Forms of Address and Speech Communities

in the Foreign Language Classroom in Mexico

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To my parents, Kay and George,
my brother, Paul,
my aunt, Sue,
and my husband, Roberto
Thank you for all your love and support.

Abstract

This study was designed to examine the reasons why students in a university English class in Mexico decided to use either the formal or informal form of address with the teacher/researcher and whether speech communities were a factor in that decision. The speech communities used in this study were defined by the characteristics of age, status (professor or student) and sex. The students were approximately half male and half female, Mexican and between the ages of 18 and 29 at the time of the study. The researcher was an American female graduate student teaching assistant and was 23, turning 24 during the study. The students and the researcher shared membership to the age, student and sometimes sex speech communities. Data was collected through tape-recorded classes, ethnographical observations, emails and MSN conversations, Discourse Completion Task questionnaires and interviews. The results show that there are four primary factors that the students used to decide what form of address to use with the researcher. These were social setting, their upbringing, speech communities and type of relationship. This study is of use to Spanish foreign language students who want to acquire more communicative competence in Mexican Spanish. Since this study is in the qualitative research paradigm and within just one university, the results cannot be generalized to describe all Spanish pragmatics; however, they can provide suggestions to Spanish students as to some factors to take into account when deciding what form of address to use.

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# 1	Introduction

This chapter is designed to present this study. It is divided into five sections. Section 1.1 explains how this study was conceived. Section 1.2 presents the three research questions that will be investigated in this study. Section 1.3 provides an overview of this study. Section 1.4 discusses the study's significance and a chapter summary is provided in Section 1.5.

## 1.1	Statement of the Problem

After graduating from college in the United States, I decided to go to Mexico to study for a Master's Degree in Applied Linguistics. I had a good level of Spanish since it had been my major in college, but did not have much practice in its use since there were not many native Spanish people with whom I could interact in the United States. In Mexico, I learned to use Spanish in real social situations. This included pragmatic use such as forms of address. I had been taught that in Spanish, the second person formal form is *usted* and the second person informal form is *tú*. As a young woman, I was used to being referred to as *tú* by almost everyone. There was no need to be formal with me because I was young and the majority of people with whom I interacted were also students, which gave us kind of a bond and informal relationship. There are many complexities about form of address use, but what I understood was that people rarely used *usted* when talking with me.

After a year in the graduate program, I began teaching English classes at the same university. Being only twenty-three at the time, I was a fairly young graduate student but an even younger graduate teaching assistant. One of the first days of classes, something

happened that seemed really odd to me. After class, one of my students came up to my desk to ask me a question. What surprised me was that when he asked the question, he referred to me as *usted*. I wondered why he was calling me *usted*. I assumed that my students were going to be my friends, have an informal relationship and call me *tú* just as all the other students at the university had done before. No one else had called me *usted*, much less another fellow student. I began to think that it was because I was their teacher and that they were going to identify me now as their teacher and not as a fellow student. But then another student came to talk to me and he referred to me using *tú*. I began to pay attention to what form of address the students used with me. I noticed not only that some used *usted* and some used *tú*, but some also alternated between the two and never settled on just one form of address to use with me. This really surprised me. Why was there no consensus about what form of address to use with me? Why did some use *usted*, some use *tú*, and some use both? This question and my confusion in general about the forms of address that my students were using with me prompted me to choose this apparent dilemma as the topic for my thesis.

There are groups of language users which are called speech communities. Speech communities are defined by a specific characteristic which all members of that community must have to belong to the community. This topic will be discussed in depth in Chapter 2. Individuals belong to multiple speech communities and when these speech communities conflict, it is often difficult for the speaker to decide which form of address should be used. My research project stems from this apparent dilemma which is described above. I believe that the form of address that my students use when they are

talking with me is problematic for them because I belong to multiple speech communities, some of which oerlap with theirs and some of which are distinct.

In school, my students all belong to similar speech communities which are defined by the following attributes: Mexican nationality, student status, late-teens to early-twenties age group, and English learners. The only main characteristic in which they differ is sex. The problematic issue which they need to address each time they speak with me in Spanish is into which speech community they place me. I will explain why this is problematic.

First of all, during the time period in which the study took place, I was twenty-three and twenty-four years old, so I was approximately the same age as my students. I was also a student (albeit a graduate student) at the same university where they were studying. These two characteristics placed me into two of the same speech communities as my students and would normally prompt the use of the informal *tú* form of address. I also shared the sex speech community with the female students.

However, since I was their professor I also belonged to the professor speech community which has a higher honorific status than the student community. It is also possible that students wish to express respect and use the negative politeness strategy with the formal form of address to show respect for their professor. This alone makes the choice between the informal and formal forms of address quite confusing.

However, their decision becomes even more unclear because since I am from the United States, I also belong to the foreigner-in-Mexico speech community. This means that my relationship with the students is not as close as if I were in the Mexican speech community. The added distance in the relationship makes it more likely that I would be

addressed with the formal address form used for relationships which are not close. As seen above, the students' choice of which form of address they will use with me is very complex with many factors to take into consideration.

Reasons for using forms of address have been the topic of research done by many linguists. Saville-Troike (1982), Williams (1992), Fairclough (1989) and Labov (2001) believe that forms of address are chosen because of the relative relationships or the perceived relationships between the speakers. Individuals can use forms of address to implement or maintain power relationships, social distance or solidarity and also to use politeness strategies. Fairclough (1989) states that forms of address are also dependent on setting.

In this study, I want to show that speech community membership is a factor in deciding what form of address the students use with me. This has also been mentioned by the Kretzenbacher, Clyne and Schüpbach study (2006) mentioned in section 2.3.5. I believe that, while other factors such as cultural concepts of how to use politeness strategies, setting, topics of conversations, upbringing of the individual and type of relationship affect the form of address used, speech community membership is also one of the principal factors in this choice. Membership not only provides speakers with a reason to choose one form of address over the other, but it also changes, defines and maintains the speaker and interlocutor's identity in some of the other factors mentioned above. Politeness strategies are affected by membership because they are based on the speaker and interlocutor using recognition of the desired identity of himself and the other in social negotiation strategies. The upbringing of the individual does not change when

he[1] interacts with someone later in his life but the type of person with whom he interacts has an effect on how the upbringing is executed. For example, if someone was raised to always speak to teachers using the formal form of address, this custom would be carried out regardless of whether the teacher is sixty years old or twenty years old. Others may have been taught to use the formal form with only elderly people and would not use one's status as a teacher to decide which form of address to use. Social relationships are also affected by membership in speech communities because the relationship that a speaker desires with another is due to the characteristics of the other person, which are what give that person membership in speech communities with those same characteristics. I believe that when the speech community membership of a person poses a conflict to the speaker, these other factors are used to shift his decision to one form of address or another. In the case of this study, if a student had been taught to use the formal form of address with teachers but to use the informal form of address with someone of the same age and I am a member of both of these speech communities, then the setting might help the student decide which form to use. If the student is in my class, he would identify me more with the teacher speech community; however, if we meet outside of school, he would identify me more as a co-member of his own age speech community.

1.2   Research Questions

This research revolves around the question of how the participants' awareness and interpretation of speech community membership is reflected in their choice of form of address use. It investigates if speech community membership plays a role in deciding

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[1] In this study, when not speaking about specific participant, the pronoun "he" will refer to an individual (male or female).

whether to use the informal or formal form of address or if this decision depends on other factors such as politeness, solidarity and social distance. I anticipate finding that the participants use both the informal and formal forms of address with me because of the fact that I belong to multiple speech communities and that this fact causes ambiguity when they choose the form of address to use. I want to answer three questions with my research:

(1) What form of address do the students use with their professor (the researcher) who belongs to the shared communities of age and, in the case of female students, of sex but also belongs to the non-shared community of professors?

(2) What factors influence the participants' choice to use a particular form of address with me, and do they consciously recognize that they choose what form to use based on these factors?

(3) Are the female students who share both the age and sex speech communities with me more likely to refer to me in the informal form of address than the male students who share only the age speech community with me?

1.3   Overview of the Study

In order to answer the research questions, data was collected and analyzed in a variety of ways. Data collection was done through tape-recorded conversations, ethnographical observations, emails and internet instant messaging conversations, Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaires and interviews. These methods are discussed in depth in Chapter 3. The study is in the qualitative research paradigm. This means that the data is more subjective and not as generalizable as quantitative studies

because qualitative studies are designed to observe specific situations and not to form rules. The data from qualitative studies is also more subjective if the researcher or observer is personally involved in the research setting such as in my study. Implications of this are discussed in Section 3.3.2. This study is limited to only this specific context and is not meant to be generalized to other people, countries, languages, etc.

The advantage of qualitative research is that specific cases and examples of a language phenomenon can be observed. Although the goal of qualitative research is not to form generalizations, these cases can be used as evidence to support or contradict theories about the language phenomenon. Another advantage of qualitative research is that it is possible to gather more in-depth opinions and observations from the participants because the research design emphasizes individual responses as opposed to strictly gathering numbers. It is possible to not only see the variations but also to gain a better understanding of why they exist. In quantitative research the focus is more on making generalizations, so individual variations are often discarded as not being helpful towards that purpose. Qualitative research allows the researcher to not only see how the participants behave but also to describe, analyze, interpret and evaluate why, if the researcher decides to do so.

1.4   Significance of the Study

This study is aimed at learners of Spanish, which has pronominal forms of address. Hymes (1971) believes that a language student should not only know the grammatical rules, but should also have communicative competence. Communicative competence means that the learner should know how to *appropriately* use the language in

social situations. Appropriateness is judged by how closely the language learner's utterances are to those that a monolingual native-speaker would use in a similar situation. A monolingual native-speaker is used as the model for appropriateness because his knowledge of another language would have no influence on his language use. For example, if a Mexican lives for an extended period of time in Spain, the Spanish pragmatics may have an effect on the Mexican pragmatics of that person. If that person is studied, the study will obtain results about a mix of Spanish and Mexican pragmatics instead of solely Mexican pragmatics.

This study is designed to show non-native speakers of the Spanish language that the decision of when to use the formal or informal form of address is not as simple as explained in language classes, and that there are many factors to consider when deciding what form of address to use. I will try to illustrate this through my study by explaining the dilemma in this specific situation and then explaining the variety of student responses as to why one form of address was chosen over the other. Hopefully, this will help the readers to better understand the complexity of this issue and to be more conscious of how the form of address that they use may be interpreted by their interlocutors. The reader can also use the reasons cited by the students in this study to build a larger base of knowledge in striving for communicative competence.

It is possible that this study can also be of help to applied linguists. The information collected on form of address use in the Mexican university setting described in this study provides data which could help gain a better understanding of the factors that influence the choice of which form of address to use. I have also presented an explanation for a possible way that a speaker could negotiate the identity of his

interlocutor through his speech community membership (see Section 2.2.4). This new idea could be tested through future applied linguistics studies.

While reading this study, one who has not studied linguistics may come into contact with new terms and concepts. These will be explained in Chapter 2. Although this topic may not seem as important to foreign language learners as the actual language itself, it is important to remember that learning a foreign language also involves learning the culture and social behavior of the country where you intend to use that language. This is especially important for those learners who live or plan to live, work, study or visit a specific country where that language is spoken by native speakers because, in a classroom setting when you are talking to your classmates or teacher, there is more tolerance and comprehension of "unconventional" language use, but when you are in the native speaker's environment, they may not understand if you use the socially unacceptable form. To give an example of this, imagine that you want to work in Mexico. You go to the interview and meet the owner of the company who is younger than you are. What do you do? Do you use *tú* or *usted*? If you have only been taught in your language class that *usted* is for older people, you may use *tú* and may possibly offend the owner and not get the job.

The motivation for this study is to investigate how membership to multiple speech communities plays a role in how identity is negotiated via forms of address. People can be confused as to what kind of relationship to form with a person who belongs to multiple speech communities, which appears as confusion in what form of address to use with that person. This is important because if someone has the expectation that a certain form of address will be used when someone else is speaking to him or her and that expectation is

not met, the person may become offended or feel that the other person is not respecting him or her. Understanding the possible confusion may avert feelings of disrespect that may be produced by using a "wrong" form of address.

This study is also important because there have been no significant studies done on the effect of speech communities on the use of the formal and informal form of address in Mexico. This study can add to the knowledge of forms of address by supplying some data about their use in Mexico. It can also help non-native speakers of Spanish to see one example of the complexity of form of address use in Mexico.

1.5   Chapter Overview

This study is presented in five chapters plus two additional sections at the end. Chapter One is the Introduction which gives an overview of the study, its rationale and the research questions. Chapter Two is the Literature Review, which gives an overview of the theoretical topics linked to this study and discusses studies done on forms of address in other languages. Chapter Three discusses the Methods used in this study. This chapter also includes information about the participants and the data collection procedures. Chapter Four presents the data collected during the course of the study and includes the analysis of the results of the study with discussion about what the results mean. Chapter Five summarizes the study and offers views as to what contributions this study adds to the field of linguistics. After the chapters, there are two additional sections. The References section includes all of the external sources cited in this study. The appendixes follow the bibliography and include materials referred to in the Methods Chapter and data referred to in the Results Chapter.

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

1. Individual with no stress   2. Age stressed   3. Professional status

bond broken
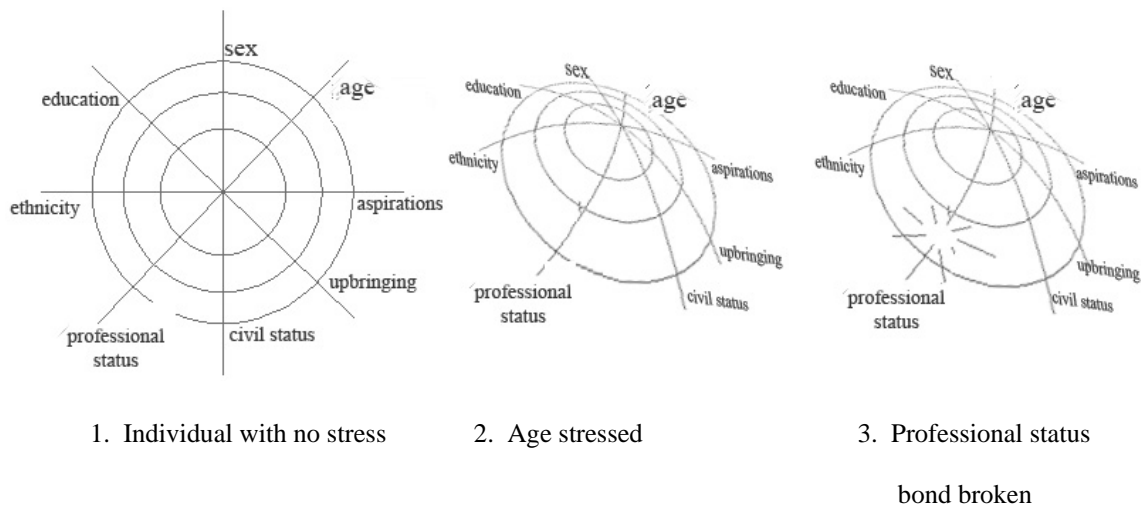
Each individual person is a web made up of many spindles branching out to different axis points.   The spindles represent the different characteristics that each individual has.   Some characteristics (and therefore spindles) are stronger than others because they are not chosen by the individual.   Examples 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 dending 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 is a 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 a 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 questions 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 Sweedish 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 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th 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.

3   **Methodology**

This chapter will explain the methodology used in this specific study. This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 3.1 discusses the participants in the study and the environment in which the study takes place. Section 3.2 discusses the procedures that were used in data collection. Section 3.3 discusses the analysis methods that will be used on this data. Section 3.4, the final section of this chapter, will discuss the possible methodological limitations that this study has and some possible questions that may arise about the methodology used.

3.1   Participants

3.1.1   Student-Participants

The participants in this study were Mexican students enrolled in four separate sections of high intermediate English classes. These classes were given at a large private university in Puebla, Mexico. The classes met two days per week for one hour and fifteen minutes per class period. The classes were held for a four-month-semester. Two of the sections were in the fall semester and two of the sections were in the spring semester. There were a total of thirty-four students in the two classes in the fall semester and twenty-two students in the two classes in the spring semester, for a total of fifty-six student-participants who enrolled in the classes in this study. However, information was only collected on fifty-five students because the fifty-sixth student did not provide any speech acts useful to the purposes of this study.

Of the fifty-five students, there were twenty-six males and twenty-nine females. This distribution is important in order to examine the effect of the females belonging to

the same sex speech community as me as opposed to the males not belonging to that speech community on the forms of addresses used by males and females. The students were all Mexican and were all students at the same private university in which the classes were given. They ranged in age from eighteen to twenty-nine. This is important to mention because I fall into the middle of the range of ages and therefore into the same age speech community.

The majority of the students grew up in central Mexico. A few had lived in other areas of Mexico and some had lived in other countries although for no more than two years. This means that there is little effect of the pragmatics of other languages on their Spanish use. For example, if one student had lived in France for many years, he would have considerable knowledge of the French pragmatics and this knowledge may unconsciously influence his use of Spanish pragmatics, thereby making all the data from this student invalid due to the outside influence.

The students studied a range of majors but none of them was majoring in languages or linguistics. This is of note because they were not likely to have learned theories about speech communities, politeness or forms of address. The English class that they were taking is a mandatory requirement for graduation.

The students did not know me prior to enrolling in the class. This is important because no student had a prior relationship or social interaction with me, since as stated in the previous chapter, social relationships affect forms of address. Since all students started out not knowing me, they all started out with an equal social relationship to me. The students did not have any prior knowledge of the study besides giving me their permission to be in a study which would be used for my thesis project. They did not

know any information about the topic of this study until after all the data had been collected.

3.1.2   The Researcher

If not for the specific characteristics of the researcher, this study would not be possible. If the researcher did not belong to the same age speech community and a different professional status community, the study would not be the same or would not exist at all. Therefore, it is important to describe myself, since I am the researcher and also an important participant in the study. When the study began, I was twenty-three years old and a few months into the study I turned twenty-four. My age is important because it puts me almost in the middle of the range of ages of the student-participants. Some participants are older than me and some are younger. Originally I am from the state of New York, but I had been living in Mexico for approximately two years at the time of the study. I am a graduate student at the same private university in which the English classes are given. The student participants all knew my age and that I was a graduate student. They knew this because in each section at the beginning of the semester we played an introductions game which revealed these facts. I am a graduate teaching assistant at the aforementioned private university. During the two semesters that this study was conducted, I taught the same level of intermediate English.

It is important to note that I was a participant-observer in this study, not just a participant and not just an observer. When conducting a qualitative study, the researcher often must choose whether and how much he will participate in the study instead of just observing (Patton, 1990). Due to the predetermined fact that I was the teacher of the

student participants, it was impossible to become just an observer because I had to interact with the students by teaching the class and, therefore, I took on the role of a participant-observer. This is important because of the possible effects that this may have on the results of the study. A participant-observer knows that the study is occurring. There is no separation between participating in the environment and observing and collecting data. This has both advantages and disadvantages in the research collection process. Since the researcher participates with the participants, the researcher shares experiences, knowledge and relationships with the participants. The researcher is able to gain an insider's view of the situation and I was able to gain a more intimate perspective of the class environment and the student participants because of my relationship and interactions with them.

