

TIS The Independent Scholar

A peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal

www.ncis.org

ISSN 2381-2400

Volume 7 (forthcoming, 2020) *'Connections and Challenges'*



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ADDRESS FORMS IN ECUADORIAN SPANISH: AN ANALYSIS OF PRONOMINAL AND NOMINAL FORMS IN FACEBOOK MESSENGER DATA

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Date submitted: 26 February 2020

Accepted following revisions: 5 June 2020

Abstract

This study analyzes the use of address forms in Azogues, Ecuador, by collecting data from Facebook Messenger (FBM). It addresses how both pronouns of address (usted, tú, vos) and nominal forms of address are used within this digital community and notes how each form encodes social values vis-a-vis the marked formality of an interaction between speakers. It notes the generational differences in preference of forms among the informants of the study, noting that each generation prefers a different pronoun to express informality and also different styles of nominal forms for the same purpose. It notes a dual function of usted, both to mark deference and social distance as well as proximity and social intimacy, depending on the context. The results of this study add to our knowledge of how address forms are used in Ecuador and present a complex picture of how address forms are used and interpreted by interlocutors in social interactions.

Keywords: *address theory, Ecuador, digital communication, sociolinguistics*

INTRODUCTION

Address theory is a branch of linguistics that explores how people choose to refer or *address* each other by examining the words they use to do so. This includes the type of pronouns used, in languages that have distinctions between formal and informal pronouns, such as French or Spanish with *tu/vous* or *tú/usted* respectively. It also looks at other words used to address others, which can have a similar function in languages that do not have such distinctions in pronouns. Consider the use of address forms in English such as, *ma'am, bro, sir, dude, man, mom, doctor, professor*, each of which reveals something about the nature of the relationship between these two people, as well as perhaps something of what one person thinks about the other, solely based on what words they choose to use to refer to another human being.

The words we use to address others are the core of what address theory seeks to understand. We call these words "**forms of address**" which are the building blocks of how we talk to other people. Forms of address (or address forms) are words that point to sociocultural values held by a community at large and exhibited in an individual person's feelings and attitudes towards any particular situation. For example, when trying to get someone's attention, there is nothing inherently wrong with calling out, "Hey, you!"

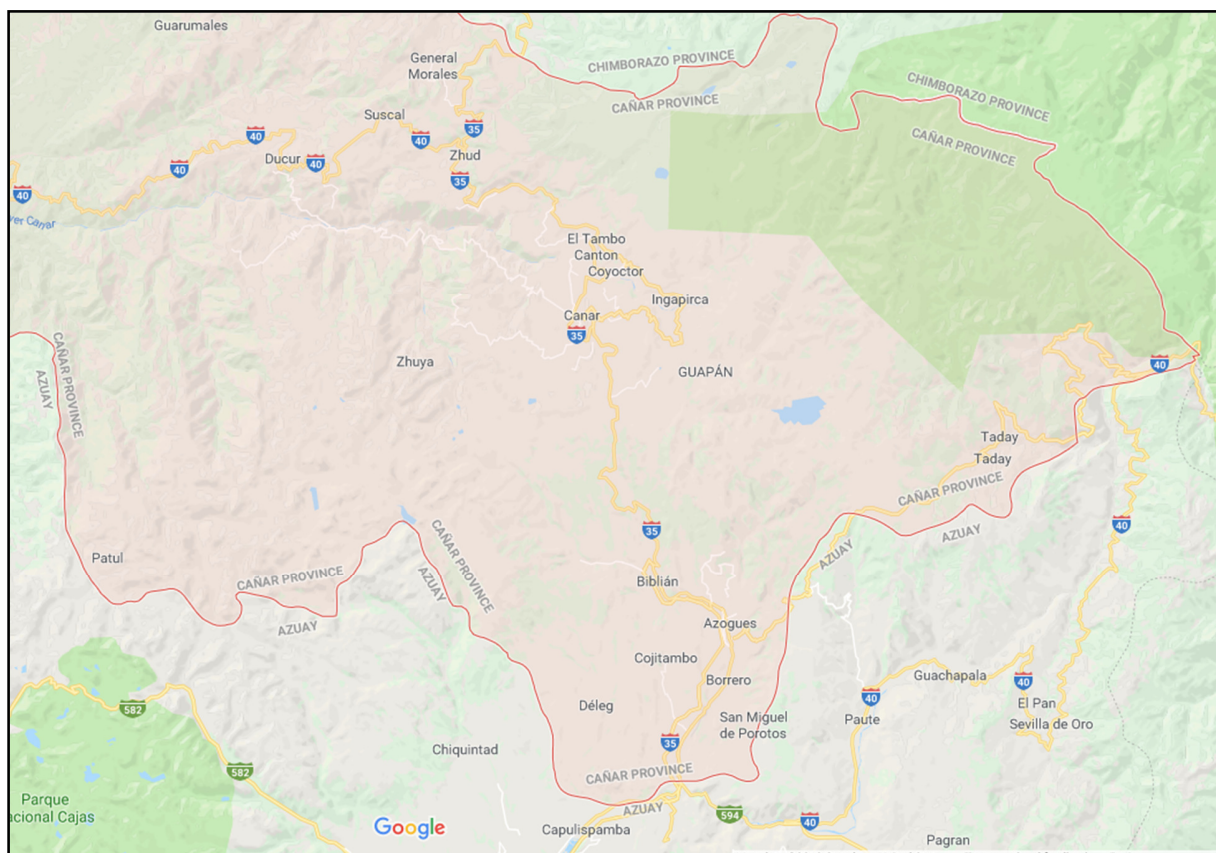
"Address Forms in Ecuadorian Spanish: An Analysis of Pronominal and Nominal Forms in Facebook Messenger Data"
to be published in Volume 7 of *The Independent Scholar* under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

