity or they can diverge linguistically from their interlocutors to emphasize social distance. According to this belief, the



additional solidarity of belonging to the same sex speech community as me would make the females more likely to use the reciprocal informal form of address with another female interlocutor and males would be more likely to use the non-reciprocal formal form of address with a female interlocutor. In addition, Coates states that females are more likely to form solidarity relationships in general than males are. Although, Tannen's work (1993) on stylistics used by the sexes has been largely disputed, she does make a valid point when she says that asymmetrical or nonreciprocal use of forms of address may be a sign of a power relationship and that this choice, when used in conversation, may also be viewed as an exercise of power or of solidarity. This choice may be because of other factors such as politeness strategies or setting, or it may be as a result of solidarity formed by similar characteristics such as sex.

This leads to the third research question of my study. Does the sex of a person make them more likely to form a solidarity relationship by using reciprocal forms of address with someone of the same sex? My study will attempt to answer this question for my specific case with the female students in my study.

#### **2.3.4 Summary of Theoretical Points**

So far, this chapter has discussed that there are several factors that play a part in deciding which form of address to use. Speech community membership plays a part because group membership helps to define an individual's identity, allowing the speaker to negotiate that individual's social identity to decide which form of address to use. Based on the social identity, the speaker can also employ politeness strategies and decide what type of relationship he wants to have with that individual. These relationships and

politeness strategies can either emphasize solidarity or social distance. Shared characteristics or speech communities between the two interlocutors, such as age and professional status, tend to form solidarity which, in the case of Spanish, would usually prompt the use of the informal form of address. It is especially important to consider the shared speech community of sex in this study because the third research question is aimed particularly at investigating the effect that this characteristic may have in form of address choice. The following section will discuss research done on form of address choice in several languages.

### **2.3.5 Similar Studies**

It is important to look at the research done on forms of address in order to consider the data gathered and theories developed by other researchers to identify any similarities that might be present in my study. The studies discussed in this section have examined the relationship between solidarity, politeness and social harmony through adherence to and maintenance of social status and positions and forms of address. These studies deal with the use of forms of address in different countries. It is important to notice that each study comes to its own conclusion about why particular forms of address are used but there are several factors that the studies share and it may be possible to use these to make a generalization about the factors that influence the choice of form of address use.

Yanagiya's 1999 study examines Japanese honorifics and linguistic politeness. Yanagiya collected observational empirical data in the form of tape-recorded observations about the use of honorifics in the Japanese language. The observations

suggest that honorifics are used in Japanese mainly as a face embracing strategy. A face embracing strategy maintains the relative placement of individuals into social hierarchies. The positions that individuals hold in the social hierarchy are reclaimed and supported by their linguistic interactions. Yanagiya claims that Japanese use honorifics, not because of concerns for the individual face of other people, but because of the knowledge of social conventions. This knowledge is called *wakimae* in Japanese or “discernment” and refers to the speaker’s ability to discern and evaluate which language features to use to express the appropriate politeness according to social conventions. To behave according to *wakimae* means showing verbally one’s role in a given social situation according to social conventions and relationships. Some linguistic devices used by Japanese to behave according to *wakimae* are honorifics, pronouns, and address terms. Forms of address are used to recognize, maintain and respect social positions. Japanese speakers are always forced to choose one form of address to use when speaking with another person. Spanish speakers are also forced to choose a form of address concerning the formal or informal pronoun and/or its corresponding verb form when speaking with another person and even though there is no named concept such as *wakimae* in Spanish, Spanish speakers still have to discern which form of address they will use depending on social conventions and relationships among other factors mentioned previously in this chapter.