Another positive effect of the researcher being a participant is that it may reduce the observer effect in the study. According to Bogdan & Biklen (2003) the observer effect means that the researcher's presence may change the behavior of the people he is trying to study. The more invasive and obvious the research, the more effect that it will have upon participants and, because of this, it is important that the researcher try to blend in as much as possible into the research setting. Since I was already the teacher, the setting did not change by my presence in the classroom and, therefore, the observer effect upon the students' behavior in the classroom was minimized.

The disadvantage to being a participant-observer is that the researcher can become so involved in being a participant that it becomes a detriment to being an attentive and accurate observer. The researcher is not just a participant but is also the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data (Merriam, 1998). It is hard for one

to participate normally in the research setting and at the same time make observations. One must combine participation and observation so as to become capable of understanding the situation as an insider while describing the situation for outsiders (Patton, 1990).

The researcher must also try to limit the effect of knowing that a study is being conducted may have upon data collection. The researcher must not try to influence the participants or the environment in order to obtain the results that he desires. To try to collect the most accurate data possible, I tried to be as attentive, accurate and objective as possible when making my observations. This was done as a conscious decision on my part to always record the same information from each speech act by using a code sheet that will be explained in Section 3.3.2. However, in qualitative research, since the researcher is involved in subjective relationships and interactions with the participants, it is necessary for the researcher to consider the effects of this on the data gathered (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, even when trying to be as objective as possible in gathering data and making observations I know that it is impossible for me as a participant to be completely objective and I will take this into account in the analysis of the results by questioning any data that is not consistent with other data from the same student.

3.1.3   English Class

The majority of the data collected was obtained in the classroom. It is necessary to describe the classroom environment in which the speech acts took place to give more information about the study so that the study may be able to be replicated in the future. The classes took place two days a week for a fifteen-week semester. The four sections

ranged in size. They had twenty-two, fifteen, eight, and thirteen students respectively. In each section (including the largest section) the groups were very interactive and close-knit. They formed cohesive groups and the participants would often go out after class to restaurants and bars.

Regarding the teaching methods used, I used a communicative-affective approach in the classroom. In other words, oral communication and group work were emphasized and the students' emotions while learning English were acknowledged. I followed basically the same lesson plans for both semesters and I made a conscious decision to act the same way in both the fall and the spring semester with the students. This was to ensure that my behavior did not affect the responses from semester to semester. I do not believe that the exact conditions of the first semester could have been duplicated equally in the second semester because different students, weather, vacation periods, personal life circumstances, etc. cause different classroom environment and situations.

However, wherever possible, considerations were made so that the conditions would be as similar as possible. One such consideration was to use the same lesson plans in the second semester that were used in the first semester. The students studied the same course content, did the same in class activities and were assigned the same homework. One part of the course was weekly language lab reports, known as CAL (Centro de Aprendizaje de Lenguas: Language Learning Center) reports. This is important to mention because in the data collected (shown in Chapter 5) several students refer to their CAL reports and it is important that the reader knows what is meant by this term. The students were assigned departmental tests which differed from the first to the second semester, but this was an uncontrollable variable based on departmental policy. Another

consideration made was that I introduced myself with just my first and last name and in English at the beginning of each semester instead of introducing myself in a more formal or less formal way such as Ms. Heydweiller or just Mary. I did not instruct the students to refer to me as either *tú* or *usted* at any point throughout the semester. The choice of form of address was left completely up to them. The choice of language that they used with me was also their choice. Before, after or outside of class (and sometimes during class) the students may use either English or Spanish when talking with me. For the purposes of this study, only the Spanish results were used as data.

3.2   Procedure

At the beginning of each of the two semesters, the students were asked if they would be willing to agree to participate in a study for a master's thesis project. They were not informed of the purpose or nature of the study. After all of the students had consented, five data collection methods were followed.

3.2.1   Tape-Recorded Conversations

The tape-recorded conversations were done during the class period. I informed the students beforehand that I would be recording some of the classes for the research project that I had discussed with them at the beginning of the semester. I recorded the first ten minutes and the last ten minutes while they are arriving and leaving the room when they would most likely be using Spanish and addressing me personally because they usually do not speak in Spanish during class. I recorded these periods of classes for two weeks starting approximately one month after the semester had begun. I did not

continue with the recordings for more time because they yielded very little information. It is important that the tape recording was not done at the very beginning of the semester because the relationship between the students and me changed from one of complete strangers to one where they knew more about me because of our in-class interactions. This month gave them time to develop their social knowledge about me and decide consciously or unconsciously what kind of relationship they wanted to establish. From these recordings, I transcribed the instances when the students refer to me as *usted* and as *tú*. Transcribed data is often needed because intuitions or introspective data is unreliable (Stubbs, 1983). Another reason is that a transcript allows researchers to see what they otherwise may not notice. Transcribed data provided some concrete examples. The transcriptions were done according to the transcription conventions written and modeled by Tannen (1989). These transcriptions will be shown in the following chapter on results.

3.2.2   Ethnographic Observations

The second method of data collection that I used was ethnographical observations which are my observations as a researcher-participant about different speech acts that were performed by the students in which they used either the formal or informal form of address. "To fully understand the complexities of many situations, direct participation in and observation of the phenomenon of interest may be the best research method" (Patton, 1990, p. 25). These observations occurred throughout the semester, both in and out of class, starting after the tape-recorded conversations were done and ending when the DCT questionnaires, which are discussed in Section 3.2.4, were distributed. There are many

instances that occurred throughout the semester that I do not have tape recorded of when the students have referred to me in either the informal or formal form. Since there is no "hard-data" on what was said because it was not tape recorded, it is important that the descriptions are factual, accurate, and thorough without being cluttered by irrelevant minutiae and trivia (Patton, 1990). In order to try to make the observations as factual and accurate as possible, I wrote them down as soon as they occurred to minimize the effect of possible memory loss. Since I wrote these based on my own observations, I tried to be as objective as possible so that I did not inadvertently alter the data. In order to be as factual and accurate as possible, I decided ahead of time what data I wanted to record about each observation. Using a code sheet to record specific information has been suggested in order to provide structure to the observations (Merriam, 1998). I made a code sheet so that all of my observations include the same information. This sheet is shown in Appendix A. I wrote who the student was, whether the student used the *tú* or the *usted* form, in what setting we were in (in-class, before or after class, or outside of class), and what the topic of conversation was. I chose to include these four factors in the code sheet based on a list of factors which was compiled by Merriam (1998) who recommends describing the physical setting, the participant(s), the activities and interactions and the conversation. Using a code sheet allowed the information gathered from each observation to consist of the same four elements.

3.2.3   Emails and Instant Messenger Conversations

The internet has given rise to forms of personal interaction through computer-mediated communication (Merriam, 1998). These sources include emails and messenger

conversations, both of which will be used in this study. Before using this data, I obtained

oral permission from the participants to use this data in my study. These interactions are

of interest in qualitative research because it is through electronic correspondence where

further relationships are established and fostered. They provide additional data related to

qualitative studies and can be viewed as an "electronic extension of familiar research

techniques" such as observations (Merriam, 1998, p. 128).

So, a third type of data which I used was from emails. This data collection

process also occurred for the whole semester. Throughout the semester, my students

emailed me for various reasons related to the class and not-related to the class. They

were not instructed to write to me, except after the DCT questionnaires had been given

when I invited some of them to the interviews. I saved these emails and collected both

quantitative data about how many of the participants used *tú* with me and how many used

usted and qualitative data by knowing which student in particular used a particular form

of address with me.

Some students also chose to contact me for various reasons by MSN instant

messenger. These conversations were saved and data was collected on whether they used

tú or *usted* to refer to me in these conversations.

When looking at the data collected by these methods, it is important to recognize

that there are some differences between the data collected via computer-mediated

communication and communication which occurs face-to-face. Emails are asynchronous

which means that they do not occur in real time as a person-to-person conversation does

(Merriam, 1998). While messenger conversations occur in real time as face-to-face

conversations do, the writer always has a chance to go back, edit and delete typed text.

Therefore, it is possible that the participant may think more carefully about what language he uses in the email or messenger conversation because he has more time to think about it due to the asynchronous nature of the communication. Immediate reactions and unguarded expressions are lost to the reader of this type of communication unless the writer consciously makes them available (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, when analyzing the data derived from computer-mediated communication, I will keep in mind the potential effects on language use from this type of communication. To do this I will check each participant's data collected from computer-mediated communication against the data collected from their language use in the other methods of data collection used in this study to see how consistent their computer-mediated language is compared to face-to-face conversational data collected.

3.2.4   Discourse Completion Task (DCT) Questionnaires

Another method which I used was questionnaires. Since it was difficult to teach the class and observe my students linguistically at the same time, I needed to have another way to gather initial research. I waited until the last week of the semester to distribute the questionnaires because I did not want my observations, tape-recordings and emails to be done with the participants having a prior knowledge of what the study was about. I distributed a questionnaire to the students which asked them about their use of informal or formal forms of address with me. This questionnaire is included in Appendix B. It was all written in Spanish. Even though we were in the setting of an English class, the phenomenon being studied was in Spanish and, therefore, I needed

them to be thinking in Spanish while doing the questionnaire and I needed to make sure that they understood the directions and the situations without ambiguity.

Each questionnaire consisted of two pages. The first page consisted of six DCT (Discourse Completion Task) questions. One of the primary means of data collection for studies involving pragmatics is Discourse Analysis (Traynor, 2006) and one of the principal methods of collecting data for discourse analysis is by Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT). DCTs allow for the researcher to control the independent variable of the social situation which is presented to the participants in the study. Since each participant is exposed to the same stimuli, it is easier to make direct comparisons between the participants' responses. DCTs are also an effective way for researchers to collect a large amount of data fairly quickly (Golato, 2003). This study used a DCT to collect data for these reasons.

DCTs or Discourse Completion Tasks have been proven to be a valid form of elicited discourse data collection. The DCT is an open-ended questionnaire which elicits a response from the participants to a certain situation. DCTs are used to provide participants an opportunity to respond to a particular situation (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986). However, one concern in using DCTs is that the participants' responses are not the same as in natural discourse because the participants are given more time to plan their responses. A study by Golato (2003) showed that while there are similarities in naturally occurring discourse and DCT responses, there are also slight differences. On the other hand, several studies have shown that the DCT responses are actually very similar to naturally occurring discourse (Beebe & Cummings, 1996; Blum-Kulka, House & Kaspar, 1989; Beebe & Takahashi, 1989).

Therefore, while the DCTs provide valuable data which may not be able to be gathered without elicitation, it is also necessary to take into account any noticed differences between the participants' actual discourse that was tape-recorded and their responses on the DCTs. To take this factor into account, the DCTs will be compared to the other data collected for each participant. If there is a difference, the participants will be asked about this during the interview part of data collection.

The DCT part of the questionnaire consisted of one page with six situations. The participants were instructed to write what they would say to me given a certain situation. Three situations took place in the classroom and three outside of the school. This was important because in the in-class settings they would be more likely to associate me with the professor speech community and use the formal form of address because I am actively filling the role of professor inside of the classroom. Outside of the classroom is where they would be more likely to associate me as a co-member of their speech community and use the informal form of address because I am not actively filling the role of professor but I am still a member of their age speech community. By changing the setting, I hoped to see whether that factor affected which speech community the participants associated me with and in turn the form of address that they used with me. Therefore, it was necessary to use both types of settings.

The second page consisted of four questions which asked the students to share their opinions on their use of forms of address with me. I decided on these questions in order to gather data on the attitudes and awareness of the students regarding forms of address. These questions were pre-tested with some of my classmates from my graduate classes in Applied Linguistics. The first question was a multiple choice question asking

if the participant would address me using *tú*, *usted* or both. The second question was an open-ended question asking what factors influenced their choice of which form to use. A third question was a yes or no question and asked if the participant had ever felt unsure of which form of address to use with me. The fourth question was an open-ended question and asked why they had felt this way. After the students had completed the questionnaire, they were instructed to turn it in to me

3.2.5 Interviews

The last way in which I collected data was through personal interviews. I conducted these interviews last because, first of all, I did not want the purpose of my study to become apparent to the students until after I had done the observations and secondly, I wanted to collect the data from the questionnaires first so that I could have background knowledge of each participant's choices on the DCT questionnaire. I chose to conduct personal interviews with a targeted sample of the students whose opinions in the questionnaires about form of address use elicited further interest on my part, the ones who had differed in form of address use in the different data collection forms, or the ones who I had noticed in the observations to have always used either the informal form or the formal form. I did not interview all of the participants. I chose to do this for time restrictions. I used an open interview where the questions were not written down for me to read but rather I asked specific questions depending on the participant's responses in the questionnaire. I did the interviews in Spanish so that the participants could understand the questions better and express their opinions fully, and so that they would not struggle to express themselves in a foreign language. I asked a few questions to all

participants. I asked them where they had grown up in Mexico and who taught them to use the formal form of address with people. These questions were important because, as previously mentioned, the use of forms of address may depend on the upbringing of the students instead of their perceptions of speech communities. The other questions were based upon the observations or the questionnaire data specific to that participant. For example, one student said that the form of address that he used depended on the setting, so I asked in what type of setting he would use the formal and informal forms of address. I chose to conduct the interviews this way to get specific feedback as to why the participant chose to use a particular form of address with me as opposed to the other and to get more explicit information about their feelings as to whether I belong to their speech community and if this has an impact upon their decision to use the informal or formal form of address.

3.3   Data Analysis

I analyzed the data depending on the type of data. The transcribed tape recordings, ethnographical observations, MSN messenger data, email data and DCT data were coded. A fellow graduate student (Coder G), who had already graduated from the linguistics program, and I coded the ethnographical observations, tape-recorded conversations, messenger conversations and emails.   One current undergraduate linguistics student (Coder V) and I coded the DCT questionnaires. Coder G was not available to travel to the university to code the questionnaires, which were on paper and not able to be sent by email to him to be coded; so Coder V assisted in this part. Two people, who were both trained to code in the same way, did the coding for all types of

collected data in order to provide multi-coder reliability. I checked their coding after they had done a few to see that they were coding in the way that I had instructed them. If there was a difference in the coding done by one of the other coders and me, a different graduate of the master's linguistics program (Coder J) was asked to provide the tie-breaking decision.

The coders were instructed by me as to how to code the data. The coding was based on when the participants use *tú, usted,* and any verb conjugations which indicate the use of the second person informal tense or the second person formal tense which are indicative of a formal or informal form of address. For example, the coder was given the participant's initials in the first column and the speech utterance in the second column of the coding sheet. Then he was asked to write *tú* or *usted* in the third column depending on which form he determined to be used in the utterance in the second column. For an example please see Table 1 below.

Table 1: Example of Coding

Participant	Utterance	Coder
6	"¿Ud. fue a algun lado?"	UD.

With this data and also the interviews and open-ended questions from the questionnaire, I cross-checked for the consistency of each participant's responses because some may use the informal form with me for the whole semester but report in the interview that they used the formal form. The participants were also separated into two groups, of male and female students, and the data from each respective group was

compared to see any prevalent tendencies about form of address use in order to answer the third research question. Finally, the data collected in this study is compared to other form of address studies, namely those reviewed in Chapter 2 in order to find similarities and differences.

3.4   Methodological Limitations and Questions

With any type of research, there are always limitations. One limitation was that it was difficult to gather tape-recorded conversation data. This is due to the fact that the students mainly speak English in the class and it was difficult to have the tape recorder ready if they did speak to me in Spanish using a particular form of address that was not during the first or last ten minutes of the class. For this reason, there is little tape-recorded data. I tried to offset this limitation by collecting data in other forms, such as the ethnographical observations, MSN messenger conversations and emails.

Another possible limitation is that even though I tried to be as objective as possible during the observation process, it is not possible for me to be completely objective while being a participant. The observations may also be limited because as a participant, I was not solely focused on observing and may have missed some data. To make myself as objective as possible as a researcher, I made the coding sheet shown in Appendix A and had it at hand during all of the classes and outside of class. This made the data collecting process for this type of data more objective and effective.

Another possible limitation, as discussed above, was that the Discourse Completion Tasks might not be as authentic as the language used in "real" speech acts. Even though the students were instructed to respond in the exact words that they would

use if they were actually speaking with me, it is not one hundred percent guaranteed that they did so. In authentic speech, the speaker does not have time to think about what he or she would say beforehand and therefore it may be that the DCTs are not as natural as authentic speech. However, based on the studies cited in Section 3.2.4, it has been shown that DCTs are a valid way to collect data, and since all of the data collected through this method is compared with the data from other methods, the results can be shown to be consistent for each participant.

These were the ways that the data was collected in this study. In the next section, I will show the results from these methods.

4   Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the results gathered by the methods explained in Chapter 3. The results of each method will be followed by a discussion of these results and what they imply for this study.   Section 4.1 will present and discuss the tape-recorded conversations. Section 4.2 will deal with the ethnographic observations. Section 4.3 will be about the email and MSN messenger data.   Section 4.4 will discuss the DCT questionnaires.   Section 4.5 will speak about the data gathered through interviews. Section 4.6 summarizes this whole chapter.

4.1   Tape-Recorded Conversations

This section will first present the data collected by tape-recording conversations between the students and me in sub-section 4.1.1.   For space reasons in this study, only the excerpts of transcripts where the students use language which shows the use of the formal or informal form of address will be displayed. If any reader wishes to obtain the complete tape-recording, he may contact me via email at mheydweiller9@hotmail.com. I will present the transcripts one by one and discuss them immediately after presenting them. The verbs or pronouns that indicate a certain form of address are shown in bold. Keep in mind when reading the transcripts that my initials are MRH which corresponds to what I have said and the other initials refer to one of the student participants. Also, it is important to keep in mind that these recordings were done in class in order to make comparisons between the language use in class as opposed to out of class to see if the setting makes a difference. It will be stated whether the participant in each transcript is male or female in order to make comparisons between the male and female students to

answer the third research question posed in Chapter 1. The transcripts were coded by Coder G and me. There was no discrepancy in our transcript coding. The presentation of the transcripts will be followed by a discussion of the transcripts as a whole in sub-section 4.1.2.

4.1.1   Transcripts

Conversation Recording 1:

1	1:	Estos son los CAL reports de Ale.
2	1:	Esto, esto, esto…y esto
3	MRH:	Ok.
4	1:	I forgot my CALs so.. Puedo dár**se**los..
5	MRH:	Hasta el próximo jueves
6	1:	ok está bien.

This transcribed recording shows that the participant 1 uses the formal form of address with me. Participant 1 is a male student. The use of the formal form of address is shown in line 4 where he says "Puedo darselos". The "se" part of *darselos* is indirect object form of the formal form of address. There are several possible reasons why Participant 1 used the formal form of address. First, it could be that he is taking into consideration speech community membership. He may identify me as a member of the professor community or as a non-member of the male speech community and, therefore, choose to form a relationship of non-solidarity. His choice may be because of the setting. Since the conversation takes place in the classroom, the setting is more formal and gives the relationship of teacher-student more emphasis than in other settings. The topic of the speech act is also class-related, which might have the similar effect that the setting has in emphasizing the formal teacher-student relationship. Another possible reason is the

function of the speech act. Participant 1 is asking for a favor and he may be deferring to a figure of greater authority or power to grant him the favor by using negative politeness strategies. The use of the formal form of address could indicate that Participant 1 views the relationship between him and me as a power relationship.