This paper seeks to add to our current understanding of how address theory is displayed in the everyday speech of Ecuadorian speakers of Spanish. It does so by examining the language practices of two informants and their contacts on Facebook Messenger. These informants are from the city of Azogues, Ecuador, which is the capital of the Cañar Province in the Ecuadorian Andes. The city itself is a small urban center of some 40,000 inhabitants¹ and a metropolitan population of 70,064 in the entire *cantón*. The Cañar Province is comprised of a majority *mestizo*² with 76.7% of the population identifying as such. There is a minority, Indigenous population, constituting 15.2% of the population. Below is a map of the Cañar Province, as well as a map of the entire country of Ecuador.



¹ Although precise figures are difficult to find, as the population of the metropolitan area is typically provided.

² A person of Spanish and Indigenous ancestry.



This paper will address the following research questions vis-a-vis the issue of address forms in Ecuadorian Spanish:

1. What are the characteristics of the address system of these Ecuadorian informants?
2. How are *usted*, *tú*, and *vos* used in this community?
3. What are the forms used to mark formality vs. informality?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The framework of Brown and Gilman (1960) is a well-known explanation of the use of address forms, which analyzes the historical development of pronouns from Latin and in modern European languages, which saw an extension of the use of the plural *vos* to address the emperor in the fourth century CE. This extension of the use of *vos* is crucially important as the seed from which address forms in many European languages developed, as these varieties extended the use of *vos* to address persons in power. This led to two frames of viewing how address forms function in a culture, the first being the *nonreciprocal power semantic*, which is a codification of hierarchy into language, due to the inequality of power in world cultures. In all Romance languages, two pronouns correspond to these power relationships: in Spanish, this is accomplished through the pronouns *T* (*tú*) and *V* (*usted*),³ so that the person of higher "rank" vis-a-vis power relationships would use *tú* to address a person of lower rank, who would respond with *usted*. Power relationships can be based on any number of socio-cultural factors, including religion, age, physical stature and socioeconomic status. The use of language, coupled with whatever socio-cultural value it might be expressing, is a way of embedding hierarchical values into the means of communication that all humans use to engage with others, and the use of forms may well change throughout a person's lifetime.

³ It is common in address theory literature to use T (informal) and V (formal) to refer to pronouns, based on the French pronouns *tu/vous*.

Power relationships assume asymmetrical treatment of people, which exists in several frames in which one person will use a T form and another will respond with a V form. However, what would members of the same social class or other relative power relationships use to address each other? This relates to the *solidarity frame* in Brown and Gilman's analysis. Elites have traditionally used V forms to address other members of elite classes, whereas members of lower classes use T forms to address each other. This is because the V forms have been so long associated with elite culture and likewise T forms had been so long associated with subservient members of society. Their use will depend on other factors and asymmetry can develop even in solidarity frames. Brown and Gilman postulate that, in the past, the power dynamic was more commonly dominant in social relationships so that people and society valued power relationships more highly and asymmetrical frames dominated. However, they note that in modern times, the solidarity dynamic has taken over in social relationships. This leads to the reinterpretation of power frames as solidarity frames, which leads to an increase of solidarity and symmetrical use of either T or V.

