

Martin Hummel

Diachronic research on address in Portuguese and Spanish

Abstract: This chapter provides a critical synopsis of the current state of research on address in Portuguese and Spanish.¹ The comparative approach, using two typologically and culturally related languages, provides evidence for the value of contrastive methodologies, especially if grounded in cross-linguistic functions or concepts. The chapter therefore analyses the consequences of the typological discussion of *pro-drop* languages for addressing, and vice versa. Variation plays a major role in both the synchronic dynamics and the diachronic change of language. In this context, permanent *crisis* is pointed out as a major property that distinguishes address from other linguistic domains. From a diachronic point of view, a pluralistic approach is proposed that integrates the study of visible diachrony, language elaboration, effects of norms and education, as well as diachronic reconstruction.

Keywords: address, diachrony, discourse tradition, education bias, Portuguese, (*anti*) *pro-drop* tendencies, reconstruction, Romance languages, Spanish, *Sprachausbau*, standardization, *voseo*, crisis

1 Introduction

The majority of the work on the synchrony and diachrony of address systems in Portuguese and Spanish deals with specific aspects, such as sets of texts (corpora), single items or paradigms (e.g., subject pronouns; or one such pronoun), and certain periods. This is unavoidable since the sociolinguistic complexity of address in synchrony and diachrony requires an extensive and differentiated documentation in comparison to other research domains. Gaps in documentation must therefore be filled before we can seriously tackle a synthesis of the diachrony of address based on linguistic variation. This research activity should not exclude, however, the discussion and further development of theoretical and methodological reflection. In this respect, the chapter's bibliography produces

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an overall impression that theoretical and methodological reflection is limited or lacking. Major hypotheses guiding research on diachronic change in address systems of Romance languages are crucially missing (see also Tuten 2008). This chapter outlines theoretical and methodological aspects that may guide research in the future. Consequently, the arguments developed here are not meant to be an endpoint but a reference to start discussion.

Cross-linguistic comparison provides a powerful method for the identification of general features of address that may be used in turn to formulate theoretical frameworks. Not surprisingly, one of the major advances in address research, Brown & Gilman's 1960 study on "power and solidarity", has such a contrastive methodological basis. Their article provides a general hypothesis that has guided research to the present day. However, power and solidarity are not necessarily decisive for linguistic behavior in a situation where a young man addresses an old woman, a relation which may be solidary and respectful at the same time. Lopes & Rumeu (2015: 23) classify the relation "son-mother" as asymmetrical, while Martins et al. (2015: 31) consider the same relation as symmetrical and rather solidary. Moreover, asymmetry of power does not exclude mutual *tu* or *você*. Roughly speaking, the terms do not necessarily match the relations, feelings and attitudes of speakers in the complex diversity of situations, nor does power necessarily determine address. It is obviously the speakers' attitudes and communicative goals that guide their linguistic behavior when using or not using socially established patterns. Furthermore, relations of the "father/mother-son" type are not intrinsically only asymmetrical (power) or only solidary/symmetrical. This depends on the practice of each family and each situation, which may or may not activate the parents' power. Hence, it is hard to assume a general determinism of address by objective social relations.

Moreover, the paradigms and the principles of address of the languages analyzed by Brown & Gilman are very similar from a general cross-linguistic standpoint. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the fruitfulness of Brown and Gilman's general theoretical reflections. The long-term background of their hypothesis should not be forgotten when applying the hypothesis to situational behavior, nor should we forget that Brown & Gilman dedicated their last section to "pronouns of address as expressions of transient attitudes" expressing a "momentary shift of mood". This means that the authors were aware of the theoretical limitations. Hence, the problems mainly arise when this theory is uncritically applied to a set of data.

Contrastive approaches are under-represented in research, at least in Romance, possibly because linguistic address is a complex phenomenon whose manifold interfaces require an intimate knowledge of many research issues. In addition, the tradition of Romance linguistics dealing with several Romance languages has

often been replaced by linguistics dealing with single Romance languages. While Germanic countries conserve the former tradition in Romance linguistics, it has become rare in countries of the Romance language family. Research on address has to reactivate contrastive approaches. It should therefore be linked to existing projects adopting a general typological point of view, for example, the current Melbourne MAPET project (Hajek et al. 2013).

First, however, cross-linguistic studies on Romance are required. While the typological perspective tends to exclude common cultural traditions in order to provide evidence for universal or widespread features of address, general political developments such as the interrelated ruling monarchic dynasties in former Europe, as well as democracy and communism in modern times, entail the necessity of placing the diachronic development of address in broader political and cultural contexts shared by several languages. Hence, broader cultural perspectives have to be added to typological ones, similar to research in the domain of politeness. More specifically, Romance languages share a long linguistic *and* cultural tradition ascending to the Roman Empire and Latin. The colonization of the New World, for example, concerns Portuguese, French, and Spanish, including creolization, where the usage of *bos* ‘you’ (< Pt./Sp. *vós/vos*) provides further insights into linguistic practices during colonization. To sum up, several contrastive frameworks should be explored.

This is one of the reasons why the main objective of the conference *Formas y fórmulas de tratamiento en el mundo hispánico y luso-brasileño* (CFFT II, Graz 2016) was to bring together linguists working on closely related Portuguese and Spanish. A draft version of this chapter was already available as a reference for discussion during the conference. The diachrony of address in these languages is indeed objectively related and often comparable, if not transferable. While reading this chapter, one may even feel that the diachronies of Spanish and Portuguese get mixed up at times. This may be problematic. Nevertheless, if we want to stimulate reflection and provide hypotheses, each fact we know about one of these languages may be used as an orientation or hypothesis for the other.

In the following, I shall first question the possibility of defining a linguistic theory of the address system and the use of forms of address (Section 2). Sections 3 and 4 center on the fact that *crisis* is a characteristic feature in both everyday language (situations of address) and in the paradigm of forms of address (system of address). Crisis is considered a major source of permanent linguistic change in this domain. As an outcome of crisis, new models of address and subsequent linguistic variation, *cultures of addressing*, and *discourse traditions* have been developed and undergo changes in diachrony. Section 5 considers the main methods of diachronic research.

2 Towards a modular theory of address

No purely linguistic theory will be able to cover the domain of address, given that address is socially and culturally embedded. However, a modular approach with theories concerning certain domains seems to be possible. For this purpose, it is crucial to be aware of the limitations of each such approach. In the following, I will discuss the methodological advantages and short-comings of various approaches, regardless of the fact that the authors I refer to usually include complementary considerations that compensate for some of the shortcomings. I thus do not aim to criticize the authors, above all because it is obviously legitimate and even advisable to choose a methodologically well-defined approach. I simply intend to promote a methodological discussion.

2.1 Grammaticalization theory

Grammaticalization theory provides insights into the diachronic development of nominal Sp. *vuestra merced* ‘respectful and reverential address (lit. *Your Mercy*)’ to pronominal (grammaticalized) *usted* ‘you’, ‘respectful address’ (see, e.g., de Jonge 2005; de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009; Sáez Rivera 2006, 2014a, 2014b). However, it does not provide opportunities to take into account the impact of language policy, e.g., the 16th century Laws of Courtesy (see 5.3.2), nor does the prevailing tendency to provide one-dimensional clines of grammaticalization consider linguistic variation, for example regional variation, or the interplay of orality and literacy. Moreover, the diachrony of writing reflected by a corpus is often supposed to be equivalent to the diachrony of the whole language without discussing the orality-literacy interface.² Obviously, grammaticalization theory can be developed towards a more differentiated analysis. In this sense, Sáez Rivera (2006, 2013, 2014a, 2014b) analyzes whole texts, takes into account all variants, suggests studies on dialects,³ and includes, as far as possible, the differentiation of oral and written traditions. But only a metalinguistic commentary from the beginning of the 18th century provides the insight that *usted* had become the spoken variant for written *v.m.*, the abbreviation of *vuestra merced* (Sáez Rivera 2006: 2904). Fortunately, the complexity of address seems to stimulate more differentiated analyses on grammaticalization than in other linguistic domains.

² See the critical analysis of these general aspects with regard to the interface of spoken and written language and variationist diachrony in Hummel (2012: 329–404).

³ A contrastive dialectological study on Andalusian Spanish and European Portuguese has recently been carried out by Lara Bermejo (2015, and in this volume). See also Obediente (2010).

The inclusion of variationist aspects into grammaticalization theory is a step forward, but there are still more profound limits due to the theory itself, which considers diachrony as a genuinely intralinguistic process obeying certain principles and paths. The theory suggests a descriptive explanation of processes leading from nominal forms of address to pronouns. This semasiological⁴ perspective only concerns an isolated aspect of the address system. Paradigmatic relations underlying diachronic selection (onomasiology) are not under scrutiny. The tendency of Brazilian Portuguese to substitute oblique cases such as the dative pronoun *lhe* ‘him/her’ with the more explicit prepositional phrases *para ele/ela* ‘for him/her’ or, in the case of address, with *para você* (*para o senhor/a senhora*) ‘for you (sir/madam)’, is not really a process of *degrammaticalization*, since *lhe* and other such pronouns do not change but are *substituted* by more explicit constructions. This tendency has been related to tendencies from synthetic to analytic grammar, and even to embryonic creolization at early stages of Brazilian Portuguese (Holm 2004; Noll 2008: 183–218). In this sense, the semasiological approach of grammaticalization theory requires an onomasiological complement in order to seize all items covering a given linguistic function, for example, the function of addressing in general or, more specifically, respectful address. All the items sharing work in such a functional domain are crucial for the understanding of address. The onomasiological approach is particularly valuable for closely related languages such as Portuguese and Spanish. It permits the contrastive analysis of diachronic paths consisting of etymologically unrelated units that are used in the same functional domain.

For the sake of example, I discuss a case of etymologically unrelated diachrony. Usually, linguistic analyses semasiologically discuss etymologically related diachronies such as Pt. *vossa mercê* > *você*. By contrast, present-day Pt. *o senhor* does not stem from *vossa mercê*, and *vossa mercê* does not stem from *vós*. However, if we onomasiologically consider the forms of address that convey the conceptual domains of [+ respect] and [+ reverence] in diachrony, the diachronic sequence Pt. *vós* > *vossa mercê* > *o senhor/a senhora*⁵ (roughly: *you* (respectful) > *Your Mercy* > *Mr./Mrs.*) mirrors the following crucial fact: while the linguistic items used to express respect and reverence have undergone successive replacement, the conceptual background has remained rather unchanged. In other words, the linguistic function is a long-term fact, while the life period of the lexical items

4 In Romance, the terms *semasiology* and *onomasiology* refer to complementary methods: the former considers the meaning and function of a given linguistic item, the latter considers all alternative linguistic expressions that are used for the same functional or conceptual domain, e.g. all terms used to address a single person.

5 For the sake of simplicity, here and elsewhere I only refer to the singular form.

that express this function is comparatively short. The linguistic expression of these semantic-pragmatic features being a permanent communicative goal of speakers in diachrony, the relevant linguistic explanation cannot be formulated in terms of grammaticalization or semasiological development, but only in terms of selection, that is, the choice of linguistic items for fulfilling these communicative functions. In this semantic-pragmatic path, first *vós* loses the feature [+ reverence], being replaced by *vossa mercê* for this function; then, the same happens with *vossa mercê*, which maintains this function for some time, while one of its variants, *você*, loses [+ reverence], *vossa mercê* being newly replaced by *o senhor/a senhora* for the expression of [+ reverence]. Only the secondary path *vossemecê* > *você* can be described in terms of grammaticalization. Hence, grammaticalization fails to explain the whole process. The underlying function of the chain, [+ respectful] between equals, and [+ reverential] in hierarchical relations, has been conserved over time, while the units occupying this function were constantly replaced in order to renew the deferential-reverential power of address (see Section 5.2). In more general terms, innovation and selection according to underlying conceptual patterns are more relevant for the diachrony of terms of address than the development of etymologically related items according to semasiological clines. Moreover, a consistent onomasiological approach might offer a solution for the extreme variation of address in America, also because from an overall American Spanish perspective the systems of address and their practices still share a common basis.

Finally, the features of respect and reverence possibly turn out to be diachronic invariants as specific instances of the parameter “distance”. “Distance” will then be opposed to “proximity” with further subcategorizations (“trust”, “intimacy”, “informality”). This suggests creating a theory that integrates these features. The combination of both approaches allows for a more flexible and adequate explanation of address selection, for example, *tuteo* in the relationship between Sancho and Don Quijote as an instance of proximity overruling power, but also the option of a situational change of address as a correlate of power (see Section 3.1).

2.2 Variationist approaches

Variationist approaches that are onomasiologically related to communicative functions therefore seem to be promising as an alternative to monolithic visions of language, especially in a domain where diachrony provides overwhelming evidence for diverging developments, even more so than in other linguistic domains. To mention just one of the many bibliographical references, the landmark study

conducted by Rona (1967) displays the geolinguistic variation of Sp. *voseo*⁶ in Hispanic America. This valuable approach necessarily neglects alternatives and the respective communicative functions of the whole paradigm, not to speak of relevance in terms of frequency. To sum up, variationist approaches need an adequate onomasiological basis.

Variationist approaches belong to the abstract inventory of structural linguistics created in order to analyze the inner structure of paradigms and the distribution of linguistic items. Traditional sociolinguistic approaches try to relate variationist features to extralinguistic features such as age, gender, and socio-economic background, but strategic individual choice in communication is not a relevant issue as far as it is not *determined* by these features. Variationist approaches thus tend to perceive the speaker not as a subject but as an object of variation. This entails fundamental limitations in variationist approaches, which do not capture the fact that speakers are not subject to variation but strategically use forms of address and negotiate their use in interaction (see e.g., Moreno 2002; André 2010; Hummel 2010a; Helincks 2016). If we look at real communication, we have to reject the assumption that speakers “vary” (in the sense of being subject to variation) when they communicate, especially in the case of address, since forms of address are consciously and often strategically or playfully selected. This is also the case in literary texts, where the notion of (individual, genre, epoch) *style* has to be investigated and possibly related to *discourse traditions* (see sections 2.4 and 5.3.5). Strategic situational choice, style, and respect for or development of discourse traditions have to be taken into account in order to counterbalance the biases entailed by structural variationist approaches.

2.3 Retractable and non-retractable systems?

Jucker & Taavitsainen (2003: 14–15) distinguish non-retractable systems, where address is stable, from retractable systems, where address switching is common. However, this is not a matter of the linguistic system, but a matter of culture, since any system itself allows for switching, if more than one option is provided. Jucker & Taavitsainen mention American Spanish as an example of a retractable

⁶ *Voseo* is the use of the etymological second person plural pronoun *vos* and/or the corresponding second person plural verb forms for addressing a single person, similar to the diachrony of Engl. *you*, but including the complete loss of the plural functions. In America, plural address is primarily realized by *ustedes* and/or the corresponding verb forms, while standard European Spanish distinguishes informal plural *vosotros* from respectful *ustedes*. Nominal forms of address are used to further differentiate this practice.

system,⁷ as opposed to non-retractable European Spanish. However, if we take into account the nominal forms of address, it will be hard to find a non-retractable language. The very notion of “retraction” seems to be quite “Germanic”. In German, it is sometimes difficult to switch from respectful *Sie* to informal-confidential *Du*. This change may require rituals such as sharing a glass of wine.⁸ *Retraction* is a serious, conventionalized act which is expressed by the expression *das Du entziehen* ‘to retract *T*’. The negatively connoted notion “retraction” is not adequate for traditions where playfully switching address is an everyday practice. Respectful *usted* in intimacy (*usted de cariño*) has nothing to do with the retraction of *tú*. Brazilian friends simply addressing me with *Hummel*, do not retract anything, but instead convey a high degree of trust and sympathy in that moment.

