“MOLA MAZO, TÍA.” VOCATIVES IN MADRID SPANISH

by

ALEXANDRA LAUCHNOR MASTROMARTINO

(Under the Direction of Sarah Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

Vocatives in conversational discourse express the relationship between interlocutors, including distance versus proximity, respect as opposed to familiarity, power versus solidarity, and formality in contrast to informality. In Spanish, vocatives such as *tío* (lit. ‘uncle’) and *hombre* (lit. ‘man’) can have various functions, including calling the attention of a listener and forming social bonds with peers. Their multifunctionality, variety, and frequency of use by native Spanish speakers make them an especially relevant topic for linguistic research. This study’s principle objectives were to determine vocative use and choice by native speakers of Madrid Spanish and examine attitudes of these speakers regarding the use of vocatives.

A three-pronged study examining vocative use by native Madrid Spanish speakers was implemented. In the first experiment, four participants, ages 19-25, recorded their informal conversations with friends and family. Vocatives used by these speakers were polyfunctional and served to form and maintain bonds with peers, initiate and maintain contact, and add emphasis to an utterance. Level of friendship or social relationship, age and gender of the participants in an interaction, as well as the context of the conversation, influenced vocative use.

Additionally, a survey, including a discourse completion task (DCT) and perception task, was completed by 81 Madrid Spanish speakers over 18. In the DCT, participants were asked

what they would say in certain contexts. The perception task asked participants to rank seven characteristics (level of education, intelligence, friendliness, professional capability, directness, level of empathy, general opinion) on a Likert scale. These two experiments showed vocative use depends on the perceived level of relationship between interlocutors, level of formality of a conversation, and age and gender of the interlocutors. Results of the perception task indicate that native speaker attitudes are impacted by vocative use.

This project aimed to improve upon previous works by combining and simplifying previous classification methods of vocative functions. It is the only known study that combines these three experiments in the analysis of vocatives, thus providing a more holistic account of vocative use and perceptions by native speakers of Madrid Spanish. The results demonstrate that vocatives are a multifunctional feature of Madrid Spanish that warrant further investigation.

INDEX WORDS: Vocatives, Madrid Spanish, Youth speech, Pragmatics, Discourse markers, Discourse completion task, Perception task

“MOLA MAZO, TÍA.” VOCATIVES IN MADRID SPANISH

by

ALEXANDRA LAUCHNOR MASTROMARTINO

B.A., Clemson University, 2013

M.A., Saint Louis University, 2015

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2020

© 2020

Alexandra Lauchnor Mastromartino

All Rights Reserved

“MOLA MAZO, TÍA.” VOCATIVES IN MADRID SPANISH

by

ALEXANDRA LAUCHNOR MASTROMARTINO

Major Professor: Sarah E. Blackwell

Committee: Lewis Chad Howe
Pilar Chamorro Fernández

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2020

DEDICATION

For my friends and family who have gotten me through the last five years,

especially Brandon, Miga, and Penny.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people. I would like to thank Dr. Blackwell for her tremendous effort as my major professor and advisor. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. Chad Howe and Dr. Pilar Chamorro for their advice and support over the last five years. I also cannot thank the UGA Graduate School enough for believing in this project and for providing me with two grants to complete my data collection and work exclusively on writing for an entire summer. This funding allowed me to make this dissertation the best version possible.

Thank you also to my wonderful friends for acting as my editors and pilot test participants throughout all versions of this study. Specifically, I would like to recognize María González Ferrer who transcribed all twelve hours of my recorded data, and Leticia Rincón Herce and María Morado Vázquez, who helped me edit my survey, and who widely distributed it to their friends and family. I genuinely could not have done this without them. Additionally, my four wonderful participants in Madrid spent hours of their lives with a recording device to help me collect data, and to them I am eternally grateful. I also thank the 81 madrileños that completed my survey for the final portions of my study and provided me with incredibly useful data.

Finally, I could not have done this without my amazing family. My parents and Anna have supported, encouraged, and believed in me my entire life, and this PhD process was no different. Thank you for everything. I also want to thank my husband, Brandon, who has been

with me every step of the way during this almost five-year journey. Thank you for keeping me sane, and for being a constant source of love and support. Finally, thank you to our sweet dogs, Miga and Penny who bring joy to my life every day and who helped make this process much less stressful.

LIST OF TABLES

Page

TABLE 1: Personal history summary of oral data participants..76

TABLE 2: Summary of the four versions of the online survey..78

TABLE 3: Sex distribution of survey participants 80

TABLE 4: Level of education of survey participants..81

TABLE 5: Vocatives used by all speakers 93

TABLE 6: Summary of vocative position in an utterance...99

TABLE 7: Summary of vocative use by position in a speaker's turn 99

TABLE 8: Summary of vocative function by category 104

TABLE 9: Specific vocative function by category...104

TABLE 10: Summary of vocative function by position in an utterance 125

TABLE 11.1: Specific functions of vocatives by utterance position..125

TABLE 11.2: Specific functions of vocatives by utterance position by percentages.................126

TABLE 12: Summary of vocative function by position in a turn...128

TABLE 13.1: Specific functions of vocatives by position in a turn...128

TABLE 13.2: Specific functions of vocatives by position in a turn by percentages 129