Conversation Recording 2:

1 2:   Miss por qué no **vino** a la clase pasada?
2 MRH: Estaba muy enferma
3 2:   De qué?
4 MRH: Tenía fiebre y de mi estomago.

Recording 2 shows that participant 2 uses the formal form of address with me. The verb *vino* in line 1 indicates the use of the third person formal (*usted*) conjugation of the verb *venir*. Participant 2 is a female student. This recording was done in class, so it is possible that she used the formal form due to the setting as discussed in the section on Participant 1. However, unlike the case of Participant 1, the topic of conversation is not school-related which means that the formal teacher-student relationship is not emphasized by the topic. The topic shows more personal interest since she is asking about my well-being and may be a sign that she wants to show solidarity but she uses the formal form which probably means that her choice of address does not have to do with the topic. Since Participant 2 is a female, she shares this speech community with me, but she may identify me more with the professor speech community than with the student or age speech communities and for that reason used the formal form of address. Also, she may be using a politeness strategy because she is asking a personal question or to show

respect for my position as a teacher and this respect could be stronger than shared speech

community membership.

Conversation Recording 3:

1 3:   Ya **trae** los resultados.. de los examenes?
2 MRH: Uh huh.
3 3:   Los **va** a dar ahorita?
4 MRH: No.

Recording 3 shows that Participant 3 uses the formal *usted* form with me. This is

shown first in line 1 where Participant 3 uses the third person formal conjugation of the

verb *traer (trae).* It is also shown in line 3 where the participant uses *va* which is the

third person formal conjugation of the verb *ir.* The topic of the conversation is class-

related and the setting is in class. This may possibly strengthen Participant 3's

association of me with the professor speech community and subsequently prompt the use

of the formal form of address. The language function is that he is asking for something

but in this case it is not a favor since I was obliged to give out their grades anyways. In

this instance, neither form of address is specifically prompted by the function of the

speech act. Participant 3 is male and therefore, this may have an effect on his perception

of solidarity with me because we do not belong to the same sex speech community.

Conversation Recording 4:

1 4:   Ya **revisó** los que había dado?
2 MRH: Cómo?
3 4:   Los calificados
4 MRH: No.

Recording 4 shows that Participant 4 uses the formal form of address with me. In

line 1, Participant 4 uses the third person formal conjugation of two verbs. First the

participant uses *revisó* which is the simple past third person formal conjugation of the verb *revisar.* Later in this same line, the participant uses the past perfect third person formal conjugation of the verb *dar* when she says *había dado.* Participant 4 is a female student. The topic of the conversation is class-related and the setting is in class. Once again, these factors probably strengthen Participant 4's perception of me as a teacher and weaken her association of me with her age group and the student speech community. Her topic, speaking about grading, indicates that she knows that I am the person that is doing the grading, hence giving me some type of power over her in the educational setting. Her use of the formal form of address may be a reflection of this knowledge and the formation or maintenance of her idea that this is a power relationship.

Conversation Recording 5:

1 2:　　　　Que **va** a hacer el lunes?
2 MRH:　　El lunes me voy…me voy a dormir todo el dia. Todavía estoy muy
　　　　　　cansada.

　　　　Recording 5 is talking about the upcoming day off from school on Monday. This recording shows the use of the formal form of address. In line 1, the participant uses *va* which is the third person formal form of the verb *ir.* Notice that participant 2 is the same participant from recording 2 and the use of the formal form of address is consistent in both recordings. Her topic of conversation, just as in recording 2, is not school-related. It seems that she is trying to form solidarity with me by speaking of personal lives instead of class-related or school-related topics. However, she uses the formal form of address which would suggest that solidarity is not the reason she chooses to use that form. One possible reason for her form of address choice is that, even though her topics of

conversation suggest that she wants a relationship of solidarity, she also may try to keep some social distance by using the formal form of address. She may be struggling as to how she wants to define the relationship, either as one of solidarity (as the topic would suggest) or as one of social distance (suggested by the form of address use). She might lean towards solidarity if she views me as a member of her age speech community, the female speech community or in the student speech community, or she could lean towards social distance if she sees me as a member of the professor speech community.

Conversation Recording 6:

1 5:   **Se siente** mejor?
2 MRH: Todavía no estoy cien por ciento pero mejor que ayer.

Recording 6 was done on my first day back to class after cancelling a class because I was sick. This recording shows that Participant 5 used the formal form of address with me. In line 1, the participant uses *se siente* which is the third person formal form of the verb *sentirse*. The topic of the conversation is personal and not school-related which would suggest solidarity and the use of the informal form. However, the setting (in-class) strengthens Participant 5's association of me with the professor speech community and creates social distance between us. The social distance is increased even more because Participant 5 is a male student and may be even more inclined to use the formal form of address because we do not share membership in the sex speech community.

4.1.2   Transcript Discussion

All six of the transcripts show that the participants used the formal form of address with me. Data was gathered from two female students and three male students, all of whom used the formal form of address. Below, there are possible explanations for the use of only the formal form of address by the participants in this section. Due to the fact that there was little data collected through tape recordings, I do not have sufficient evidence that the use of the formal form of address is predominant and does not prove that males and females use the same form of address with me. However, this data is still valuable and useful because it will be compared to the responses and other data collected from these six participants through the other data collection methods. Data comparison will show if these participants are consistent in the use of the formal form of address. Notes will be made on the consistency of these participants in the other sections of this chapter.

There are several factors that may have been used by the participants when choosing which form of address to use. The setting is one of these factors. All recordings were in the classroom and all participants used the formal form of address. The setting lends itself more to the formal form of address than out-of-class settings because of the formal nature of the class.

The type of relationship is also a factor. Because of the setting, the students are more likely to view me as a professor. A teacher-student relationship is an example of a power relationship because as their teacher, I have a type of power over them at least in terms that I make them do certain exercises in class, I grade their work and they follow my directions.

As I have hypothesized in Chapter 1, the choice could be affected by the participants' negotiation of my speech community membership. If they choose to view me as a professor over student, as a professor over someone of their own age or, in the case of male students, as a non-male, they should use the formal form of address because of the greater social distance in our relationship. This factor is influenced by the previous two factors mentioned. It is more likely that the students place me into the professor speech community in these tape-recordings based on the setting and type of relationship. Since the recordings were done in class, their association of me with the professor speech community is greater because the students are constantly reminded of that identity in class.

4.2   Ethnographical Observations

This section presents the data collected by ethnographical observations and discusses their significance. As described in the previous chapter, these observations were done throughout the semester using the pre-designed coding sheet shown in Appendix A whenever the students spoke with me in Spanish. Appendix C shows the data collected through this method. It also shows the coding done by Coder G and me (Coder M). There was no discrepancy in the coding. These results are discussed in the next part of this section.

As seen in the data presented in Appendix C, the choice of form of address by the participants was mixed. Out of the sixteen participants observed, ten used the formal form of address with me. Six used the informal form of address. The four participants who were observed more than once were all consistent with their form of address choice.

This shows that, first, their results are consistent at least throughout the ethnographical observations. Second, it may indicate that these participants did not feel ambiguous about which form of address to use with me since they did not change between the two forms.

There are many factors which are possible reasons that the students chose one form of address over the other. One of these factors is the setting. All of the ethnographical observations were made in the classroom. During the period in which I did the ethnographical observations, there were no out-of-class interactions between the students and me in Spanish beyond them just saying *hola* which does not indicate a form of address. As discussed in the previous section, the in-class setting may strengthen the students' perception of me as their professor and increase the likelihood of the use of the formal form of address. However, as seen in the results, the students varied on which form of address they used. Therefore, while the setting may strengthen the reasons why the students who chose the formal form used that form, it does not explain why about a third of the students chose to use the informal form of address.

Another factor is the conversation topic. Theoretically, if the topic of conversation is school-related, the students would be more likely to use the formal form of address due to their strengthened perception of me as a professor and them as my students. If the topic is not school-related, the students would be more likely to use the informal form of address because they are trying to form solidarity or a friend relationship by discussing more personal topics. Seven out of the ten students that spoke about school-related topics chose to use the formal form of address. When speaking about topics that were not school-related, the students were evenly divided between the

formal form of address (four students) and the informal form of address (four students).

This seems to imply that the formal form of address is used more with school-related topics. However, this does not seem to always hold true. For example, participant 14 is observed twice and the topics of both conversations are school-related. However, instead of using the formal form as one would think theoretically, he used the informal form both times. On the other hand, Participant 16 was observed four times; three of which were not school-related. Even though theoretically he should use the informal form of address in these three instances and the formal form in the school-related observation, he uses the formal form of address all four times. It appears that the topic of conversation may contribute to the choice of the form of address; however, it is not *the* deciding factor.

A third factor that could be used to determine which form of address to use is speech communities. If the setting and the topic of conversation alone do not determine which form of address the students use, then their perception of my identity might be the basis for their decisions. Speech communities are comprised of characteristics which make up a person's identity, so it is likely that the students used my membership to speech communities to negotiate my identity. Since my membership to the professor speech community and the students' age speech community cause a conflict in what form of address the students should use with me, this provides an explanation for the division between the use of the formal form of address and the informal form of address in the ethnographical observations.

In looking at the forms of address used by each sex, there was data collected on four females and twelve males through the ethnographical observations. Three out of the four females used the formal *usted* when talking to me. Regarding the male participants,

seven used the formal form of address while five used the informal form.   One could postulate that females would be more likely to use the informal form of address with me because they share the sex speech community. However, the numbers for the males and females are fairly even. If anything, the males use the informal form more than the females. It appears that the sex speech community is not a factor, at least in this section.

In looking at individual participants, some participants were observed in both the ethnographical observations as well as the tape-recorded conversations.   These participants will now be discussed to see whether their results are consistent so far. Participant consistency is shown in Appendix G. There are four participants who had data collected on them through these methods. Participants 1, 2, 3, and 5 were all consistent with their use of the formal form of address. The consistency of these and other participants will continue being analyzed in the following sections of this chapter.

4.3   Emails and MSN Conversations

This section will present the email and MSN conversation data that was gathered through the course of the study. The email data is shown in Appendix D, which is organized by participants and the chronological order in which the emails were receeived starting with the oldest and ending with the most recent. Coding was done on the email data by Coder G and Coder M. There was one email that was not coded the same by these two coders so Coder J was asked to code this data. Coder J's choice reflects the final coding decision in these cases. Email data will be discussed in sub-section 4.3.1. After the analysis of this data, the MSN conversation data will be presented and discussed in sub-section 4.3.2 and will be discussed in 4.3.3.

4.3.1   Email Data Analysis

Email data was gathered on thirty-six out of the fifty-five participants in this study. Looking at the participants as a whole, sixteen participants used *tú,* twelve used *usted* and eight used both forms of address in communication via email. The email data shows a somewhat larger number of participants who use the informal form of address than in the transcribed data and the ethnographical observation data. However, it seems that there is generally a half and half division in the email data.

There are again many reasons why the participants chose to use one form of address over the other. In this section, the setting is an unknown variable. The students, even though they are not in class, may write the emails from school, their homes, their friends' homes, in another class, in the language lab, etc. Since their location is unknown, the setting factor cannot be analyzed here.

One factor that can be analyzed is the conversation topic. Twenty-four of the ninety-one emails dealt with a topic that was not class-related or school-related. In twenty-two of these, the participants used the informal form of address with me. Sixty-seven emails were about school-related topics. Of these, in twenty-nine of the emails the participants referred to me in the formal form, and in thirty-six, they referred to me in the informal form. Two emails used both forms of address in the same email. As seen in Figure 2 below, the ratio of students who used the informal form of address to those who use the formal form is much higher in the emails with non-school-related topics (22:2) than school-related topics (36:29). This data supports the idea that conversation topic influences the form of address used.

Figure 2: Email Topic Data
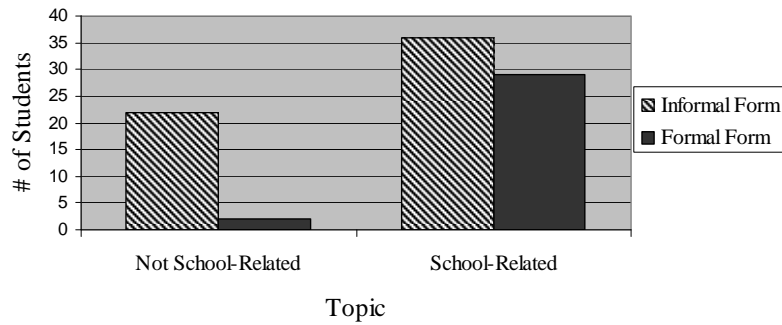
Another factor that could have an effect on the forms of address used in the students' emails is the function of the speech act. If the participants wanted a favor from me, were making an excuse or apologizing, then they may have been more likely to use the formal form of address as a politeness strategy. On the other hand, if I was asking them for something (such as an interview for my study), the students may have been more likely to respond with the informal form of address. There were eighteen emails in which the students wanted a favor, made an excuse or apologized, of which thirteen used the formal form of address and five used the informal form. This supports the theory that they are using forms of address as part of a negative politeness strategy. When I sent them emails asking for something, seventeen responded using the informal form and only three responded using the formal form. As can be seen by the numbers above and Figure 3 below, the functions of speech acts appear to affect the form of address used.

Figure 3: Email Function Data
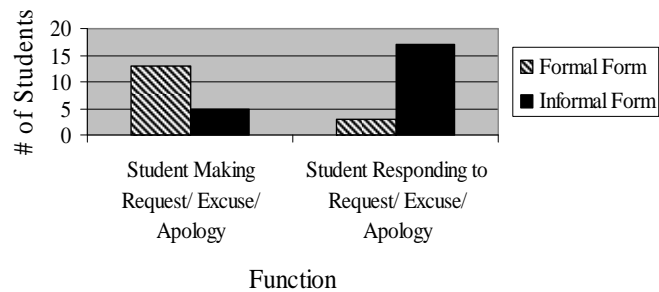
Another factor possibly taken into account by the participants when choosing a form of address is the type of relationship that they want to have with me. Here, it is interesting to notice that some of the participants waver between the two forms of address. About a fifth of the participants in this section used both forms of address. For example, Participant 1 uses *tú* in his first email and *usted* in the second. This may be indicative of their uncertainty as to what form of address they should use. Another possible explanation is that they may have used the formal form of address more towards the beginning of the semester when they did not have a high level of familiarity with me and then when they got to know me better and formed a closer relationship towards the end of the semester they changed to the informal form of address. Participants 9, 16, 20, 25, 31 and 32 all started writing emails using *usted* and later changed to *tú*. This supports the idea that the relationship changes over time and that the relationship has an effect on the form of address used. Relationship changes may be reflected by changes in the form of address.

Another occurrence to note in this section is that two of the participants actually use both forms of address in the same email. Participant 29 uses both forms of address in his first email listed. *Darte* is indicative of the informal form because *te* is the indirect object form of the informal "you". *Tenga* is indicative of the formal form because it is

the second person formal command conjugation. Participant 16 also uses both forms of address in his fourth email listed. For example, he uses *le escribo* which indicates the formal form of address. Later in the same email, he also says *contigo* which shows the use of the informal form. The use of both forms of address in the same email may be because the participants did not clearly identify what kind of social relationship they had or wanted with me and the uncertainty came out in the emails.

Another factor is the type of language used. In the first two sections, the data was gathered on spoken language. In this section, the data gathered is about written language. Simply because the language is written, the participants may use a different form of address from the form they would use with spoken language. For example, Participant 5 used the formal form in both the tape-recorded conversations and the ethnographical observations, but in all seven of the emails that he sent to me he used the informal form. This may have been because the topics of conversation of some of his emails were not school-related and he did not feel that he needed to use formal language. It may be that since he did not write the emails in my class, my association to the professor speech community was not as strong and he associated me more with his age speech community. Also, he could have changed the form of address that he used because emails are a different medium than spoken language.

Speech communities are the final factor that will be discussed in this section on emails. A speech community, as discussed previously, is formed based on similar characteristic of its members. The fact that there is division between the participants over which form of address to use may be because some of them identify me with the professor speech community while others identify me with their age speech community.

The fact that there is a greater proportion of students who use the informal form of address in this type of data than in the other previous two types may be because there are simply more participants which provides a better sample of the group as a whole. These participants who were not analyzed in other types of data may associate me more with their age community thereby using the informal form.

The forms of address used by both sexes in emails will now be discussed. This information is also shown below in Figure 4. Of the twenty male participants in this section, seven used the informal form of address, six used the formal form of address and seven used both forms. This shows equal distribution between the forms used by male participants. Out of the sixteen female students included in this section, nine used the informal form of address, six used the formal form of address and one used both. The numbers show that the females were also fairly evenly divided between the use of *tú* and *usted*. This means that my membership to the female community does not have an effect on which form of address the participants used. However, it appears that females tended to choose one form and stick with that form instead of wavering between the two of them. This may be because the females had the extra incentive to choose the informal form based on solidarity within the female speech community.

Figure 4: Email Sex Data
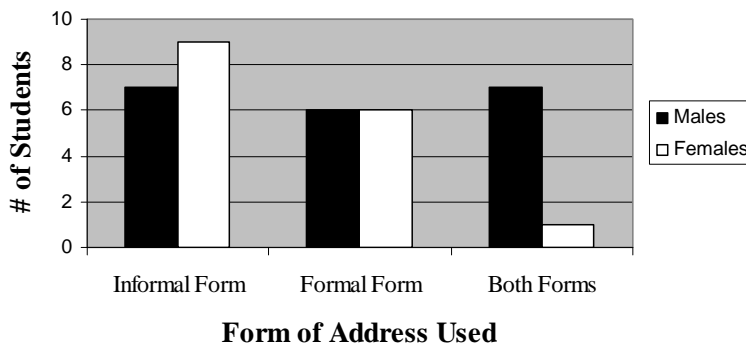
Next, the consistency of the participant responses in this section with those of the previous sections will be discussed. The consistency of participants for all data collection methods is shown in Appendix G, but for now I will just discuss the consistency of the participants for the tape-recorded conversations, ethnographical observations and emails. Participants 2, 8, 12, 13 and 14 were all consistent in the forms of addresses used in the ethnographical observations and the emails. Participants 2 and 4 were consistent in the forms that they used in the tape-recorded conversations and the emails. Participants 9 and 16 were semi-consistent in the ethnographical observations and the email data. They were only semi-consistent because they used both forms of address in the email data. The email data collected on participants 1, 5, 6 and 17 was not consistent with the data collected by the other two methods mentioned previously. Participants 1 and 5 both used the formal form in the tape-recorded conversations and in the ethnographical observations but used the informal form in their emails. Participant 6 and 17 both used the formal form of address in the ethnographical observations but used the informal form in their emails. The inconsistency in form of address use by these four participants may have a few possible explanations. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, emails are written data and not spoken like the data collected in the tape-recordings or in the ethnographical observations and therefore the participants may use different language in writing than they would use in spoken language. A second possible explanation is the setting of the speech act. The tape recordings and the ethnographical observations were done in the classroom and represent data collected only in the classroom. On the other hand, the emails were written when the participants were not in the classroom. Since they were not in the classroom, the participants may not have thought of me as such an authority figure

or as needing to have a larger social distance and therefore used the informal form of address. Physical distance may have compensated for social distance due to the language medium. Since the participants were farther away physically, they did not feel that they needed to add more distance (social) by using the formal form of address. A third explanation is that emails might be a more informal medium than face-to-face communication in a formal classroom setting. A final explanation is that these participants felt confused about what form of address to use with me and they just happened to vary in the email data.