In Portuguese and Spanish, retraction is generally restricted to initial negotiation (see also Section 3.3). Hummel (2002) relates the reaction of a Portuguese middle-class woman in her sixties who refused to be addressed with *você* in a supermarket, saying *De onde a senhora me conhece?* (‘Where do you know me from, senhora?’). Virginia Bertolotti reports a similar case in Uruguay, where *tú* was rejected in the same terms: *¿Nos conocemos?* (personal communication). Address rituals are more likely to happen when intimacy (Mexican “romper el turrón”) or respect (“compadrazgo”) are upgraded.

2.4 Discourse traditions

Koch (2008) suggests applying the theory of *discourse traditions* to the analysis of address. This approach makes sense when applied to linguistic practices of social groups, types of texts, and so on (see Lopes 2011; García-Godoy 2015), but not with regard to phenomena belonging to general language. Once the use of a phenomenon is generalized, its connection with a discourse tradition gets lost. Again, these limitations do not exclude the utility of this approach for certain issues, for example, the diachrony of address in commercial letters. Koch (2008; see also Gutiérrez Maté 2012) himself chooses the discourse-tradition

⁷ One can obviously question the assumption of American Spanish being a single system in the domain of address. American Spanish has developed a complex culture of variation in discourse directed to one and the same person, thus facilitating address switching.

⁸ Jucker & Taavitsainen (2003: 14). The *Du* > *Sie* transition in German is certainly easier than it was in former times (Clyne et al. 2009: 48–49), but it is still far away from the liberal address switching in the American varieties of Portuguese and Spanish.

approach in order to analyze the diachrony of Sp. *vuestra merced* > *usted* (see Section 4.2.4).

Another scenario for discourse traditions can be identified for Sp. *tú*. It would obviously make no sense to describe this standard form of address in Spain in terms of a discourse tradition, but it has been shown that in the early 20th century “progressive” university students changed from usual *usted* to innovative *tú* for in-group communication (Molina Martín, in this volume). Similarly, “academic *tú*” is a relevant discourse tradition in present-day Chile (Hummel 2002) and Uruguay (*tuteo magisterial* ‘tu used by teachers’, see Bertolotti 2015: 73, 269). It would be interesting to investigate whether the academic traditions are related. Note also that these discourse traditions concern leading social groups.

The social stigmatization of *usted* and the preference for using *tú* in Cuba can be interpreted as a discourse tradition in the political context of communism. However, reducing the analysis to a discourse tradition results in serious limitations, insofar as the sociocultural background has to be taken into account. Combining the theory of discourse tradition with sociolinguistic theory would not be sufficient for an analysis in this case, because politics and ideology have also to be considered. An interesting case is It. *lei* ‘usted’, which was first used in its original function as an anaphoric feminine subject pronoun replacing the nominal address *Vostra Signoria* (*Vossignoria*) in discourse. Interestingly, the nominal having been introduced, according to some, during the two centuries of Spanish domination, “foreign” *lei* was banned under fascism in the early 20th century in favor of “traditional” *voi* (from Latin *vos*), a measure which in turn played again in favor of *lei* after the Second World War (Renzi et al. 2001: 350–375).

2.5 Cognitive approaches

Cognitive approaches are rather marginal in address research, but plural forms used for addressing a single person (e.g., Sp. *vos*, Pt. *vós* (out of use in standard),⁹ Fr. *vous*, It. *voi* (most persistent in Southern Italian), Ger. *Ihr* (old-fashioned)/*Sie*) have been explained in terms of metaphorization (Listen 1999: 40–49). However, this approach concerns a detail in the larger domain of strategies used to avoid direct linguistic items for direct address, preferring indirect deictics for direct address (e.g., third person singular Sp. *él/ella*, Ger. *er/sie/es*). Consequently,

⁹ Correia (1954) relates regional instances of *vós* still being used in Portugal in the 1950s. See also Hammermüller (1993, and in this volume), and, for present-day use, Lara, in this volume, as well as for Brazil, e.g., Martins et al. (2015).

possible functions of metaphor must be placed into the more general theoretical framework of indirect address. The fact that the plural is transposed from its source domain to a new target domain is rather banal. The case provides evidence for the problems of simply applying a meta-theory to linguistic phenomena. Research may take relevant aspects into account, but there will be no simply cognitive linguistic or simply sociolinguistic explanation of address. The only domain where cognitive linguistics could possibly provide more insights is understanding the cognitive background of underlying conceptual patterns deriving from general human behavior, which could provide a coherent basis for the above-mentioned onomasiological approach.

2.6 Social and grammatical determinism

Social determinism is one of the most frequently applied theories in the domain of address research. The groundbreaking work of Brown & Gilman (1960) suggests that the long-term transformation of feudal society to democracy explains the expansion of T-forms for informal address at the expense of V-forms for respectful address. It has been noted that complex linguistic systems of address, as in the case of Portuguese and many areas of American Spanish, cannot be reduced to a binary type of determinism (de Oliveira 2005). Determinism also conflicts with the culture of switching forms of address with the same person in American Spanish. However, it should be noted that Brown & Gilman focus on long-term tendencies rather than grammatical rules for the use of forms of address in communicative situations, even if such situations are used for empirical evidence. As pointed out in Section 1, this theory needs complementary theories dealing with attitudes, situations, and communicative strategies.

Traditional *grammatical rules* such as “mutual *tú* in family communication in present-day European Spanish” only work up to a certain degree. The culture of switching address in American Spanish conflicts with this traditional approach (e.g., Hummel 2010a, Quesada Pacheco 2010; Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 229). It is interesting, however, that grammatical rules work much better in the European varieties of Romance languages. This could be the outcome of stronger standardization and normalization in the history of the Old World. The simplistic point of view adopted by the T-V model of Brown & Gilman can possibly be related to the rather simple systems of address in most of the European languages. This aspect will be discussed as “education bias” in Section 5.3.6. European Portuguese may be seen as an exception because of the rich varieties of address in use, but one can also discuss it as a more fine-tuned type of normalization.

2.7 Pragmatics

In view of these problems, one may be tempted to argue that pragmatics could do the job. Pragmatics often appears to be an attractive alternative to the shortcomings of traditional linguistic approaches. But then we have the same problem as in pragmatics in general: there is no general pragmatic theory, but several theoretical modules. The reason for this is just the same as for the address system. If we abandon the (limited) structural linguistic analysis, language necessarily produces interfaces with non-linguistic parameters such as interaction, situation, culture, society, communicative strategy, ideology, etc. Consequently, theory is necessarily modular, each module being adapted to its domain.

If we disregard the above-mentioned limitations, *pragmatic linguistic approaches* are certainly crucial for the analysis of the great variety of effects that are observed in specific situations. *Face theory* provides useful analytical tools for the study of situational behavior. As Bertolotti (2015) repeatedly shows, *face* relates further to in-group vs. out-group behavior, including groups such as “age”, and “gender”. The very morphosemantics of Sp. *nosotros* ‘lit. we others’ and *vosotros* ‘lit. you others’ provides evidence for the relevance of this feature (see also Dankel & Maté, this volume).

Another crucial feature is the opposition of private and public communication. A striking fact is the repeatedly observed change of frequency in the case of BPt. *tu* vs. *você*. While *você* clearly prevails in situations where the informant knows that s/he is being recorded, *tu* is more frequent than *você* in secret recordings. Thus, the proportion of *você/tu* in overtly recorded vs. secretly recorded discourse reverses from, roughly speaking, 2:1 to 1:2 in Santos (Santos, SP) and 3:1 to 1:3 in Bahia (see Nogueira 2013: 33, 43–43).

Quite often, it is not the function or meaning of the form of address that changes from one situation to another, but the same meaning produces different communicative effects depending on the situation’s configuration. In Portugal, *você* is problematic only when in a given situation the personal relation is felt to be asymmetrical, while it is rather unproblematic for symmetrical relations in informal contexts. A greater emphasis on *subjectivity* would also be informative. A sociolinguist may classify a speaker as a member of a group according to his/her real age, but this speaker may subjectively feel young, matching his/her linguistic behavior to this perception or pretension (while younger people may simultaneously reject his/her strategy, perceiving it as intrusive). This points to *negotiation* as a relevant feature of situational behavior, including tension and conflict.

2.8 Politeness

Lebsanft (1990) suggests compensating for the limitations of Brown & Gilman's determinism by adding a theory of *politeness*. However, the dichotomy “polite/impolite” cannot be applied to all types of interaction (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 11), not only because dichotomies are inadequate, if we do not take them as simple heuristic devices. As an example, in a football team communication is simple and direct. In this context, neither lauding nor offensive nominal forms of address can be analyzed in terms of (im)politeness, which is simply not an issue. Addressing a teammate with a dirty word that in another context would be a serious insult may express a high degree of respect and recognition in a given situation (e.g., Sp. *cabrón* ‘lit. cuckold’, possible translation *bastard*). Politeness may come into play in out-group behavior with another team, together with rude behavior. Similarly, the prevailing feature of Sp. *usted* is not politeness but formal respect (e.g., King 2010: 539–541). The formal (distant) semantic-pragmatic feature may even be used for rather impolite address, e.g., *usted de enojo* (‘*usted* of anger’, see Hummel 2010a). But a father addressing his child with *usted de enojo* is not impolite. Politeness is not relevant here. Consequently, the concept of (im)politeness should not be taken as a basic instrument of analysis. Politeness needs itself to be analyzed with more basic categories (e.g., *face*, general imperatives of interpersonal behavior).

2.9 Conclusion

This brief and essayistic overview is meant neither to be complete and developed in detail, nor to minimize the value of the approaches. What I do claim is that we need a pluralistic theoretical and methodological approach in order to coherently describe and explain what happens with address in language. As already argued, and partly put into practice in Hummel (2010a), synthesis in terms of explanatory coherence helps overcome the limits of single approaches. What we can do is explore domains, develop theoretical modules, and try to formulate major research questions and hypotheses guiding future research in order to achieve a coherent explanation. The result could be a modular theory of address.

3 Address is crisis

Unlike in most linguistic domains, *crisis* is an everyday feature of address. Every time people meet, address is a latent problem that requires a solution. Crisis

also affects the very system of address, that is, the verbal, pronominal, and nominal paradigms, especially the (subject) pronominal paradigm, as we shall see in Section 4. As a consequence, morphological paradigms tend to vary and change (if standardization does not act against variation; see Section 5.3.4). This is at least the case for languages such as Portuguese and Spanish where colonial expansion favored local differences. The term *crisis* is certainly rather suggestive and negatively connoted, but it might fruitfully stimulate the discussion, as has been the case for the suggestive terms *power* and *solidarity*.

3.1 Situational crisis...

Theatre plays and literature in general provide a large amount of probably exaggerated evidence for the manifold types of crisis in specific situations. At work, hierarchy crucially cuts across gender, inasmuch as female secretaries sometimes prefer using V-forms although their male boss invites them to use the informal T-form, for example, *tú* rather than *usted* (Hummel 2002). But Martínez Sariego (2006: 550) refers to the case of a man also using *usted* as a shield. This not only holds for pronouns, as in Sp. *tú/usted*, but also for nominal forms such as Ger. *Liebe Frau Maier* ('dear Mrs. Maier' or 'dear + first name, e.g. *dear Jane*'; boss to secretary) and Ger. *Sehr geehrter Herr Müller* ('Mr. Müller'; secretary to boss), which would be quite usual in Austria. Hummel (2002) quotes the surprise of a Chilean speaker employing V-forms with unknown people, when confronted with general *tuteo* in Cuba. There is no need to add more examples since every speaker knows such critical situations. Speakers generally remember them, which is certainly less the case in other domains. Questionnaires therefore successfully use such questions (Hummel 2010a). On a broader scale, the Laws of Courtesy reflect a widespread social awareness of crisis in the 16th century (see Section 5.3.2).

3.2 ... and techniques for contextual reparation ...

As a consequence of situational crisis, techniques of contextual reparation (neutralization) constitute a prominent domain of research. Sp. *usted* is respectful and distant at the same time. Hence it primarily preserves the *negative face* of the interlocutor. In some contexts, this is felt as not being polite enough. *Positive facework* is required. The addition of a *reverential* form provides an adequate solution:

- (1) — *Disculpe* la hora, pero necesito conversar unas palabritas con *usted*,
señora, si *fuera* tan amable [...]
 (Ampuero 1998: 146; my italics)

‘Sorry for being late, but I need to talk to *you*, *Madam*, if I may’

In this literary example from Chilean Spanish quoted by Hummel (2010a), *usted* preserves the negative face of the interlocutor, a strategy to which *señora* adds a positive, face-flattering element. The underlying general principle is that context and situation can neutralize single semantic features of a form of address. In the example, *señora* does not neutralize the formal politeness conveyed by *usted* because it contains the same feature, but it compensates the effect of distance and emotional coldness conveyed by *usted*, adding reverence (see Calderón Campos 2010; Rigatuso 1988–1989). By contrast, the feature “distance” conveyed by *usted* or Ger. *Sehr geehrter Herr* ‘Dear Sir’ is used as an arm or *shield* by the female employees mentioned in Section 3.1.

European Pt. *você* is traditionally avoided by middle-class speakers, especially by those who are older, because of its downgrading social connotation in out-group communication. However, *você* is a situational variant, not only for young people allegedly influenced by Brazilian usage, but also for other people who know each other in a way that excludes this negative connotation (see also Hammermüller 1980, 1992). Hence, *você* may be used for in-group communication if the speakers want to use a more respectful, but still rather intimate, form of address than *tu*. A similar effect can be achieved in French, combining respectful *vous* with the first name. Inserted in a culture of playful switches of address, the *principle of contextual neutralization/reparation* explains situational variation and catalyzes the development of systematic patterns for this purpose (see already Meier 1951, on *Ausgleich* ‘compensation’ in European Portuguese). Both would be an interesting topic for systematic research. According to recent data, the use of *você* has become widespread in Portugal, but systematic avoidance persists in idiolects as a deliberate option (Melo e Abreu 2013: 280). It is noteworthy that in French the avoidance of addressing or being addressed with *tu* is attested as an occasional idiolectal feature (Havu 2013: 87). In such cases, *vous* is the only pronoun in the idiolect. In more general terms, *vous* can be analyzed as the default of address in French, a fact that calls to mind the pronoun *vos* in Old Spanish.

3.3 ... and negotiation

The *negotiation of address* or the playful multiplication of terms of address directed to the same person also correlate with crisis. In a broader sense,

negotiation may be considered as a technique for the construction of individual identity and the definition of personal relations (see de Oliveira 2009; Raymond 2016; Kluge 2016). It should be noted that the goals and effects of negotiation exceed the domain of *face*, insofar as personal relations are concerned as a whole (e.g., the employee-boss relation). This is a serious limitation of *face theory*. *Negotiation* is also a problematic notion, inasmuch as the common meaning of the term presupposes a specific outcome, that is, a form of address being temporarily or definitively established between persons. This cannot account for playful address switching. Hence, the very idea of negotiation may be seen as a projection of European standards onto other cultures. It further presupposes a very individualistic perception of address, which may hold for loosely stratified and democratic European societies but not, or much less so, for hierarchical ones.

3.4 Migration

Recurrent situations of crisis achieving a social dimension seem to be a major aspect related to both diachronic change and synchronic variation. As an outcome of social crisis, new models of address, and subsequent linguistic variation, *cultures of addressing* and *discourse traditions* may be developed diachronically and undergo changes. In a small village in Portugal the complex system of pronominal and nominal address works because everybody knows everybody (see de Oliveira 2009: 420). Mass migration and individual professional mobility have repeatedly affected this situation, for example, the colonial migration of Europeans to America, the migration of rural populations to urban agglomerations during the 20th century, and the migration of Hispanics to the USA. In Mexican families living in the United States, parents often try to conserve asymmetrical address patterns with their children, but the rather informal tradition of using *you* in the surrounding anglophone world provokes crises, for example, when children overtly challenge the tradition of using *usted* to address their parents (see Hummel 2010b).