TABLE 14: Uses of pronominal address form "tú"..141

TABLE 15: Vocative use in discourse context (A) 142

TABLE 16: Vocative use in discourse context (F)...144

TABLE 17: Vocative use in discourse context (B) 144

TABLE 18: Vocative use in discourse context (C) 145

TABLE 19.1: Mean Likert scale scores for María 152

TABLE 19.2: Paired t-Test results for María 152

TABLE 20: Paired t-Test results for perception task..152

TABLE 21.1: Mean Likert scale scores for Lola...154

TABLE 21.2: Paired t-Test results for Lola...154

TABLE 22.1: Mean Likert scale scores for Adrián...154

TABLE 22.2: Paired t-Test results for Adrián...154

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....................v

LIST OF TABLES.................... vii

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION 1

Introduction to vocatives....................2

Why study vocatives in Madrid Spanish?....................4

Overview of the present study 7

Organization of the dissertation....................12

2 LITERATURE REVIEW 13

Vocatives as discourse markers 13

Categorization of vocative functions 20

Vocative function related to utterance position 28

Vocatives in Spanish....................35

Politeness and vocatives 41

Identity in young adult and teenage speech 46

Characteristics of youth speech 49

Taboo words and vocatives....................54

Previous research methods....57

Summary....69

3 METHODS....72

The present study....72

Oral data recorded in Madrid....74

Survey design and distribution....78

Personal data questionnaire and participant information....80

Discourse completion task....82

Perception task....85

Summary....90

4 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS....91

Oral data analysis....91

Vocative use by functional category....102

Relational vocatives....103

Attention summoning vocatives....113

Emphatic vocatives....118

Self-reflection vocatives (*vocativos autorreflexivos*)....122

Vocative function based on utterance and turn position....124

Qualitative analysis and discussion....137

Discourse completion task analysis....141

Discussion of DCT results....147

Perception task analysis....150

Discussion of perception task results....155

Summary of results 156

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 158

General conclusions and implications 159

Limitations 163

Avenues for future research 164

REFERENCES 169

APPENDICES 179

A TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS 179

B LINGUISTIC HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE: RECORDED SPOKEN DATA....180

C PERSONAL DATA QUESTIONNAIRE: SURVEY 182

D DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK: SPANISH VERSION 184

E COMPLETE PERCEPTION TASK: SURVEY 185

F INFORMED CONSENT 190

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the use of vocatives in Madrid Spanish, primarily by speakers ages 18 to 25, and the ways in which vocatives are perceived by native Spanish speakers. It comprises a three-pronged study consisting of the collection of spontaneous oral data from native speakers of Madrid Spanish, a discourse completion task, and a perception task, which together serve to examine the use of vocatives in native Spanish speakers' conversational discourse, determine their functions, and measure how vocative use in Spanish is perceived by native speakers. This is the first study to known to combine these three methods in the analysis of vocatives in an effort to offer a more comprehensive account of the use of vocatives in Madrid and how these markers are interpreted by native speakers. The works of Zwicky (1974), Fraser (1996, 2006), Stenström (2006, 2008), Jørgensen (2008, 2011, 2013), Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b, 2009), Alba-Juez (2009), and Kleinknecht (2013) provide much of the theoretical framework upon which this study is based.

Chapter 1 introduces the notion of vocatives and their basic features and functions, as well as the reasons why they are an essential topic for study in pragmatics and, more generally, linguistics. Vocatives are used frequently by teenage and young adult speakers in Madrid based on factors such as the level of relationship between interlocutors and the level of formality of a social situation. These markers are multifunctional and often serve more than one purpose in an utterance, including initiating or maintaining contact with an interlocutor, demonstrating

agreement or disagreement with an interlocutor, and adding emphasis. An overview of the present project is provided next, followed by the organization of the dissertation.

1.1. Introduction to vocatives

The Real Academia Española describes vocatives as expressions of the vocative case, or the grammatical case "with which nominal expressions are marked with an appellative function" (Vocativo, 2019; my translation). Vocatives express the relationship between the addresser (speaker or writer) and addressee (listener or reader) according to parameters of distance/proximity, respect/trust, power/solidarity, and formality/informality (Casamiglia Blancafort and Tusón Valls 2001: 141). It is important to consider these parameters along with the discourse context to determine the appropriate use of vocatives in spontaneous conversation.

Vocatives have a variety of uses, which include calling the attention of a listener and forming or maintaining social bonds between the participants in a conversation. Examples of common vocatives used in Peninsular Spanish are *tío* (lit. 'uncle'), *macho* (lit. 'male'), *hombre* (lit. 'man'), *mujer* (lit. 'woman'), and *guapo/a* (lit. 'handsome').[1] Briz (1998), Jørgensen and Aarli (2008), Jørgensen (2008, 2013), Portolés (2007), and Porroche (2015) classify vocatives such as *tío/a*, *tronco/a* ('pal'), *chaval/a* ('kid'), *hijo/a de puta* (lit. 'son of a whore'), and *colega* (lit. 'colleague'; 'friend') as a subcategory of discourse markers that Portolés (2007) calls *marcadores de control de contacto*, or contact control markers. Jørgensen (2013: 154) defines discourse markers as elements that have no syntactic function in sentences or utterances but

[1] It is of note that the set of vocatives described and analyzed in the present study are coded by independent lexical items (e.g., *tío, hombre*, etc.). However, there are other strategies for marking vocatives. For example, in Latin, vocatives were marked morphologically (see Fink 1972; Mussies 1998; Stetter 2013). In those instances, some of the issues that are relevant to the current project (such as vocative function based on position in an utterance or turn) are less important than in Spanish.