4.3.2 MSN Conversation Data

This section will present the data collected through MSN conversations between my students and me. Data was gathered on four participants in this section. The students were not obligated to talk to me through messenger conversations and these four students are the only ones who voluntarily contacted me through this medium. The other students had access to this option but did not choose to engage in conversation with me through this medium. The conversations were coded by Coder G and me (Coder M) and we were in complete agreement about the coding. Parts of the conversations that do not indicate forms of address are omitted; however, the full conversations can be obtained by contacting me. The data is displayed in the exact form in which it was written by the participants. This means that spelling and grammatical errors were included and not altered. In the conversations below, the forms of address or the verbs that indicate a form of address are in bold. After each participant, that participant's conversations are

discussed. A general discussion of the results seen in this section is presented in the next section (4.3.3).

Participant 31

31:	hola mary, que bueno que **te** encuentro
MRH:	hola
MRH:	que pasó
31:	lo que pasa es que he andado ocupada con lo de mi congreso, ayer por eso no pude ir a clase, si pensaba hacerlo pero se alargó el taller y la verdad el jueves no se si pueda ir, sólo queria que **estuvieras** enterada
MRH:	ok pero intenta venir si puedas porque hay un quiz el proximo jueves
MRH:	no este pero el otro
MRH:	ya me tengo que ir...nos vemos
31:	ah ok
31:	gracias, nos vemos, espero pronto

Participant 31 is female. She uses the informal form of address in this conversation. This is fairly consistent with the data collected on this participant in the email section. The participant used the formal form of address in one of her emails while she used the informal form three times. Since the participant wrote the one email with the formal form of address at the very beginning of the semester, it is possible that once she formed a view on the social relationship that we shared, she decided to use the informal form.

Participant 35

35:	ya recibi **tu** msje sobre que el jueves no hay clases
35:	gracias por el aviso
MRH:	si de nada
35:	mary, ya **recibiste** mis tareas pendientes?
MRH:	si...ya cambié tu promedio a 9.0
35:	ok, gracias

Participant 35 was a male. In this conversation, he used the informal form of address to refer to me. This is consistent with the data collected in the email section where he also uses the informal form of address.

Participant 2

Conversation 1:

2:	como **esta**?
MRH:	hola. bien y tu
2:	pues molestando**la**
2:	para ver si me **puede** desir el significado de unas palabras
MRH:	si adelante
2:	absent-minded
MRH:	una persona que se olvida de todo
.	
.	
.	
2:	y open-minded
MRH:	open-minded es el opuesto de narrow minded
2:	haaaa ok miss
2:	que pena con **usted**
2:	pero no las encontraba
MRH:	esta bien no te preocupes
2:	y que **hace** no **tiene** clases
2:	hoy
2:	?
MRH:	no pero estoy en mi otro trabajo
2:	ha perdon miss
MRH:	está bien
2:	en donde **trabaja** miss
MRH:	en un negocio atras de Baskin Robbins
2:	ha esta bien
2:	que bueno a doble ganancia
2:	no **cree**
MRH:	jaja si está más o menos bien
2:	que bien
2:	y a que hora **sale**
MRH:	a las 2
2:	pues esta super a **hace** cosas en la tarde
MRH:	si no esta mal
2:	eata bien miss ya no **la** molesto

MRH: jaja ok...nos vemos
2:        ok gracias
2:        mil gracias miss
2:        **cuidese** que **este** bien
MRH: igual. bye
2:        bye

Conversation 2:

2:        hola miss
2:        perdon
MRH: hola
2:        pero perdi **su** numero telefonico
2:        y no me acuerdo de **su** nombre completo
2:        me los **puede** dar otra ves
MRH: Mary Heydweiller
MRH: 044xxxxxxxxxx
2:        gracias miss que **tenga** un buen dia
2:        **cuidese**
MRH: de nada
MRH: adios
2:        adios miss

Conversation 3:

2:        Hola miss como **esta**?
MRH: hola
MRH: bien y tu
2:        bien miss
2:        peron que **la** molesta como siempre
2:        pero no se si me **podria** ayudar con lo de una compocicion
2:        solo quiero que me **ayude** a rebisarla
MRH: para cuando?
2:        no se si **puede** hoy en la tarde
2:        despues de **su** clase
MRH: no puedo me voy hoy para semana santa
2:        haaaaaa
2:        no **va** venir a dar clase
2:        hoy
MRH: si pero despues de la clase me voy...a las 530
2:        entonces **se** lo puedo llavar a**su** hora de clase
2:        solo quiero que lo **cheque**
MRH: puedes a las 345?
MRH: entre mis dos clases?

2:	si misss **la** veo alrato
MRH:	ok
2:	bye
MRH:	bye

Participant 2 is a female. In all three of the conversations, she used the formal form of address with me. This is consistent with the other data collected on Participant 2 in the tape-recordings, ethnographical observations and emails. In all three of the conversations, she is asking for favors. Therefore, a possible reason for her use of the formal form of address is that she is using a politeness strategy. Another reason is that, because she was consistent in other speech acts where she was not asking for anything, she chose that form of address based on the speech community that she identified me with.

Participant 37

Conversation 1:

37:	Hi teacher, how are u today?
37:	espero **esté** bien, **recibe** un saludo y que **tenga** un buen día!
MRH:	hola gracias
MRH:	tu tambien

Conversation 2:

37:	Hi teacher,
MRH:	hi
37:	verdad que me fue mal en el test
37:	en realidad me confundí un poco
MRH:	si no fue el mejor examen para ti
37:	necesito hacer mas para pasar el curso de Inglés
37:	estoy desesperardo
MRH:	te ayudo cuando quieras pero tambien estoy ocupada con otras cosas...si

	quieres sugerir un dia y una hora adelante
37:	muchas gracias!! vienen los siguientes test y tengo que prepararme para tener mejor calificación,tengo alguna esperanza teacher
MRH:	si
MRH:	tienes 8.7 en el primer periodo que vale más que el midterm
37:	Ok teacher, mañana **le** digo si me **puede** dar una asesoría, y el horario
MRH:	ok
MRH:	veamos qué horario funciona para los dos de nostros mañana
37:	si teacher, **se** lo voy a agradecer
MRH:	no hay problema

Conversation 3:

37:	Hola teacher Mary! me imagino que **está** trabajando, hoy es viernes y por fin descanso!
MRH:	jaja gracias por acordarme
37:	hahahahaha, ok, teacher, normalmente no hago eso, pues sé que el trabajo es mucho y uno espera el fin de semana! que **tenga** buen día!!
MRH:	gracias igual

Participant 37 is a male. He uses the formal form of address in all three conversations. He also used the formal form of address in the email data so his use of the formal form is consistent.

4.3.3   MSN Conversation Analysis

Out of the four participants who had online conversations with me, two were female and two were male. One female and one male used the informal form while the other female and the other male used the formal form. It does not appear that there is any difference in the form of address used by the two sexes in this section, however with the small number of participants it is impossible to make generalizations about the sexes based on just four participants. All four participants were consistent in their form of

address use compared with data collected by other methods so it does not appear that the online chat form of the speech act had an effect on the type of language used.

The change of language medium does not seem to be a factor in the results of these participants because all of the participants used the same forms of addresses in different types of language. This means that the language medium either, does not have an effect on the use of forms of address, or at least these participants do not use it as a criteria.

The setting is not an analyzable factor in this data for the reasons described in the previous section on email data. It is probable that the participants chose which form of address to use based on their relationship with me or into which speech community they place me.

4.4   Discourse Completion Task (DCT) Questionnaires

This section presents and discusses the data gathered through the DCT Questionnaires, which is shown in Appendix B for reference. The table in Appendix E represents the data gathered from the questionnaires. It includes the participants' initials, age and sex. Then it shows the coding done on the participants' responses on the questionnaires for situations one through six, which form of address they say they use with me, why they use that form, if they have ever felt unsure of which form of address to use with me and if so, why. The coding was done by Coder V and me. Coder V was instructed to code the data in the exact same way that Coder G, who coded the data in the previous sections, was. I checked his coding after he did the first few questionnaires to make sure that the coding was done in the same way that Coder G and I did it. The table

is divided into two sections: the males are presented first and then the females in order to more clearly view and discuss any differences in the responses between the sexes. A discussion of the participants' responses will be presented next.

There were fifty-six students included in this study, but only forty-nine are included in this section because seven students did not come to class the day that the DCT questionnaire was given. The participant responses were coded into *tú* (the informal form of address), *usted* (the formal form), *both* (if the participant used both the formal and informal form), and *n/a* (if the participant's response did not indicate either form).

First, I will discuss the form of address used in each situation given in the DCT section of the questionnaire. Figure 5, shown after the discussions for all six situations, shows the results in graphical form for all the situations. Some of the situations were in an in-class setting and others were outside of class. This may help to determine whether the setting of the conversation has an effect on what form of address is used by the students. The topics of the conversation were also either class-related or not related to class. This may also be a factor as to why the students chose one form of address instead of the other.

Situation one asked the participants what they would say if they saw me in the school clinic and I appeared to be sick. This situation was in an in-school setting but it was not inside the classroom. The topic of the conversation is not related to the class or to school. Out of the forty-nine participants, thirty-four used the informal form, twelve used the formal form, two used neither form and one used both forms. When a participant is coded as using neither form, it means that he had written an answer which

did not use a noun or verb referring to me. An example of this is *¿Qué paso?,* which contains no verb or pronoun form referring to me. This might be because the participants are using the indirect off-record politeness strategy discussed in Section 2.3.2. Approximately 70% used the informal form in this situation. This may be due to the setting being outside of the classroom or that the topic of conversation did not pertain to the class. Because of this, it is more likely that the students associated me with their age group speech community or with the student speech community. The function of the speech act may also have had to do with the form of address used. If I appeared to be sick, it means that the students would be in the position to offer me help, thus creating a greater bond of solidarity.

Situation two asked the participants what they would say if they wanted to ask me for help on English grammar in class. This setting is obviously in class and the topic of the conversation is class-related. Twenty-one students used the informal form, sixteen used the formal form and twelve did not use either form. Approximately 43% used the informal form and 33% used the formal form. This is a much more equal distribution between the two forms than in situation one which may be due to the setting and/or the topic of the conversation being class-related. More students opted to use the formal form in this situation than in situation 1, which may have been due to the function of the speech act. Asking for help means that the students may be using a politeness strategy to get that help through forms of address. It also strengthens the association of me with the professor speech community because they are conscious that I have some sort of knowledge that they do not.

Situation three asked the students what they would ask me to find out what I had done for a vacation. This situation specifically stated that they would be asking me this in class; however, the topic of the conversation is not related to the class. For this situation, thirty-one students used the informal form, fourteen used the formal form and four used neither. Approximately 63% used the informal form and 29% used the formal form. This shows a similar distribution to situation one and both this situation and situation one occurred in school but did not ask the students to speak about school-related topics. Although the students were in class, they did not seem as inclined to use the formal form of address such as in situation two. For that reason, it seems that the topic of conversation is more important in deciding what form of address to use with me than the setting. This topic in particular creates solidarity because it asks about my personal life.

Situation four asked what the students would say if they saw me in the Tigre (a bar/nightclub near the university) in order to find out what time I arrived there. This situation was outside of school and the topic was not school-related. Thirty-two participants (65%) used the informal form, fourteen (29%) used the formal form, and 3 (6%) used neither form. These results are almost equal to those in situations one and three where the topic of conversation was also not related to school. Seeing me in such a setting might reinforce the students' perception of me as a student or as someone of their age group because most professors would not go out to a student bar. If the bonds to these two speech communities are stronger, the informal form of address should be used by more students, which is the case in this situation.

Situation five prompted the students to ask me if I was going to teach the next level of English classes. It was stated in the question that they would be asking me this in

class. Therefore, the setting was in class and the topic was school-related although not directly related to their class. Twenty-nine participants (59%) used the informal form, seventeen (37%) used the formal form and three (6%) used neither form of address. The use of the informal form decreased slightly compared to situations one, three and four and this may be due to the setting being in the classroom and the topic being related to school. However, the use of the informal form is still not as high as in situation two which may be because the topic of this question was not directly related to the class that the students were in as was the topic in situation two. This topic also creates more solidarity because if the students are interested in knowing whether I will be teaching the next level, it is assumed that they are interested in taking it with me and probably have a good relationship with me.

Finally, in situation six the participants were prompted to ask who I was with if they saw me at an American football game. Thirty-one participants (63%) used the informal form of address, twelve (24%) used the formal form and six (12%) used neither. Again, these results are very similar to the responses from situations one, three and four where the settings are outside of class and the topic is not related to school.

Figure 5: DCT Situation Results
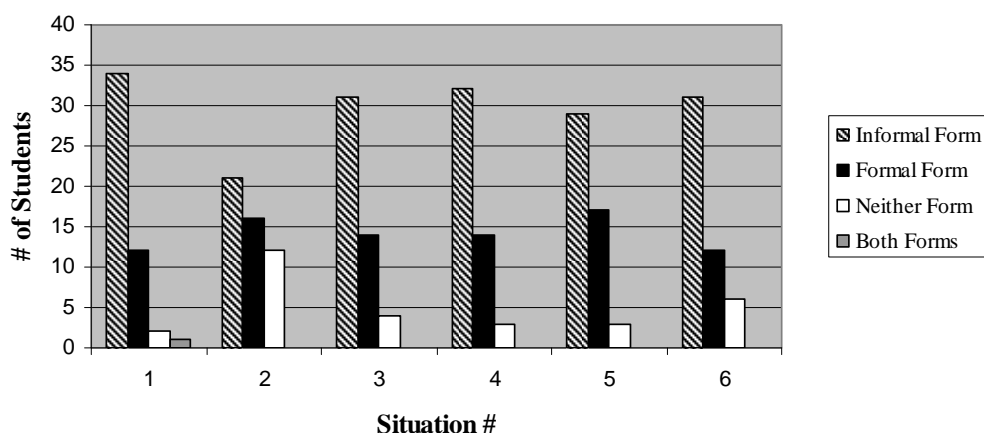
From the results provided by the students in the DCT part of the questionnaire, there are two important factors on which to comment. First, it seems that the setting did not matter much as to what form of address was used. The number of participants who used the formal and informal forms was fairly constant regardless of the setting being in and outside of the classroom. One factor of importance was the topic of conversation. It appears that if the topic was school-related, the participants were not as likely to use the informal form of address. Situations one, three, four and six were topics that were not related to school and the number of participants who used the informal form of address was higher than the situations which dealt with school-related topics.

The function of the speech act also appears to have an effect on the form of language used. If the function created a bond of solidarity, more participants used the informal form of address. If the function was asking for help, more students used the formal form of address. The functions are related to politeness strategies and speech communities. Functions that create solidarity are positive politeness strategies and also serve to strengthen my association with the students' age speech community or with the student speech community.

Next, I will discuss the second page of questions in the questionnaire. The first question asks the participants which form of address they believe that they use with me. Fourteen participants (29%) said that they used the informal *tú* form with me. Twelve (24%) said that they used the formal *usted* form and thirty-three (67%) said that they used both the formal and informal forms with me. This may seem contradictory to the percentages shown in the situations from the DCT section of the questionnaire; however, the majority of the students who claimed to use both really did use both in the DCT

questions. It is interesting to note that some participants' answers contradicted the forms of address that they had used in other methods of data collection. Out of the forty participants who participated in the questionnaire and on whom data was collected through other methods, twenty-eight were consistent with previous results. Ten participants wrote that they would use both forms of address but data was only gathered on each of them one time so they may very likely use both forms of address with me if more data was gathered on them.

Only two participants contradicted their previous data. These participants were 5 and 41, both of whom were subsequently interviewed about their responses. The interview data will be presented in the following section. Participant 5 used *usted* in data gathered by tape-recordings and ethnographical observations and used *tú* in emails and the questionnaires. The difference may be due to the nature of the speech acts. The instances in which Participant 5 used *usted* were spoken language while the email data and the questionnaire were written language. Participant 41 used *tú* in data collected via email but said that he used *usted* with me on the questionnaire. However, the DCT responses from Participant 41 show that he used both *usted* and *tú* so it is possible that if there was more data gathered on him he would have used both forms.

When asked why they chose to use a particular form of address (or both), the participants cited four principal reasons for having chosen one form of address over the other. Eighteen participants (37% of the total) said that my status as a teacher inclined them more towards the use of *usted*. This would be a speech community. Fourteen (29%) answered that the type of relationship that they had with me influenced which form they used. Relationships that were closer or made the participant feel more at ease

encouraged the use of *tú* while relationships where the participants felt that they were not at ease pushed the participants towards the use of *usted.* Another fourteen participants (29%) stated that my age (also a speech community) was a factor and made them likely to use *tú*. The fourth principal factor was cited by ten participants (20%) who said that the setting in which the conversation took place was largely responsible for which form of address they used. Generally, they said that formal (mainly in-class settings) prompted the use of *usted* and that *tú* was used in less formal settings (mostly outside of class). These reasons support the theoretical background, which were presented in Chapter 2, as to why a person may choose to use a particular form of address. Two out of the four principal reasons (cited by 66% of the students) were speech communities and this supports my claim that speech communities have an effect on the form of address chosen.

When the participants were asked if they had ever felt unsure about which form of address they should use with me, there was a fairly even division in numbers. Twenty-seven participants (55%) said that they had felt unsure and twenty-two (45%) said that they had not. The following question asked them why they had felt unsure. One reason was that they wanted to express respect for me as a teacher by using *usted* but my age indicated the use of *tú*. This reflects the conflict in my membership to these two speech communities. Some participants said that their relationship with me changed over the course of the semester and as they grew more familiar, they wanted to use *tú*. Some participants also said that they weren't sure what my reaction would be if they used the informal form and for that reason they opted for the formal form.

In regards to the differences between male and female participants in the entire questionnaire, a greater percentage of the females used the informal form of address than

the males. As seen in the results table (with the totals reprinted below in Table 2), the females always had a higher number who chose to use *tú* in the DCT questions than *usted*. The males were approximately divided half and half between the use of *tú* and the use of *usted*. In the multiple choice question, more than double the number of females than males said that they would use just *tú* with me. One possible explanation for the tendency of females to use the informal form of address with me is that since I am also female, they are more likely to want to form solidarity because we all belong to the female speech community. The females also appear to have less doubts of what form of address to use with me according to the answers they reported on the question which asked if they had ever felt unsure about what form to use with me. This may be because of the added incentive of solidarity in the female speech community.