Many authors have worked to apply these principles directly to Spanish to understand how the pronouns, *tú* and *usted*, reflect these socio-cultural values, which, in this context, is the cultural concept of *confianza*, an interpersonal social value in Latin America that expresses something consisting of trust, intimacy and solidarity in other terms. The use of *tú*, in many contexts, used by Spanish-speakers to show that they have *confianza* with someone, although there are often a number of other important factors that are at play as well. The use of *usted* usually implies social distance, which is not necessarily negative but only implies that there is not yet a social relationship between the interlocutors. The speaker relies on social convention or other forms of obligation to judge the right word in each situation. A misjudgment will result in the perception that the speaker is disrespectful, overreaching in solidarity, or cold, due to being excessively distant.

This is the *theory* of address and its meaning in conversation among regular speakers. We must also address the *mechanics* of address, which consists of three aspects:

- 1) Pronouns of address
- 2) Nouns of address
- 3) Verb address forms

Pronouns of Address in Spanish

Spanish is an inflectional language that encodes pronominal subjects in the morphology of the verb through verbal conjugations. The language has two second person pronouns, *tú* and *usted*, which denote informal and formal subjects respectively. When it comes to current Latin American societies in Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, we must consider their colonial history, which is reflected in current power structures in Latin America, as countries in the region replicated the Spanish colonial governments concentrating wealth and power among a small group of elites.

Colombia is known for its unique address system that uses *usted*, the traditional pronoun associated with power and asymmetrical relationships between interlocutors, among friends, particularly among male friends.⁴ Conversely, Colombians, particularly those in Bogotá, the capital of the country, use *tú*, which traditionally was used by elites to address those in lower classes, to imply social distance between interlocutors, such as among acquaintances or coworkers, i.e. those who do not have a strong personal relationship with the person speaking.⁵

In Mérida, which is situated in the Venezuelan Andes, *usted* is also used in a novel way, much in the same way as in Bogotá, Colombia.⁶ This Andean region of Venezuela is characterized by its dual use of *usted* in both formal and

⁴ The following section is based on the research in Flórez, L. (1965). *El español hablado en Santander*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo; Montes Giraldo, J.J., J. Figueroa Lorza, S. Mora Monroy, M. Lozano Ramírez, R. Aparicio Ramírez Caro, M.B. Espejo Olaya, & G.E. Duarte Huertas (1998). *El español hablado en Bogotá: análisis previo de su estratificación social*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo; and Uber, D. (2011). *Forms of Address: The Effect of the Context*. M. Díaz-Campos (ed.), *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, (pp. 244-262). Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK.

⁵ Uber, Diane R (2011): "Forms of Address: The Effect of the Context", M. Díaz-Campos (ed.), *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK, pp. 244-262. Uber's work reviews previous research and shows that this pattern has been maintained throughout the past few decades. This latter study adds that among close friends, either T or V forms may be used and confirms an overall trend in the increase of *tú*.

⁶ This section is based on research conducted by the following authors: Álvarez, A. (Eds.) (2010). *La construcción de la identidad del hablante en el uso pronominal*. In M. Hummel, B. Kluge, M.E. Vázquez Laslop (Eds.), *Formas y fórmulas de tratamiento en el*

informal situations. The use of *usted* in Mérida has been debated but it seems likely that there is a dual function for *usted*, constituting of a formal *usted* and an *usted* of solidarity. Research in this area has also suggested that the use of *usted* in this region might also serve as a regional identity marker (Álvarez & Barros 2001).

Ecuador, the Andean country on which this paper focuses, also exhibits unique behavior vis-a-vis its ideology of address. Ecuadorians are markedly different from both Andean Colombians and Venezuelans. First, they have used all four of the pronoun choices⁷ that Spanish offers in a variety of contexts. The context of the interaction can influence address forms but also speakers exhibit considerable intraspeaker variation, such as the use of either *vos* or *usted* to address children. There seems to be a generational divide in preference for certain address pronouns in that older speakers preferred *usted*, while younger speakers preferred *tú*. The use of *usted* in this manner is similar to how *usted* is used in the Andean regions of Colombia and Venezuela, suggesting a broader, Andean pattern of usage, perhaps tied to identity as mentioned by other authors (Álvarez 2010; Freitas Barros 2010) and certainly as culturally-appropriate means of expressing solidarity in the social value of *confianza*. Those results suggest a preference for the use of *usted* in conversation with friends and family, particularly among middle-age female speakers.