which carry out various interpersonal and interactional functions, including clarifying and structuring a message, regulating contact with the listener, hedging or intensifying a message, or initiating, continuing, or ending a conversational turn. Stenström (2007: 128) further describes discourse markers as "[...] very handy for the speakers involved in the conversation, since they work both on the discourse strategic level, both as an organizer of the turn and a planning device and on the interactional level, keeping contact with and making the listener more involved." *Marcadores de control de contacto* are defined by Pons (2000: 216) as those that "[…] mark the relationship between participants and are also employed as a marker to suggest to the listener the importance of the fragment that follows (it controls the contact)" (my translation). Vocatives and other discourse markers are often categorized as "unnecessary small words" when considering normative language, because they do not serve a syntactic purpose (Jørgensen 2013: 154). However, vocatives as discourse markers do serve specific purposes, such as signaling turn-taking, calling a listener, maintaining communication and contact, and, as Jørgensen (2013) and Kleinkecht (2013) suggest, dramatic effect. Therefore, vocatives are an important feature of native speaker discourse and serve specific purposes when used in an utterance.

This dissertation research explores the use of vocatives in Madrid Spanish. Specifically, I carry out an empirical study of naturally occurring spoken Madrid Spanish to determine when and where native speakers use vocatives in this variety of Spanish. In particular, I identify the vocatives used by teenage and young adult native speakers of Spanish from Madrid between 18 and 25 years of age, the situations in which they use them, and how vocative use by these speakers varies by age and gender. While there is some previous research on the use of vocatives in Madrid Spanish (Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013; Stenström 2006, 2007, 2008; Stenström and

Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b, 2009), to my knowledge, there are no studies that combine oral data analysis, a discourse completion task, and a perception task in the analysis of vocatives.

Why is it important to investigate Spanish vocatives? Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b) compared vocative use in two corpora, the COLAm (*Corpus oral de lenguaje adolescente de Madrid*) and the COLT (the Bergen corpus of London teenage language), and noted that in Peninsular Spanish, the tendency to use vocatives is five times greater than in English. Their variety and frequency of use by native Spanish speakers make them a relevant topic for linguistic research, particularly in terms of the ways in which these expressions are used by native speakers of different Spanish varieties and ages. It is also important to analyze vocative use amongst teenagers and young adults because they tend to be the most innovative group of speakers cross-linguistically, experimenting more than their older, adult counterparts (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003; Stenström and Jørgensen 2009; Palacios Martínez 2018). The current project examines the use of vocatives by teenage and young adult speakers because most university and study abroad students studying Spanish as a second or foreign language also pertain to this age group.

1.2. Why study vocatives in Madrid Spanish?

While there has been some research on the use of vocatives in recent years, there is very little research on their use in natural settings. This project attempts to fill this apparent research gap and to help us better understand the uses of Spanish vocatives as a frequent feature of native-speaker discourse and as a recourse used for forming and maintaining bonds between native and non-native speakers.

Zwicky's (1974) article is one of the earliest works that specifically focuses on vocatives, and it identifies factors influencing vocative use that will be examined further in the present study. He provides examples of the aspects of an interaction that directly influence a speaker's use of a vocative and factors impacting vocative choice. These include the attitude of the speaker toward the addressee and the degree of politeness the speaker intends to express, as well as the level of formality, depending on the social situation and relationship between the interlocutors. Additionally, Zwicky emphasizes speakers' estimation of superior or inferior status with respect to his or her addressees, as well as his or her opinion about the degree of intimacy between the interlocutors. He also argues that the speaker's estimate of the type of interaction occurring and the role of the addressee in the interaction are important factors. Likewise, the speaker's judgments about sex, age, gender, occupation, physical and personal characteristics, family relationship to the addressee, and similar factors greatly influence the use of vocatives. Finally, if the speakers belong to a particular subculture, they may choose to use vocatives differently than other groups, or may select different vocatives than speakers in other subcultures would. Zwicky offers examples of such subcultures, which include different social classes and geographical dialects (Zwicky 1974: 795-796; see also Kleinknecht 2013: 144).

The factors described by Zwicky (1974) as influencing vocative use are considered in the present study. For instance, Zwicky mentions that age, gender, relationship, perception of intimacy, and geographical dialects all impact a speaker's use of vocatives. The aim of the current study is to further examine the use of vocatives in Peninsular Spanish as it varies by both the age and gender of the speakers, in addition to observing vocative choice based on the social relationship in terms of the perceived intimacy or familiarity between speaker and addressee. While Zwicky produced one of the earliest works that focused on vocatives, more recent studies,

such those by Fraser (1996), Briz (1998), and Alba-Juez (2009), explore the uses of vocatives as discourse markers and their functions as contact control markers, solidarity markers, and focusing markers. These functions will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. Additionally, there are several studies which examine the use of vocatives in Madrid Spanish by adolescent speakers in the COLAm (Stenström 2006, 2007, 2008; Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013; Stenström and Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b, 2009), which will be reviewed in Chapter 2 as well.

The present study focuses specifically on speakers ages 18-25 because this is the approximate age of university students who are often learning a second language and studying abroad. University students studying abroad also frequently interact with native Spanish speakers of a similar age at their host universities. Sociolinguistic factors such as age, gender, and social class influence the way speakers use a language. These characteristics are also part of their social and cultural background and form part of the speaker's identity. "Youths" refer to early to post-adolescent speakers (Androutsopoulos 2005; Saltidou and Stamou 2014), and youth speech refers to the features employed by young people in a broad sense. The linguistic resources used by youth speakers are a means to distance themselves from other age groups, namely children and adults. These speakers often wish to show that they are no longer children, but they are also not yet to the point of adulthood, like their parents, for example.