The case of the use of German formal and informal forms of address has also been studied. One example is the 2006 study by Kretzenbacher, Clyne and Schüpbach. Their data was collected via 72 interviews in three areas of Germany. These researchers state that forms of address are a socially crucial feature of German communication but that the choice of which form of address to use is contextually dependent. There are

settings in which the informal T form *du* is appropriate, others where the formal V form *Sie* is appropriate, and others where there is ambiguity about which form is appropriate to use. They state that the ambiguity in form of address usage is based on many factors including social distance and network preferences which must be negotiated by the speakers during the interaction. This study supports the theoretical background on solidarity and speech communities and forms of address and my idea that speech communities play a role in form of address use. When there is a large social distance, the speaker will likely use the formal V form of address. Interlocutors with close social relationships will use the informal T form of address. Network preferences have to do with speech communities and into what speech community a person is placed by the speaker. If the speaker has the network preference of not placing the person into a community in which he also shares membership, then he will use the formal form. On the other hand, if the speaker chooses to place his interlocutor into a shared speech community because of network preferences, then he will likely use the informal form of address with that person. The ambiguity exists when the speaker does not have a clear network preference because the other person belongs to multiple conflicting speech communities. Since this often is the case, there is a great deal of ambiguity in form of address use. In this study, the researchers also mention that non-reciprocity of address terms is found in long-term relationships such as between student and teacher. They use the example that junior staff and PhD students at a university refused to agree to a reciprocal T relationship with a professor in his 60s because it would create the impression of symmetrical relations which did not exist. The study finds that there are some social factors which help to determine the use of forms of address in German.

These include the speakers' perception of social distance and network preferences which can be determined by relative age and perceived commonalities.

Studies have also been done on forms of address in other countries. The 2006 study by Williams-van Klinken and Hajek examines the forms of address in Dili Tetum, one of the most-used languages in East Timor. They used a corpus to find over 40,000 words of transcribed oral texts, plus written sources and translations. They also used 128 public notices, 19 radio and television interviews, long-term observation and discussions held with a range of people about how terms of address were used. They found that a speaker is able to use a wide range of address strategies and can even use more than one form of address when speaking to the same interlocutor. They also found that there is a large variation in form of address use because of pragmatic factors such as status, social distance and relative age. There are three forms of second person address in Dili Tetum: "ó" (informal), "Ita" (polite), and "Ita-Boot" (polite formal). "Ó" is used in very close solidarity relationships such as relationships among children, youth friends, and close adult friends, as well as in amorous relationships. It is also used non-reciprocally with people of lower professional status, such as school teachers to students. "Ita" is also used non-reciprocally in the same way as "ó". Reciprocally, "Ita" is used for acquaintances, in formal interviews, and with adult strangers. "Ita-Boot" is even more formal and refers to people of very high status (professional or social). Non-reciprocally it is used mainly with God and with traditional leaders, and is not used much nowadays because the use of *Ita* is expanding into the relationships where *Ita-Boot* was once used. It is mainly used now in formal writing which is not directed at one person in particular. These reciprocal and non-reciprocal forms of address of Dili Tetum support the views set forth in the

theoretical section because the principal reasons for deciding which form to use are based on respect (for age or social status), politeness (with elders), solidarity (with family) and distance (with strangers), as well as depending on the setting (in cock fights vs. in church).

The 2006 study by Norrby examines Swedish forms of address used by Finns who spoke Swedish as their first language. 72 Finns, ranging in age from 22 to 76, were given questionnaires and were interviewed by the researcher. The formal V form of address is *ni*. The informal T form is *du*. Norrby explains that pronominal address use historically depended on the use of titles. Nowadays, the use of the V form is not very common; however, there are some instances in which it is used. Norrby found that the most common indicators for the use of the formal form of address are age, level of familiarity and status (Norrby, 2006). These findings continue to support the other studies and theory on forms of address because it appears that speech community (age and status), politeness (level of familiarity), and respect (age and status) play a role in the speaker's choice of form of address use.