The use of *vos* in Ecuador has varied uses in indexing power and solidarity, often depending on the regional background of a speaker, as it is found in interactions between social 'superiors' and 'inferiors', in which the latter are expected to respond with *usted*; yet, *vos* is also used between interlocutors to index closeness and intimacy. That is to say that the use of *vos* is explicitly tied into the traditional power dynamic and continues to operate in the modern world in much the same way that it has done since the colonial period. Ennis' (2012) study of *voseo*⁸ in Quito elaborates on the various use of pronouns of address among a group of speakers, where *usted* is used as a general form of address and with strangers. Among friends, *tú* and *vos* alternate, although the latter expresses greater *confianza*. Children generally use *usted* with parents and teachers, as, in general, older interlocutors are treated with *usted* and older speakers can use *tú* or *vos* to address younger interlocutors; however, *vos* is generally used with one's own children. Ennis (2011) also outlines the ideology of *voseo*, showing its various sociocultural values in Ecuador, noting a dual function of *voseo* to mark closeness but also in expressing emotion, particularly anger. It can also be used to express social distance, particularly when used 'out of context' and, in these cases, indexes social inequality to be used in a derogatory manner.

We can summarize the general Ecuadorian system of address, as it has been observed by linguists up to this point as follows.

- Dual function of *usted*: in informal contexts, among speakers of a similar age; as a general address form, especially with strangers but also used with children
- *Tú*: use among friends and younger people and by some older people to address younger people
- *Vos*: can express closeness or paradoxically to express distance

The problem with this summary of an address system is that it is based on scarce data and research, much of it outdated, except for the work of Ennis' (2011) master's thesis and the work of Lavender (2017).⁹ Therefore, a serious call to action should be issued for future and continuing work on understanding the address system of Ecuadorian Spanish, particularly to understand the differences between different varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish, as well as any other generational, racial, or other differences among Ecuadorian speakers.

mundo hispánico, (pp. 325-340). El Colegio de México; Álvarez Muro, A. & X. Barros (2001). Sistemas en conflicto: las formas de tratamiento en la ciudad de Mérida, Venezuela. *Lengua y Habla*, 6; Álvarez Muro, A. & M. Carrera de la Red (Ed.) (2006). El *usted* de solidaridad en el habla de Mérida. In, M. Schrader Kniffki (Ed.), *La cortesía en el mundo hispánico: Nuevos contextos, nuevos enfoques metodológicos*, (pp. 117-130). Iberoamericana/Vervuert; Álvarez Muro, A. & F. Freitas Barros (2010). Los estudios sobre pronombres de segunda persona en Venezuela. In M. Hummel, B. Kluge, M.E. Vázquez Laslop (Eds.), *Formas y fórmulas de tratamiento en el mundo hispánico*, (pp. 325- 340). El Colegio de México. Freitas-Barros, F. (2008). De hablantes, gravedad y péndulos. *Identidad andina fronteriza y uso lingüístico*. Caracas: Academia Venezolana de la Lengua.

⁷ These include *tú*, *vos*, *usted*, and *su merced* (*sumercé*). The first three are relatively common in the Spanish-speaking world. The latter is an explicit relic of the colonial period in that it literally means "your honor" so to speak. However, the latter is only heard in some rural Ecuadorian communities.

⁸ This refers to the use of the alternative pronoun, *vos*, instead of or alongside the pronoun, *tú*.

⁹ To the author's knowledge.

Nominal forms of address

Nominal address forms are part of the overall address system of a language or dialect and often constitute an important element of the overall repertoire of options that a speaker has to convey important information about how they perceive the relationship between themselves and the person with whom they are speaking. Nominal address forms are often divided into many different types, which will be enumerated below, followed by a brief discussion and expansion of this list.

- *Kinship terms* (abbreviated in text as KT): refer to kinship relations; can be literal or metaphorical (i.e. fictive), eg. "Hey bro!"
- *Names*: similar to the classical vocative, use of an explicit name, eg. "Hi, John."
- *Nicknames*: use of creative, alternative names for a person, eg. "Johnny"; "Bob" etc.
- *Hypocoristic terms* (abbreviated in text as HT): often called *terms of endearment* that establish a relationship of proximity between interlocutors eg. "Dear"; "honey"
- *Titles*: use of formal titles, particularly reflecting academic or professional status, eg. "Sir"; "Doctor" etc.

An important distinction is in the use of nicknames, such as *Tere* for *Teresa*, which are called *affectionate apocope*.¹⁰ A common deviation in the use of KTs in Spanish is the prevalence of the term *mijo/a*, "my son/daughter", which is used both in literal familial relationships but often in metaphorical sense among non-relatives. In Spanish, as well, the use of HTs is far more widespread than in English and can be used in ways that might be regarded as offensive by speakers of English, such as the use of the terms *gordo* ("fatty") and *loca* ("crazy"), which is often linked to an attempt to show affection to others. This is also an essential part of the cultural concept of *confianza*, "closeness and a sense of deep familiarity,"¹¹ which Latin Americans, in general, value deeply.