Table 2: DCT Questionnaire Totals

Parti-cipant	Age	#	SITUATIONS						Which form?	Felt un-sure?
			1	2	3	4	5	6		
Male	Avg. 22	22	tu- 14 usted- 5 n/a- 2 both-1	tú- 9 usted- 8 n/a- 5	tú- 11 usted- 9 n/a- 2	tú- 10 usted-10 n/a- 2	tú- 10 usted-10 n/a- 2	tú- 10 usted- 8 n/a- 4	tú- 4 usted - 7 both-11	yes- 14 no-8
Fem.	Avg. 20	27	tú- 20 usted- 7	tú- 12 usted- 8 n/a- 7	tú- 20 usted- 5 n/a- 2	tú- 22 usted- 4 n/a- 1	tú- 19 usted- 7 n/a- 1	tú- 21 usted- 4 n/a- 2	tú- 10 usted- 5 both-12	yes- 13 no- 14
Totals	Avg. 21	49	tú- 34 usted- 12 n/a- 2 both-1	tú- 21 usted-16 n/a-12	tú- 31 usted-14 n/a-4	tú-32 usted-14 n/a-3	tú- 29 usted-17 n/a-3	tú-31 ud.-12 n/a-6	tú- 14 usted-12 both-33	yes- 27 no- 22

4.5   Interviews

This section will discuss the data collected through the participant interviews. Once again, for the purposes of this study, only the parts of the transcripts relative to the discussion will be shown in this section.   The interview transcripts are presented in Appendix F. There were seventeen participants who were interviewed for this study who were selected based on the data collected on them by the other methods and their responses will be discussed in this section.

First, I wanted to find out what criteria the participants used to decide which form of address to use with me. Out of the seventeen participants, five used just *tú* with me, four used just *usted* and eight used both forms of address. Those who used the informal form of address said that my age (a speech community) and the relationship that they had with me affected their choice of address use. Participants 17 and 23 said that it was just age which influenced their decision to use *tú* with me. Participants 22, 34 and 38 stated that they chose the informal form of address because they felt at ease with me in the class but also that they use the formal form only with older people.

All four of the participants who had used just the formal form of address with me explained that it was due to the fact that I was their teacher. This means that they identified me by my membership to the professor speech community. It seems that age did not affect their decision to use the formal form with me because they all stated that they would use *tú* to speak to an unknown female classmate. This means that the professor speech community carried more weight in their decision than the age speech community.

Those participants who used both forms of address also helped to shed light on the ambiguity of which form of address the students used with me. Four of the participants said that the form of address that they used depended on the setting in which they were when talking to me. Participant 41 said that I was more of an authority figure in the classroom which prompted him to use *usted* but outside of the classroom he could use *tú* with me. It seems that for Participant 41, my link to the professor speech community was strengthened by the classroom setting, which also created a power relationship of student-teacher. Participant 25 stated that while speaking to me during class, office hours or in other school events, he saw us having a teacher-student relationship and, therefore, he used *usted*; however, when we were in an outside of school setting we had more of a friend relationship which let him refer to me as *tú*. Participants 9 and 52 said that in the classroom there needed to be more respect for me as a teacher and they showed this by using the formal form of address but outside of the classroom they identified me as a young person and could use the informal form of address with me. Setting seems to change which speech community bond is stronger for these four participants, making their form of address choice dependent on setting and speech communities combined.

Participant 25 was the only one of the interviewed students to mention conversation topic as being a factor in what form of address they used with me. He said that in a conversation that had to do with grades, the class or school, he would use the formal form of address with me because the student-teacher relationship was stronger. The other students may not have mentioned specifically the conversation topic as a factor

because they did not consciously realize that topic affected their choice of form of language.

Three of the participants explained that the form of address that they used with me changed as the relationship that they had with me changed. Participant 16 said that he viewed me as just a teacher at the beginning and then as he got to know me better he felt comfortable using the informal form of address. Participant 20 said that he starts out using the formal form of address with people that he doesn't know, and then as there is more and more ease in the relationship, he can speak to them using the informal form. Participant 31 also said that when she feels more at ease with a person in their relationship, she uses the informal form of address.

The last participant, 5, was of special interest because he had used the formal form of address in spoken language but the informal form of address in written language. He said that he felt that it was more personal to communicate via the written emails and the questionnaires because I was the only person to receive them and for that reason he used *tú*. On the other hand, in spoken language he preferred to use *usted* because other students could hear what language he used and he felt that it was more appropriate to use the formal form in class to preserve a respectful relationship between the student and the teacher. Participant 5's form of language decision was influenced by not only speech communities and the type of social relationship that he wanted to have, but also the medium and setting.

Fourteen out of the seventeen participants reported that they were taught when to use *usted* by their parents or their schools when they were young. Many said that they were taught that the formal form of address should be used with older people and others

were also taught to use it with teachers, superiors and strangers. This shows that upbringing is also a very important factor.

It is important to note here that all of the participants who were interviewed came from the central part of Mexico (Veracruz, Puebla, Oaxaca and Mexico). Since these four places are all very close, it is very likely that regional differences in how the participants were educated or raised by their parents have been minimized.

4.6   Results Summary

In total, fifty-five students were observed as participants in this study. A general summary of the findings is shown in Appendix G.

The participants were consistent in their choice of which form of address to use with the exception of two who were discussed in section 4.4. Taking into account all of the data gathered, fourteen participants always used the informal form (25.5%), fourteen always used the formal form (25.5%) and twenty-seven used both forms of address (49%). This shows an exactly even distribution between the forms. Participants reported that their choice of which form of address to use with me depended on several factors which included my position as their teacher, my age, setting and their relationship with me. My characteristics of being a teacher and my age were two of the speech communities that I originally believed to have an effect on the form of address that the participants used with me. This indicates that speech communities are a factor in determining which form of address to use, but as seen above, they are not the only factor.

Participants were able to explain why they chose to use one form of address (or both) and they were aware that I was part of different groups such as the teacher group or

their age group. They also stated that setting, type of relationship and upbringing as factors. This shows that they were conscious of at least some of the factors that determined their form of language use.

It seems that sex was not a determining factor in choosing which form of address to use with me. In total for all instruments, the males and females used the forms of address almost in equal numbers (*tú*: 8 females, 6 males; *usted*: 7 females, 7 males; *both*: 14 females, 13 males). The only exception to this was found in the situation part of DCT questionnaire where more females used the informal form than males. This may be because the data was elicited and the students reported language use which does not reflect how they actually use language in natural settings. It may also be due to the fact that there were more students who were observed through DCTs than through other methods. It may be that females really do use the informal form of address more but that the smaller numbers of participants in other instruments did not reflect this difference. I tend to believe that the participants were not making a connection between me and the person at whom they were directing their answers in the situation part of the questionnaire and therefore their responses were not one-hundred percent consistent with their natural speech. I believe this because their free response answers were more consistent with the other data observed and these answers showed that there was no important difference between the forms of addresses used by both sexes. Generally speaking, using the other collected data and the free response questions from the questionnaire, the sexes produce the same results. The following chapter will discuss the implications of these results and this study as a whole.

5   Conclusion

This chapter draws conclusions about the study. Section 5.1 summarizes the findings of the study. Section 5.2 discusses implications that this study may have on language learning and applied linguistics. Section 5.3 contains suggestions for further research. Section 5.4 has a few concluding remarks.

5.1   Summary of the Study

This study was aimed at answering the three research questions formulated in Chapter One.   The data collected through tape-recorded classes, ethnographical observations, emails, MSN conversations, DCT questionnaires and interviews which was presented and discussed in Chapter Four were used to provide answers to these questions. These questions and their answers will be briefly summarized below.

Question one was: What form of address do the participants use with their professor (me) who belongs to the shared communities of age and in the case of female students of sex but also belongs to the non-shared community of professors? As seen in the previous chapter, the participants were divided between the formal form of address (14 participants) and the informal form (14 participants) with the majority (27) using both forms during the course of the semester. It seems that there was no predominant form of address for me by the students and even most of them changed between the two forms.

The second question asked: What factors influence the participants' choice to use a particular form of address with me, and do they consciously recognize that they choose what form to use based on these factors? According to the free responses in the questionnaire and the interviews, my age and my teacher status (both of which were

speech communities) were factors which helped the participants to determine which form of address to use with me. There were also other factors which were not related to speech communities such as settings, topics of conversations, the functions of the speech acts and relationships between the students and me. The students never answered that they placed me into a community or a group of people with similar characteristics (such as a speech community) when deciding which form of address to use; however, their answers indicated that they seemed to decide the form of address based on the characteristics of individuals which placed them into groups. For example, some students said that since I was a teacher, they automatically used the formal form of address just as they did with all teachers. Even though they did not explicitly state that I was part of a speech community, they still aligned me with that group and it was one of the principal factors that they cited. The students were also able to state other reasons why they chose one form of address over the other such as the setting and relationship. This shows that they are conscious of the factors that influence their choice.

The third research question was: Are the female students who share both the age and sex speech communities with me more likely to refer to me in the informal form of address than the male students who only share the age speech community with me? As seen in Chapter Four, the numbers of males and females who used the formal form, informal form and both forms were almost equal. This indicates that the sex speech community did not have a noticeable effect on which form of address the participants used with me.

5.2   Implications

5.2.1   Language Learning Implications

This study was aimed at Spanish learners who interact with native Spanish-speakers in order to illustrate the complexity of form of address use. It is my hope that this study can provide students with an example that shows them that form of address use is not as simple as they are taught in many Spanish classes. Spanish students are often taught that the formal form of address is used for strangers and elderly people. This explanation is far too general for Mexico. As seen first in Chapter 2 (Literature Review) and then in Chapter 4 (Results and Discussion), factors that influence the form of address used are settings, conversation topics, solidarity or social distance, politeness strategies, speech communities, functions of speech acts, upbringing, social relationships and medium. By reading this study, the language learner should at least be able to expand his knowledge on this topic which will hopefully be carried over to real-life interactions.

 I also hope that even though, as stated throughout this study, there are numerous factors as to why a speaker uses one form of language over the other, the principal factors as stated by the students in my study can provide a more complete criteria for choosing which form of address they will use in real-life situations. The four principal factors found in this study were: (1) speech community membership, (2) setting, (3) the type of relationship, and (4) upbringing.

These four factors have also been cited as reasons for choosing one form of address over the other in the studies mentioned in Section 2.3.5. Kretzenbacher, Clyne and Schüpbach (2006) said that network preferences, or with which speech community the interlocutor associates the individual, are a factor. Williams-van Klinken and Hajek

(2006), Norrby (2006) and Warren (2006) all cite age and professional status to be factors. Weissenböck (2006) cites age and Little and Gelles (1975) cite professional status as factors. These are all characteristics which make up speech communities. This shows that speech communities are an important factor in determining form of address use.

The setting is mentioned by Kretzenbacher, Clyne and Schüpbach (2006) as being a factor in their participants' form of address choice.

Yanagiya (1999), Kretzenbacher, Clyne and Schüpbach (2006), Williams-van Klinken and Hajek (2006), Norrby (2006) and Warren (2006) all found that the type of relationship that the participants wanted to define or maintain was a factor responsible for their form of address choice. Lambert and Tucker (1976) specifically examined the student-teacher relationship in two Spanish-speaking countries. They found that this relationship also played a role in determining which form of address to use.

Upbringing was also claimed to be a factor in form of address use by Weissenböck (2006) and Lambert and Tucker (1976). How parents raise their children determines with whom the children will use the formal and informal forms of address. Even though this was not mentioned by the participants until the interviews, it is still important because it is one factor that they all mentioned in the interviews. They may not have mentioned it before because they did not consciously think about it as a reason for form of address use because they were taught many years ago.

The results of the studies listed above are supported by my study. Now, I will discuss how these results can be applied by language learners, specifically Mexican Spanish learners.

Speech communities can be used by Mexican Spanish language learners to help negotiate their interlocutor's social identity. If the language learner identifies the speech communities to which his interlocutor belongs, he can determine whether he wants to form solidarity or social distance between himself and his interlocutor based on how many and what speech communities they have in common. For example, in this study, some students based their decisions on whether they identified me as being a member of a community to which they did not belong (professor speech community) or a co-member of one of their speech communities (age or student speech community).

The setting in which the language learner finds himself can also help him to decide which form of address to use. If the setting is more formal, such as in an educational or business setting, then the formal form of address might be more appropriate. If the setting is less formal, such as in a bar or at a sporting event, then the informal form of address may be more appropriate. Some students in this study said that when they were in class they preferred to use the formal form because it lent itself more to a formal setting. They also said that once outside of school, they felt it was appropriate to use the informal form of address with the same person (me). The language learner can also take this factor into account when trying to decide which form to use.

The type of relationship that the speaker wishes to create or maintain is also a factor for Mexican Spanish learners to consider. If a speaker wishes to have a relationship of solidarity, friendship or ease he can use the informal form of address to communicate this. For example, some of the students in this study decided to use the informal form of address with me once they felt that the type of relationship made them feel at ease. However, if the speaker wishes to keep the relationship restricted to a

professional or service-based relationship, he should use the formal form of address. This may be with business colleagues, clients, a landlord or the clerk at the corner store. Even though a person might see these people daily or may have known them for years, he can choose to keep the relationship more formal by using the formal form of address.

The fourth principal factor is the upbringing of a person. Although the students did not mention this much, it is an important factor to consider because throughout their lives, people are implicitly and explicitly instructed by family members, teachers and friends as to what the proper pragmatics are in their culture. The implicit nature of this learning process may be why the participants did not mention this as a factor influencing form of address use initially. However, when asked in the interviews in this study, the students reported that they were taught by their parents, and sometimes teachers, when to use the formal form of address. While native Mexican Spanish-speakers are usually brought up learning this information, Spanish language learners do not have the advantage of receiving this knowledge over years of explicit instruction by their family or teachers or implicit instruction through the pragmatics of the environment. Language learners often have to live in a foreign language environment without being previously exposed to the pragmatics of the language. If possible, the Spanish learner may want to ask a native-speaker from the country where he wants to go about forms of address used in that place before he goes there. If the learner wants to go to Mexico, he should try to find a Mexican with whom he can talk to about form of address use, or if he wants to go to Spain, a Spaniard. The native speakers should preferably be from the city or state where the learner wants to go because pragmatics may change from region to region within the same country. Although the language learner may never be able to achieve the

same communicative competence as a native speaker, discussing this topic with a native speaker can help the learner to gain insight into form of address use.

5.2.2   Theoretical Implications

This study suggested the idea of an individual as a web in Section 2.2.4. In this study, it is possible that the students could not agree on just one form of address to use with me because of the contradictory spindles of age and professional status. As I stated before, contradictory spindles pull an individual's web in different directions and will ultimately cause a break in one of the spindles. I believe that the students who chose the formal form of address based on my status as their teacher or because they wanted a student-teacher relationship decided that the professional status spindle was stronger or other factors such as the classroom setting or a school-related topic of conversation made this spindle stronger at the time of the speech act. The students who chose to use the informal form of address with me based on my age or based on them wanting a closer or solidarity relationship with me chose to do so because they thought that my age spindle was stronger or factors such as an outside of the classroom setting or non-school-related conversation topic made it stronger.

I do not believe that speakers are consciously aware of the web, especially since I have just suggested this idea in this study. However, it may be a possible theory to explain the decision-making process that occurs inside of their minds, which is why more research is needed.

5.3   Suggestions for Further Research

Further research is definitely needed in this area of linguistics. There are so many factors to consider when looking at forms of address that it is impossible to include them all in just one study. Several future studies can be suggested based on the current study.

First, theoretical linguists could investigate the idea of the individual as a web to see if it is an appropriate theory for showing how speech community membership defines an individual's identity. This idea could be elaborated and presented using evidence found by other linguists.

One possible study would be to recreate this study myself using the formal form of address at all times with my students. This would investigate the effect that my choice of form of address has on their choice. In the current study, I just used the informal address. However, this proposed study would the participants use the reciprocal form regardless of whether I choose the formal or the informal form, or whether they would use the non-reciprocal form.

A possible study would be to recreate this study but with a male professor instead of the female professor (me). Looking at the differences between the study with a male professor and a female professor might shed more light onto whether sex has any effect on the form of address choice.

Another study could recreate my study but using a professor who is Mexican instead of an American like me. This would show if the professor's nationality and first language have any effect on the form of address use. One would think that the professor and students would share even more solidarity if the professor shares the same nationality and native language.

Another possible study could analyze whether the fact that this university was private had an effect on the students attitudes on form of address use. If the students are able to pay a large amount of money for the professor's services in a private university, they may feel that they have a power relationship over the professor, therefore, choosing to use the informal form of address with the professor. On the other hand, in a public university, they are not paying as much money and it is possible that they would be more likely to use the formal form of address with professors.

This study could also be carried out in different universities throughout Mexico. Since this study did not examine possible differences with form of address customs taught and used in different geographical regions, we cannot analyze whether this variable would have an effect on the form of addresses used in this same situation. The study could be carried out in cities in northern and southern Mexico and also in rural and urban settings to see if there are any differences.

A third and broader suggestion is that similar studies could be conducted in other languages. Languages with formal and informal pronoun systems, such as French or Italian, could be studied in the same way in order to collect more information on these languages.

5.4   Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, this study has found that my students chose to use a particular form of address for several reasons. Among these, the four most-mentioned factors by the students are setting, relationship between interlocutors, characteristics of the interlocutor (speech communities) and upbringing. The formal and informal form of address were

used almost equally by the students with me which shows that there is not always just one appropriate form of address to use with an individual and that this choice depends on the factors listed above and other factors not listed. The form of address choice does not just depend on the interlocutor's characteristics as often taught in language classes, but also depends on the speaker's perceptions of his interlocutor and other variables which have nothing to do with either the speaker or the interlocutor such as the setting. This study was done in the hope that it will raise awareness among language learners that the choice of which form of address to use is not simple and that they should consider as many of the mentioned factors as possible when making that choice.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Coding Sheet

The coding sheet was used when making ethnographical observations. An example is also provided below.

Participant	Utterance	Setting	Conversational Background
RL	Fue a algun lado?	In class	Returning from vacations

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Nombre Completo:_____

Edad:_____

Responde a las siguientes situaciones usando oraciones completas y en español. ¿Que me dirías a mí en las siguientes situaciones? Contesta todas las preguntas de la primera página antes de ver las preguntas de la segunda página.

1.) Me ves en la clínica y parezco estar muy enferma. Quieres saber si estoy bien.

2.) En la clase de inglés, tienes una duda sobre una cosa de gramática. Quieres pedirme por ayuda.

3.) Llegas a la clase después de un puente. Quieres saber que hice yo por el puente.

4.) Me ves en el Tigre. Quieres saber a qué hora llegué al Tigre.

5.) En la clase de inglés me quieres preguntar si voy a dar clases al próximo nivel el proximo semestre.

6.) Me ves en un partido de fútbol americano. Quieres saber con quién estoy.

7.) ¿Cómo me refieres? Elige uno.

(a) tú   (b) Ud.   (c) los dos

8.) ¿Cuáles factores influyen tu decisión llamarme tú, Ud., o los dos?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9.) ¿Alguna vez, has sentido inseguro de qué forma (tú o Ud.) debes usar conmigo?

_____

Si contestaste que si, ¿por qué?

_____

_____

_____

_____

GRACIAS!