Another study was done in 2006 by Weissenböck on the use of forms of address in the Western Ukrainian language. The informal T form in Western Ukrainian is “ty” and the formal V form of address is “Vy”. From a survey answered by 134 participants, Weissenböck locates five key factors that form part of the identity of an individual in her study: age, style of upbringing, personal value system (the opinions and attitudes that each person has depending on his upbringing), sex and political convictions. This study says that political convictions are also a factor in choice of form of address because of the political history of Ukraine. The formal form of address is of Russian origin and was

used to refer to Russian military and political officers. After the fall of the Soviet Union, independent Ukraine no longer uses the formal form of address derived from Russian except in sarcastic jokes and uses the Polish derived formal form, but Western Ukraine still uses it in educational, work and military settings albeit less frequently than before. Of these key factors, age is the most influential in choosing a form of address. In addition to these, Weissenböck also identifies five important factors of interaction which have an effect on the use of forms of address: relative age, relative status, setting, level of social distance, and kinship. One important new aspect of this study is the view on sex and forms of address. Weissenböck's study showed that in a group of people younger than 30 years old, 92.9% of participants said that they would address a stranger of the same age but of the opposite sex with the V form and 64.3% said that they would address a stranger of the same age and the same sex with the V form. This may indicate that a speaker is more likely to use the informal form of address with his interlocutor because of shared membership in the sex speech community. Weissenböck says that a speaker has two reasons for which to use the V form, which are distance and respect. This supports the other studies that have been done because it means that solidarity and politeness are the factors behind using a particular form of address.

Forms of address have also been studied in the French language. A 2006 study by Warren shows speakers' perceptions and attitudes toward pronoun usage in parts of France. Data was gathered through focus groups in Paris (16 participants) and Toulouse (11 participants) and interviews in Paris (12 participants). The participants ranged in age from 21 to 60 years old and there was an even distribution of males and females. Warren states that the informal T form "tu" is used within families, by close friends and with the

youth. The formal V form “vous” is used by adults to speak with strangers. The informal T form is used for people with equal status or who have known each other for a long time, while the V form is used in initial encounters and between people who want to avoid familiarity (maintain social distance). Age and relative age are also cited as principal factors in choosing a particular form of address in French. Age is the actual age of a person and relative age is the age difference between the speaker and another person. Warren also states that the T form is used more with people of the same sex. Warren’s principal research centered on the use of forms of address in the French work environment. Her research shows that the speaker is more likely to use the T form with colleagues of equal hierarchical ranking and the V form with workers of higher status in the workplace environment. This may have possible implications for other similar environments where there is a hierarchy, such as classroom settings between teachers and students. Once again, the main reasons reported for using forms of address were solidarity or social distance and politeness or respect.

Another study done on forms of address directly involves a school setting. The 1975 study by Little and Gelles examines the implications of English forms of address in the academic setting of a university. They distributed a questionnaire to all twenty-four full-time and part-time resident graduate students in a sociology department which asked how they addressed each of the sixteen of the department’s faculty members. Little and Gelles say that graduate students in the United States feel a certain amount of ambiguity in their decision of what form of address to use with their professors. Even though English does not have the same pronominal form of address system as the other language studied, speakers may use titles in order to show formal and informal address. For



example, students may refer to professors as Professor, Doctor, Mr./Ms./Mrs. or by their first name. As the graduate students progress through the program, they have increasing feelings of ambiguity about which form of address to use. On one hand, the graduate students feel that they should show more respect and politeness towards the professors because of the professors' higher educational and professional status. However, on the other hand, the graduate students, as they progress through the program, reduce the social distance that exists between them and the professors. Graduate students become more the intellectual equal of the professors and for this reason there is a greater solidarity between the two speech communities (graduate students and professors). Similar ambiguity can also be seen in with other people in other contexts besides postgraduate classes. A similar context where this ambiguity is observed is in the current study on college students and their professor who is in their age group and is also a student such as in my study.

Since my study is about Spanish, it is important to find other studies that have been done in Mexico or at least about Spanish in order to compare the results. After considerable searching, I found two studies that deal with Spanish forms of address. The first study was done by Lambert and Tucker (1976) in Puerto Rico. The researchers surveyed 562 Puerto Rican students in three communities with varying economic levels. At the time of the study, the students were in 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grades and, for their study's purposes, the researchers grouped them into two groups of preteens (9 to 12 years old) and teens (13 to 16 years old). Sex was also taken into consideration in the results. The survey gave a list of 49 people ranging from specific people such as the participant's grandmother, grandfather, father, mother, sister, etc. to unspecific people defined by