In modern Western civilizations, people often change the company they work for or they work in different locations for the same company. Internationalization may additionally play a role. The struggle for equal rights and treatment in the domain of gender also affects linguistic address. The increase in the social prestige of youth and “young behavior” during the 20th century has affected the conditions of linguistic change to the disadvantage of changes initiated by groups with a high level of social prestige (“change from above”). Good examples of this are salutation formulae initially linked to T-forms such as Ger. *tschüss*, Fr. *à plus*, It. *ciao*, all of which have considerably increased in frequency. These forms may

also be used for mitigation or reparation, insofar as Ger. *ttschiüss* reduces formality in V-communication. Migration and mobility in general also affect and question the forms of address. Television encourages national standardization and globalization, for example, the spread of *você* among the younger generation in Portugal. This fact is generally attributed to the influence of Brazilian TV productions, but no empirical evidence has been provided for the moment. Be that as it may, language contact certainly includes crisis. All these processes may change the usage of address formulas and thus create conflicts with people attached to tradition.

3.5 Domain-specific neutralization

In established varieties, the national or cultural context can play a similar role of neutralization as in situational contexts. In this sense, the usage of *usted* has been generalized in Mérida (Venezuela) as the unmarked form of address of this variety. At the same time, *usted* consciously marks regional identity against prevailing *tú* in Caracas (Obediente 2009). Similarly, the general usage of *voseo* in Córdoba (Costa Rica) conveys in-group solidarity and coherence, also as opposed to prevailing *usted* in the capital, San José. Weyers (2016) observes an increased prestige of vernacular *voseo* in Medellín (Colombia). In the same vein, Argentinian *vos* expresses national identity, being historically related to the attempt to create the Argentinian language, which is unique in the Spanish-speaking world, and also to the political victory of the lower classes during the 20th century. Other striking cases are politically motivated *tuteo* in Cuba, *usted* being considered as politically incorrect and socially stigmatized, and the generalization of *du* in Swedish in the second half of the 20th century as the counterpart of political and social equality. Hence, the construction of identity by linguistic address and the definition of relations is not only an individual process, as shown in Section 3.3, but also a social process marking in-group and out-group identity. Social or political identity reinforces the frequency of the identitary form of address, which may secondarily reduce the relevance of its opposition to other forms. If *vos* is used as a marker of identity, this not only affects the alternative form *tú*, but also *usted*. *Vos* may thus turn out to be the only form of address for in-group communication, becoming neutral.

Neutralization of features that compose the meaning of a form of address is not only a matter of regional varieties. It also occurs in routinized situational patterns. The use of respectful *usted* in intimate situations of love and personal concern for addressing a beloved person is an established pattern in many parts of Hispanic America. The expression of love is thus combined with high respect.

A similar process accompanies the celebration of *compadrazgo* between men, a sort of fraternization by means of integration into one's extended family (Vázquez & Orozco 2010), whereby people who always used *tú* or *vos* establish *usted* as the standard formula between *compadres*. *Usted* is thus meant to express the highest degree of mutual respect. It has been reported to me that two sisters living in the Dominican Republic started to use *usted* instead of mutual *tú* from the moment one sister witnessed the marriage of the other. In these cases, the new personal relation neutralizes the distance feature of *usted*. Uber (1985: 390) refers to a non-institutional case of replacement in female communication in Colombia:

- (2) When I first arrived in Bogotá, the family I lived with and their friends all used *usted* with me. But after I had been there for a few months, the people I had become closest to began to use *tú* with me. Similarly, if one becomes intimate with someone with whom he/she has been using *tú*, he/she may switch to the *usted* of solidarity for that person.

3.6 Conclusion

The topic of this section may have appeared to be thoroughly well-known. This is certainly right insofar as the examples for critical situations stand for an overwhelming bulk of evidence in the literature. However, I claim that “crisis” is an interesting approach in order to bring together all these phenomena. Crisis is a major feature that distinguishes address from most or all other linguistic items or functions. “Crisis” means “searching for solutions”. These solutions appear in contexts that include situational pragmatics, regional differentiation, linguistic patterns, personal and social identity. As far as colonial Spain and Portugal are concerned, the expansion to the New World acted in a critical way on traditions of addressing people.

Crisis is an important feature of individual and collective use of forms of address. Interestingly, variation driven by crisis may mostly be described in terms of recurrent features such as [+/- respectful], [+/- reverential], [+/- distant-formal], [in-group/out-group], and [public/private]. These features may be ostentatiously reinforced, mitigated or neutralized, at either the individual or the social level. The fact that forms of address have a compositional semantic structure seems to allow a componential type of analysis such as the one suggested by Gaglia & Rivadeneira (2014). The factors in play are possibly too complex for formalizations in the recent theoretical framework of Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 2004), but a matrix of features might provide a useful onomasiological basis for diachronic analyses, at least if applied to languages that share the same

cultural tradition. Wierzbicka (2016) suggests a still more radical approach to address based on cross-linguistic semantic components, which have been tested for European languages only. We should therefore bear in mind that Braun's broad cross-linguistic analysis did not bring to light any universal feature, except one: "address is differentiated in any language" (1988: 304).

4 Crisis in the linguistic address system: typology and paradigmatic relations

The permanent crisis of address in the linguistic system itself is a striking fact, if compared to other systems or paradigms. In addition, research on linguistic address intersects with a prominent typological topic: the "omission/deletion" or "insertion" of subject pronouns in so-called *pro-drop/non-pro-drop* languages, a discussion mainly stimulated by the diachronic development in Brazilian Portuguese in the 19th and 20th centuries (sections 4.1 and 4.2). However, the use of subject pronouns for address cannot exclusively be explained with *pro-drop* features. In particular, the fact that negative connotations and effects prevail in quantitative terms over positive ones requires an explanation that includes nominal forms of address (Section 4.3). In addition, the denominal diachrony of Pt. *você* and Sp. *usted* causes problems for simply analyzing the properties of their use in terms of subject pronouns. Pt. *vossa mercê* and Sp. *vuestra merced* were obviously created for overt usage. Hence, their successors, *você* and *usted*, may have simply inherited this property at least for a certain time. On the other hand, they may have promoted the overt usage of traditional subject pronouns.

4.1 Personal pronouns in pro-drop languages

Personal pronouns (*I, you, he, she*, etc.) are deictic items, that is, they strengthen the operation of reference, being devices for pointing to someone. As a consequence of this, they are potentially face-threatening if the denoted person shares the same situational context. This is particularly true for *I* and *you* since they point directly to one of the interlocutors, while *s/he* points to a third person not directly involved in the conversation. In *pro-drop* languages such as Spanish and European Portuguese, where the T-form or V-form can be simply marked by the verb once the addressee is known in the text or situation, the explicit use of a subject pronoun is unavoidably a syntactically and pragmatically marked feature which reinforces the deixis of addressing. This amplifies the pronoun's face-threatening force.

In present-day European Spanish, most people feel uncomfortable about the personal distance created by *usted* and consequently avoid using it. This is not the case for informal *tú*, but its explicit use is not frequent. Explicitness becomes more frequent when conversation turns out to be aggressive: *¿Y tú quieres darme lecciones de ética?* ‘And you want to teach me ethics?’. In Chilean Spanish, the *vo(s) de insulto* (‘offensive *vo(s)*’) consists of explicitly using *vo(s)*, while the corresponding verb forms do not have this effect; they are simply marked as sub-standard (*voseo tradicional*) or youth language (*voseo culto*; see Torrejón 1986). Note that *vos* had this offensive function in older European Spanish texts as well (e.g., in the Golden Age, see Moreno 2002: 39). In European Portuguese, for many speakers *você* is aggressive and pejorative in asymmetrical out-group communication. The corresponding third person verb forms could not convey this pragmatic effect since they also combine with respectful or reverential *o senhor, a senhora*. According to Argentinian informants, the explicit use of *usted* is systematic with the *usted de enojo* (‘*usted* of annoyance’), but rather unusual with the *usted de cariño* (‘loving and caring *usted*’). Both patterns vary in the same type of relation, according to a situation’s emotional loading (parents to children, teachers to children, a couple). These examples suggest that the explicit use of the subject pronouns tends to convey negative connotations. This means that the usage of pronominal forms of address in *pro-drop* Romance languages is particularly susceptible to crisis.

Interestingly, the plural forms are never problematic: Sp. *vosotros* (informal), *ustedes* (formal), Pt. *vocês* (plural of *você*). In southern varieties of German the informal plural *ihr* (T-form) is often accepted for addressing a group of persons, even if the individual address is formal *Sie* (V-form). The plural seems to be perceived as less direct, at least with regard to the individuals who compose the group. Addressing an individual is certainly more face-threatening than addressing a group or an individual as a member of a group. *What are you guys going to do?* may well be directed to a single person, but it foregrounds group membership, which in turn transfers a part of the individual responsibility to the group. In view of general claims of pragmatic theory, indirectness is a universal feature of avoidance strategies (see also Brown & Levinson 1987: 198–203, Hammermüller 2010: 510). Plural forms of address mitigate the face-threatening potential of the deictic act.

It is possible that the plural also neutralizes the upgrading reverential features of the singular form. This could have played a role in the expansion of the plural *ustedes* in Andalusia and America. In line with this, Morgan & Schwenter (2016) claim that European *vosotros* tends to be used as a generalized plural for both *tú* and *usted*. This means that it also compensates for possible downgrading effects of familiar *tú*. Hence, there are universal pragmatic reasons for a general

tendency of making fewer distinctions in plural address. Is there, then, a general or universal neutralizing force of the plural from a structural linguistic point of view? I believe instead that the crucial point is that the plural is less relevant for both face-threatening and face-flattering effects. This is confirmed by the fact that both Sp. *vosotros* and its German equivalent *ihr* conserve their informal nature. Consequently, informality or, if one prefers, solidarity, is better accepted for plural than for singular address forms. Diachronically, *vosotros* was a suppletive plural of *vos* used for singular address. Hence, *tú* had no plural of its own, even at times when *vos* was used for respectful address.

By contrast, *usted* has developed a plural form. Diachronically, *ustedes* is the plural of formal *usted*. De Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen (2009: 1641) consider the plural as an innovation which was possible once *vuestra merced* was grammaticalized to *usted* (plural *ustedes*). However, the nominal plural *vuestras mercedes* also existed. It consequently appears in contracted forms. In the Algarve, Pt. *vossemecê(s)* (< *vossa mercê*) has both singular and plural forms (see also Basto 1931; Ali 1975: 95). Hence, we have to distinguish the functional possibility of forming the plural, which holds for all variants, from the empirical issue of diachronic attestation. The plural Sp. *vuestras mercedes* is indeed documented (de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009: 1646), as is Pt. *vossas mercês* (Basto 1931: 184). Possibly, the dynamics of language elaboration (see Section 5.3.3) plays a role as well in that, for pragmatic reasons, elaboration may primarily aim at introducing singular forms of address, which will consequently be more prominent than their (potential) plurals. Similarly, innovation first yields subject pronouns and only secondarily affects the oblique ones, producing mixed systems (e.g., *a vuestra merced os digo* ‘formal *Your Mercy* combines with informal/neutral *you*’; *a vos te digo* ‘informal *vos* combines with informal *tú*’). Hence, it would come as no surprise that innovative *vuestra merced* was integrated into a mixed system where *vosotros* was conserved for the plural, at least in terms of frequency (see also García 1994; Calderón Campos in press).

Using third person pronouns is another technique for indirect addressing. In dialects of German, third person pronouns are used for second person address, including the neuter pronoun *es* for female children: *Was macht Er/Sie/Es denn?* ‘But what is s/he (= are you) doing?’. A similar technique has been observed in the diachrony of Spanish, where it probably compensated for some time for the loss of prestige of *vos* (see also Bentivoglio 2003: 178):

- (3) — ¿Y él no habla nada? ¿Y ella es soltera o casada?

“‘And *he*, doesn’t *he* say anything? And *she*, is *she* unmarried or married?’”
(Tirso de Molina, *apud* Hammermüller 2010: 514; my italics)

The same strategy is transposed to nominal forms of address used with the article in Pt. *o senhor/a senhora* or in Ger. *der Herr, die Dame, die Herrschaften* ‘(What does/do) *the gentleman, the lady, the gentlemen* (desire)’. The latter sound old-fashioned but are still used today by people serving in smart restaurants, hotels, and similar situations. Consequently, subject pronouns of address are particularly face relevant, but the paradigm also offers solutions for the mitigation of face-threatening risks. The risks concentrate on the direct forms of address for both the T-form and the V-form. These are also the forms that tend to be newly introduced, thus potentially triggering further changes and crisis in the paradigm.

4.2 Personal pronouns in non-pro-drop languages

Romance varieties marked by a so-called *non-pro-drop* tendency, which would be better termed a *pro-insert* tendency, do not develop face-threatening risks using singular forms for direct address. In French, *tu* and *vous* are not face-threatening at all, if they are appropriately used. The same holds for Brazilian Portuguese, not only for generalized *você* but also for *tu*, which may be marked as substandard or simply informal, for example, in Rio de Janeiro (see Lopes et al. 2009; Silva 2011; see also Pöll 2015), but not as insulting. Unlike French, Brazilian Portuguese has not completely lost its *pro-drop* nature, inasmuch as the subject pronoun is often absent once the referent has been introduced (some authors use the term *semi-pro-drop*; see also Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 116–120). This notwithstanding, Brazilian Portuguese has a clear tendency to frequently use overt subject pronouns (Duarte 1993; see also Duarte 2012). In the 19th and 20th centuries, however, the pronoun *tu* was not explicit in all occurrences of *tuteio* in a corpus of letters written in the Northeast (Bahia) (Martins et al. 2015: 32). This means that at that time *tuteio* was simply realized as a combination of nominal forms of address (e.g., Christian names) and the *tuteio* form of the verb. It would consequently be problematic to assume a leading role of *tu* for the *pro-insert* tendency.

Since the diachrony *vossa mercê* > *você* and the subsequent usage of third person verb forms for address functionally presupposes the explicit use of the nominal, at least at a first stage of development, we may instead assume a pioneering role of this nominal pronoun for using explicit subject pronouns. In the Bahia corpus, the rate of explicit use indeed increases with *vosmecê* (100%) and *você* (56%). This means that the nominal address was the driving force of the *pro-insert* tendency. The fact that the nominal address was progressively grammaticalized as a pronoun has led to the present-day *pro-insert* tendency. A similar corpus of letters from the southern state of Santa Catarina displays a very similar situation (de Souza & Coelho 2015).

It is noteworthy that in the diachrony of Caribbean Spanish the explicit use of subject pronouns is (i) particularly frequent with second person pronouns (unlike first person, etc.) and (ii) within second person pronouns it is increasingly favored according to the hierarchy *vuestra merced* > *usted* > *tú* (Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 282–283). In other words, *tú* favors the explicit usage more than, for example, first person *yo*, but the *pro-insert tendency* is still more favored by *vuestra merced*. Newall (2016: 165–166) observes the following hierarchy of explicit subject pronoun use in Colombian Spanish (Cali): *tú* > *vos* > *usted*, with *vos* almost as frequent in raw figures as *usted*. Newall draws attention to the fact that the “subject expression rate of *voseo* was high despite its low verbal ambiguity”, that is, there is no functional need for using the pronoun. In the same vein, Bertolotti (2010, 2011) provides evidence for higher overt usage rates of *usted*, compared to *tú* and *vos*, in 19th century Uruguayan Spanish. The fact that the rates of explicit *usted* decline over time, without however reaching the low levels of *tú* and *vos*, supports the hypothesis of “diachronic memory”, that is, the persistence of subsequent effects tracing back to the nominal origin of *usted*. Bertolotti further shows that the functions of *usted* qualitatively differ from *tú* and *vos*, to the degree that *usted* is not fully integrated into the subject pronoun paradigm. Sánchez López (1993) goes as far as to consider *usted* an anomaly in the Spanish pronominal system.