According to Jørgensen (2013), characteristics of adolescent speech include the repetition of discourse markers, exaggerations and hyperbolic intensifications, hedging, lexical creations, vocatives, taboo words, and loanwords, especially Anglicisms. Across different languages, teenagers alter the meaning of words (e.g., using a generally negative word with positive connotations and vice versa), create new items, reduce and shorten words, and introduce new lexical items from other languages (Palacios Martínez 2018). It is not merely the use of these

characteristics, but rather their overuse when compared to adult language, that teenage language is known for. Jørgensen (2013) studied Spanish teenage language through the COLAm Corpus, which includes speakers from Madrid ages 13-19, and found that these features, which are specific to teenage language, can be considered group identity markers. Through the use of these features, personal as well as group identity is built through interaction with peers. Jørgensen (2013: 152) states that "group identity is reinforced by the use of the same language." Furthermore, she found that, in addition to functioning as group identity markers, the constant presence of phatic appellative elements, such as discourse markers and vocatives, reflects the teenagers' insecurity and lack of linguistic competence. The idea of identity related to young adult and teenage speech is examined in greater detail in Chapter 2.

1.3. Overview of the present study

The principle objectives for this study are to determine vocative frequency, function, and context of use and choice of vocative expression by native speakers of Madrid Spanish, and to examine attitudes of native speakers regarding the use of vocatives. The primary research questions and hypotheses correspond with the three parts of this study involving the analysis of vocatives in three data sets: 1) recordings of natural speech by Madrid speakers; 2) native Peninsular Spanish speakers' written responses to scenarios in a Discourse Completion Test (DCT); and 3) native Peninsular Spanish speakers' responses in a perception task. The final task (perception task) involves the evaluation of orthographic transcriptions of recorded data from the speech recordings (data set 1), which include the use of vocatives.

For the first experiment carried out for this dissertation, I traveled to Madrid, Spain to collect spoken, audio-recorded data from four speakers, ages 18-25, to determine the uses of

vocatives in a natural setting. These participants were asked to use a portable recording device to record conversations with their peers. Recording these spontaneous conversations in a natural setting allowed me to discern the use of vocatives in a less controlled and structured environment and determine when vocative use occurred in conversational interactions and could therefore be considered appropriate. This methodology is similar to the collection methods for recordings in *The Bergen corpus of London teenage language* (COLT) and *Corpus de lenguaje adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm), in which students ages 13-17 were equipped with a Walkman recorder and lapel microphone. Those participants recorded their conversations with their friends of a similar age for a few days, and the recordings were orthographically transcribed (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008; Stenström 2006). For the current study, I recruited four participants to use a portable recording device to record their interactions with friends and family members during several days in order to gather recorded samples of phatic talk (i.e. small talk or chatting). All spoken recordings collected in Madrid were orthographically transcribed and analyzed (see Appendix A for a list of transcription conventions used). By closely analyzing the recorded data, I expected to find differences in the use of vocatives based on the level of friendship or relationship as reported by the participants, as well as the age and gender of the participants in an interaction.

The second experiment was a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) survey, which was administered to 81 native speakers of Madrid Spanish, both males and females, ages 18 and up. A DCT consists of "a written description of a situation followed by a short dialogue with an empty gap that has to be completed by the learner. The context specified in the situation is designed in such a way that the particular pragmatic aspect under study is elicited" (Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2011: 53). The benefit of this type of task is that the social distance of

participants, as well as the social context, can be specified to elicit a specific type of response. In the DCT devised for the current study, six hypothetical scenarios were presented to participants, who were then asked what they would say to the other participants in the conversation. For example, the first context in the DCT was the following: *You are meeting up with your best friend that you have not seen in a very long time. What do you say to him/her when he/she arrives?* This scenario indicates that, while some time has passed since the interlocutors have seen each other, a strong sense of familiarity and comeraderie exists between the two participants. This should, therefore, be a more informal situation with a greater degree of closeness between participants. I expected that in a situation such as this, participants would produce vocatives, whereas in a more formal situation, I did not expect the production of vocatives by many participants. Additionally, if vocatives were produced in more formal contexts, I expected that they would be more formal and less innovative forms, such as names or traditional address forms like *señor* or *señora*. The remaining DCT scenarios will be examined in Chapter 3.

The third experiment was a perception task, which was designed using samples from the orthographic transcriptions of the recordings gathered in Madrid. This task was designed to elicit the opinions of native speakers of Madrid Spanish toward other speakers of the same dialect. To do so, two versions of the same task were created, one as originally spoken with all vocatives included, and the second with all vocatives removed from the segments to see if this had an impact on speaker perception. Participants were asked to respond using a Likert scale to express their attitudes toward the speakers (whose dialogical discourse formed the task items), with respect to their intelligence and professional capability (Casesnoves and Sankoff 2004; Díaz-Campos and Killam 2012), as well as level of education, friendliness, directness, and level of

empathy. After reading a transcribed segment from the oral data collected in Experiment 1, participants were asked to rank the speakers in each segment according to these attributes. The purpose of this task was to measure the participants' attitudes toward each of the speakers based on their use or lack of use of vocatives.

While questions specific to each experiment will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, the research questions for the present study as a whole are the following:

> **RQ1**: What vocatives are used by native teenage and young adult speakers of Spanish from Madrid?
> **RQ2**: How are vocatives used by native speakers of Madrid Spanish? More specifically, how and in which situations are vocatives used by these speakers?
> **RQ3**: How is vocative use influenced by age group and gender?
> **RQ4**: Do factors such as power, distance, formality, and social distance influence the use of vocatives?