Nominal forms of address are forms of speech acts that require interpretation from their context to understand their indexicalities and typically embody the cultural concept of *confianza*, or social intimacy. The system presented above can be classified as [+/- distant] vis-a-vis the relationship of nominal forms and their association with closeness or not in social contexts. For instance, nicknames and hypocoristics (HTs) are typically [-distant], meaning they codify a socially close relationship between interlocutors, while names and titles are typically [+distant] because they create social distance between interlocutors.¹² Nominal forms can also be intensified with adjectives or possessives.¹³

DATA COLLECTION AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study seeks to address the following questions as a way of expanding our knowledge of the current address system in use in Ecuador, particularly the Andean *sierra*¹⁴ of the Cañar Province in the town of Azogues.

1. What are the characteristics of the address system of these Ecuadorian informants?
2. How are *usted*, *tú*, and *vos* used in this community?
3. What are the forms used to mark formality vs. informality?

The manner of finding answers to these questions is through a detailed analysis of Facebook Messenger (FBM) data. FBM is a form of *synchronous* online communication, meaning that the timing of production and the reception of the message and forms of communication online are nearly simultaneous. Working with two female Ecuadorian informants from Azogues, the data from their FBM messages in 2016-2017 were analyzed. One informant (P1) was in her mid-forties during the time of data collection, while the second informant (P2) was in her twenties. In addition to analyzing the conversations of these two informants with forty-four of their FBM contacts, informal interviews were also conducted with them to go over their relationships with each informant and the nature of their interaction online, as well as informal ethnographic observations of the author through interaction with the community on site.

¹⁰ Flórez (1975), p. 176

¹¹ Thurén (1988), p. 222.

¹² Travis, 2005

¹³ Placencia, 1997

¹⁴ Meaning the region in the Andean mountains

Table 1 shows the number of FBM contacts from each informant and the overall size of the data corpus in total, as well as from each informant and their online interactions. The corpus from P1 is substantially larger than that of P2, which might indicate a generational preference but could be simply a personal preference of one individual over another.

Table 1. Size and composition of data corpus

	P1	P2	Total
Number of FBM contacts	32	12	44
Size of corpus in words	23,860	8,786	32,646
Number of messages	2,122	573	2,695
Number of conversations	115	30	145

Table 2 presents the breakdown of each informant's contacts on FBM and their socio-demographic characteristics, broken down by gender identification and nature of the relationship between interlocutors, with options for friend, close family, distant family, and acquaintance.

Table 2. Social relationships in each social network

		P1's Contacts	P2's Contacts
Sex	Male	16	7
	Female	17	5
Type of relationship	Friend	9	4
	Close family	15	6
	Distant family	5	0
	Acquaintance	3	2

The data is analyzed with regard to: (1) the use of *usted* by informants; (2) the use of *tú* by the informants, and; (3) the use of nominal address forms by the informants. This will allow for a thorough examination of these forms of address and their *social value* in the context of the data of the study.

RESULTS

The results of the study will now be presented in a qualitative form by referencing patterns found in the data, following the pattern mentioned in the previous section.

The use of usted by informants

In examining the explicit use of pronouns, we begin to see a pattern that will continue to emerge as we analyze the data from a variety of vantage points, that being the preference for the use of *usted* among P1's social network, both among friends and also among other types of relationships. The pattern observed in the data is a preference for the use of *usted* in most contexts by P1's social group and the prevalence of *tú* among P2's group.

The use of explicit subject pronouns serves the pragmatic function of emphasis in Spanish, because its use is not strictly necessary, due to the morphology of the language. The following conversational extract shows an example of both explicit use of subject pronoun and also a case of *informal usted*, what is often referred to as *usted of solidarity* in the literature, which is an unexpected use of *usted* in an informal context or to show intimacy in a relationship. This extract shows P1 messaging her daughter on FBM. The use of *usted* by parents to speak to their children has been noted by other researchers, most notably Toscano Mateus (1956) and among friends and family by Placencia (1996). We examine an extract from a conversation that exhibits this use of *usted*. In this extract, P1 is having a conversation with her daughter: note the use of forms by her daughter and P1's response.

Extract 1. Conversation between P1 and her daughter¹⁵:

01 Inf. 29: *Buenos días amor!*
02 Inf. 29: *Espero que este mejor*
03 P1: *Gracias guapa mi muñeca preciosa*
04 P1: *Sin **usted** q [que, sic] sería de mi vida*

01 Inf. 29: Good morning, dear!
02 Inf. 29: I hope you are better
03 P1: Thank you, honey, my precious doll
04 P1: Without you [formal] what would my life be like

Quantitative analyses of the data indicate that the use of *usted* is generally more frequent among P1's social network. I have included above the most salient example of *usted* of solidarity to demonstrate the phenomenon. However, its use is prevalent in a variety of contexts among P1's FBM contacts, including other family members and friends, in a way that is unexpected vis-a-vis the normative usage of *usted*.