In sum, *pro-insert* is related with address in general (second person) and with the nominal origin of *usted* in particular. All this obviously does not explain why the *pro-insert tendency* appears in Caribbean Spanish, but not in European Spanish. In the case of European Portuguese, the introduction of respectful *o senhor/a senhora* and the negative connotation of *você* are likely to explain why overt pronoun usage is less frequent than in Brazil.

Contrastive analyses of Pt. *tu* vs. *você* usage confirm the pioneering role of the reduced nominal *você*. In 19th century Rio de Janeiro, the degree of explicit use was higher for *você* compared to *tu* (Lopes & Machado 2005; Rumeu 2013). This was probably a heritage from *vossa mercê* for expressing respect-reverence. This would also mean that the overt use of *você* is not a consequence of a development from a *pro-drop* to a *pro-insert* language, especially because this was not the case for *tu* (Rumeu 2013: 277). The heritage of *você* could have been the basis for this pronoun promoting the *pro-insert tendency*. However, the fact that in Spanish *vuestra merced* > *usted* did not produce a *pro-insert tendency* in the long run shows that the same diachrony does not necessarily produce the same tendency. Be this as it may, the tendency to explicitly use all personal pronouns has become a major feature of present-day Brazilian Portuguese.

In Argentina, *vos* is also often explicitly used. The case of Argentinian Spanish is different, however, inasmuch as it is a *pro-drop* language where the use of *vos* has been developed for reasons of national and social identity, not to speak of the

fact that the economic and political context has long been in the hands of rural elites. *Voseo* was commonplace in the whole Río de la Plata region (Bertolotti 2016). Using *vos* as a symbol was welcome, albeit not for all social classes, and was rejected particularly in the education system (see García Negroni & Ramírez Gelbes, this volume). In spite of distinct historical contexts, the fact that Pt. *vossa mercê* > *você* and ArgSp. *vos* show individual prestige in the first case and ideological prestige in the second, provides evidence for the fact that positive valorization strongly favors explicit usage. We may possibly relate it in more general terms with the specific feature [+ reverence].

4.3 Nominal forms of address and communication culture

The fact that negative connotations and effects of subject pronouns prevail in quantitative terms over positive effects cannot be explained by *pro-drop* features. The decisive factor is probably a paradigmatic one: the preference for nominal forms of address for reverential address, especially in European Portuguese (Meier 1951), but also in Spanish (Calderón Campos 2010). One of the distortions created by the grammatical and linguistic description of Romance traces back to the fact that the focus of analysis and teaching concentrates on pronouns. We say that *tú* or *usted* is used, while in most cases it is simply the verb that marks the person. In fact, the prevailing type of address is using a nominal form, generally the first name, at least at the beginning of a conversation, continuing with verb forms without using explicit pronouns. It is noteworthy that singular forms for nominal address largely prevail over plural forms. This deficit in plural nominal forms suggests the hypothesis that the explicit use of pronouns could be relatively more frequent in plural than in singular, for example, Sp. *vosotros* or *ustedes*. Nevertheless, nominal forms of address are favored in communications between several speakers because they permit individual differentiation (André 2010), while plural pronouns only serve for collective address. Vocatives should also be taken into account (see Sonnenhauser & Noel 2013). Portuguese marks the vocative with the morpheme *ó*: *Ó Carlos!* ‘Hey Charles!’ vs. *o Carlos* ‘lit. the Charles’, the latter being used for both nominal address and simple denotation of a third person.

A second bias has recently joined the linguistic tradition of preferentially studying pronouns. The method of exploring digitalized corpora for research, for example, for the analysis of grammaticalization paths, tends to misguide research since nominals and verb forms are generally overlooked. Whereas the latter causes problems such as morphological ambiguity due to diachronic syncretism, nominal forms of address are of concern because they are an open paradigm. Given the huge number of nominals, the parsing of corpora will at best attest the

nominals we look for and which have been previously identified, but an exhaustive analysis would require the reading of the texts, not to speak of the bulk of nicknames used in spoken language. Consequently, most work concentrates on pronouns or selected nominal forms. It is probable that the discussion on the “retraction” of address (see Section 2.3) suffers from a “pronominal bias” as well, insofar as nominals and plural may be playfully used. The study of nominal forms is therefore a major area for research.

According to Cintra (1972: 15), the nominal forms of address in Portuguese constitute the *level of courtesy*, an expression I would replace by *level of reverence*. Consequently, the other levels (first level: pronouns, second level: verb forms) are not the levels of reverence. In European Portuguese, the nominal system is used whenever the knowledge about a person allows for it. Cintra distinguishes four components at the level of nominal courtesy: (1) differentiation of gender (and number) in formal politeness: *o senhor, a senhora* (to add: *os senhores, as senhoras*); (2) social or professional differentiation: *o senhor dr., a senhora dra.*, etc.; (3) kinship: *pai* ‘father’, *mãe* ‘mother’; and (4) the name: *o Antônio, o Manuel, a Carolina, a D. Carolina* [= *a Dona Carolina*]. Every adult speaker is likely to use all these four types several times per day. The list of available nominals fills pages (see de Oliveira 2005). In European Spanish, only the fourth domain is systematically used, and sometimes the second (e.g., *Emilio, professor*), generally without title. Nevertheless, address usually starts with the first name. Hence, the nominal paradigm of Spanish is less differentiated than that of Portuguese, but both languages share the fact that nominals dominate addressing, secondarily allowing for their replacement by pronouns or simple verb forms. If the preferred solution for positive facework is a nominal form of address, pronouns are likely to be perceived as less positive markers, which is already a negative connotation.

In line with Cintra, Jucker & Taavitsainen (2003: 11) allude to “positive politeness”. This is, however, a simple fact of usage in a society and in situations where politeness is an imperative. In functional terms, nominals are simply more explicit, which includes “positive rudeness/discourtesy”. Face-threatening nominal vocatives such as Sp. *cabrón* or Chilean Sp. *huevo* ‘insult such as, e.g. *bastard*’ can be discussed as a counterargument to the above-mentioned tendency (see also Gutiérrez-Rivas 2016). As a matter of fact, Cintra’s ascription of nominals to the level of courtesy represents only one side of the coin. So why does the use of pronouns favor negative markedness? This is probably due to the fact that respectful address prevails in communication, being generally expected by the interlocutors. Explicit nominal address best serves full respect. In other words, our *communication culture* favors respectful and reverential nominals. Consequently, the tendency of pronouns to convey negative connotations corresponds to our communication culture.

The notion of *communication culture* seems to be useful because one easily conceives that Brazilian Portuguese has a communication culture that favors address switching as a means of positive facework and personal attention. Even the surname may be used as an affective variant of address (*Hummel*, also with the vocative *ó Hummel*), while it would be offensive in German or Spanish. This culture is much less developed in Europe, with European Portuguese being the most advanced in this context (see above *D. Carolina* as a respectful and even tender form of address). In a similar way, positive facework with nominals is more developed in Austrian German than in Germany (e.g., *Herr Doktor*, *Herr Professor*, *Herr Direktor*, etc., are currently used in everyday communication). While the notion of *discourse tradition* has a limited scope for research on address (see sections 2.4 and 5.3.5), the broader term of *communication culture* seems to provide a necessary element for understanding the pragmatics of address. As is obvious, the term contains a diachronic dimension in the sense of *communication traditions*. *Communication culture* is a necessary counterpart to situational face theory since the interaction depends also on cultural patterns.

4.4 Do subject (pro)nominals control the verb and the oblique pronouns?

An interesting domain of research is the relation between pronominal and nominal forms of address and verb inflection. It is generally assumed that the second person singular pronoun triggers the corresponding second person verb form. However, this principle basically reflects standardized norms of writing. Following this principle, the introduction of Sp. *vuestra merced* instead of *vos* went hand in hand with a change from the second person plural form of the verb (used for second person singular address) to third person singular (Old Sp. *vos cantades* vs. *vuestra merced canta*). But *vuestra merced* has long been used with second person plural (see below). Subsequently, the grammaticalization *vuestra merced* > *usted* conserved the third person verb form for deferential address. Hence, nominals used for address do not control the verb as directly as nominal subjects in other types of utterance (see Lara, this volume, on nominal used as topics vs. subjects).

4.4.1 Pronouns controlling the verb?

Syntax is scarcely taken into account by research on address. It plays a marginal role in de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen (2009), which is a coherent and differentiated study from other points of view. According to Hammermüller (2010: 522), syntax

is however a decisive factor in the diachronic process that replaces the pronoun *vos* by the pronoun *usted*, changing the verb form from second person singular to third person singular:

(4) ¿*Vos cantáis, vuestra merced?* > ¿*vuestra merced, vos cantáis?*

> ¿*vuestra merced, cantáis?* > ¿*vuestra merced, canta?*

> ¿*vuesa merced, canta?* > ¿*usted canta?*

‘Do you_{v2} sing_{v2}, Your Grace? > Your Grace, do you_{v2} sing_{v2}?

Your Grace sing_{v2}? > Your Grace sings_{v3}?

Your Grace [shortened] sings_{v3}? > Usted [still more shortened] sings_{v3}’

[the indices “v2” and “v3” refer to polite Sp. 2nd person plural referring to a single person and 3rd person singular, respectively, M.H.]

According to this simplified path of grammaticalization, the initially postposed nominal form *vuestra merced*, used as an apposition, conquers first the initial topic position, then the subject position, replacing the pronoun *vos*. It consequently starts to control the verb, which adopts the third person (but not in all varieties; see Lara, this volume). Finally, phonetic reduction leads to a series of opaque morphemes, such as *vuesa*, which converge to the grammaticalized pronoun *usted*. In other words, the general claim of grammaticalization theory that foregrounds the role of “local context(s)” for grammaticalization implies the crucial role of the specific syntactic context. Changes mostly start by local syntax imposing a new function to an item. Only syntax explains how *vuestra merced* was enabled to control the verb. It is noteworthy that research on address needs a broader definition of “local context” than most other types of grammaticalization. In a given text, nominal forms of address are needed in order to license the subsequent use of pronouns or verb forms as a place holder. In discourse, nominal forms of address and the first occurrence of a pronominal place holder or the bare verb forms may be separated by several utterances, especially in *pro-drop* languages, since the *pro-drop* effect holds for both the noun-verb and the pronoun-verb relations. This considerably enlarges what should be considered as the pertinent “local context”. Complementarily, Bertolotti (2017) draws attention to the role played by the internal syntax of noun phrases used for address in diachrony.

This notwithstanding, the scenarios evoked in the phrases at (4) above concern the narrow local context. *Vos* and *vuestra merced* were not exclusive in the beginning but complementary. According to the first item and the example quoted by de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen (2009: 1640), *vuestra merced* played the same role as *señora* in the Chilean example quoted in 3.2; that is, it added the feature [+ reverential] to the feature [+ respectful] conveyed by *vos* (see also Calderón Campos 2006).

According to this pattern, *vuestra señoría* ‘Your Honor’, *vuestra excelencia* ‘Your Excellency’, *vuestra alteza* ‘Your Highness’, *vuestra majestad* ‘Your Majesty’ (see Section 5.2.3) were added to express scales of reverence. In more general terms, *vuestra merced* assumed the function nominal forms of address have up to the present day. This analysis also provides evidence for the fact that *vos* and *vuestra merced* were competing in the same context. In terms of hypothesis, this could explain why *usted* and possibly Pt. *você* replaced contextually co-occurring *vos/vós* in areas such as Mérida (Colombia) or Brazil, without relevant competition from *tú/tu*, while later colonization involves increasing relevance of the latter as a consequence of changes located in Europe. In other areas such as Costa Rica, *usted* still competes with *vos*, with new liberal attitudes favoring the latter (see Section 5.5).

In the case of Brazilian Portuguese, however, it seems that the partial erosion of the verbal paradigm (with the exception of the first person singular) is prior to or independent of the rise in use of the correspondent subject pronoun. The usage of the unmarked verb form with *tu* in regions such as Maranhão, where *tu* is traditionally used, might confirm this hypothesis, insofar as the loss of the second person morpheme -s cannot be explained by the replacement of *tu* by third person pronouns, since these never came into use in a significant way (Alves & Scherre 2015). The process of morphological simplification is often seen as an instance of creolization (see Holm 2004: 80–83), but this term has to be taken in a very broad sense, close to language contact in general and linguistic restructuring provoked by crisis. This discussion is certainly thought provoking, but, clearly, it has to be set on more solid empirical grounds.

At present, the following pronouns combine or may combine with third person singular verb forms in Brazilian Portuguese, such as the verb *fazer* ‘to do’:

(5)	<i>tu</i>	(you.2SG)	<i>faz</i>	(do.3SG.PRS.IND)
	<i>você</i>	(you.2SG)	<i>faz</i>	(do.3SG.PRS.IND)
	<i>nós</i>	(we.1PL)	<i>faz</i>	(do.3SG.PRS.IND)
	<i>a gente</i>	(the people.3SG(1PL))	<i>faz</i>	(do.3SG.PRS.IND)

This situation can again be diachronically compared to French where *je, tu, il/elle, ils/elles* combine with verb forms that only differ in spelling, not in their oral realization, as in the following examples of the verb *chanter* ‘to sing’: *chante, chantes, chante, chantent*. In both languages, the tendency to replace the first person plural by generic Pt. *a gente* or Fr. *on* is very strong in oral communication, also with third person singular (Fr. *on fait*). Both pronouns favor the use of the singular verb form (but in Europe Pt. *a gente fazemos* (do.1PL.PRS.IND) is used as well).

Note also that in both Brazilian Portuguese and French explicit subjects are often repeated by the pronoun, even in abstract topics such as discourse on syntax:

O sujeito, ele vem antes do verbo. Le sujet, il vient avant le verbe (lit. ‘The subject, it stands before the verb’). Since mutual influence of French and Brazilian Portuguese can be excluded for historical reasons, the analogies support the relevance of typological factors (*pro-insert* tendencies). This holds also for the usage of subject pronouns to replace oblique pronouns (BPt. *veja você* ‘I see you’, see below).