Based on my observations of native-speaker interactions in Madrid, I formulated several hypotheses regarding vocative use and perception prior to carrying out the data collection and analyses for the present study. In addition, in light of the results of the works by Hasbún Hasbún (2003) and Arias Nuñez (2002), I expected to find differences between males' and females' use of vocatives, as well as variation in their usage in interactions where both genders are involved. Specifically, I expected men to use solidarity markers (i.e., those used specifically to demonstrate the social relationship between the interlocutors), when addressing other men, and more affectionate terms when speaking to women, such as *corazón* ('sweetheart'), *cari* ('sweetie'), or *amor* ('love'). I predicted that women would use more examples of *vocativos cariñosos* (Zimmermann 2002; Rodríguez González 2002), which demonstrate affection and solidarity between interlocutors. Additionally, I hypothesized that there would be differences in the choice of vocatives and frequency of use between speakers of different age groups (e.g., when both participants are of the same age group, versus when one is significantly older than the

other). Such differences were also found by Hasbún (2003) and Arias Nuñez (2002). I also predicted that, overall, younger speakers would use vocatives most often, while older speakers would use them less frequently. Based on personal observations of interactions in Spain, I also hypothesized that there would be greater vocative use between friends and family, when compared to vocative use between speakers with more distant relationships, and that *tío/a* would be among the most frequently used vocatives.

An in-depth study of vocative use by native Madrid Spanish speakers can provide evidence of how these sociopragmatic elements are used and perceived by these speakers. Such markers are a fundamental feature of everyday conversation in Spanish. The three-pronged study described in this chapter, including the collection and analysis of naturally occurring data and the analysis of written responses elicited via a DCT, as well as the results of a perception task eliciting Madrid Spanish speakers' evaluations of transcribed Spanish discourse containing vocatives, attempts to provide a more holistic view of the use of vocatives by native speakers of Peninsular Spanish. While there has been some research on vocatives in recent years, there is very little research on their use in natural settings. Due to the gap in research on Spanish vocative use and interpretation, this project will help us to further understand how Spanish vocatives are used and perceived. This study may also shed light on how pragmatic elements such as vocatives vary in their use and perception according to the age, sex, social and cultural background, and regional variety of Spanish spoken. Findings from this research may also be incorporated into Spanish as a second language classrooms, in an effort to provide students with conversational features of Spanish discourse such as vocatives, which they can relate to their experiences with Spanish in the real-world.

1.4. Organization of the dissertation

In the next chapter, I review previous research on vocatives and other "contact control" discourse markers (*marcadores de control de contacto*) in Spanish and other languages. Levels of formality and register, as they relate to the use of discourse markers, are also covered, along with previous work that has examined young adult and teenage speech, the use of taboo vocatives, and how vocative function is impacted by position in an utterance. The final section of this chapter provides a review of methodological approaches used in previous studies, as well as a discussion of the methodologies used in previous studies and implemented in the three data-collection tasks comprising the current study.

Chapter 3 delineates and explains the present study, including the methods and participants and the steps carried out in the data collection for all three tasks. Methods of data analysis are described in detail in Chapter 4, along with the results of the analyses of the three data sets. This chapter also includes a discussion of findings in light of the research questions posed. The final chapter, Chapter 5, is a discussion of the conclusions and implications for the present study. This includes the overall conclusions of the study, its limitations and challenges, and the pragmatic and pedagogical implications of the study. Finally, directions for future research, including expansion of the current project, textbook analysis, the development of more authentic pedagogical materials, and applications for study abroad students, are explored.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines previous studies on vocatives as discourse markers and, more specifically, vocatives in Spanish. First, the functioning of vocatives as *marcadores de control de contacto* ('contact control markers') is defined. Next is a discussion of the different functions of vocatives, as well as how vocative position in an utterance impacts these functions. An overview of concepts related to the analysis of vocatives follows, including notions related to politeness, identity, youth speech, and taboo words. As the present study seeks to determine vocative use and choice by native Madrid Spanish speakers and to examine their attitudes toward the use of vocatives, three experiments were carried out, including the collection of naturally occurring spoken discourse, a discourse completion task (DCT), and a perception task. Therefore, relevant methods and analyses implemented in previous studies comprising similar tasks are also reviewed. Finally, the chapter ends with a summary of these topics and methods in light of the current project.

2.1. Vocatives as discourse markers

Fraser (1996) categorizes vocatives as one of a subtype of pragmatic markers that he calls parallel markers. According to Fraser, a vocative's function is "to signal an entire message in addition to the basic message" (1996: 185). As Fraser explains, the basic message "uses the sentence proposition as its message content," and can contain what Fraser refers to as basic

markers that signal "the force (the kind of message in contrast to its content) of the basic message" (1996: 168). Fraser illustrates the use of a parallel marker with the following example:

(1) John, you are very noisy.

In (1), as Fraser explains, the basic message is a claim that John is being very noisy, while the parallel message, signaled by the parallel marker *John*, conveys that "John is being addressed" (1996: 168-169).

Fraser identifies four types of vocatives: standard titles (*John, Mom, Your Honor*), occupation names (*waiter, doctor*), general nouns (*brother, guys, young lady*), and pronominal forms (*you, everyone*) (1996: 185). Example (2a) illustrates the use of a standard title, (2b) an occupation name, and (2c) the use of a general noun (from Fraser 1996: 185).

(2) a. *Mr. President*, what position are you taking today?
b. *Waiter*, please bring me another fork.
c. Good evening *ladies and gentlemen*, welcome to the home of the Black Bears.