We can see a similar use of *usted* by P2 in her interactions with family members of her own age. This is equally unexpected behavior due to the typical pattern of using *tú* among interlocutors of a similar age, particularly those of a younger age.

Extract 2. Conversation between P2 and a cousin

01 P2: *Gracias y ahora le dejo descansar saludos a su familia y a sido un gusto chatear con **Usted** tenga dulces sueños y un excelente día mañana*
02 Inf. 10: *gracias mija igualmente saludos a todos...se me cuida...*

01 P2: Thank you and I'll let you rest greetings to your [formal] family and it has been a pleasure to chat with you [formal]. Sweet dreams and an excellent day tomorrow
02 Inf. 10: Thanks honey the same greetings to everyone... take care

The above conversational extracts from both P1 and P2 show the nonconventional use of *usted* among these Ecuadorian speakers. This usage must be contrasted with what would be considered a normative usage, to mark formality in the social interaction. We present two extracts, one between P1 and a lesser-known acquaintance, in which the nature of the conversation is markedly different. What distinguishes the use of *usted* in comparison with the informal use above is the use of accompanying nominal address forms: compare Extract 1, line 03, above to the conversation below.

Extract 3. Conversation between P1 and acquaintance

01 P1: *Se cuida **tenga** una linda noche*
03 Inf. 2: *esta bien igual a **usted***

01 P1: Take care, good night
03 Inf. 2: okay, the same to you [formal]

The characteristics shared by P1's social interactions with formal *usted* are also shared by P2 and her social network, with the use of verbal morphology and the lack of affective nominal forms. However, P2 does use explicit names with formal interactions, as well as titles, which are both typically marked formal address forms.

¹⁵ All FBM messages are presented as collected, which includes non-normative spellings and other abbreviations conventions.

Extract 4. Conversation between P2 and an acquaintance

01 Inf. 2: *Buenos días quiero avisarle que si a Ud le interesan...*
02 P2: *Como está señora Inf. 2 [Name] gracias por dejarme saber*

01 Inf. 2: Good morning, I want to let you [formal] know if you [formal] are interested...
02 P2: How are you, Ms. [Name] thanks for letting me know

We have seen that formal interactions are marked with the lack of solidarity nominal forms and rely on either explicit use of names and titles, the explicit pronoun *usted*, and also the verbal morphology itself, which marks the verb with grammatical association with either *tú* or *usted*. The use of verbal morphology associated with pronominal forms is similar to the use of pronouns overall, with the use of *usted* and associated morphology among P1's friends and the use of *tú* among P2's friends. One additional aspect of verbal morphology should be mentioned, which is that the use of *usted* morphology occurs much more frequently than any explicit use of *usted*, which might suggest that this could be some form of neutral address.

Now that we have seen the use of *usted*, we will compare this to the use of *tú* by the informants of the study.

The use of tú by informants

The use of *tú*, referred to as *tuteo*, is tied to broader generational patterns among the informants. As we saw above, P1's social network prefers *usted*, while P2's prefers *tú*. These results are not surprising, if we compare the broader societal trends in Latin America. The interesting question is to analyze when P1 and her FBM contacts use *tú*, as this reveals a divergent generational preference vis-a-vis pronoun choice. This pronoun selection can be characterized in the following manner. P1 uses *tú* with five of her FBM contacts, of varying degrees of intimacy in the relationships, including two brothers-in-law, one closer to P1 than the other; a male cousin; a male friend and a female friend. The data set is not large enough to arrive at any potential conclusions vis-a-vis an understanding of what the underlying choice entails here, other than an individualized address choice based on previous social interactions with that person. The discussion of P1's use of *tuteo* is similar to the use of *vos* by P2's social network group. *Vos* is only used by three male interlocutors to address P2, some cousins and one friend. In the same manner, conclusions are difficult to draw from the existing sample, but it is important to note that these options exist for speakers and some do use them.

After having compared the pronominal address forms, let us examine the use of nominal address forms by the informants.

Nominal address forms

Table 3 shows the absolute frequency of use of the various types of nominal address forms in the data, recalling that kinship terms (KTs) refer to the fictive or literal use of terms relating to the family to address another and that hypocoristic terms (HTs) are terms of endearment that establish a relationship of solidarity and intimacy among interlocutors. In Table 3, the use of each type of nominal form is presented in absolute frequency (numerical value) followed by relative frequency (percent value) vis-a-vis the number of uses with each pronoun. The total of each pronoun category includes a relative frequency in relation to the total number of uses of nominal forms overall in the data.