4.4.2 Subject pronouns controlling oblique pronouns?

The controlling force of subject pronouns on oblique pronouns is rather weak in the domain of address in American Spanish and Portuguese. Sp. *vos* (second person singular) generally combines with accusative-dative *te* morphologically corresponding to *tú*. Similarly, Brazilian *você* may combine with both *te* (T-form) and the V-forms for accusative *o/a* (masc./fem. ‘him/her’) and dative *lhe* ‘to/for him’, the latter being rarely used. Innovative dynamics have started to replace these pronouns with the subject pronoun in the case of accusative (BPt. *veja você* ‘I see you’) and a prepositional phrase for dative (*Dou isso para você* ‘I give this to you’), with still more variants, but the traditional accusative-dative pronoun *te* still prevails. A similar tendency can be observed for Argentinian and Uruguayan Sp. *vos* and corresponding usage of *a vos/para vos*. This is obviously not due to creolization but to restructuring

The direct object corresponding to BPt. *você* or *tu* may be realized as *te*, *você*, *o/a*, zero, *tu*. It is possible that the recent increase in use of *tu* in the urban sub-standard variety of Rio de Janeiro simply follows the path made by *você* (see also Lopes et al. 2009):

- (6) *Você faz. Eu vejo você. Digo a você. Faço para você. Dou para você.*

‘lit. You do. I see you. I tell to you. I make (it) for you. I give (it) to you’

- (7) *Tu faz. Eu vejo tu. Faço para tu. Dou para tu.*

‘lit. You do. I see you. I make (it) for you. I give (it) to you’¹⁰

The variants in (6) are also used for writing, whereas those in (7) are from informal spoken language. It is noteworthy that *Faço para tu/você* and *Dou para tu/você*

¹⁰ The translation into English is the same in both cases since either *você* or *tu* may be used with the same pragmatic range as Engl. *you*, as if English had a second pronoun for the same functions.

include the previously mentioned zero realization of the direct object pronoun (see also canonical European Pt. *Faço-o para ti* or *faço-to; dou-lho*).¹¹

For both historical and synchronic-variationist reasons, variation seems to be more basic for language than the “one-correct-solution” model. The rather systematic usage of etymological oblique pronouns in European Portuguese and Spanish therefore suggests an explanation based on stronger standardization in Europe. The linguists’ canonical vision of control does not match with more playful combinations in the present and in former times. In fact, standardization does not act against complexity, as shown by the differentiated address system in standard European Portuguese, but it certainly restrains switching and morphological variation.

4.5 Conclusion

According to my purpose of suggesting general hypotheses, this chapter has singled out the relevance of typological features and questioned the canonical view of subjects controlling the predicate and the oblique pronouns. Typological approaches are widespread for the cross-linguistic analysis of subject pronouns, as in the discussion on *pro-drop* vs. *pro-insert* languages, but address research has not thoroughly integrated and questioned this approach. In addition, nominal forms of address are crucially relevant for the usage and the functions of pronouns. The paradigmatic relations between both should therefore be taken into account. Finally, syntactic relations including oblique pronouns and prepositional solutions have to be integrated, not to speak of more general aspects of communication culture.

5 From synchrony to diachrony to synchrony

5.1 “Downstream” and “upstream” diachrony

The history of a language is almost always conceived as a diachronic process from its beginnings up to the present. Consequently, research follows time. In truth, this method only provides the history of the written language since only written

¹¹ See Rumeu & de Oliveira (2016) on the diachrony of non-subject *você* (bibliographic overview and new data).

texts are available for diachronic research, except for very recent times. Hence, there is a serious written language bias (see, e.g., Maas 2010; Kabatek 2012). The shortcomings of this approach cannot be identified within a methodology relying on the analysis of written sources.

All accessible present-day language data, including orality and dialects, are results of diachrony. Hence, it is legitimate to investigate the history of these data. Doing this, we quickly find out that not all existing data have their history documented in written texts. Some are not documented at all. This is obviously the case for pronunciation, where indirect evidence such as rime or orthography has to be considered. Others are underrepresented. This is the case for typically oral discourse markers, which are scarcely documented (Ocampo 2006) or seem to appear abruptly, for example because literature starts to dig out substandard registers in order to more objectively document the surrounding world. A good example is the Chilean slang discourse marker *cachái* ‘you understand?, got it?, right?’ Most people and linguists suggest an explanation as an Anglicism (< *to catch*). This has been convincingly refuted by Gille (2015), who started from present-day trying to retrieve data supporting its genuine Spanish etymology. In the domain of address, problems would probably appear if one wanted to retrieve the history of richly used nicknames in *barrios* or urban neighborhoods of Hispanic American cities (see Placencia 2010). In the same vein, the variants in (7) are unlikely to be found in written texts. They will at least be very underrepresented compared to spoken language. This situation can be extrapolated to the past, that is, written texts must not be confounded with the language as such. These arguments are a strong claim for combining *downstream diachrony* (following the timeline) with *upstream diachrony* (tracing back along the timeline).

Methodologically, a combination of approaches is needed in order to counterbalance written language bias. The first approach is the traditional documentation of *visible diachrony* according to the available written texts (see Section 5.2). It can be argued that certain text types such as private letters provide a window to spoken communication in the past. The second is the study of *language elaboration* (*Sprachausbau*) (see Section 5.3). It is important to know how the written language transforms underlying spoken practice if the linguist wants to separate both. In other words, the question *What is oral?* requires the complementary one *What is written?* The third approach is *diachronic reconstruction* on the basis of synchronic variation (see Section 5.4). Diachrony develops from past synchronies and synchronies result from diachrony. Hence, we have to ask for the most probable diachrony of present-day oral data and for what they may tell us about history. All three approaches have shortcomings and include speculation. The best way forward is therefore to combine them in order to provide mutual control. The synthesis of the approaches provides the ultimate means of methodological control (see 5.5).

5.2 Visible diachrony in written texts

5.2.1 Incomplete documentation and the risk of generalization

Simon (2003b) provides an example of how misleading documentation may be. The three available 13th century manuscripts of the German *Nibelungen* saga diverge to the point that the same protagonists use different forms of address depending on the manuscript. This shows that standardization had not yet been achieved. In addition, one easily imagines what would happen if only one manuscript had been conserved, as is often the case in the earliest period of language, and if these data had been extrapolated to common usage. The results would create a false picture of uniformity. Moreover, linguists are likely to accept this because they expect it. Europeans (and the educated in general) are accustomed to standardized languages and thus tend to expect similar situations in other cultures and epochs. As a consequence, the extrapolation of a simple, non-representative situation found in one text is likely to cause less surprise than complex but more representative situations (see Section 5.3). Witness Díaz Collazos (2015: 276) referring to the “sense of chaos” caused by the use of address in the Golden Age, and León (2008: 1910) alluding to “socio-communicative anarchy”, as if this would have been tolerated in the 16th century. These all are reactions of speaker-linguists accustomed to rule guided standards. Again, the data in (6) and (7) show that rich variation is possibly a more fundamental feature of language than rule guided uniformity. In other words, we linguists have to be aware of our own “bias of the educated”.

5.2.2 Analyzing texts supposed to closely reflect orality

In universal terms, written texts available for diachronic research do not directly represent practices of oral communication. In particular, the visible diachrony of written texts tends to reflect the colonial linguistic standard promoted by Portugal or Spain, with Brazil more radically drifting apart since the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, the retrieval of the oral tradition is highly relevant for the development of the Spanishes in America and Brazilian Portuguese. For this reason, linguists pay special attention to texts supposed to best reflect orality such as private letters, theatre plays, and court proceedings documenting oral testimonies.

Research on address, especially by Fontanella de Weinberg in the late 1960s (see synthesis in Fontanella 1999), was a precursor in this domain long before general interest in writing the history of American Spanish began to increase

during more recent decades. Following this tradition, theatre plays are systematically used for describing oral practice in the Spanish Golden Age (e.g., King 2010; Moreno 2002). The Brazilian research group on the diachrony of address from the 19th century to the present, coordinated by Célia dos Santos Lopes, uses data based on private letters. Similarly, the *pro-insert* tendency of Brazilian Portuguese was developed by Duarte on the basis of theatre plays (Duarte 1993; see also Duarte 2012). On the one hand, theatre plays and letters are indeed among the most valuable sources for analyzing the diachrony of spoken language with written documents. On the other hand, any transcription of informal oral communication in present-day communications shows that plays and letters do not directly reflect orality. Systematic studies on how orality is transformed by written texts are crucially lacking. Retrieving traces of spoken language in written texts therefore remains intuitive rather than systematic.

For reasons of genre and style, theatre plays tend to use asymmetrical forms of address excessively in order to increase social and personal tensions, aiming to create suspense or to mark or stigmatize characters, for example, Sp. *él/ella* as a feature of the servants' discourse in Golden Age theatre (Ly 2001; see also Eberenz 2000; Anipa 2001). Playful innovations such as *uced* and *usasted* are only documented in such sources. Do they reflect orality or are we dealing with inventions in literature? Similarly, in an analysis of just five contemporary Chilean novels, Hummel (2002) finds a rich variety of different patterns of address. Conflict, irony, and humor frequently accompany address. The corresponding address patterns provide evidence for possible functions and conventionalized scenarios but they do not represent everyday practices in terms of relevance or frequency. In this sense, *uced* and *usasted* certainly testify to a situation of speakers being uncertain about the pronunciation. However, we cannot be sure that they really have been used – except if they could be found in several texts. At any rate, reality has been selectively amplified in the rhetoric of theatre plays.

Letters are no less determined by imperatives of genre, at least in former times. However, letters written by semi-literate writers may provide evidence for everyday practices. Individual style may help as well. Rumeu (2013: 284) quotes an explicit commentary from 1904, where the author of the correspondence under scrutiny affirms not to “grammatically control his sentences” and “to mix up *tu* and *você* as he always used to do”. This may be considered an early testimony to the liberal attitude of Brazilians with regard to norm in oral communication, which is currently a major feature. Although the general tendency of written texts is that they may not directly match the spoken language, the example shows that there are texts reflecting innovative oral practices, even if this holds more for type than for token frequency. In this sense, the documented replacement of direct and indirect object pronouns (*veja-o* ‘I see you’, *dizer-lhe* ‘say to you’) in 1908 by

the subject pronoun (*vejo você* ‘I see you’ or *dizer a você* ‘say to you’) (Lopes et al. 2011: 334, 340–341, de Oliveira 2015¹²) and explicit commentaries on the preferential usage of the latter in Rio de Janeiro in the 1940s (Nascentes 1949–1950: 68) clearly document an oral practice in recent history.

The written documentation of testimonies giving oral evidence in court has been fruitfully used for detecting traces of orality, as in Company Company’s *Sintaxis histórica* (see also de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009). According to García Godoy (2015), *usted* is documented in the discourse of witnesses as early as the 17th century, while its first attestation in letters occurs a century later. Hence, the diachrony of *vuestra merced/usted* appears to vary according to the type of sources. This means that we have to be cautious when using standard corpora such as the diachronic corpus of Spanish CORDE. However, the fact that Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 245) attests the use of *usted* in a letter from Santo Domingo written in 1661 shows that incomplete documentation crucially biases our conclusions. Considering that the written language tends to be restrictive with regard to traditions and innovations of the spoken language, I would argue that the sporadic documentation of *usted* reflects an advanced stage of using *usted* and similar variants in spoken Spanish.

In sum, in spite of the unavoidable limitations of methods using written texts for uncovering oral practices, the combination of several sources and the internal richness of the texts provides some evidence for the diachrony of spoken language.

5.2.3 Semasiological and onomasiological diachrony

In the introduction, I have argued in favor of onomasiological approaches to diachrony as a means to link etymologically unrelated but diachronically connected items. I have also argued that semantic-pragmatic features such as “reverence”, “respect”, “informality” seem to have long-term relevance, even if their social relevance may change in terms of token frequency, as in the case of “reverence”. Since these features seem to have cross-linguistic relevance, the onomasiological approach is particularly valuable for contrastive analyses. Simon (2003a) stresses the cross-linguistic value of the category “respect”. However, for the reasons exposed in Section 1, I will not follow Simon’s analysis of “respect” as a subcategory of “politeness”.

¹² Again, these are the same variants we find in French: *je vous vois*; *je vous le dis*, *je le dis à vous* (marked variant).

In order to illustrate this type of analysis, Figure 1 places the relevant forms of address in a tentative onomasiological schema based on the concepts of reverence, respect and trust, following the diachrony for both Portuguese and Spanish.

Century	14th	15th	16th	19th	21st
Reverence	Pt. <i>vossa mercê</i>		<i>vossa excelência, senhoria</i> , etc.		
	Sp. <i>vuestra merced</i>		<i>vuestra excelência, señoría</i> , etc.		
			<i>vossa mercê</i> <i>vuestra merced</i>	Pt. <i>o senhor/a senhora</i>	
Respect			<i>você</i>	Pt. <i>o senhor/a senhora</i>	
			<i>usted</i>		
	Pt. <i>vós</i>			<i>você</i>	
Confidence	Sp. <i>vos</i>			<i>usted</i>	<i>usted</i>
			<i>você</i>		
			Pt. <i>vós</i> Sp. <i>vos</i>		
	Pt. <i>tu</i>			EPt. <i>tu</i>	BPt. <i>você</i>
	Sp. <i>tú</i>			Sp. <i>tú</i>	
					BPt. <i>tu</i> ASp. <i>vos</i>

Figure 1: Onomasiological outline of the diachronic development in the domain of address.

In the 14th century, even the king was addressed by Sp./Pt. *vos/vós*, and he himself used it with his vassals, if there was no intimate relation justifying *tú/tu*.¹³ To take the case of Portuguese, *Vossa Mercê* starts to be sporadically used in the 14th century, and *Vossa Alteza/Vossa Senhoria* in the 15th, with the first examples being placed in the discourse of foreigners (diplomats), by Castilians

¹³ I use the modern orthography.

(*Vossa Mercê*) and Italians (*Vossa Alteza/Vossa Senhoria*). These are increasingly used from the second half of the 15th century, first directed to the king (also *vós*) and to high nobility. In 1460, *Vossa mercê* was the most usual form of address for the king (Cintra 1972: 22). This supports the assumption that it was not used to any significant degree outside the court. However, the reverential power of the nominal form *vossa mercê/vuestra merced* diminished as a consequence of other newly introduced, more prestigious variants of the same pattern “*vossa/vuestra* + other honorifics than *mercê/merced*”. Hence, there was a permanent top-down pressure that negatively affected the upgrading features expressed by items situated at a lower level.

As shown in (4), *vossa mercê/vuestra merced* could be added to the respectful subject pronoun *vós/vos*. This shows that local syntax directly activated the opposition of the features “reverence” and “respect”, which obviously favored the implicature of “(only) respectful, not reverential”. In a process starting in the 16th century, these nominal forms, which were themselves pushed down, progressively replaced the pronouns as a means of expressing respect. Consequently, *vós/vos* were downgraded from the domain of respect to the domain of confidence, while nominal forms started a twofold diachrony. The bleaching of the reverential feature of *vossa mercê/vuestra merced* was particularly strong with their phonetically reduced variants *você/usted*. It was the latter that finally replaced *vós/vos* in the domain of respect. Unlike Spanish, Pt. *o senhor/a senhora* replaced the “*vossa* + honorific” pattern in the 19th century. While respect was still a feature of using *você* in 18th century colonial Brazil (Marcotulio 2010), in the long run *você* underwent further attenuation towards a rather neutral or informal form of address in current Brazilian Portuguese. Present-day usage of European Pt. *você* shares the features of downgrading out-group members and respectful confidential treatment of in-group members with Sp. *vos*, as long as this pronoun was competing with *vuestra merced*, roughly speaking until the end of the Spanish Golden Age, that is, until the last decades of the 17th century (see synthesis by Bertolotti 2015: 96–103, 114, de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009). This similarity could be due to general (universal?) properties of in-group vs. out-group behavior, which are not reflected in Figure 1. Figure 1 only claims that the forms of address contain semantic-pragmatic features. These features may produce different effects, for example, according to in-group or out-group behavior.

In sum, we may hypothesize two processes. First, a general diachronic tendency (diachronic invariant?) of reorganizing the address system according to the (universal?) socio-pragmatic parameters of respectful plus reverential and respectful minus reverential address in the context of distinctive in-group vs. out-group behavior. Second, the transmission or inheritance of features such as “respect” from one morphological form of address to another.