Fraser explains, for instance, that in using *waiter* in (2b), "the speaker is explicitly sending the message that the addressee of this message is the waiter" (1996: 185).

Fraser also distinguishes between the four types of parallel markers: vocative markers, speaker displeasure markers, solidarity markers, and focusing markers. Solidarity markers signal solidarity with the interlocutor, or a lack thereof (1996: 186). Examples of such markers are shown in 3 (from Fraser 1996: 186):

(3) a. *My friend*, we simply have to get our act together and face this problem.
b. *As one guy to another*, we're in deep trouble.
c. *Look, birdbrain*, this has been sitting in the "in box" for over a week. What's the story?

Examples (3a) and (3b) contain solidarity markers, in that they are used to attempt to form a bond with the listener. Example (3c), by contrast, illustrates the use of a vocative to indicate a lack of solidarity, as the speaker is voicing a complaint and appears to use *birdbrain* to

demonstrate displeasure with the situation, and possibly, animosity toward the addressee. In these cases, the speakers are sending a message expressing either solidarity or *unsolidarity* (the absence of solidarity) toward the addressee (1996: 186). For instance, the vocative in (3a) does not convey or less solidarity, while that used in (3c) does.

Although Fraser categorizes vocatives only as "vocative markers", some could be categorized as solidarity markers, as in the case of *my friend* in (3a), and therefore, there is some overlap between Fraser's categories. I disagree with Fraser's categorization of the four subcategories of parallel markers (vocative markers, speaker displeasure markers, solidarity markers, and focusing markers) due to this overlap. While Fraser maintains that focusing markers serve to focus or refocus the topic at hand and include words just as "alright, here, listen, look (here), now, so, well, y'see" (Fraser 1996: 22), vocatives can certainly also serve as focusing markers. For example, a vocative such as Spanish *tío* can refocus the listener to the topic that the speaker is discussing, which is similar to what Briz (1998) and Portolés (2004, 2007) describe as a function of *marcadores de control de contacto*. There is also some discrepancy between Fraser's categories, as he distinguishes between parallel markers and discourse markers, but categorizes vocatives solely as parallel markers, which is not the traditional categorization.

Alba-Juez (2009: 171) follows Fraser's (1996) taxonomy, labeling the markers *man* in English (E) and *macho/tío* in Peninsular Spanish (PS) as parallel pragmatic markers. She argues that, while *macho/tío* and *man* belong to the vocative subclass, they can also fulfill the functions of three other subclasses described by Fraser (1996, 2006): speaker displeasure markers, solidarity markers, and focusing markers. Alba-Juez presents the following examples to demonstrate these subclasses:

(4) A: Oh this is so rubbish, *man*.
B: You can only see like his back, his legs an, and the back of running. They're copycats, *man*.
A: So shit, *man*.
B: Mm, Sega's better. Sega are blatantly better. (2009: 178)

(5) Lucy: Yeah *man*, recognize your own shit. I think that's really important. We can't fix anything while all this disinformation, all the nonsense about "let's not point the finger" moment. BS! *Man*, you're going to use your anger to springboard you into action. THERE'S NO HOPE WITHOUT ACTION. So get off our arses And start making a difference in our own lives and everyone else. (2009: 179)

There is some overlap in the functions described by Alba-Juez, as the use of *man* in (4) could show solidarity between the speakers, particularly since it appears that the two participants are trying to demonstrate that they share the same opinion. Additionally, the instances of *man* in (4) and (5) seem to work as focusing markers, in that they are used by the speakers to make sure the speakers' intended messages are heard and understood. Alba-Juez maintains that the uses of *man* in (4) also function as turn change markers or interaction regulators by indicating the end of a turn, while in (5) this vocative has an attention/focusing function of calling the attention of the listener to get him/her to focus on the message being conveyed by the speaker's utterance. Markers such as *man* (E) and *macho/tío* (PS) "are very frequently found at the beginning or end of an utterance, where they clearly mark the change of a turn in the ongoing conversation" (2009: 172).

According to Alba-Juez, markers such as *macho/tío* (PS) and *man* (E) "[...] very frequently carry a solidarity message that is independent from, but at the same time accompanies, the basic, propositional message of the utterance" (2009: 172). These types of vocatives often have an intended meaning different from their lexical/semantic meaning, which is also the case for "taboo" vocatives such as *cabrón* (e.g., 'bastard', but literally 'male goat') and *hijoputa* ('son

of a bitch', but literally, 'son of a whore'), and, *tío*, which, when used as a vocative, no longer means 'uncle'. *Tío* and *tía*, when used in the literal sense to mean 'uncle' or 'aunt', represent a level of closeness as well as a family relationship. However, when used as vocatives among those who are not related in this way, *tío* and *tía* maintain their pragmatic meaning in that they still demonstrate intimacy, even with the loss of their traditional semantic meaning of familial relation. Alba-Juez summarizes an essential point about markers such as *macho/tío* and *man*:

> It is interesting and important to point out that these expressions, as well as any other pragmatic markers, are versatile, multifunctional, and polysemous, for they communicate not only the message but also different and various messages, depending on the context and situation in which they are found. (2009: 172)

In other words, vocatives as discourse markers are multifunctional and capable of conveying various messages depending on the context. Additionally, speakers' use of these markers depends on their relationship with the interlocutors towards whom they are directed. Therefore, the use of vocatives such as Spanish *macho* and *tío* and English *man* (like other discourse markers) can be expected to vary in terms of how they function in different contexts of use. This helps to explain why it can be hard to provide a full account for the intended meaning of vocatives by looking at the transcriptions of conversations without a full description of the context, information on intonation and pitch, or details regarding the relationships between interlocutors. The varied use of vocatives depending on contextual factors also explains why oftentimes the traditional methods of classifying and characterizing these markers have fallen short.