Nominal forms can be divided into those that are typically informal and convey intimacy and those that are associated with formality and social distance. Broadly speaking, names and titles are more formal in nature, while nicknames and HTs are more informal. KTs can be interpreted as either conveying social distance or intimacy, depending on the circumstances of the interaction and the relationship between the interlocutors. We proceed to compare these forms on the basis of how they convey social distance or intimacy beginning with those that are interpreted as formal.

Table 3. Nominal address forms

	P1 Group		P1 Group	
	Use with <i>usted</i>	Use with <i>tú</i>	Use with <i>usted</i>	Use with <i>tú</i>
Names	24 7.76% of uses	3 2.77%	3 21.42%	7 6.79%
Nicknames	6 1.94% of uses	0	0	35 33.98%
KTs	185 59.87% of uses	67 62.03%	4 28.57%	49 47.57%
HTs	82 26.53% of uses	35 32.4%	3 21.42%	4 3.88%
Titles	12 3.88% of uses	3 2.77%	4 28.57%	8 7.76%
Total of each pronoun	309 74.1% of total uses	108 25.89% of total uses	14 11.96%	103 88.03%
Total (of all)	417		117	

The use of titles and names has been associated with more formal treatment of individuals. Let us examine the use of these types of nominal address forms in contexts which are interpreted as formal.

Extract 5. Conversation between P1 and an acquaintance

01 P1: *Hola N un gusto saludarlo a los tiempos imposible olvidar a nuestra gente y gracias a la tecnologia [sic] podemos compartir acontecimientos de nuestro diario vivir... Se cuidan y q Dios los bendiga ese bonito hogar q tienen.*
02 Inf. 3: *muchas. Gracias x compartir su amistad ,, Todos mis amigos añaden un gran significado a mi vida diaria. Saludos. Y felicidades. Usd tambien tiene una Hermoza familia.*

01 P1: Hello N it's a pleasure to greet you after so long, it's impossible to forget our people and thanks to technology, we can share updates about our daily lives... Take care and may God bless you all and that beautiful home you have
02 In. 3: Thank you for sharing your friendship... All of my friends add great meaning to my daily life. Greetings and congratulations to you all as well, you have a beautiful family.

In this conversation, P1 uses the explicit name of this individual to address them. Additional facts about the interaction confirm its formality, one being the content of the interaction, which is not extensive and is merely a means of reestablishing contact after a period of time. Additionally, the use of verb's second person plural, *ustedes*, is a means of avoiding the overt marking of an interaction as formal but still establishes this interaction as just that.

However, the use of names and titles is not necessarily always a formal interaction. The use of personalization or adjectives can reinterpret a formal address form in an informal manner, just as the use of formal and informal forms can reshape the scope of formality in an interaction. We also note that the use of other non-verbal cues can change the interpretation of an utterance to be informal, most notably in the use of emoticons, which introduce an emotional

reaction to the conversation and can reinterpret it as informal. The following extract shows this technique at play in an interaction between P1 and a friend.

Extract 6. Conversation between P1 and a friend

01 Inf. 4: *Feliz cumpleaños señora Bonita de verdad le deseo Lo mejor y que cumpla muchos Pero muchos años mas*
👉👉 *paselo bien en Union de sus seres queridos* 😊😊😊

02 P1: *Gracias mi N por sus lindos deseos un abrazote se cuida y tenga un precioso día* 😊😊

03 Inf. 4: *Gracias huapa* 😊 *Lindo día para usted tambien* 😊😊😊

01 Inf. 4: Happy birthday pretty lady [literally "pretty Mrs.,"], truthfully I wish you the best and that you have a great time with your friends and family

02 P1: Thank you my N for your kind wishes... take care and have a great day

03 Inf. 4: Thank you dear! Have a great day too!

The use of *señora* [Mrs.] in this context, with the added adjective, *bonita*, changes the nature of its interpretation from being a relatively formal title to an informal one. Likewise, P1's response of using *my* before this person's name adds an additional informal tone to the reception of the response to his message, which allows for the use of these titles and names to be informal in nature.

Let us consider one other important aspect of the use of nominal forms of address in the frequent use of kinship terms in the data, which are mostly used in a literal sense in the data between family members, given that there is a large, extended family network at play for both informants. The most frequent terms used are *primo/a* [cousin] by P1's group and *mija* [my daughter] by P2's group. However, because of the presence of a number of literal family relationships, the use of kinship terms in the data is not as significant as the use of other types of nominal address forms.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study further add to our understanding of address forms used in Ecuadorian Spanish and add to the literature on how *usted* can be used in non-formal contexts (Lavender, 2017, 2019; Uber, 2011), which has been referred to variously as either the *usted of solidarity*, to reference the non-formal use of this pronoun or as the *dual function of usted* to highlight both aspects of its use. Seeing this unique practice from the point of view of Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory shows the importance of the *solidarity frame* in understanding the use of address pronouns by these speakers. The difference is found in *which* pronoun is selected as the solidarity marker but both groups of speakers use certain nominal forms to supplement the pronoun to mark these as solidarity forms.