5.3 Sprachausbau (*language elaboration*)

5.3.1 General aspects

The theory of *Sprachausbau* (Kloss 1967, 1978), that is, the “elaboration of language for specific purposes” such as writing, provides a general framework for the study of languages in relation to cultures, which aim at developing the spoken language for socially relevant, new types of communication (e.g. writing in general, telegrams, short messages, twitter, braille). *Discourse tradition* may also be related to such efforts. In Section 2, I have argued that innovation and selection are major features of diachrony. *Sprachausbau* takes into account the fact that the diachrony of many languages is marked by efforts deployed in order to enrich, purify, standardize, and teach the language. In more general terms, Kloss holds that there are languages that naturally differ by their inherent typological distance, but there are others which differ essentially as a consequence of cultural “elaboration”. To give an example, during the last decades empirical research has shown that the main reason why Latin *varieties* split into Neolatin *languages* was the development of area specific traditions of writing with subsequent standardization (Wright 1983, 2002, 2011; Herman 2006). Hence, the Romance languages are far from simply having developed from regional varieties of Latin. Reading any medieval Spanish text it becomes apparent that some constructions no longer in use in standard Spanish continue to be of common currency in standard Portuguese. In America, the deans of linguistic policy, Andrés Bello (1781–1865) and José Rufino Cuervo (1844–1911), made efforts to avoid the splitting of American Spanish into different languages, as had happened with Latin. Consequently, they acted in favor of creating a common American Spanish standard of educated speaking and writing. However, illiteracy in Ibero-America restricted the impact of such efforts compared to Europe. In contrast to Spanish, the tendency of creating their own national norms accompanies the recent history of Portugal and Brazil, as well as efforts to avoid the two norms drifting apart, such as in orthography.

It comes as no surprise that language elaboration is exactly one of the points where the New and the Old World drift apart. In most cases, research questions ask how a particular idiosyncrasy of the American varieties came into use, such as *voseo* in the domain of address. However, the question should often be put the other way round. Hummel (2013) shows that the normative movements of 17th century purism (e.g., foundation of academies), 18th century rationalism (e.g., preference for rules), and 19th and 20th century schooling (e.g., manuals) were quite successful in eliminating certain variants by virtue of maxims such as *bon usage* ‘good use’, *génie de la langue* ‘genius of the language’, *clarté et logique*

‘clarity and logic’, ‘speak as you write (e.g., whole sentences)’. Since the impact of these movements was less strong or less profound in the American varieties, many traditional variants have more continuity in use than in Europe. In the same vein, Noll (2008) discusses many cases where the innovation has to be attributed to Portugal, not to Brazil. This is of methodological interest, since American usage may be used for the reconstruction of oral diachrony in the European varieties.

5.3.2 The Laws of Courtesy

In the domain of research on address, a relevant effort to elaborate and normalize the system has been deployed by Philip II of Spain. The extra-linguistic historical context was the Empire of the Habsburg Charles V (1500–1558; Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation). Charles V’s son, Philip II of Spain (1527–1598), promoted the so-called *Leyes de Cortesía*, also named *Pragmática de tratamiento y cortesía* ‘Laws of Courtesy’ (1586). He did this not only for Spain but also for Portugal (1597), since Portugal was under the same crown from 1580 to 1640, Philip II of Spain being also called Philip I of Portugal. He followed the tradition initiated by his father Charles V, who introduced the *uso de Borgoña* (‘etiquette of Burgundy’) in 1548. The law tried to put an end to the confusion caused by the people’s desire to negotiate the usage of forms marked for higher social positions, which was apparently felt as a violation of social norms by the ruling class. Table 1 sets out what the law prescribed for both Portugal and Spain, according to the pattern “possessive corresponding to *vos/vós* + honorific nominal”, documented since the 13th century (Moreno 2002: 16–17). The use of *Vossa Mercê* was not fixed by law, and it could therefore be freely used.

Table 1: Honorifics in 16th century Portugal and Spain.

Portuguese	Spanish	Adressees
<i>Vossa Majestade</i>	<i>Vuestra Majestad</i>	King, queen
<i>Vossa Alteza</i>	<i>Vuestra Alteza</i>	Princes, princesses, royal family
<i>Vossa Excelência</i>	<i>Vuestra Excelencia</i>	Legitimate sons and daughters of princes and princesses
<i>Vossa Senhoria</i>	<i>Vuestra Señoría</i>	High nobility and clergy, high charges in administration
-----social demarcation line for the upper class-----		
<i>Vossa Mercê</i>	<i>Vuestra Merced</i>	not fixed by law

In 1739, John V of Portugal newly fixed the nominal forms of address with regard to social hierarchy (*Vossa Senhoria*, *Vossa Excelência*; see Cintra 1972: 31–33). He reacted against the struggle of the rising classes to also be addressed with *Vossa Senhoria* or *Vossa Excelência* during the 17th and 18th centuries (Cintra 1972: 34–35). This meant that they did not want to be addressed with *Vossa Mercê* (see demarcation line in Table 1). This is certainly the origin of the pejorative value later assumed by *você* (< *vossa mercê*). At any rate, the Laws of Courtesy contributed to the increase in prestige of nominal forms of address. This prepared the territory for the use of the present-day V-form *o Senhor/a Senhora* during the 19th century, once civil society replaced aristocratic society (Cintra 1972: 38). To put it another way, the struggle for nominal forms of address in the domain of politeness implicated the loss of prestige of simple *vós*. Secondly, despite once having been the prestigious form to address the king, *Vossa Mercê* was excluded from the prestigious forms, first by the laws of Philipp I/II, and later again by John V.

5.3.3 Sprachausbau and underlying oral traditions

In view of the complex present-day system, Cintra (1972: 16–17) draws attention to the fact that Portuguese nominal forms of address are practically inexistent in the oldest texts (14th and 15th centuries). In a similar way to present-day French *tu* and *vous* (and traditional It. *tu/voi*, still largely used in southern Italy), intimate *tu* and deferential *vós* were used for singular, while *vós* covered both functions in plural. Hence, according to Cintra, the nominal part of the address system was an innovation. This is certainly true for the “*vossa* + nominal” pattern. However, a closer look at old texts reveals familiar nominal forms of address such as *filho*, *mãe*, *tia*, (‘son’, ‘mother’, ‘aunt’), which are still in use today, in both Portugal and Brazil (Luz 1958–1959; Cook 1994–1995; Biderman 1972–1973). Therefore, a differentiated analysis is required that takes into account two traditions: the genuine tradition of using familiar nominals in the private domain, and the constantly elaborated tradition of using honorific nominals in the public domain of formal courtesy in order to express reverence. It is noteworthy that the terms *courtesy* or *politeness* do not fit with the familiar series of nominals. Respect may play a role, but not courtesy.

The fact that French continues to use a very simple T-V system can possibly be related to the historical fact that the relevant part of its present-day territory did not belong to the empire of Charles V and Philip II (Guiter 1959). The equivalents Sp. *vuestra merced*, Pt. *vossa mercê*, It. *Vostra Grazia*, Ger. *Euer Gnaden* are indicators of a common tradition in the domains ruled by the Habsburg dynasty (see

also Hammermüller 2010: 525–526; Maas 2012: 199). It still should be explained why we also find Engl. *Your Grace* (see Cook 1994–95: 81; Hammermüller 2010: 526). All this would be an interesting topic of research within the theoretical framework of *Sprachausbau*.

5.3.4 Standardization

Figure 1 does not single out the impact of standardization. While the Laws of Courtesy (Table 1) concerned a restricted domain of language, even with regard to address, the usage of address was also affected by the general standardization process, such as the orthography of Sp. *usted*. Standardization also favored the usage of *tú*, up to the point that in America the impact of Sp. *tú* generally reflects the influence of the European standard and education. Chilean Spanish is a good example of how normative efforts were made in order to normalize the language via schooling. Generalized education only started in the 19th century with national independence. The elimination of *voseo* was a major issue in this context. In the final decades of the 20th century, rebellious urban youth language promoted the so-called *voseo culto* ‘vos used by the educated’ (Torrejón 1986). Today, the general decrease in normative pressure facilitates the revival of the *voseo*. In Argentina, schoolbooks only recently gave up prescribing *tú* as the correct form instead of the generally used *vos* (García Negroni & Ramírez Gelbes 2010).

Figure 2 presents Simon’s (2003b) synopsis of the diachronic development of address in German, which shows a similar situation of elaboration and reduction.

The reduction of the number of units entering the pronominal paradigm of address is not necessarily related to standardization. If a society needs a differentiated system, there is no principled obstacle for its standardization (see European Portuguese). Brown & Gilman’s hypothesis, which holds that changes in social structure are decisive for the patterns of address in a long-term perspective, also offers a valuable explanation, if we disregard the dichotomous T-V simplification. In the case of Portuguese and Spanish, there can indeed be no doubt that the nominals defined by the Laws of Courtesy no longer correspond to the present-day political and social hierarchy. However, this does not automatically exclude an additional impact of elaboration and standardization. In particular, Brown & Gilman’s deterministic approach runs short of explaining stage I where only Ger. *du* was in use. Was society even more equitable than in stage VI, which refers to present-day usage? That is hard to believe. And what about nominal forms of address? Brown & Gilman’s hypothesis would claim a similar development. This has to be empirically tested.

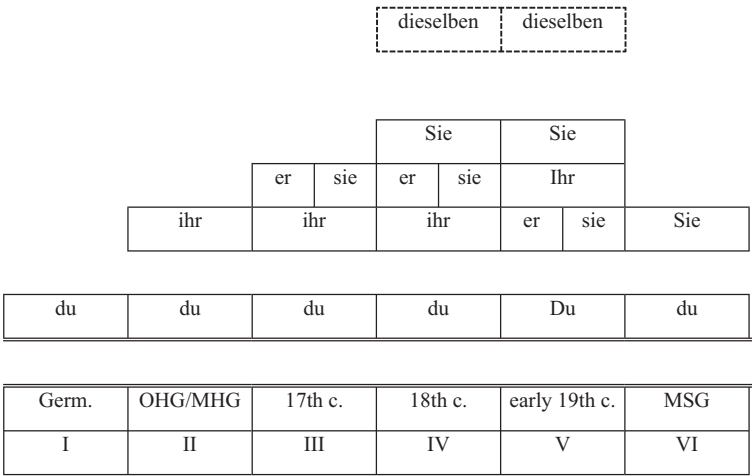


Figure 2: Diachrony of German pronouns used for addressing a single person¹⁴.

5.3.5 Discourse tradition and diachronic change¹⁵

One of the most puzzling questions is the generalization of *vuestra merced* > *usted* to the whole domain of American Spanish long after colonization had started. Still more puzzling is the fact that the same happens with Pt. *vossa mercê* > *você*. The latter is the generalized unmarked form of address in Brazilian Portuguese, while its use in European Portuguese is restricted. This means that the process of expansion of *você* to colonial Brazil has been even stronger than for Spanish *usted*. The topic obviously suggests a contrastive approach.

Do Monte (2015a, 2015b) shows that Pt. *vossa mercê* (> *você*) was the general respectful form of address used in the official correspondence and public communication of the 18th century colonial civil and military administration in the district (*capitania*) of São Paulo, even in isolated parts of the territory. This is clearly a discourse tradition related to a specific social domain of communication. This social practice fulfills the conditions of relatedness with Portugal and of spanning across the whole empire. The contemporary documents analyzed by this author provide evidence for local people adopting this practice in everyday

¹⁴ Germ. = Germanic, OHG = Old High German, MHG = Middle High German, MSG = Modern Standard German.

¹⁵ Discourse traditions could be treated in a section called ‘communication culture’, rather than in a section on *Sprachausbau* (see also Kabatek 2007). However, as the examples show, discourse traditions are not independent of the elaboration process.

life. Apparently, this discourse tradition worked as a model that was taken on by local people claiming the same respectful address. In the long run, the expansion of this discourse tradition was so strong that we cannot detect it any more as such in present-day usage, since it has simply become the prevailing common language form of address. As mentioned above, the grammaticalized variant *você* drifted away from fully transparent *vossa mercê*, in the same way as Sp. *usted* with regard to *vuestra merced* – both reduced forms losing the reverential feature (18th century; see Lopes & Machado 2005; García-Godoy 2012, 2015). In other words, the former morphologically derived from the latter, but both forms coexisted and underwent a process of functional pragmatic differentiation, whereby only the fully transparent variant *vuestra merced* conserved the reverential feature. The process was shared by Portuguese and Spanish.

The fact that, in the case of Spanish, the expansion of Sp. *vuestra señoría* (> *usía*) and *vuestra excelencia* (directed to higher ranks) has also been related to their military and administrative usage (Sáez Rivera 2013, 2014b; see also García-Godoy 2019) provides additional evidence for this way of diffusion. Castillo Mathieu (1982) mentions that *vuestra merced* was the way a soldier addressed his captain in 17th century Columbia, documenting as well its expansion to everyday life (*vuesamerced*). It seems obvious that the official hierarchical organizations respected and transmitted the official usage of nominal forms of address according to the patterns Sp. “*vuestra* + noun” and Pt. “*vossa* + noun”, parts of which were regulated by the Laws of Courtesy for Portugal and Spain under the same king. This common discourse tradition and social practice continued in both languages, providing different local results.

5.3.6 The education bias

As Maas (2012: 25) points out, high levels of formal education make speakers inclined to assume their standardized views of language are shared by the entire population. This means that, as linguists, we are all intuitively inclined to take our standardized vision of language for granted. Extreme examples are schoolmasters who explain the dialects they want to eradicate as results of “linguistic corruption”, as if the people in the region had used standard language at some time in the past. Andrés Bello’s¹⁶ attitude to Chilean Spanish followed

¹⁶ This Venezuelan linguist created and supervised Chile’s national education system in the 19th century. His grammar and his linguistic comments deeply rooted in teaching until recent times.

this line (even if he also acted in defense of American Spanish varieties). Examples provide rich evidence for this education bias.¹⁷ The educated deplore the decline of the subjunctive mood in spoken language (often referring to the out-group of young people), not seeing that the historical development of a written culture favoring hypotaxis unilaterally favored this mood in a process of *Sprachausbau* driving away from orality. Hence, it is not necessarily the oral tradition that changed, but possibly the written one. The *pro-drop* discussion takes the educational ideal of “complete sentences” for granted, but Romance languages are clearly *pro-insert* in nature, that is, they insert a subject pronoun when this is required. No speaker drops a subject, and sentences without overt subject are not syntactically “incomplete”. In the domain under scrutiny, we should not ask why and how *voseo* became widespread in America, in contrast to Spain. The more appropriate question is why and how it disappeared in Spain during the Golden Age (King 2010: 535). However, many people tend to perceive present-day European Spanish as the genuine traditional Spanish. Consequently, American Spanish is felt to have drifted away from Europe.

In the same vein, we should probably not ask why linguistic variation and cultures of address switching “have become common” in America, but why the European countries have adopted simpler and more rule-guided practices of address. To provide a further example, it is generally believed that the substandard second person past tense verb form *tú cantastes*, *hicistes*, etc. (canonical: *cantaste*, *hiciste*, etc.) is an innovation caused by analogy with recurrent -s as a second person marker (present tense: *tú cantas*, *haces*). Most linguists adopt this interpretation. However, we only need to open *Don Quijote de la Mancha* to find *vos pedistes y suplicastes* or *vos pagastes* (Miguel de Cervantes 2015: 5, 69). Hence, diachronic evidence points to *voseo* and not to analogy with *tuteo*. This case is not an instance of innovation but of maintenance. The educated tend to confound norm and standard with linguistic origin. *Tú pedistes* is considered substandard, and consequently, we tend to perceive it as a case of corruption starting off from *tú pediste*. The fact is that *vos cantastes* was the prior form, *vos* being replaced by *tú*. *Tuteo* was superimposed on *voseo*, but the replacement was more successful for the subject pronoun than for the verb form. Informal language conserved the traditional second person form *cantastes* (also in European Portuguese). The educated reinterpreted this form as an analogy to *tuteo* -s. This is obviously also a fact, but the diachronic interpretation is incorrect.