Appendix C: Ethnographical Observation Results Table
(arranged chronologically by participant)

Participant	Participant's Sex	Utterance	Setting	Conversational Background	Coder M	Coder G
6	F	"¿Usted fue a algun lado?"	In class	We had just returned from a week school break.	usted	usted
5	M	"¿Usted?"	In class	After telling me what he had done for the school break he asked me what I did.	usted	usted
7	F	"¿Checó los examenes?"	In class	The class following the midterm.	usted	usted
2	F	"Oiga miss, ¿me puede decir la pagina del libro?"	In class	She wanted to know the page of the exercise the class was doing.	usted	usted
1	M	"¿Para cuando le tenemos que traer el CAL?"	In class	He asked for the due dates of their reports.	usted	usted
3	M	"¿Me puede decir cual es la actividad?"	In class	He wanted to know what page the activity was on.	usted	usted
8	M	"¿Me lo puedes dar?"	In class	He wanted to know what his class average was.	tú	tú
9	M	"¿No vas a mandar…?"	In class	He wanted to know if I was going to send a study guide for the upcoming test.	tú	tú
10	M	"¿Tú las hiciste?"	In class	He wanted to know if I had made the cookies I gave to the class.	tú	tú
11	M	"¿Las hiciste tú, Miss?"	In class	He wanted to know if I had made the cookies I gave to the class.	tú	tú

Participant	Participant's Sex	Utterance	Setting	Conversational Background	Coder M	Coder G
12	M	"Qué hizo para el puente?"	In class	He wanted to know what I did after a long weekend	usted	usted
		"¿Va a salir otra vez?"	In class	He wanted to know what I was going to do that weekend	usted	usted
		"Que se mejore maestra."	Leaving class	I was sick and he wanted to wish me well.	usted	usted
13	M	"Quiero hablar con usted."	In class	He wanted to talk to me after class.	usted	usted
		"Tenga piedad."	In class	At the beginning of the semester, he wanted to ask me to be easy on him because he felt his English wasn't good	usted	usted
		"¿Y sí fue a Tamaulipas?"	In class	He wanted to know where I went for the long weekend.	usted	usted
14	M	"¿Me mandaste un correo?"	In class	He wanted to check if I had sent him an email.	tú	tú
		"Mejor a las 8 te veo"	In class	We were setting up a time to do a make-up exam	tú	tú
15	F	"¿Ya terminaste de estudiar?"	Before class	She wanted to know if I had finished with my degree.	tú	tú

Participant	Participant's Sex	Utterance	Setting	Conversational Background	Coder M	Coder G
16	M	"Qué hizo ayer?"	In class	He wanted to know what I had done for Valentine´s Day	usted	usted
		"¿Fue al norte?"	In class	He wanted to know if I had gone to the north of Mexico for the weekend.	usted	usted
		"Se lo mando el lunes"	In class	He told me that he would send confirmation of receiving his grades on Monday	usted	usted
		"Se ve más bronceada"	Before class	He told me that I looked tanner after going to Acapulco.	usted	usted
17	M	"¿Qué habia dicho que era 'behave'?"	In class	He wanted to know what the word 'behave' meant while doing a reading activity.	usted	usted

Appendix D: Email Data Table
(arranged chronologically by participant)

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
5	M	gracias, espero verte.	tú	tú	
		hola, cómo dijiste que se llamaba la maestra que nos recomiendas para tomar el otro semestre?	tú	tú	
		cómo estas mary... cuídate y nos vemos el jueves	tú	tú	
		hola Mary, tengo que ir el viernes a una clase de teatro en el centro a las 3:00pm. Quiero ir a la clase de repaso para el examen. y de todas maneras nos vemos mañana en clase, cómo ves?, crees que puedo ir a asesorias contigo, o cómo puedo hacer para dar un repaso,si es que no puedo ir a la clase de repaso, nos podemos ver antes?	tú	tú	
		yo estoy tomando 1 "b" este semest(re), no vas a estar en el "2"¿? me gustaría volver a tomar clases contigo de idioma salu2. cuídate.	tú	tú	
		diviértete en ... no sé dónde	tú	tú	
		Mary , yo soy exalumno tuyo de la primavera 2007, me gustaría ayudarte pero no sé qué tanto te beneficie si ya no tomé los siguientes cursos contigo. Qué te vaya bien en la tésis y nos vemos pronto	tú	tú	
18	M	Teacher me puede mandar mi calificacion y si va a dar el proximo curso los horarios. Gracias =D	usted	usted	
		Hola maestra, perdon no pude llegar el sabado, pero la veo hoy lunes a la hora que usted pueda yo voy a estar en la escuela todo el di haciendo un trabajo. Solo digame a que hora puede usted.	usted	usted	
19	M	gracias profesora espero le vaya muy bien suert con su proyecto.	usted	usted	
		disculpe profesora le envio este mail, para saber a que hora va a ser el examen el lunes???, espero su respuesta gracias	usted	usted	
		profesora no pude llegar hoy a el examen tuve que llevar a mi media hermana de emergencia al hospital por un trauma ligero provocado por una caída de las escaleras, no se como justificar eso por alguna carta girada del doctor responsable de la situacion de mi hermana, o digame como porfa??	usted	usted	
		profesora me acaba de llegar su mail, y pues quisiera saber si la clase es mañana sabado??	usted	usted	
		profesora le envio los 2s cal q me faltaban, espero los reciba hoy, gracias	usted	usted	
		profesora, le envio los primeros 4 cals que he terminao en unos minutos mas le envio los últimos dos que me faltan, y una disculpa por haber copiado los cal de everardo, no fue mi intencion molestarla	usted	usted	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
19 (cont.)		profesora le envio los 8 reportes de cal que no estan calificados, no pude ir hoy ni ayer a la universidad pues estoy enfermo espero reciba mi mail y pueda calificarmelo, los reportes impresos le pedi a mi hermana que se los dejara en su buzón pero ella sale de clases a las 7 de la noche hoy, por eso le envio este mail para que vea desde q hora estaban listos, disculpe usted las molestias	usted	usted	
		profesora le envio de nuevo mis reportes de cal para que le lleguen ya se los envie una ves pero lo vuelvo a hacer para confirmar. como le explico en el mail anterior no pude ir a dejarlos a su buzon personalmente porque hoy ni ayer he ido a la universida poprque estoy enfermo, mi hermana va a antregarlos pero no se a que hora llegue a la uni y como usted advirtio que si no los entregabamos antes de las 5 no los recibia , se los envio por mail para que vea la hora y fecha para que vea que estaban listos a tiempo, disculpe las molestias, gracias.	usted	usted	
		profesora le envio mi ensayo, no tiene las dos hojas que me pidio, pero en verdad no sabia que mas decir, creo que eso es en lo que basicamente fallo no sabia como extenderlo mas, espero sea lo suficientemente bueno. de ante mano le agradesco esta oportunidad. pd. disculpe que le enviara mi ensayo a esta hora de la noche pero tuve examen de 7 a 8 y tenia que revizar mi calificacion.	usted	usted	
20	M	hola!! Miss aqui esta el trabajo final que me encargo, muchas gracias por todo y sobre todo por el curso ya que fue de mi total agrado, sobre todo por su metodo de enseñanza hizo que interactuaramos mas con nuestros compañeros y que se nos quitara un poco el miedo de hablar en ingles en publico, gracias nuevamente y que tenga felices fiestas.	usted	usted	
		hola Mary, si te ayudo en tu tesis dime que dia y que hora estas haciendo las preguntas, yo puedo a cualaquier hora despues de las 12pm, tambine cualquier dia excepto los fines de semana, escribeme, bye.	tú	tú	
21	F	hola mary. no pude asistir a la revision de examen pero queria saber como me fue..espero tu respuesta pronto. gracias.	tú	tú	
		hola mary, yo puedo el dia lunes de la siguiente semana entre las 12 y 3 de la tarde, o despues de las 5 de la tarde, espero tu respuesta para ver a que hora se te acomoda a ti y en donde. Saludos!	tú	tú	
		ok, mary, esta perfecto, entonces nos vemos el lunes a las 12 en las mesitas enfrente del cal. yo llego no te preocupes. que estes muy bien. Bye	tú	tú	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
22	M	Una vez gracias por todo e igual mucha suerte para tí y tendré en cuenta tu ayuda y sobre todo por darme esa confianza. también cuidate.	tú	tú	
		Gracias: Sabes hoy yo puedo dépues de las 6:30p.m. porque saliendo de la clase que tengo, tengo que ir a recoger a mi nena y a esa hora ya estoy libre o mañana despues de las 10 a.m. porque antes tengo una clase a la 9 y antes tengo que ir a dejar a mi nena.	tú	tú	
		te mando una copia de los 7 cal y del examen y te dejo las hojas en tu carpeta en la sala de profesores.	tú	tú	
		Yo puedo mañana (viernes) de las 10 a 2 de la tarde. y de 5 en adelante. ¿no se si tú puedas?	tú	tú	
		Sabes gracias por todo y si me gustaría ir a asesorias contigo pero el día de hoy (lunes) tengo clase de 2:30 a 5:00 de la tarde.	tú	tú	
23	F	hola mary! SI me puedes entrevistar pero despues de las 5 porque mañana tengo un examen de 2:30 a 4. Nada mas dime donde quieres que nos veamos.	tú	tú	
24	F	hola como estas ? No tienes la parte del listening ? si la tengo si la hice ese dia. cualquien cosa escribeme o nos vemos mañana en la revision del examen , pero si estoy segura que la hice . cuidate y espero q hayas pasado un buen fin de semana bye bye	tú	tú	
25	M	Teacher olvidé ponerle el nombre a la película, la pelicula es la de Titanic, espero que no halla problema. Que tenga buen fin de semana y nos vemos el martes.	usted	usted	
		Oye un favor lo que pasa es que perdi mi hoja de las convesaciones de inglés así que queria saber si me puedes mandar solo la conversación 5 porfavor.	tú	tú	
		SI CLARO CON MUCHO GUSTO, MIRA YO EL VIERNES TENGO LIBRE DE 10 A 11 O DE 1 A 1:30 O TU DIME CUANDO Y DONDE OK.	tú	tú	
26	M	hola miss somos rodrigo y dulce!!... el mail es para avisarle que la vemos despues de las asesorias que de de de las 5pm!!!... =)!!!! muchas gracias... nos vemos al ratito !	usted	usted	
27	F	Otrea gran disculpa profesora, no creo presentarnos mañana a la u 1:30... se podra a la hora de clase?	n/a	usted	n/a
		Muchas gracias por la aclaracion; mi compañero estudia psicología y es serio....; estoy muy apenada por la situacion...; o si tendra a la mano la lista de correos del grupo y me los puede enviar , mejor asi lo localizare..... muchas gracias que tenga muy buen fin de semana	usted	usted	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
9	M	mmmm teacher Mary, tengo una duda, no cree que es mucho aprender 6 situaciones diferentes, ya tenemos preparadas casi todas, pero la verdad aprenderse 6 diferentes se me hace mucho y aparte no poder sacar un guion o alguna hoja para poder ayudarnos tambien pienso que es muy estricto no?, me entere que en otras seccion de ingles les dieron a escoger un solo tema de las unidades para desarrollarlo, no estoy criticando negativamente su forma de evaluar el examen oral si no que estaria chido si nos ayuda quitandonos un poco mas de presion para este examen ok. cualquier cosa aviseme por favor.	usted	usted	
		CUALQUIER PROBLEMA CON MIS CAL ME AVISAS POR FAVOR	tú	tú	
1	M	si perdon fui al CAIL y en la sala que mensionas no estab tu nombre en los casilleros y lo busque junto con otro que va en clase y no lo encontramos pero ahun asi voy a ir mañana viernes a ver bien donde es y los dejo ahy	tú	tú	
		aqui estan mis cal reports no encontre su casillero en el silc asi que se los envio por correo	usted	usted	
28	F	El viernes esta perfecto digae a q hoa pudo a la q sea usted diame la hora y lugar y ahi estare gracias miss nos vemos cuidece y que se la pase bien el dia de accion de gracias	usted	usted	
		Miss x favor pongamelo mañana hoy tengo otro examen a esa hr de Soluciones Algoritmicas espero y pueda muchas grax	usted	usted	
29	M	hola maestra!! escribo para darte mi cuenta de correo en owa, porque hemos tenido problemas con mi otro correo de hotmail, ojala despues de esto puedan llegar los correos para la clase. que tenga un buen dia!!!	both	both	
		hola maestra, quisiera saber mi calificacion final de ingles ya q no pude ir a revision por estar fuera de la ciudad, me gustaria verla en el depto para poder checar mi promedio, muchas gracias	usted	usted	
30	F	El martes 5 no pude llegar a la revision del examen, y apenas pude tener su mail, no se si pueda decirme a k hora, dond, o como podria saber mi calificacion, una disculpa.	usted	usted	
13	M	Tiene clase?	usted	usted	
		hola, tambien le puse mi tarea en su casillero, un saludo y ojala pueda llegar a la tocada. Suerte	usted	usted	
		HOLA MAESTRA, PERDON APENAS CHEQUE MI MAIL, PERO CLARO QUE SI, CUENTE CONMIGO, SOLO AVISEME QUE DIA NOS VEMOS Y A QUE HORA, Y ESTARE PUNTUAL, SALUDOS Y SUERTE EN TODO.	usted	usted	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
2	F	Hola miss, disculpe que la moleste de nuevo lo que pasa es que mañana no voy a poder ir como habiamos quedado lo que pasó es que ya resolví mi problema, de verdad mil disculpas.	usted	usted	
31	F	Hola profesora, pues le comento que tal vez no ha encontrado mi calificación del último semestre en el sistema porque no había tomado antes inglés en la universidad. Realizé mi examen de ubicación cuando ingresé, obtuve un puntaje de 400-450 en el toefel si no mal recuerdo, y también según lo que me dijeron debía inscribirme en Inglés 1, pero no alcanzé a meter la materia el semestre pasado por eso es que en éste, mi segundo semestre, la metí. Espero haya quedado aclarado esto, sino por cualquier cosa usted tiene mi mail. Hasta pronto!!	usted	usted	
		Hola Mary, Sólo quería confirmarte que el tema de nuestro video son "las noticias" o un tipo "noticiero". La integrantes del equipo somos Montse, María y yo (Elba). Espero no haya ningun problema con este cambio. Nos vemos el jueves!!	tú	tú	
		Hola de nuevo Mary, la cuestión es lo siguiente: Lo que ocurre es que hoy que estabamos editando el video, tuvimos problemas con el audio y el chavo que nos ayudó a hacerlo nos dijo que tal vez podia arreglarlo pero que necesitaba más tiempo. La verdad no contabamos con esta falla técnica, al parecer grabamos el video en otro formato que no era e incluso tememos que tengamos que repetirlo otra vez. Por esto mismo quisimos comentartelo lo antes posible y por ello te pedimos un plazo de dos días más para la entrega del video sin ninguna falla. Ojala que nos puedas ayudar con esto y esperamos tu respuesta pronto!!	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary, sólo quiero saber cuántos reportes de CAL me faltan. Espero tu respuesta.	tú	tú	
32	M	Miss no me llego la lectura q nos iba mandar,espero todavia me la pueda mandar. Gracias	usted	usted	
		Mary... no recibi la expo con las correcciones q me ibas a mandar, el correo q me mandaste no la trae, solo dice q nos la mandas..Espero puedas mandarmela	tú	tú	
33	F	Hola Mary no pude asistir a clases hoy, porque tuve un examen a esa hora. Me gustaria saber si hay alguna tarea pendiente o algo que hacer para la proxima clases! De antemano, mil gracias! Que tengas un lindo fin de semana.	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary, te envio este mail porque mañana no podré ir a hacer el quiz porque habia olvidado comentarte que estaba haciendo el tramite de mi visa y me dieron la cita para mañana en el DF en la embajada de E.U.A. razón por la cual tendré que trasladarme mañana para allá. Te pido como gran favor que si puedes aplicarme el quiz en otro dia? Ya es muy importante para mi hacerlo. Por Favor avisame si puedes y que dia puedo hacerlo, de ante mano mil gracias por tu comprensión y mil gracias por todo.	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary podrias decirme cuantos reportes cal me faltan por favor?? Te lo agradeceré.	tú	tú	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
33 (cont.)		Hola Mary los puntos del quiz de mañana son: School Vocabulary, Make Allow Let and Allow to, Present Perfect Continuous and Passive Voice. Y la lectura de "American Higher Education" Por Favor si me falta algún tema me podrías avisar!	tú	tú	
		Hola mary podria ir despues de las 5 para ver mi calificación, porke estoy en asesoria de un examen ke voy a tener mañana y no se si me de tiempo de ir a chekar mi calificación. O no se si podrias darme la calificacion por mail. Mil gracias!!!	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary con todo gusto me gustaría ayudarte pero ahorita no me encuentro en puebla, pero si podría contestarte via mail si es ke se puede.	tú	tú	
34	F	hola Mary: te mandamos la presentacion para el jueves, esperamos tus correcciones y /u opiniones Gracias!	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary: Solo te escribo para comentarte que cambiamos nuestro tema del video. Vamos a hablar sobre cultura general, hicimos entrevistas a diferentes personas.- Bueno, eso es todo que estes bien	tú	tú	
16	M	hola miss le envio la exposicion de la unidad 3, creo q la presentacion q le voy a mandar puede sufrir algunos cambios cuando la abra, lo q pasa es q en mi computadora tengo instalado el nuevo office y a veces eso cambia algunos formatos... espero todo este bien y cualquier cosa voy a estar pendiente de mi correo. gracias y un saludo	usted	usted	
		Mary cuenta conmigo, yo voy al cail por las mañanas lunes miercoles y viernes, de 8 a 9, pero dime a q hr vas a estar otro dia o mas tarde y yo voy vale???? ciao	tú	tú	
		Ok mary te veo el viernes a las 9, yo te busco... saludos	tú	tú	
		Hola miss, solo le escribo porq me quedo en duda que es lo q va a venir mañana en el quiz, y no se si mando los ejercicios q no terminamos en clase el jueves, lo q pasa es q a mi no me llego nada...ojala y me pueda responder, gracias, nos vemos en clase...por cierto quiero llevar el prox nivel de ingles contigo, no se si pueda apartar lugar en su clase, y no se si ya sepa los horarios q va a tener en verano, gracias nuevamente miss...	both	both	
35	M	Hola Mary, me gustaría saber si en el Mid-Term hay alguna lectura. Si es que la hay te pido por favor que me la puedas enviar, gracias.	tú	tú	
		Mary te agradezco que me hayas mandado la lectura. Te informo que aun no he recibido las instrucciones del mid-term, te pido por favor si es posible me las puedas mandar. Saludos	tú	tú	
		Estos son mis tareas pendientes. Que tengas un lindo fin de semana. Saludos	tú	tú	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
14	M	hola soy Juan oye no pude ir a clase el martes por problemas familiares, no se que sea eso de los grupos que mencionas en el mail no se si me puedas explicar porfavor. por otra parte si me gustaria tomar el siguiente curso contigo pero eso lo inscribo hasta que acabe el semestre no??? bueno que estes muy bien bye	tú	tú	
		Hola Mary te escribopara decirte que no estube en laciudad y no he podido hacer elquiz no se si podrias hacermelo, un saludo y que estes muy bien	tú	tú	
36	F	Tengo una pregunta es que mañana no creo ir a clase, lo que pasa es que tengo congreso pero pues me gustaria saber si vamos a ver algo importante o algo respecto al examen, si es asi pues necesitare faltar al congreso espero tu respuesta GRACIAS!!!	tú	tú	
37	M	Hi Teacher! No entendí la actividad del día de hoy luego de terminar el Quiz, me gustaría saber para entregar todos mis pendientes y pasar el curso de Inglés Universitario! He tenido problemas con Inglés y debo pasarlo sino quedaré fuera de la universidad para siempre y eso me preocupa, no creo que vaya bien, pero ruego pasar su curso! quisiera verla mañana miércoles 25 de Abril y ver que puedo hacer para pasar el curso! he estado estudiando pero hay cosas que se confunden! Espero esté bien y entienda mis situación!	usted	usted	
38	F	Hola Mary. Oye, yo voy mañana al cal, puedo hasta 2;30, porfa esperame y si puedo ir antes ahí estaré. Gracias	tú	tú	
		hola mary. oye yo puedo platicar contigo pero honestamente por el momento no voy a la universidad, si por ti no hay problema puedo verte en otro lado... irma	tú	tú	
		hola mary, si puedo el viernes de 12:30 a 1, y si si puedo ir a la uni, te busco en el cal. como ves?	tú	tú	
		Mary, perdón, yo me tengo que ir a la 1, puedo a las 12:30 . o necesitas más e media hora? tu dime.. pero más bien puedo antes de la 1. perdón por la confusión	tú	tú	
		ok. ahi te veo	tú	tú	
39	F	Hola!! mary oye nada mas para preguntarte a que hora es mañana la revision. muchas gracias mary saludos	tú	tú	
		Hola, Mary espero estes bien!! oye me dijo un amigo que quedaron el martes a las 4 entonces yo tambien iria. cuidate!! saludos	tú	tú	