Briz (1998: 224-230) uses the term contact control markers (*marcadores de control de contacto*) to describe a category of discourse markers, of which vocatives are a part. According to Briz, contact control is a function realized by vocatives and other discourse markers, such as imperatives and other second-person verb forms (for example, *fíjate* 'pay attention', *oye* 'listen',

mira 'look'), and interrogatives such as *¿eh?, ¿no?, ¿verdad?* 'true?', and *¿sabes?* 'you know?'. Porroche (2015) argues that vocatives, as well as interjections like *oye* and *mira*, are different from other discourse markers because they can constitute a complete utterance without referring to any other discursive segment. Undoubtedly, a vocative need not refer to or occur within another discourse segment and can therefore can constitute a complete utterance by itself.

Vocatives also serve a phatic purpose. Stenström (1994: 11) defines phatic talk as the "'extra' warming-up and winding-up talk, which helps create a pleasant atmosphere." Taboo words whose intent is not to insult can therefore have a phatic function. Levinson (1983: 41) describes this type of talk as part of the social function of language, which has little or no informative value, but which functions to establish and maintain contact. Leech (1983: 39) offers, as an example of phatic talk, one's commenting on the weather "without ulterior goal except the maintenance of social relations."

Leech (1983) emphasizes the contact creating function of phatic talk and suggests a 'Phatic Maxim' in addition to Grice's (1975) four maxims. He states that this Phatic Maxim "may be provisionally formulated either in its negative form 'Avoid silence' or in its positive form 'Keep talking'" (1983: 141; see also Stenström 2005). Leech adds that it would be "inadequate to describe phatic communion as simple avoidance of silence", and that instead, it "serves to extend the common ground of agreement and experience shared by the participants" (1983 141-142; cited in Stenström and Jørgensen 2008b: 644). Common phatic devices that are used to keep a conversation going include loose formulaic talk (e.g., openings and closings of conversations, such as greetings), connectors and fillers (*bueno, en plan, eh*), and taboo words used without the intent to insult the listener (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008b). These phatic words are used with a relationship maintenance function.

There are other types of speech in which vocatives may be found, such as in service encounters, although these situations are not the primary focus of the present study. For example, vocatives in service encounters may be used to make a customer feel younger or to establish a relationship with the customer with the intent to make a sale. However, the "social, friendship-creating function of language that is typical of casual conversation" (Stenström 2005: 126) is what is of interest in the present study.

Jørgensen (2008) identified and analyzed the vocatives in the COLAm, comprised of the recorded and transcribed speech of adolescent Madrid Spanish speakers between the ages of 13 and 19. While taboo vocatives are also frequently used, the most common vocatives in youth speech in Madrid according to data from the COLAm (*Corpus oral de lenguaje adolescente* de Madrid) are *tío* and *tía* (Jørgensen 2008). Jørgensen (2008) summarizes these ideas by stating:

> *Los jóvenes de Madrid emplean los marcadores de control de contacto con una función fática [...] para llamarse unos a otros, para captar la atención y asegurarse de que están siendo escuchados. Contribuyen a establecer y reforzar la relación entre los hablantes, y estos marcadores constituyen un tipo de medio comunicativo.* (2008: 390)
>
> 'Madrid youths employ contact control markers with a phatic function to call each other, to capture attention and assure that they are being heard. They contribute to establishing and reinforcing the relationship between speakers, and these markers constitute a type of communicative medium.'

The function of contact control markers, therefore, is not informative. Instead, speakers use this type of discourse marker intending to capture the attention of a listener or ensure that they are heard and understood. Furthermore, as Jørgensen and Martínez (2007: 5) explain, discourse markers can help speakers relate what has previously been said to subsequent discourse segments and can enable them to plan their upcoming conversational contributions or reformulate them, as the use of *o sea* in example (6) illustrates:

(6) y ponen uno, dos, tres *o sea*, a mí no me pongáis nuevo nombre, ¿eh? que e
'and they put one, two, three, that is, don't give me a new name, eh? that e'
(Jørgensen and Martínez 2007: 5)

Here, *o sea* indicates that what follows is the speaker's reformulation of what s/he first said into something different in an effort to convey the intended meaning. This type of reformulation occurs frequently in conversations between adolescent speakers.

Vocatives may also be used metadiscursively as contact control markers and can select or specify a particular participant from a group (Portolés 2004). Additionally, they can be used to take an evaluative, doubtful, or affirmative stance in a conversation, as shown in example (7):

(7) ¡*hombre*! no sé, me parece como que sí ¿sabes?
'¡*man*! I don't know, it seems like that to me, you know?'
(Jørgensen and Martínez 2007: 5)

Through the use of such discourse markers, speakers can indicate that they share similar opinions or values, in turn enabling them to form or maintain bonds with the other participants in a conversation, which are especially important to adolescent speakers. Vocatives and other discourse markers allow speakers to ensure that they are being heard and that their friends agree with them. According to Jørgensen and Martínez, frequent discourse markers used by adolescents are *o sea* ('I mean'), *bueno* ('well'), *hombre* ('man'), *claro* ('of course'), *por lo visto* ('apparently'), *e,* and *eh* (2007: 17). These discourse markers are used with the phatic purpose of reinforcing social contact and enhancing interpersonal relationships.