¹⁷ The following and other examples are analyzed in detail by Hummel (2014a). See also Bertolotti (2015: 105) about the tendency “to see the past with our eyes”.

All these historical reconstructions can also be seen as the survival of a “colonial perspective” systematically reducing American varieties to the status of “exceptions” or “deviations”. However, the acquisition of linguistic standards via education seems to be the main factor, since the examples do not simply stand for a European vision. Americans generally put the questions the same way (“Where do the peculiarities of the American variety stem from?”),¹⁸ even if the interpretation of the facts may separate Europeans and Americans (e.g., the discussion on the *Andalusian hypothesis*). The decisive fact is that, at least in the case of Spanish, the standards of writing in different areas are very close. Consequently, linguists from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean have a similar educational bias. They tend to formulate research questions in the same way.

It is noteworthy that standardization and linguistic norms tend to be synchronically perceived as restricting, conservative forces acting against variation and innovation. However, from the diachronic point of view, the development of a culture of writing based on standardization is *the* major innovation in the languages under scrutiny. The fact that we intuitively consider norms as conservative forces reinforces the tendency of projecting our patterns back on the past. As in the discussion on the decline of the subjunctive mood, present-day norms are believed to represent the genuine tradition. Bertolotti (2015: 100–101, 105) rightly argues that we have to pay more attention to variation and to critically view our own convictions. This presupposes that we actively tackle diachrony from the point of view of *Sprachausbau*.

5.4 Diachronic reconstruction

In view of the shortcomings of visible diachrony based on written texts (Section 5.2), the methodology of *diachronic reconstruction* merits more interest. This approach uses data from synchronic linguistic variation in order to hypothesize their origin.¹⁹ In particular, present-day synchrony is the only way to directly access spoken language. The corresponding data are definitively a result of oral diachrony. Hence, present-day data should be used as a starting point for the retrieval of the older usages they stem from. Even if reconstruction is never free from speculation (Labov 1994), it may help in formulating hypotheses for text-based diachronic research. If we know what we are looking for, the analysis of

¹⁸ I would be glad to see one day the publication of a book entitled *Curiosities and deviations of European Spanish*.

¹⁹ See Mühlhäusler & Harré's (1990: 269–277) general reflections on the historical reconstruction of personal pronouns.

written texts will provide better results. To give an example, early documents of Romance convey a very incomplete view of language in use. Reconstruction allows for interpreting a single occurrence of an item as a fact that probably stood for an already common phenomenon in spoken language (see, e.g., Hummel 2013 on 8th century *solamente*). On the one hand, such a single occurrence helps reconstruction to be less speculative. On the other, reconstruction helps to better interpret the scarce data found in visible diachrony. Using synchronic variation for *diachronic reconstruction* is therefore an interesting method in order to counterbalance the written language bias and to better understand oral traditions. Consequently, diachronic analyses based on written documents and reconstruction based on synchronic variation should be combined in order to ensure a mutual methodological control.

Reconstruction presupposes a contrastive methodology applied to variation and variety inside the same language. The comparison of languages sharing a common tradition may provide additional evidence in the tradition of historical-comparative linguistics. In the case of Romance and Indo-European in general, linguistics traditionally uses the historical comparison of languages and varieties for reconstruction. These efforts are generally devoted to the oral tradition. In line with this, Lara Bermejo (2015, and this volume) studies address in Andalusia and Portugal using variationist data to suggest hypotheses about the diachronic origin of the present-day situation. However, common features may also derive from shared cultural traditions, for example, the written tradition. *Language elaboration* is not necessarily an isolated phenomenon. The development of linguistic standards in Europe was culturally embedded in the Greco-Roman metalinguistic tradition. As shown by Hummel (2014b), it was the shared metalinguistic cultural context that made English and Romance favor the usage of the adverbial suffixes Engl. *-ly* and Romance *-ment(e)* during the process of standardization. This means that shared features that are methodologically identified by contrastive analyses do not necessarily point to oral traditions but may reflect close cultural contexts. The latter is obviously more important in the domain of address than, for example, in phonetics.

The rich variety of forms and usages in Hispanic America, which are related to a communicative culture of address switching, contrasts with a rather simple, non-switching linguistic reality in Spain. Recently, Helincks (2016) has documented the Chilean practice of address switching on a broad empirical basis. It clearly comes out that address switching is not a marginal phenomenon but an every-day practice which can be empirically accessed and used for quantitative analyses. In terms of reconstruction, we may ask ourselves how the culture of address switching has developed in America. This is indeed the way the problem is generally stated, especially by Europeans. To answer this question, we have to

bear in mind that American Spanish is, historically, an extension of the Castilian dialect. Consequently, the secondary or tertiary dialects produced by these movements are much more homogeneous than dialects in England or Germany. This historical background makes the rich variety of forms and usages of address in Ibero-America rather exceptional and surprising. But if we assume on the contrary that in 15th century Spain a similar culture of liberal and playful usage existed before standardization minimized this tradition, the present-day reality of American Spanish becomes natural. Despite its many innovations due to the very tradition of playfully using address in a huge territory, American Spanish seems to have conserved an old, liberal tradition. This is indeed the reconstructionist hypothesis we have to suggest for diachronic studies on the basis of present-day variation. An old tradition of variation naturally explains what we observe at present. Hence, the question is not how variation developed in America. Putting the question this way is biased because it carries the implicit assumption that uniformity and regularity were the “normal” or “basic” starting point in diachrony. The right question asks how Europe reduced variation.

Intersubjective validation is an important element in research. In this sense, it is noteworthy that in the presentation that followed my own at the 2015 Munich Conference, where I first presented the value of reconstruction, Calderón Campos (2015) used modern Chilean examples in order to illustrate the communication culture of the 16th century. This does not mean that Chileans talk like people in that century, only that they have conserved a rich usage of nominals and the tradition of address switching. Calderón considered the Chilean usage to be closer to the Spanish Golden Age than present day European Spanish.

The heuristic value of reconstructionist hypotheses consists also in opening our eyes to existing data. In terms of personal experience, I may adduce that after having formulated, at the Munich conference, the hypothesis of address switch being diachronically prior to standardized uniformity, I paid more attention to this point. The following two observations stem from this new awareness.

The first observation concerns the fact that a similar situation of address switching has been occasionally mentioned for Old and Middle French (in addition to the evidence provided by Simon for German in Section 5.3.4; see also Lebsanft 1987):

Dans l'ancienne langue, aucune règle fixe ne délimitait l'emploi de *tu* et celui du *vous* de politesse; souvent même les deux pronoms alternaient dans un même passage. C'est au XVII^e siècle que l'influence de la cour fit prévaloir le *vous* de politesse. Sous l'Ancien Régime, les “honnêtes gens” ne se tutoyaient pas entre eux, mais ils tutoyaient l'homme du peuple. La République établit en l'an II le tutoiement général, mais on en revint sous l'Empire à l'usage d'avant la Révolution.

[...]

En anc. fr. [ancien français], on passait couramment – et sans aucune raison d’ordre affectif – du *tu* au *vous* et vice versa:

Pren la corone, si seraz coronez	Prends _T la couronne, et tu seras _T couronné
O se ce non, filz, laissez la ester	Ou sinon, fils, laissez _V -la là
Je vos defent que vos n’i adesez	Je vous défends que vous y touchiez _V

(*Couronnement de Louis*) (Grevisse & Goosse 2016: 915–916)

‘In the old language, no rule guided the use of *tu* and *polite vous*; they even frequently alternated in the same passage. It was the influence of the Royal Court in the 17th century that acted in favor of *polite vous*. During the *Ancien Régime*, “decent people” did not use *tu* to address themselves, but they used it to address the common people. In Year II, the French Revolution established generalized *tu*, but under the Empire people went back to the usage before the Revolution.

[...]

In Old French, people commonly – and for no emotional reason - switched from *tu* to *vous* and *vice versa* [the indices “T” and “V” refer to Fr. *tu* and *polite vous* respectively, M.H.]:

Take _T the crown, and you _T will be crowned
If not, son, leave _V it there
I prohibit you _V to touch it’

The column on the right-hand side is the Modern French version of the Old French original on the left (12th century). The Modern Spanish translation would be: ‘Acepta la corona, y serás coronado/Si no la acepta, hijo, déjela donde está/Yo le prohibo tocarla’. This means that French has also changed from a switching type practice of address in Old and Middle French to a standardized one in Modern French. This diachronic process is roughly summarized in the first part of the quotation. As in many other domains, the 17th century appears to be crucial for the diachronic change in terms of standardization reducing variation.

The second observation concerns *power and solidarity*. If the practice of address switching was common until the 15th century, roughly speaking, Brown & Gilman’s (1960) theory of *power and solidarity* encounters serious problems. Reading their study again, one discovers that they do not fully feel at ease with the medieval practice. Instead of explaining the medieval usage of address as a consequence of social and political structures, they simply assume that “medieval European societies were not so finely structured” (Brown & Gilman 1960: 256). Since they do not provide any objective evidence for this fact (why should “power” have been less important in the Middle Ages?), it seems that they somehow adapt their vision of society to their knowledge of the practice of address at that time, which was a simple one (see Figure 1). Instead of deducing the explanation of address from the available knowledge about the structure of medieval society, they invent a social structure that fits with the practice of address. In particular, they state that “there was much inexplicable fluctuation between *T* and *V* in

Old French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese [...], and in Middle English” (1960: 255). If this is the case, the scope of their theory is rather restricted to the transition from aristocratic to civil society within the periods covered by the terms *modern English*, *modern Spanish*, and so on. Furthermore, they completely overlook the role of standardization in the transformations of address practice. It is noteworthy that standardization is a common cultural background of the type mentioned at the beginning of Section 5.4. Standardization is characteristic not only of Romance but also of other European languages. It comes as no surprise, then, that the reduction in liberal variation is also observed in English.

In her landmark studies on the diachrony of *voseo*, Fontanella de Weinberg sees the complexity of address in the 16th century as a source of instability (see overview in Fontanella de Weinberg 1999: 1413). The regional diversity of the address systems in present-day Ibero-America is consequently explained as a result of crisis offering several solutions. This is obviously possible, in particular because the new element in the system, *vuestra merced*, was generally used. In other words, its frequency had come to a critical point for its coexistence with *vos*. However, there might be an educational bias and a theory bias (structuralism) in this interpretation of the past, insofar as complex systems are seen as intrinsically problematic. In my view, the competition of *vuestra merced* and *vos* is a historical and cultural fact. This competition is not due to the immanent problems of a linguistic system. Address systems simply match what is needed or wanted for communication. Hence, the causes, if I may say, are not systematic and structural in nature. The fact that a reduced system is perceived as the best one is biased by education tied to the present-day standard. The assumption of inherent instability of systems has also been favored by contemporary structural linguistic theory. The extreme complexity of the current European Portuguese address system invalidates this hypothesis. It is also hard to imagine how complexity could have increased in Spain from the 12th to the 16th century if the natural tendency is simplicity. Even the close competition of plural *vos* with *vosotros* is not intrinsically conflictual but complementary, if the contrast “first person (singular/plural = speaker) to second person (= the others)” is relevant. Then the addition of *otros* may appear as a means to underline this contrast (see García et al. 1990; de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009: 1598–1600, 1607–1614; see also Simon 2005).

5.5 Towards synthesis: the interplay of *voseo*, *tuteo* and *usted*

To say that something is trivial does not mean that it is not true and useful. In this sense, trying to bring together all the many details brought to light by research is an interesting methodology as well. Efforts of synthesis are a powerful heuristic device

which uses explanatory coherence as a means to clearly determine the role of all the single components coming together. On the other hand, synthesis certainly tends to overgeneralize and to sacrifice the heuristic value of some details on the altar of coherence (hopefully not in this chapter). But tidy syntheses might be considered useful provocations that encourage future research. In the following, I will therefore try to join up the loose ends, well knowing that this effort remains tentative.

American Spanish *voseo* is an interesting case. As already suggested, the question should not (only) be formulated in the traditional way of how this peculiarity appeared in America, but also of how it disappeared in Europe. Until the 14th century, *vos* had a reverential (e.g., addressing the king) or respectful (between nobles) function, before it was negatively connoted and suffered sharp decline (de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009: 1636; see also Lapesa 2000: 322–329). At the end of the Golden Age, it was almost out of use in European Spanish, at least according to written texts. Its decline coincided with the rise of reverential *vuestra merced* in the 14th century, whose generalization in the 16th century again parallels the decline of *vos* (de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009: 1638–1641).

In America, the decline of *vos* was areaspecific. In the first thorough study on the diachrony of address in America, Bertolotti (2015) concludes against other hypotheses that the usage of canonical second person *tú* can best be explained as a result of *educational pressure*, that is, a process acting against preexisting *vos*. In Chile, *tú* is still a symbol of education. In their analysis of historical documents, Gaglia & Rivadeneira (2015) show that the subject pronoun *tú* starts being used as late as the 17th century. In the case of *tú*, educational pressure overlaid *colonial pressure*, that is, the transmission of a system where *vos* was progressively missing. The fact that the main vice-kingdoms representing Spain in America, Mexico and Peru, as well as the bridgehead Cuba, almost completely replaced *vos* by *tú* provides convincing evidence for the colonial influence (see Lapesa 2000: 682). In the political periphery, that is, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Central America, interior of Columbia, the colonial pressure was weak because colonization came later and the process was generally not driven by people coming directly from Europe (see the case study on Chile by Sweeney 2005). In these areas, *tuteo* was a matter of educational pressure, that is, a process starting later. In fact, the evidence for educational pressure basically stems from the colonial political periphery. The new model for respectful address, *usted* (about *1629), seems to have been created in Spain (252 cases in the 17th century), the first American attestations having been found in Mexico, Peru, and Paraguay (8 cases) (Hammermüller 2010: 523, de Jonge 2005). This corroborates the “colonial diachrony”: metropolitan Spain > vice-kingdoms (Peru, Mexico) > general usage. Colonial pressure preceded educational pressure, as education only became a major issue for larger parts of the population in the new independent nations (19th century).

These layering processes entail the assumption that *voseo* was the dominant second person address in colonial America. European colonial pressure “from above” and educational pressure “from above” acted as superstrata which won where the colonial and/or educational impact was strong, while they remained secondary or were left to specific geographic or social domains where this type of pressure was weak. Crucially, in the periphery educational pressure specifically implemented *tuteo* amongst the educated, in sharp contrast to surrounding *voseo*. Since nowadays both colonial and educational pressures give way to more liberal attitudes, *voseo* revives, especially as a symbol for social identity (*voseo culto* of young people in Chile, Torrejón 1986), regional identity (Córdoba in Costa Rica) or as a general tendency (Costa Rica: Michnowicz et al. 2016; Chile: Rivadeneira Valenzuela 2016). We might thus assume the acting of present-day *liberal pressure*. This term may be felt as contradictory, but teachers attached to traditional norms clearly feel phenomena such as Chilean *voseo culto* as a threat for good Spanish. Hence, liberalism may be felt as negative pressure by traditionalists. In her detailed diachronic sociolinguistic study of the Andean region of Colombia, the first one of this type, Díaz Collazos (2015) convincingly traces *voseo* back to the beginnings of colonization, having persisted until today against pressures from outside. Liberal attitudes favoring regional identity reinforce the identity *regional pressure* in several regions of the Spanish speaking world.