Participant	Participant's Sex	Email Content	Coder M	Coder G	Coder J
12	M	Hola Maestra; Muchas Gracias por haberme mandado mi calificacion por via e-mail y una disculpa por no haberme presentado a la entrega de calificacion, pero por cuestiones de trabajo tuve que salir a la ciudad de Mexico. En el verano voy a estar en Puebla trabajando, no voy a estar estudiando pero por aqui voy a estar, si necesita hacerme la entrevista estoy a sus ordenes, el dia, la hora y el lugar que usted me indique. Cuidese mucho y le agradezco la calificacion y el curso. Quedo a sus ordenes.	usted	usted	
8	M	hola mary ve yo puedo el martes y jueves de la otra semana a partir de las doce, para ver a q hora nos vemos va... cuidate y nos estamos viendo bai	tú	tú	
40	F	Hola profe. so le ayudo solamente digame la fecha y hora y ahi estare	usted	usted	
6	F	HOLA MARY SOY FER!!! ESTUVE EN TU CLASE DE INGLÈS, CON QUE NECESITAS AYUDA??? DIME LAS FECHAS Y TE CONFIRMO SALUDOSS!!! UN BESO BYE BYE	tú	tú	
		Claro que si Mary! solo que puedo a partir de la 1:40 te parece a esa hora ?	tú	tú	
41	M	Hola! Yo te ayudo vale? Solo dime cuando y a que hora	tú	tú	
		mmm crees que se pueda el lunes?? si es muy necesario mañana esta bien, pero si puedes el lunes mejor	tú	tú	
4	F	Hola Miss: Yo puedo ir la próxima semana, usted digame a qué hora y en dónde y ahí estaré. Saludos. Nos vemos. Besos	usted	usted	
17	M	si nada mas dime donde nos vemos y ke dia me mandas un mail para ke me digas	tú	tú	
		si puedo son las mesas con sombrilla que estan en el cal no entonces te veo mañana como a la 1:30 bye te cuidas	tú	tú	

Appendix E: DCT Questionnaire Response Table

Situations:

1   Me ves en la clínica y parezco estar enferma. Quieres saber si estoy bien.

2   En la clase de inglés, tienes una duda sobre una cosa de gramática. Quieres
        pedirme por ayuda.

3   Llegas a la clase después de un puente. Quieres saber qué hice yo por el puente.

4   Me ves en el Tigre. Quieres saber a qué hora llegué al Tigre.

5   En la clase de inglés me quieres preguntar si voy a dar clases al próximo nivel el
        próximo semestre.

6   Me ves en un partido de fútbol americano. Quieres saber con quién estoy.

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
Males												
3	20	M	tú	n/a	Ud	Ud	tú	Ud	both	Que es una profesora, por más joven que sea, se trata con mayor respeto, apparte es un poco seria	no	
5	18	M	Tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	eres joven, me caes bien, eres mi maestra	sí	te tengo respeto y no quiero hacerte sentir incomoda al cruzar la linea de maestro-alumno
9	24	M	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	depende donde te vea, en el salón eres mi profesora y es más respetuoso y afuera ya hay más confianza	sí	despues del primer dia de clases ya no
11	18	M	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	primero comence con usted pero despues lo cambie a tú porque se escucha con más confianza	sí	porque sí soy educado hablo con usted pero al tener más confianza ya hablo de tú

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
12	22	M	both	n/a	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	me refiero por usted ya que existe para mi siempre un respeto para la persona que me enseña algo, no importe si es joven	no	
13	25	M	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	both	Quizas dentro del salón guardan un cierto respeto, pero en ocasiones ajenas a las clases podria ser un poco más informal.	no	
14	25	M	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	No me gusta hablarle a nadie de Ud. Se me hace muy impersonal.	sí	Al principio. No nos conociamos muy bien.
16	23	M	Ud	Ud	tú	Ud	Ud	Ud	both	Dependiendo de que estamos hablando y del estado de animo en que estaras.	sí	No lo sé, creo porque soy un poco timido

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
17	20	M	tú	Ud	Ud	tú	Ud	tú	both	En el salón cuando estás dando clases y te pregunto algo es de Ud. y cuando es otra cosa es Tú.	no	
18	19	M	tú	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	La edad, la confianza	sí	porque es una persona joven y se me hace raro llamarle de Ud.
19	20	M	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	El papel que desempeña en la universidad	no	
20	22	M	Ud	n/a	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	el respeto por ser maestra, no está al nivel de alumno a pesar de ser joven	sí	porque es agradable la clase y hay muy buen ambiente, estoy acostumbrado a hablarle a mis maestros de Ud.

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
22	26	M	tú	tú	tú	n/a	tú	n/a	tú	Porque existe un poco más de confianza y puede que a mi me sirva para no ponerme nervioso al hablar en inglés.	sí	Algunas veces porque debe existir un cierto respeto: Maestra y Alumno
25	19	M	tú	Ud	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	que en algunas ocasiones la situación se presta para hablar como amigos y en otras como profesor	sí	porque por lo regular a mis maestros les hablo de usted, pero tú eres muy joven y la relación que has tenido con nosotros es más de amistad
32	19	M	tú	tú	Ud	tú	tú	tú	both	como mi maestra, le hablo de usted y es una forma de respeto pero creo que ya afuera podria ser de tú ya no como profesora.	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
35	26	M	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	La relación entre alumnos y maestros siempre debe de ser cordial y directa por lo cual tengo la confianza de hablar de tú.	no	
37	25	M	n/a	tú	n/a	n/a	Ud	n/a	both	Da igual pero no sé si prefieras de Ud. o tú. Por eso digo los dos.	sí	No sé que te parezca si ud. o tú.
41	19	M	tú	Ud	tú	tú	Ud	Ud	Ud	Respeto, suelo hablar asi a las personas que saben más que yo y a las cuales no conozco del todo.	no	
42	23	M	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	En que siempre la veo en clase y por ser mi maestra la llamo de Ud. Pero si algun maestro me dice que lo llame de tú siempre lo hago.	sí	porque a pesar de que es mi maestra somos igual de jovenes, por eso me siento un poco in-seguro

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
43	26	M	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	n/a	both	la escuela	sí	si todo el tiempo me permite llamarla de "tú" con todo respeto
44	20	M	tú	n/a	tú	tú	n/a	tú	Ud	Ud., porque es mi profesora, porque sentí que no le gustaba o prefería que nos refiriera mos a Ud. de Ud. Y porque nunca dijiste que podiamos hablar de tú.	sí	
45	19	M	tú	tú	tú	Ud	tú	tú	both	Me cuesta trabajo referirm e a una persona (de tú) que dé una clase, a pesar que sea joven, como es el caso	sí	Como coment é me cuesta un poco de trabajo referirm e a alguien que dé una clase de "tú"

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
Females												
2	20	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	Ud	tú	both	Cuando hay más confianza digo tú, pero cuando hablo de una tarea o trabajo Ud.	sí	porque muchas veces no sabemos si se va a molestar usted
4	19	F	Ud	Ud	tú	tú	Ud	tú	both	la formulación de la pregunta	sí	porque eres muy joven pero eres también una maestra y en algunas preguntas puedes contestar con tú o con usted
6	20	F	tú	n/a	n/a	tú	n/a	tú	both	Estoy acostumbrada a llamar a los maestros de Ud. Pero usted es joven y buena onda entonces prefiero hablarte de tú pero a veces me revuelvo.	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
7	19	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	lo uso por respeto al maestro	no	
15	19	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	los dos porque en el salón estoy tratando con una maestra y fuera del salón puedo tratarte como amiga.	sí	por tu edad
21	20	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	supongo que existe un respeto hacia los profesores por lo que se me hace de mala educación que desde el primer dia de clases sin conocer a mi profesor le llamara de tú al menos que él lo pidiera	sí	porque eres una persona muy joven que tal vez no tendría nada de malo que te hablara de tú
23	20	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	te hablo de tú porque eres joven	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
28	18	F	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Porque es una miss como una persona con autoridad respeto a mi.	sí	porque a veces siento que no está tan grande para llamarla de Ud. pero de tú me da pena sería como que con mucha confianza
30	21	F	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	que es la miss y no la conozco mas alla de las clases no tengo la confianza de referirme de tú, no sé si le puede incomodar	no	
31	19	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	tú	n/a	tú	la confianza y accesibilidad para preguntarte algo	sí	porque al principio como con todo maestro creo que hay cierta timidad y duda de si se va a molestar

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
33	22	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	Ud. porque eres mi profesora y la autoridad que representas y tú porque eres una persona joven y nos brindas confianza.	sí	porque me siento a gusto hablandote de tú pero no sé si lo creas adecuado.
34	18	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	que me transmites confianza y que eres muy joven, aunque yo creo que la edad es menos importante (factor) para hablarte de tú	no	
36	18	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	tú	tú	Ud	Cuando hay respeto hacia la persona dentro y afuera de clase y porque la maestra es la persona que debes respetar	sí	la mayoria de los alumnos habla por tú.
38	29	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	creo que la eded, eres muy joven y la confianza que le das al estudiante para relacionarse contigo	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
39	20	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	la edad para decirte tú y la relación que se carea entre alumno-maestra y Ud. porque es una autoridad (de cierta manera)	no	
40	19	F	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	Por respeto y porque es mi maestra, si no me permite hablarle de tú, simpre le hablaré de usted.	no	
46	18	F	Ud	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	Ud. Es más formal, para dirigirte a alguien, los dos es entre formal y común	sí	porque a veces no sabes si a esa persona le gustaría que lo tomarás como tú
47	18	F	tú	Ud	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	que tiene casi la misma edad de algunos de nosotros y por lo mismo no es necesario llamarla de Ud.	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
48	19	F	tú	n/a	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	porque usted es para una persona que casi no conozca y muy grande de edad y tú les digo a las personas jovenes aunque no las conozca muy bien	no	
49	19	F	tú	tú	Ud	tú	tú	tú	both	dependiendo el tiempo que conozca la persona o que me simpatice	sí	porque tal vez llegue a molestarse o no le guste que le hable de tú
50	19	F	Ud	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	porque eres joven y hay más confianza	no	no, porque usted (jaja es broma) porque eres joven y no por hablarte de tú te voy a faltar respeto
51	19	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú-- Siento que tiene menos formalidad, aparte la diferencia de edad no es mucha. Hay más confianza	no	

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
52	18	F	tú	Ud	tú	tú	Ud	tú	both	En clase la mayoria de veces hablo de Ud., pero no siempre, porque eres muy joven y se me hace raro hablarte de Ud. Y situaciones afuera de clase me es más familiar hablarte de tú.	sí	porque eres mi miss de inglés y por lo general a los profesores se les habla de Ud. Pero tú eres muuuuy joven y a veces te hablo de tú pero yo preferiría de tú porque insisto eres joven y por lo general se les habla de Ud. a las personas mayores
53	19	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	pues me imagino cada situación y contesto y me nace más decirte tú	sí	por lo general uso tú por no estar acostumbrada a usar usted. Creo que es por falta de costumbre ya que casi a todos les hablo de tú.

Participant	Age	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Which form?	Why?	Felt un-sure?	Why?
54	19	F	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	both	Por que a veces se me olvida hablarles a las personas hablarles de usted, ademas creo que usted es como para referirse a una persona mayor.	sí	porque usted es más formal, porque es de mala educación hablarle a alguien de tú cuando no la conoces, pero a la vez la conozco por la clase pero no tanto.
55	18	F	Ud	Ud	Ud	Ud	tú	n/a	tú	Influye mucho como es la persona con la que estás hablando, si la conoces de hace tiempo, y si hay buena comunicación entre ellos.	no	
56	21	F	tú	Ud	n/a	n/a	Ud	Ud	Ud	el ser titular en la clase	no	
Males	*Avg. Age 22*	22	*tu-14 ud.-5 n/a- 2 both-1*	*tú- 9 ud.-8 n/a-5*	*tú-11 ud.-9 n/a-2*	*tú-10 ud.-10 n/a-2*	*tú-10 ud.-10 n/a-2*	*tú-10 ud.-8 n/a-4*	*tú- 4 Ud. - 7 both-11*		*sí- 14 no-8*	
Females	*Avg. Age 20*	27	*tú-20 ud.-7*	*tú-12 ud.-8 n/a-7*	*tú-20 ud.-5 n/a-2*	*tú-22 ud.-4 n/a-1*	*tú-19 ud.-7 n/a-1*	*tú-21 ud.-4 n/a-2*	*tú- 10 ud.- 5 both-12*		*sí- 13 no- 14*	
Totals	*Avg. Age 21*	49	*tú-34 ud-12 n/a- 2 both-1*	*tú-21 ud-16 n/a-12*	*tú-31 ud-14 n/a-4*	*tú-32 ud.-14 n/a-3*	*tú- 9 ud.-17 n/a-3*	*tú-31 ud.-12 n/a-6*	*tú- 14 ud.-12 both-33*		*sí- 27 no- 22*	

Appendix F: Interview Transcripts

Interview 1:   Participant 17

MRH:	Me referiste de tú. Por qué?
17:	Por tu edad.
MRH:	Uh huh. Y nunca sentiste un poco confundido porque
17:	eras mi maestra
MRH:	era tu maestra tambien.
17:	Pues si. Igual y si.
MRH:	Hablas a otros profesores de usted o de tú?
17:	Usted. Son más grandes.
MRH:	Y quien te enseñó a usar usted con maestros y personas más grandes?
17:	Mis papas
MRH:	De dónde eres?
17:	De San Rafael, Veracruz.
MRH:	Y qué forma usarias con una compañera de la escuela de tu edad?
17:	Como? Como hablarle a mi compañera?
MRH:	De tú o de usted?
17:	A una compañera? No..de tú.
MRH:	Y…depende de la edad.
17:	De la edad.

Interview 2: Participant 41

MRH:	Qué forma usaste conmigo?
41:	Usted.
MRH:	Y por qué?
41:	Porque eres maestra y como por autoridad.
MRH:	Ok.
41:	Y de respeto.
MRH:	Y alguien te enseñó a hacer eso con maestros?
41:	Si. De hecho mis papas con toda la gente adulta a partir de cómo treinta años les hablo de usted.
MRH:	Y aunque tengo menos de treinta años me hablas de usted?
41:	Si por respeto porque eres como una figura de autoridad, bueno en el salón.
MRH:	Uh huh. Y afuera del salón cómo me dirias?
41:	Mary.
MRH:	Pero con tú, usted. Por ejemplo si no sé aquí.
41:	Ya, ya con tú.
MRH:	Y una compañera de tu clase de tu edad cómo le dirias si es la primera vez que la conoces?
41:	No, le hablaria de tú importando la edad yo creo.
MRH:	Y de dónde eres?
41:	De Veracruz.

Interview 3: Participant 5

MRH:	En tu cuestionario escribiste que me dirias tú en todas las situaciones pero sentiste un poco inseguro de qué forma usar conmigo. Puedes explicar por qué elijiste usar tú y por qué sientes inseguro?
5:	mmm…creo que otras veces he llamado tú a otros maestros…pero a veces sí siento que no…no se presta para la escuela…que no sería muy bien entonces…
MRH:	Como?
5:	O sea una relación entre alumno y maestro de compañerismo casi casi …y hay que haber una separación un poco
MRH:	Y por eso usarias usted?
5:	Uh huh.
MRH:	Ok. Tu cuestionario fue bastante interesante para mí porque he notado que usas usted en la clase pero en el cuestionario pusiste tú
5:	Uh huh.
MRH:	Entonces no sabia qué hacer con eso y…
5:	Ah lo puedo explicar
MRH:	Si
5:	Si…porque el cuestionario es algo más personal no? Y en la clase tiene que reflejar el respeto para que no sea…
MRH:	Ah ok…y también en tus correos electrónicos que me has mandado siempre usas tú.
5:	Sí.
MRH:	Por qué?
5:	Por lo mismo. Creo que es como que…más personal no?
MRH:	Por qué es fuera de la escuela?
5:	Porque va directo a ti. No va a la clase o…
MRH:	Ok…y en dónde creciste? En qué parte de México?
5:	En dónde creci? Ah aquí en Puebla.
MRH:	Ok. Y qué forma usas con otros profesores?
5:	Usted.
MRH:	Siempre?
5:	Uh huh.
MRH:	Y si los ves afuera de la clase qué forma?
5:	Creo que es diferente porque tu no eres tan grande.
MRH:	Entonces usarias usted?
5:	Si.
MRH:	Y usas tú más conmigo por qué razón?
5:	Pues…por la relación siento que se presta.
MRH:	Ok. Y también hay otra razón aparte?
5:	No.
MRH:	Si tuvieras una relación amistosa con un profesor de cincuenta años qué forma usarias con él?
5:	Tú.

Interview 4: Participant 20

MRH:	Te acuerdas cual usaste conmigo?
20:	Uhhh al principio usted y ahora tú.
MRH:	Ok. Y por qué empezaste con usted y luego cambiaste a tú?
20:	Porque al principio era como una relación de respeto por la carrera que tienes de maestra y ahora fuera de la clase es un poco más informal.
MRH:	Y crees que con otros profesores afuera de clase les dirias tú?
20:	Uh yo creo que depende un poco de edad. Me sinteria un poco más intimidado de hablarle de tú a una persona obviamente mayor que yo que a una persona de mi edad.
MRH:	Alguien te enseñó a usar usted con las personas mayores?
20:	Si.
MRH:	Quien?
20:	Un profesor.
MRH:	Qué pasó?
20:	Pues al principio tenia el custumbre de hablarles de usted a todas las personas que no conozco. El me dijo que era un poco mejor si o sea que la gente se sentia un poco más en confianza hablarle de tú siempre cuando este permitido.
MRH:	Y si yo fuera una compañera tuya de una clase me dirias tú o usted?
20:	Tú.
MRH:	Y por qué?
20:	Porque siento que es un nivel similar. No hay ninguna figura de autoridad.
MRH:	Ok. Y de dónde eres?
20:	De México.