While the data for this study comes from a small network of speakers in Azogues, it is clear that these results can and should be contextualized, even if the weight of the data of this study might not be able to make any greater claims than the representation of these speakers and their linguistic preferences. If we look further afield we can see a pattern similar to the address systems of other regions, particularly Colombia and Venezuela, in their Andean regions, with regard to the use of *usted*, yet not without its own unique characteristics, particularly the preference of females in Azogues to use *usted* among each, paralleling the preference of *usted* among males in Colombia (Uber 2011). This study did not find enough evidence in Azogues to show a *continuum* in the sense provided by Uber, but this does not imply that such a continuum does not exist but no longitudinal data exists to make such a claim. If we recall the power and solidarity dynamics at play in address forms, as well as the strong identity function claimed by the use of *usted* in Venezuela in particular, we can also think more broadly about the social functions of *usted* and *tú* among these speakers. The use of *usted*, especially, can be interpreted as having a regional identity function, although there was no explicit mention of this function by either informant. However, the network of friendships is composed of individuals from the same area in Ecuador and the informants themselves reference regional identity in several instances in their messages. Additionally, the solidarity frame is an important component of their use of address forms, with the unexpected use of *usted* by P1's network. This might be tied with the regional identity component as the culturally significant way of expressing *confianza* with another individual from the same community.

From a broader perspective, we can examine Ecuadorian Spanish in relation to other Romance languages, particularly Portuguese and Romanian to understand larger patterns that might exist in Romance languages. Cook (2013) notes that there are perhaps three sociocultural values at play in address systems, adding to Brown and Gilman's dichotomy of T/V a third option, N, for neutral forms, proposing a scheme something like this in Portuguese:

O senhor (V) - *você* (N) - *tu* (T) (Cook 2013)

This representation shows the system of European Portuguese, which has clearly distinguished forms coterminous with each value of V/N/T. However, the address system of Brazilian Portuguese more closely parallels that of Ecuadorian Spanish, since it permits address forms to have a dual function of. This pattern is also found in Romanian, which we will present now in a comparative fashion:

Brazilian Portuguese: *O senhor* (V) - (tu) → *você* (N/T) (Araújo Carreira 2005)

Romanian: *Dumneavoastra* (V) → (*dumneata*) → *tu* (N/T) (Slama-Cazacu 2010)

Both of these systems permit a pronoun to have a dual function, in these cases as serving as a neutral and solidarity function. This is exactly what happens in Azogues, except that the pronoun that is used in different manners is the traditionally formal pronoun, instead of the traditional solidarity pronoun. The case with European Portuguese is also important due to its complex system of nominal address forms which are used to mark formality, in addition to its verbal morphology and pronoun inventory (Araújo Carreira 2005; Manole 2012). We can characterize the Azogues address system, as seen by the data representation in this study, in the following manner:

Formal (V): *Usted* + titles, names in low frequency

Neutral (N): Null pronoun + 3rd person verbal forms

Solidarity (T): *Usted* + HT, KT, personalized and intensified titles and names

Tú (rarely *vos*) + nicknames

Much work is needed to verify these results in a broader context in Azogues and Ecuador; however, the data found in this study indicate that the address system can be characterized in this manner.

CONCLUSION

If we reflect on the questions that this study sought to answer, we can see the answers to these questions in the data itself. First, this study sought to address the characteristics of the address system of the Ecuadorian informants of the study and how forms were used to mark formality and informality. The results of the study have shown that *usted* is used by P1's group to *both* mark formality and informality, while P2 and her group prefer *tú* for informality and *usted* for formality. KTs and HTs are preferred by P1's group, while P2's group prefers nicknames as means of expressing informality in nominal address forms, while titles and names express formality. More broadly, this study has addressed how each pronoun is used in these communities. *Usted* is typically a marker of deference and distance that can be made into an informal marker with nominal forms. *Tú* is rarely used by P1's group but an important pronoun choice among P2's group, marking informality. Finally, *voseo* is not used in any form by P1's group and only very rarely in P2's group. The results of this study add to our knowledge of how address forms are used in Ecuador and present a complex picture of how address forms are used and interpreted by interlocutors in social interactions.

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