characteristics such as a male who is older than the participant and who the participant knows but whose family the participant does not know, or an older male stranger. For each one of the people on the list the participants were instructed to place a check next to either *tú* or *usted* indicating which pronoun they would expect that person to use to refer to the participant. The list was given again and the participants were instructed to place a check next to *tú* or *usted* indicating which pronoun the participant would use to refer to that person. Of particular importance in these results to the present study are the responses gathered about pronouns used with female teachers and a same-aged female classmate since these are the two speech communities that would possibly have an influence on the form of address that the participants in my study would use with me. The results showed that all students used *usted* to refer to their teachers, both male and female. This was regardless of whether the students expected a reciprocal *usted* relationship or a nonreciprocal *tú-usted* relationship. The age groups reported approximately the same results for all questions. Both results also showed that there was a wide range of responses when asked about a female classmate. The majority of boys (approximately 60%) reported reciprocal *tú* relationships with a female classmate. On the other hand, girls showed more variation. 47-51% reported reciprocal *tú* relationships, 19-28% reported nonreciprocal *tú-usted* relationships, and 14-23% reported reciprocal *usted* relationships. These percentage ranges are representative of the responses in the three different schools in Puerto Rico. The results also showed that the female participants were more formal with same-aged females than with same-aged males. This is somewhat unexpected according to my ideas about members of the same speech communities (such as sex) being more likely to use reciprocal informal forms of address;

however, it may be explained by the tendency of girls in this age group to want to form more bonds with boys than with other girls since they are starting to have crushes on boys and date. They may want to form more solidarity with the boys for this reason than with other girls.

The other study dealing with Spanish forms of address was also done by Lambert and Tucker (1976). This study had the same format as the previously described Puerto Rico study but this time the survey was administered in Bogota, Colombia. The survey was given to students between the ages of ten and twelve. This study was slightly different from the Puerto Rico one in that the researchers applied the survey at a Catholic and a Jewish school. They separated these groups in their results. This is important because the way in which these children were educated may be significantly different and may have an effect on the results. When referring to female teachers, reciprocal *usted* contacts were predominant for the Catholic students although 25% of the male students have reciprocal *tú* contacts and 35% of the female students have nonreciprocal *tú-usted* contacts. This shows a significant difference again between the male and female students. For the Jewish students, the majority of male students have a nonreciprocal *tú-usted* contact with female teachers while the majority of female students have both nonreciprocal *tú-usted* contact and reciprocal *usted* contact. This continues to illustrate the difference between the perceived types of relationships that female and male students have with female teachers. It also shows that there is a difference between the Catholic and Jewish students which may be indicative of a difference in the upbringing of the children. In regards to the forms of address used with same-aged female classmates, approximately 55% of both male and female Catholic participants have reciprocal *tú*

relationships. There was no significant difference when the classmate was a friend as opposed to a simple classmate. Jewish male participants reported having either reciprocal *tú* or *usted* contacts with female classmate friends and mainly reciprocal *usted* contacts with female classmates who were not close friends. Jewish female participants reported having mainly reciprocal *tú* relationships with female classmate friends (80%) and female classmates who were not close friends (44%). This also illustrates that there are significant differences between the Catholic and Jewish participants which may be due to their upbringing.

Although the previously mentioned studies done by Lambert and Tucker provided data collected on Spanish, they may differ from the results of my study for two main reasons. First, they are not done in the same country that my study is. There may be cultural or regional differences in form of address use. Also, the studies are more than thirty years old so there may have been changes in the language used between then and the time that my study was conducted. However, these were the only studies that I found on form of address use in Spanish and the data could be used in conjunction with my study to find similarities despite the differences mentioned above in order to provide general guidelines to language learners on form of address use.

In conclusion, these studies are important in relation to my study because they show different reasons and factors for the decisions that people make about what forms of address to use. Factors such as age, sex, perceived social distance, politeness, setting, respect and upbringing, which were all factors cited in the aforementioned studies and are the factors that are examined in my study, influence what form of address each individual

will use with his interlocutor. These factors will be investigated in my study through the various methods used to collect data which will be discussed in the following chapter.