Interview 5: Participant 31

MRH:	Creo que pusiste que usarias los dos formas conmigo
31:	Uh huh.
MRH:	Puedes explicar más como más en detalle por qué
31:	Pues, depende en la confianza que le tenga al maestro
MRH:	Uh huh.
31:	De cómo se muestre él, si se muestra como amigable se puede hablarle de tú y tambien si le gusta porque muchos maestros desde el principio te dicen "no yo soy doctora y profesora como la profesora que tengo ahorita
MRH:	Y conmigo con cual sentias más comoda?
31:	Hablar de tú.
MRH:	Y por qué?
31:	Por lo mismo. Porque siempre fue como más confianza y tambien eres como más joven y existe como más libertad de hablarte de tú porque si te hablo de usted tal vez sentirias grande de edad.
MRH:	Y nunca tenias una duda de qué forma deberias de usar?

31:	Pues desde el principio creo que…es de…que nos diste tu nombre que dijiste "yo me llamo Mary"…es de…puedes ver que ella es Mary y ya. Desde el principio.
MRH:	La última es de dónde eres?
31:	Mande?
MRH:	De dónde eres?
31:	De la ciudad de México.
MRH:	Y alguien te enseñó cuando debes de usar usted y cuando debes de usar tú?
31:	Pues si…pues por lo general en la escuela te decian "No pues yo soy Miss Juanita y a mi me deben de hablar asi. Por lo general siempre las personas te dicen como es que debes o les guste que les hables. O mis papas a veces cuando se trata de una gente mayor que les tienes que hablar de usted

Interview 6: Participant 13

MRH:	Mis preguntas son sobre el uso de tú y usted conmigo. Entonces te acuerdas cual usaste conmigo no?
13:	Si.
MRH:	Cual?
13:	Usted.
MRH:	Ok. Y por qué?
13:	Por el hecho de…la relación de maestro no tiene nada que ver la edad sino cierto respeto no?
MRH:	Uh huh. Y con una compañera de clase de tu edad que forma usarias?
13:	Ya es más…es de…tú.
MRH:	Y cómo decidiste que a todos los maestros les vas a decir usted?
13:	Bueno yo pienso que es algo que ver de tu casa es algo que me enseñaron mis papas normalmente a personas mayores que tú o si no son mayores pero de alguna forma…es de…una relación maestro alumno pues tiene que ser de respeto no?
MRH:	Y afuera de la clase tambien, me dirías tú o usted?
13:	Pues…quizas por si hubiese como ahora un poco más de…de…
MRH:	más como?
13:	confianza es de pues yo pienso que sí. Hay maestros que por ejemplo de la carrera que ya tengo cinco años de conocerlos y ya llega el punto en que me dicen "ya ya no me hables de usted" o sea ya es más por su nombre literalmente.
MRH:	Y de dónde eres?
13:	De Oaxaca.

Interview 7: Participant 25

MRH:	Te acuerdas qué forma, tú o usted, usaste conmigo?
25:	A veces era de tú y a veces usted, cuando era amistad era de tú y cuando era relación de maestro usted.
MRH:	En qué momentos era una relación de amistad? Y en qué de maestro alumno?
25:	Pues del maestro alumno era dentro del salón de clases y todo lo que tuviera que ver con la escuela y calificaciones y asesorias asi. Y de amistad pues fuera de la escuela o de messenger o que no tuviera que ver con la escuela.
MRH:	Y por qué elijiste cambiar entre los dos?
25:	Porque a veces es como más de respeto hablarle a un profesor de usted y en el mismo dentro del salón de clases se escucha feo hablarle a un profesor de tú y por eso el cambio.
MRH:	Y a todos tus profesores les hablas de usted dentro del salón?
25:	Si.
MRH:	Y afuera?
25:	De tú bueno depende. Si son personas ya grandes pues de usted. Depende de la edad.
MRH:	Y para qué personas usarias usted? Qué tipo de personas? Qué caracteristicas tendrían?
25:	Primero la edad. Si son mucho mayores o mayores que yo sí les hablaría de usted depende de la relación que sea porque por ejemplo si es algo del trabajo o de la escuela o algo de..no sé..de un lugar a donde tuviera yo que ir a dirigirme a alguien pues sí le hablaría de usted.
MRH:	Y para una compañera de tu edad dentro de la escuela cómo le dirías?
25:	No, de tú.
MRH:	Ok. Y alguien te enseñó a usar usted?
25:	Sí, sí mis papas siempre desde chiquitos tu ves a ellos cómo se dirigen a personas mayores y todo eso y le vas aprendiendo.
MRH:	Y de dónde eres?
25:	De aquí de Puebla.

Interview 8: Participant 9

MRH:	En tu cuestionario escribiste que me dirias como tú en todas las situaciones. Puedes explicar por qué?
9:	Como tú?
MRH:	Uh huh.
9:	No, yo explique en mi cuestionario que en el salon de clases no no podria…a mi en mi familia me acustumbraron a todos los maestros…no sé…todo eso hablarles de tú. Pero tú como eres de mi edad afuera del salon sí te puedo hablar de tú.
MRH:	Si.

9:	Pero dentro del salon…
MRH:	Pero en los cuestionarios pusiste tú para todas…
9:	Si?
MRH:	las situaciones. No dependia si fuera dentro…no me molesta para nada
9:	No, yo sé
MRH:	Pero sólo quiero como tus razones para poner tú.
9:	Según yo en el cuestionario si explique que dentro del salon no puedo decirte tú por el respeto que eres maestra
MRH:	Uh huh
9:	Pero fuera del salon te puedo decir tú porque eres joven, te conozco como amiga y por cuestión de amistad.
MRH:	Y dijiste que estabas inseguro de qué forma usar conmigo
9:	Ah pues al principio pues sí
MRH:	Y por qué?
9:	Porque nunca he tenido una maestra de mi edad o… o que tuviera una amistad aparte de la escuela no?
MRH:	Sí.
MRH:	Y a tus otros profesores les hablas de usted?
9:	Usted. Uh huh.
MRH:	Todos?
9:	A todos.
MRH:	Y alguien te enseñó hacer eso?
9:	Mi mamá.
MRH:	Y de dónde eres?
9:	Del D.F.
MRH:	Ok.

Interview 9: Participant 38

MRH:	Te acuerdas qué forma, que pronombre usaste conmigo? Tú o usted?
38:	Pronombre?
MRH:	Si. Tú o usted?
38:	Tú.
MRH:	Y por qué?
38:	Porque me das confianza. No siento como una máxima autoridad.
MRH:	Usas tú con todos los profesores?
38:	Si pero creo que con los que son de confianza. Con los que no les digo maestro.
MRH:	Uh huh. Y tambien con una compañera de la escuela que no conoces cual usarias?
38:	Que no conozco?
MRH:	Uh huh.
38:	Ah ha. Y tú tambien.
MRH:	Y…con quien usarías usted?
38:	Pues que…tal vez con alguien que ya es como mayor.

MRH:	Uh huh.
38:	Nada mas.
MRH:	Y la última es de dónde eres?
38:	De aquí de Puebla.

Interview 10: 22

MRH:	Te acuerdas de qué forma usabas conmigo? Tú o usted?
22:	Como como? No te entendí.
MRH:	Dices tú..me refieres como tú o usted cuando me hablas?
22:	Ah de tú o de usted? Como quieras.
MRH:	No, pero cual es más natural?
22:	Ahhh. Pues de tú porque me das más confianza.
MRH:	Y para qué personas usarias usted?
22:	Ah para mayores de edad.
MRH:	Y para todos de tu edad, no importa si son desconocidos, les dices tú?
22:	Si. Si, tú.
MRH:	Ok..y..también..alguien te enseñó cuando debes de usar usted?
22:	Si, mis papas.
MRH:	Tus papas?
22:	Si.
MRH:	Qué te dijeron?
22:	Que debe haber un repeto a las personas mayores y a personas mayores les debes de hablar de usted.
MRH:	Y a tus otros profesores tambien les dices tú o usted?
22:	Depende del profesor. Hay unos que les hablo de usted o de tú con los que siento más confianza.
MRH:	Ok. De dónde eres?
22:	De aquí de Puebla.

Interview 11: Participant 19

MRH:	Decidiste llamarme usted
19:	Si
MRH:	en varias situaciones. Me podrias explicar por qué?
19:	Ummm era algo que nos enseñaron desde la primaria en que yo estuve…
MRH:	mmhmm…
19:	secundaria y toda la preparatoria
MRH:	En dónde estudiaste?
19:	Aquí en México estudié en el colegio nacional en estados unidos en el CEL que era un colegio cristiano
MRH:	En que ciudad…
19:	En Chicago Illinois
MRH:	Y en México?

19:	Aquí en Puebla
MRH:	Y es algo que te enseñaron?
19:	Uh huh
MRH:	Cuando?
19:	Desde cuando? Desde la primaria. A todos nuestros profesores no podemos bueno nunca podiamos hablarles ni de miss ni de tú ni nada.
MRH:	Ah si?
19:	Si
MRH:	Miss es considerado más informal?
19:	Uh huh…descortes
MRH:	Teacher tambien?
19:	Si.
MRH:	Ok…y…umm…a tus otros profesores tambien les hablas de tú…er usted?
19:	No a todos de usted.
MRH:	Todos de usted
MRH:	Y afuera de la clase si me conocieras en otro lugar si no fuera tu profesora qué me dirias?
19:	Si usted no fuera mi profes…
MRH:	Si no fuera tu profesora y me conociste en otro lugar qué dirias tú o usted?
19:	Usted
MRH:	Por qué?
19:	Porque a todas las personas que conoces…pues…bueno…según lo que me enseñaron es algo de respeto hablarle de usted
MRH:	Aunque sea de tu edad?
19:	Ummm…que sea de mi edad? Si.
MRH:	Ok.
19:	A personas menores no pero a las personas de mi edad si.
MRH:	Ok. Es todo.

Interview 12: Participant 16

MRH:	Ok. Te acuerdas del cuestionario no?
16:	Más o menos.
MRH:	Más o menos.
MRH:	Bueno, cual usaste conmigo, usted o tú?
16:	No me acuerdo.
MRH:	Pusiste usted…para…para todo. Para todas las preguntas. Tambien en la clase tengo unos instantes en que usaste usted. Pero quiero saber por qué usaste usted. Por qué optaste por usted?
16:	Por qué te llamé de usted?
MRH:	Uh huh.
16:	Ah pues no sé como al principio fue por respeto el hablar el hablar de

usted. Igual porque al principio no te conocía, no…no es de era nuevo en tu clase ….y….pues practicamente porque asi…asi como ha sido mi educación en contar un maestro y hablarle de usted.

MRH: Con todos los maestros?

16: Si, con la mayoria. Con la mayoria de los maestros.

MRH: Y quien te enseñó a hacer eso?

16: Uuuy pues de

MRH: Fue explicito?

16: Si.

MRH: De parte de quien?

16: Pues desde la casa desde…

MRH: De tu familia?

16: De mi familia desde la…de la…kinder, primaria, secundaria y parte de la prepa que estudié en una escuela catolica xxxxxx y alli fue donde adquiri…

MRH: De dónde eres?

16: De Oaxaca.

MRH: Y para una compañera de clase qué forma usarías al principio?

16: Al principio de tú. Como para que desde el principio existe se crea un lazo de confianza.

MRH: Por qué los dos son…

16: Son estudiantes.

MRH: Me identificaste más con el grupo de profesores?

16: Si al principio pero ya despues…eh..,podemos decir que despues de la mitad…al partir de la mitad del curso hasta el final era más de tú.

Interview 13: Participant 54

MRH: Solo queria preguntarte…umm te acuerdas si usabas más tú o usted cuando referias a mi

54: Usted

MRH: Usted? Y por que usted?

54: Usted porque…no sé creo que es más…en primero porque no conoces a la persona

MRH: Uh huh

54: Entonces siempre debe de haber un respeto entre…por ejemplo entre un alumno y un profesor. Entonces siempre se le debe de hablar de usted. Pero ya conforme…ya van conociendo y sintiendo más confianza ya sé que el profesor te permita hablarle de tú o si no se molesta ya le puedes hablar de tú y no de usted.

MRH: Cuando no conoces bien a cualquier persona siempre usas usted o con personas de tu edad usas tú más?

54: Si, solo con personas de mi edad uso tú

MRH: Uh huh.

54: Y ya con personas más grandes si uso usted.

MRH: Ok. Por qué elejiste usted…porque tengo más o menos tu edad?

54:       Porque, bueno, creo que como es mi profesor creo que al principio debe de
          ser un vinculo de respeto entre cada una pero pues ya despues es de hay
          como que siento que como eres más joven y mas o menos de mi edad no
          sé siento que hay mas confianza en hablarte de tú.

Interview 14: Participant 52

MRH: En tu cuestionario escribiste que me llamarias tú o usted y parece que
          depende un poco en la situación.

52:       Uh huh. Si depende de la situacion.

MRH: Puedes explicar más por qué…como en cuales situaciones me dirias usted
          y en cuales me dirias tú?

52:       Mmm…es más usted aquí en clase…o…

MRH: Y por qué?

52:       No sé (laughs)…es que es como más…no sé…miss es como estás
          acostumbrada a ver a todos tus profesores como que de usted

MRH: Mmm hmm

52:       Pero tú eres muy joven entonces me habla de tú y tambien afuera es asi de
          ah hola miss bueno asi de usted es como…no sé me hace raro llamarte de
          usted

MRH: Me…como me identificas con un grupo particular cuando estás en clase y
          cuando estamos afuera?

52:       Como? grupo?

MRH: Como un grupo de personas…por ejemplo de…un grupo de…no
          sé…como, como…tengo una identidad diferente en la clase? No sé…

52:       Como aca casi eres una profe…

MRH: Me pones en un grupo particular cuando estamos en clase?...como tengo
          una asociación con un grupo de personas?

52:       De amigos de jovenes?

MRH: Como de jovenes, de profesionales…

52:       No sé..te relaciono con un grupo de jovenes de los estados unidos también.

MRH: Ok. Y hablas con tus otros profesores usando usted

52:       Mmmm..con algunos…por ejemplo con mi profesora de América tiene
          cincuenta y tantos años le estoy diciendo usted…el de matematica es
          igual…mmm…a mi profesora de lenguaje que tambien es más joven le
          digo igual a veces de tú y a veces de usted

MRH: Alguien te enseñó hablar con usted con personas de mayor edad

52:       Uh huh. Pues si tienes el hábito de que todos hablan asi y aparte mis papas
          dijeron asi como tienes que llamarle usted porque es respeto y porque es
          mayor

MRH: Y si me hubieras conocido afuera de la clase como otra estudiante en otra
          clase como me hablarias?

52:       De tú.

Interview 15: Participant 23

MRH:	En tu cuestionario pusiste tú para todas las situaciones. Puedes explicar por qué?
23:	Bueno. Yo te hablo de tú porque eres joven y a las personas jovenes les hablo de tú aunque tambien si son mayores y me causan confianza pues les hablo de tú.
MRH:	Y a tus otros profesores tambien les hablas de tú…o de usted?
23:	A la mayoría si. Bueno solo hay uno que le hablo de usted pero porque ya está como viejito.
MRH:	Ok. Y en dónde creciste?
23:	En México, D.F.
MRH:	Ok. Y siempre has hablado con tus profesores o maestros de tú o de usted tambien?
23:	Solo en la primaria de usted y ya despues de tú.

Interview 16: Participant 2

MRH:	Ok. Te acuerdas si usabas tú o usted conmigo?
2:	A ver?
MRH:	Me referías como de tú o de usted?
2:	Tú.
MRH:	Tú?
2:	No, de usted nada más que no acordé pero de usted.
MRH:	Ok. Por qué usted?
2:	Por qué? Porque es maestra. Tenía que guardarle respeto.
MRH:	Y para una compañera de tu clase le hablarías de tú o de usted?
2:	De tú.
MRH:	Por qué?
2:	Porque son amigos son compañeros como que si hay un respeto pero no tanto así verbal como que ay usted.
MRH:	Y para quien más usas usted?
2:	Para quien más? Solamente para superiores, para señoras que no conozco muy bien, o amigas de mi mamá. Y ya.
MRH:	Quien te enseñó cómo usar usted?
2:	Mis papas en la casa y en la escuela también se aprendió.
MRH:	Ok. Y de dónde eres?
2:	De Puebla.

Interview 17: Participant 34

MRH:	Te acuerdas cual usaste conmigo? Me hablabas de tú o de usted?
34:	De tú.
MRH:	Y por qué?
34:	Porque..bueno porque estás joven y porque siento la confianza.
MRH:	Y a todos tus profesores les hablas de tú? O a unos les hablas de usted?
34:	A la mayoría les hablo de tú. A uno no.
MRH:	Y por qué?
34:	Pues no sé. Desde chiquita me acostumbré a en la escuela siempre hablar de tú y aparte por la confianza. No sé.
MRH:	Y a quien le hablas de usted?
34:	A uno que está grande que tiene sesenta y cinco años.
MRH:	Alguien te enseñó cuando debes de hablar de usted y cuando puedes hablar de tú?
34:	Bueno, mis papas siempre me enseñaron que es mejor de tú porque es como más personal pero bueno hay gente que no le gusta por respeto no? Pero siempre me enseñaron que es más como más personal hablar de tú que no había ningun problema.
MRH:	De dónde eres?
34:	De México.

Appendix G: Results Summary Table

Participant	Sex	Tape-Recordings	Ethnographical Observations	Emails	MSN Conversations	DCTs
1	M	usted	usted	both	--	--
2	F	usted	usted	usted	usted	both
3	M	usted	usted	--	--	both
4	F	usted	--	usted	--	both
5	M	usted	usted	tú	--	tú
6	F	--	usted	tú	--	both
7	F	--	usted	--	--	both
8	M	--	tú	tú	--	--
9	M	--	tú	both	--	both
10	M	--	tú	--	--	--
11	M	--	tú	--	--	tú
12	M	--	usted	usted	--	usted
13	M	--	usted	usted	--	both
14	M	--	tú	tú	--	tú
15	F	--	tú	--	--	both
16	M	--	usted	both	--	both
17	M	--	usted	tú	--	both
18	M	--	--	usted	--	usted
19	M	--	--	usted	--	usted
20	M	--	--	both	--	usted
21	F	--	--	tú	--	both
22	M	--	--	tú	--	tú
23	F	--	--	tú	--	tú
24	F	--	--	tú	--	--
25	M	--	--	both	--	both
26	F	--	--	usted	--	--
27	F	--	--	usted	--	--
28	F	--	--	usted	--	usted
29	M	--	--	both	--	--
30	F	--	--	usted	--	usted
31	F	--	--	both	tú	tú
32	M	--	--	both	--	both
33	F	--	--	tú	--	both
34	F	--	--	tú	--	tú
35	M	--	--	tú	tú	tú
36	F	--	--	--	--	usted
37	M	--	--	usted	usted	both
38	F	--	--	tú	--	tú
39	F	--	--	tú	--	both
40	F	--	--	usted	--	usted
41	M	--	--	tú	--	usted
42	M	--	--	--	--	usted
43	M	--	--	--	--	both
44	M	--	--	--	--	usted

Participant	Sex	Tape-Recordings	Ethnographical Observations	Emails	MSN Conversations	DCTs
45	M	--	--	--	--	both
46	F	--	--	--	--	both
47	F	--	--	--	--	tú
48	F	--	--	--	--	tú
49	F	--	--	--	--	both
50	F	--	--	--	--	both
51	F	--	--	--	--	tú
52	F	--	--	--	--	both
53	F	--	--	--	--	tú
54	F	--	--	--	--	both
55	F	--	--	--	--	tú
56	F	--	--	--	--	usted