From the reconstructionist point of view, all this can be interpreted as an indicator of generalized *voseo* in spoken European Spanish in times when colonization began. The types of pressure outlined above acted against this status quo. Since official documents and literary texts are more in touch with individual and social hierarchy, as well as with trends of language elaboration, the available written documents make linguists underestimate the real extension of *voseo* in informal oral communication, and especially its persistence at the time when the Laws of Courtesy became effective. From the point of view of intersubjective validation, it is noteworthy that King (2010), an author working with Golden Age documents, shows himself skeptical about the representativeness of theatre plays, concluding that the commonly used unmarked form of address was probably *vos* and the corresponding verb forms (also Moreno 2002: 44; see also another case of literary bias in the history of *su merced* in Calderón Campos & García-Godoy, this volume). In the same vein, Hammermüller (2010: 525) alludes to a “*vos casi universal*”. This means in turn that the abundantly documented pejorative function of *vos* in 16th-17th century plays (King 2010: 535) possibly reflected an advanced stage in a movement of change from above which at that time had not been taken on to the same degree by the lower classes. At least, we can assume the persistence of respectful *vos* in the variationist landscape of Spain in the beginnings of the 16th century, as shown by Calderón Campos (2002).

More recently, Boluda Rodríguez (2016) provides evidence for the widespread usage of *vos* by the lower classes according to oral testimonies transcribed in witchcraft trials from 1602. This matches the widespread use of *vos* in informal oral communication all over present-day American Spanish, as well as in the Spanish lexified creole *palenquero* (Gutiérrez Maté 2019). In his pioneering study, Castillo Mathieu (1982) concludes that *vuestra merced* and *vos* were used at the same respectful-reverential level in America until the middle of the 16th century. According to Bentivoglio's (2003) analysis of private letters sent from America to Andalusia, *vos* was still highly preferred over *vuestra merced* in the second half of the 16th century, the latter being reserved for formal contexts such as requests or complaints. This points to a generalized usage of *vos* in everyday life, except for marked situations. From the methodological point of view, this is a case where the likeliest diachrony formulated by reconstruction meets the complementary assumption independently formulated by linguists working on historical texts, with the awareness that theatre plays do not really reflect the most common practices of addressing, which are the less interesting ones for dramaturgy.

Portuguese provides additional evidence for the assumption that *vós* was part of the genuine oral tradition. As shown in Figure 1, Portuguese started from a simple *tu/vós* system. Familiar nominals such as *pai* 'father' or *tia* 'aunt' were probably used as well, but typical honorifics such as *vossa mercê* were later introduced "from above". The fact that France, where the loss of Burgundy in 1477 was cruelly felt, did not follow the etiquette of Burgundy adopted by the Habsburgs, supports the hypothesis that the French system was the traditional one in Romance. The above-mentioned usage of It. *tu/voi* provides additional evidence for these pronouns building a common basis in Romance.

The hypothesis assuming a widespread unmarked usage of *vos* in the 16th century conflicts with another hypothesis claiming the expansion of *voseo* by change from above via *hidalguización* 'aristocratization' (see also overview in de Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen 2009: 1654; Díaz Collazos 2015: 263). This hypothesis is fully convincing in the case of the honorifics *vuestra* + *majestad/alteza/excelencia/señoría/merced* (see details in García-Godoy 2019). It also fits perfectly with the role of the colonial civil and military administration observed in Section 5.3.5, including Portuguese. Example (8) shows that the Spanish governor in 18th century colonial Colombia insisted on being addressed as *Señoría*:

- (8) Quizá debido al enfrentamiento que ya se perfilaba por esa época entre criollos y chapetones, o tal vez por el creciente recelo con que la nobleza criolla miraba los avatares de la política borbónica, el nuevo gobernador mandó arrestar al científico español Antonio de Ulloa simplemente porque éste le llamó *Vuesa Merced* en lugar de llamarle *Señoría*. (Lafuente & Mazuecos 1992: 114–115, *apud* Castro-Gómez 2005: 241).

'It possibly was due to the then looming confrontation between *criollos* 'Spaniards already rooted in America' and *chapetones* 'newly arriving Spaniards', or because the local Spanish aristocracy was more and more concerned by the Borbonian policy, the new governor ordered the Spanish scientist Antonio de Ulloa to be arrested, simply because he addressed him as *Vuesa Merced* 'Your Grace' instead of *Señoría* ('Your Honor').'

However, the application of the aristocratization hypothesis to the pronoun *vos* requires further investigation. According to this hypothesis, the high percentage of noblemen in the beginnings of colonization was responsible for the expansion of *vos* as a marker of aristocratic address. However, at the end of the 15th century, *vos* was the default address in use, at least for communication in public. Why should the elite ostentatiously use this pronoun in the New World, while aristocrats in Europe struggled for the use of the above-mentioned honorifics? What should lower-class speakers have used? Did they only use *tú*? Why, then, did Hispanic America not turn out to become a *tuteo* zone? Inversely, we could argue that the formation of an upper class of local *criollos* played against the colonial pressure of increasingly using honorifics, even at the level of upper class behavior, and especially in public discourse, insofar as the creole elite claimed to defend the local population during their struggle for more autonomy and independence. This discourse must have favored the usage of shared forms of address, while it is not convincing at all that this group should have followed the process of aristocratization, which entails identification with the colonial system. Hence, there would have been an *anti-colonial pressure* as well, which is indeed a fact in terms of American history in general. It comes as no surprise that there is empirical evidence for the ostentatious maintenance of *vos* in the upper class until educational pressure came into play, consciously ignoring the norms of the educated (see Sweeney 2005, about Chile). This coincides with the major role of this class in the long process leading to national independence in the 19th century.

In sum, the maintenance of *vos* in the upper class leading the process of independence provides a coherent hypothesis. However, this does not necessarily mean that the other classes did not also traditionally use *vos*. As I will show below, *vos* might have simply been the only relevant pronoun for respectful address in public in the oral tradition of Spanish (and Portuguese). Hence, the usage of the *criollos* would have been just the same as everyone else, in contrast to the innovations imported by colonial pressure. This conclusion, grounded in reconstruction, matches with Eberenz' (2000: 89–102) analysis of the social groups using *vos* in the 15th century, on the eve of colonization, *tú* prevailing only in texts following the model of Classical Latin and religious discourse addressing god. Eberenz goes on to explain the apparently sudden rise of *vos* as an effect of documentation, that is, a phenomenon due to visible diachrony, thus assuming a

covert widespread usage of *vos*, even before the 15th century (Eberenz 2000: 89, 112–113). The fast expansion in the European lower classes of the plural *vosotros* as a substitute for plural *vos* provides indirect evidence for the underlying generalization of singular *vos* used to respectfully address a single person (Eberenz 2000: 74–83).

In sum, both American and European history should be explained in terms of *voseo* being pushed back. While this process was successful in Europe, its marginalization was more or less successful in America, according to the local conditions. This explains part of the manifold regional and social variation in present-day language.

The competing or complementary forms of address, *tú* and *usted*, were newly favored or later introduced through processes initiated in Spain. Hence, it is clear that there has been a layering process whereby *usted* and *tú* were superposed and interacted with the tradition of using *vos* for oral communication, which was the relevant fact, since only a few people were literate. All this does not mean, however, that the extension of *voseo* in everyday life was the same in Spain and its colony. Migration and social melting may have specifically favored generalized *voseo* (see also Moreno 2002: 17), at least if we assume that its negative connotation had not permeated the relevant social groups. In line with this, Eberenz (2000: 90) notes that *vos* was used in the 15th century for addressing unknown persons. The fact that people migrating to the New World abandoned their villages and their families, where address might have been very differentiated, could have reinforced the usage of *vos* as a good candidate for address in a social melting pot where many people must have felt a sense of belonging to their own group, while rarely knowing the others. This is an interesting topic for future research in the linguistics of migration. In what follows, I try to identify the types of pressure exerted on *vos* and other address terms.

The long-term persistence of *voseo* is the major distinctive feature of the colonial periphery. This fact is also crucial for the development of respectful *usted*, inasmuch as this pronoun did not compete with *tú*, as in the colonial political center, but with *vos*. Until the Golden Age, *tú* was used for intimate relations, whereas *vos* was more relevant for respectful address in intimate relations and public communication between persons of equal status. Consequently, theory has to add the opposition of the *familiar domain* and the *public domain* to the opposition of the *in-group* and *out-group domains* (see Section 2). *Usted* came into use as the respectful, somehow less reverential son or daughter of *vuestra merced*. It consequently competed with public and generally deferential *vos* in the colonial periphery. The present-day situation reflects all the possible results of this competition. In Chile, *vo(s)* went to substandard, secondarily undergoing the educational pressure of *tú*. In this case, educational pressure can directly be

related to the influence of Andrés Bello, the spiritual father and rector of the education system in the new nation. This process was probably similar in Argentina (see the landmark study by Fontanella 1971: 495, 506), but in the 19th century national affirmation and the power of rural elites created a situation again favoring *vos* as a distinctive symbol. Significantly, education resisted this influence longest (García Negroni & Ramírez Gelbes 2010). We might say that in this case *national pressure* layered onto preceding colonial and subsequent educational pressure. In fact, in all new nations, national pressure came into play. In contrast to colonial and educational pressure, this pressure was area-specific.

In Central America, *usted* often became the public respectful and *vos* the confidential familiar form. It probably conserved a more respectful component if compared to *tú*. In Mérida (Venezuela), *usted* fully replaced *vos* for both of its traditional functions, that is, the public and familiar, still rather respectful usage. Since *usted* is used in Mérida as a marker of regional identity, as opposed to Caracas (*tuteo*), we can add *regional pressure* as another factor eventually occurring as a reaction against *national pressure* identified with the capital. In a similar way to Brazilian *você*, *usted* never adopts the directness of *tú* as it is used in Europe.²⁰ In the colonial center (Antilles, Mexico, Peru), descending from *vuestra merced*, *usted* easily shared labor with the traditionally familiar and direct *tú*, possibly replacing *su merced*. There was no risk of conflict or confusion. Hence, the main difference between the colonial center and the periphery was the early absence of competition in the former²¹ and the long-term competition of *usted* with *vos* in the latter. Importantly, the *family domain* should not be overlooked. Families often behave conservatively, including hostile attitudes against social pressure, for example, Hispanics in present-day United States (Hummel 2010b). Power asymmetries are not only a property of society, but a frequent correlate of power related to generations, age, and gender in hierarchically organized families. Such families may be responsible for the long-term availability of socially out-dated types of address. Other families may progressively follow trends, for example, address models from other countries (e.g., Fr. *papa*, *maman* providing Sp. *papá*, *mamá* and BPt. *papa/papai*, *mamã/mamãe*; see López Vallejo 2010).

In the case of Brazilian Portuguese, the layering process of *vossa mercê* (replacing *vós*) > *você* (progressively replacing *tu*), whereby *você* became the generalized unmarked form of address in most regions and the standard (see bibliographical

²⁰ *Vos* was used for respectful but not distant in-group behavior in colonial Spain (Bertolotti 2015: 104).

²¹ See however the remnants of *voseo* in Cuba (Román Fernández 1991, Hummel 2010c).

overview in Marcotulio 2010: 19–34 and the geolinguistic overview by Rumeu 2013: 35–52), requires further investigation. Although a considerable collective effort is currently underway in order to bring to light the internal variationist diachrony of Brazilian Portuguese since the independence of Brazil, the diachrony of European Portuguese and its influence on Brazil, as well as reactions against colonial and educational pressure, have been neglected by research. The data analyzed by de Souza & Coelho (2015) point to educational pressure in favor of *tuteio* to the detriment of *você*, but this pressure did not produce a systematic variationist feature in present-day Brazilian Portuguese, where *tu* is often considered substandard (in varieties where *você* prevails). The demarcation line seems to separate the traditional use of *tu* plus agreeing second person verb form, which is canonized by school education, from *tu* plus third person verb form, which violates the normative principle of agreement, being consequently considered a substandard variant. More than in Spanish, the layering process of innovative *vossa mercê* and later *você* is particularly visible with oblique pronouns and possessives used with the same subject pronoun (Lopes et al. 2011). The widespread usage of *vossa mercê* (do Monte 2015a) seems to have been the diachronic basis for the later development of *você*, which first somehow conserved the reverential function of *vossa mercê* (Lopes & Rumeu 2015) before it became a common term of informal address.

6 Conclusion

I have argued in favor of a multifaceted theoretical and methodological approach to linguistic address, deliberately choosing a contrastive analysis of Portuguese and Spanish because this methodology is appropriate for singling out common and specific features of language. The shortcomings of previous work in address research have been systematically pointed out. This is not intended as a critique, if seen negatively, but as an argument in favor of complementary modular approaches. In fact, we cannot criticize an excellent study for the limitations entailed by the theory, the method, or the data that have been chosen for this purpose. I am more than aware of the fact that my own analysis is risky, insofar as a better knowledge of local contexts is often required. I consciously run this risk because I feel that there is a lack of general hypotheses that may guide case studies and promote discussion.

The first point in the paper is “crisis”. This may be considered a rather smooth, non-rigorous approach. The main reason for this suggestion is the fact that crisis is a distinctive feature of address when compared to other linguistic domains. Crisis allows for integrating a countless number of scenarios. It further

includes a dynamic perspective since it entails reparation strategies, which are salient features of address, including systematic patterns such as use of plural, third person, combinations of pronouns with nominals, and avoidance strategies (e.g., verb form only in *pro-drop* languages, neutral Sp./Pt. *se* (Hummel 2010a), Fr. *on/nous*, Ger. *man*).

The second point is that of typology. Typological tendencies directly affect the possibilities of using forms of address. The similarities between French and Brazilian Portuguese provide evidence for the fact that analogous typological tendencies entail similar processes of adaptation. However, shared cultural traditions, as is the case for Portuguese and Spanish, but also for Romance in general, have also to be taken into account.

The third point concerns the interpretation of the data. I have suggested analytically separating the following two approaches, before their results can be used for synthesis.

The first consists of analyzing the available written texts covering diachrony. The limitations of such analyses are clear: they only partially cover what happened in language, especially in the spoken modality, which was crucial for the development of Portuguese and Spanish in America. This approach to *visible diachrony* is the one we traditionally use. But even in this framework, we should consider approaches that reverse the perspective, asking for the origin of present-day data, especially oral data (e.g., dialects). The combination of downstream and upstream perspectives necessarily brings to light the gap that separates visible diachrony from invisible or less visible diachrony. “Less visible” is a major point at this stage, since the present-day relevance of a feature allows for a better evaluation of poorly represented diachronic data, that is, data that were possibly more frequent in the spoken language than is witnessed by written texts. Certainly, oral traces in written texts are often discussed in work on visible diachrony. However, this discussion is rather intuitive, including assumptions such as theatre plays and letters being closer to orality. Every transcription of an informal oral present-day communication shows that this is highly problematic.

Obviously, the domain under scrutiny interlinks with history in general. Consequently, the internal development of language entails a narrowed vision of diachrony. Research on address is aware of this, but some possible instruments of analysis have been neglected. One of these, *Sprachausbau*, is completely lacking in address research. In fact, only a thorough comprehension of the processes involved in the elaboration of a culture and a standard of writing, which are major innovations in diachrony, allow for a better discrimination of what is oral and what is written in a given text. In the domain of address research, change from above is crucial. It is clearly related to attempts to normalize language situated in sociolinguistic contexts.

The second complementary approach, reconstruction, is traditionally used for etymology and historical-comparative approaches in general, but it has not been systematically used for research on address. We find arguments based on reconstruction in many analyses, but what I claim is that this approach should be systematically developed, including the awareness that it entails speculation. Being placed under the label of “reconstruction”, it is legitimate to push the hypotheses to the extreme by extrapolation to the past. It is not claimed that things indeed have been as it is assumed, but that there is evidence that they could have been so. In this sense, I have extrapolated the present-day culture of address switching in Hispanic America to a similar practice in Old Spanish.

The underlying idea is that the combination of downstream and upstream visible diachrony with the theory of *Sprachausbau* and the reconstruction of oral traditions provides better results since it ensures a higher degree of methodological control, leading to descriptive and explanatory synthesis.

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