2.2. Categorization of vocative functions

Schegloff (1968) distinguished between two basic functions of a vocative: calls and addresses. A call serves to get the attention of the addressee, as in the use of *Johnny* in (8), while addresses are

used to maintain or emphasize contact between speaker and addressee, as illustrated by the use of *John* in (9):

(8) Johnny, come home. It's time for dinner.

(9) Tell me, John, how's Bill?

(Schegloff 1968: 1083)

Schegloff (1968) suggested that some vocatives in English can be used exclusively as calls; however, Zwicky (1974) disagreed, stating that all address vocatives can be used as calls. This distinction is problematic, as the vocatives as used in examples (8) and (9) can serve several functions. For instance, in (8), *Johnny* could be used by the speaker to emphasize contact between him and the addressee (e.g., confirming that Johnny is listening to him and understands his message that it is time to come home for dinner), rather than as an attempt to catch the attention of the listener, whereas in (9), the speaker could intend to catch the attention of the listener (John) amongst a large group of people. Therefore, the traditional dichotomy whereby vocatives are classified as either calls or addresses does not adequately describe the uses of vocatives.

Schaden (2010) argues that the distinction between calls and addresses is not adequate because these two categories only indicate what a speaker can do with a vocative. According to this author, "[s]peakers could achieve the effects of calls or addresses just as well by employing extra- or para-linguistic means (for instance, tapping on the addressee's shoulder, by hand-waving, or by various kinds of grunting)" (2010: 180). While this statement is an over-generalization of the effects of calls when compared to gestures, the distinction between calls and addresses remains inadequate. Schaden surmizes that if a speaker could tap on an addressee's shoulder and achieve the same effect as a call or address, there must be some functions that distinguish vocatives from the extra-linguistic means he described. It is important,

therefore, to look at the discursive, semantic, and pragmatic functions of vocatives, rather than merely distinguishing between calls and addresses, as this traditional dichotomy does not fully account for all of the functions of vocatives.

Kleinknecht (2013: 150) summarizes three major categories of vocative functions: relational functions, functions of summoning attention, and those of emphasis and expressivity. These are the categories upon which the analysis of vocatives in the present study was based. First, vocatives with a relational function are those whose main purpose is to define the relationship between participants in a conversation (dubbed 'relational vocatives' in McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003). Kleinknecht states that this function is inherent to virtually all vocatives because vocatives always tell something about the attitude of a speaker toward an addressee. Relational functions of vocatives include their use with formulae and routines (*Buenos días, güey*), for defining a relationship, for addressee identification and recognition, and for mitigation of speech acts and badinage (such as mitigating potentially face-threatening speech acts such as orders or jokes) (Kleinknecht 2013: 152).

Vocatives that serve to define a relationship are those that demonstrate the perceived level of connection between interlocutors and the speaker's attitude toward the addressee. For example, in (10), McCarthy and O'Keefe (2003) state that the vocative *Jane* is added to the utterance to emphasize the speaker's relationship with the addressee.

(10) You're not fat Jane.

(McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003: 9)

The use of *Jane* in (10) introduces an issue in the classification of vocatives. While McCarthy and O'Keefe (2003) state that *Jane* emphasizes the speaker's relationship with the addressee, it is not possible to understand what the speaker's relationship to Jane is merely based on the use of

the vocative. The challenges of categorizing vocatives by function will be discussed later in this section.

Vocatives can also function as mitigators and therefore constitute a strategy for encoding greater politeness in conversational discourse. Vocatives are used in contexts of mitigation when there is a potential threat to positive or negative face, including "any challenge or adversative utterance, or any potentially sensitive or offending context, or any attempt to direct or coerce the recipient via imperatives or requests that might restrict the recipient in terms of action or behavior" (McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003: 164). Jokes, for example, are potentially face-threatening acts, because a listener could be offended by the statement, or not find it funny. For instance, the exchange in (11) exemplifies a joke combined with a vocative:

(11) S1: Got a light anyone?
S2: Only my eyes, Gillian.
S1: You always say that [laughs].
(McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003: 11)

Here, a light-hearted joke is followed by a vocative (*Gillian*), which appears to support camaraderie between two friends as a solidarity marker. The act of telling a joke could be potentially threatening to S1's face, so S2 uses a vocative, indicating a solidarity relationship with S1. Such vocatives are also used to maintain good relationships by caring for the positive and negative face of the participants in an interaction, as exemplified by (12):

(12) Will you put on the fish Nancy so that it'll heat, the fish now.
(McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003: 12)

Any request can be thought of as an imposition, and in this case, asking Nancy to put on the fish is accompanied by the mitigating use of her name. According to Palma-Fahey (2011), vocatives used as mitigators occur in conversations consisting mostly of phatic talk, or small talk, which does not involve any sensitive issues.

The second category of vocatives defined by Kleinkecht (2013) are those that summon attention, and they are divided into four types: summonses, calls, strengtheners of contact/assurers of understanding, and turn managers. Vocatives as summonses are quite rare (Kleinknecht 2013; McCarthy and O'Keefe 2003). Kleinknecht (2013) observes that *güey* seldom appears alone with this function, but rather is accompanied by another attention-getter, such as the discourse marker *oye* ('listen', 'hey'). The final category summarized by Kleinknecht groups vocatives used for emphasis and expressivity (e.g., for illocutional reinforcement, emphasizing parts of the utterance, and exclamative use). Vocatives with illocutional reinforcement are those which convey more insistence by directly appealing to the interlocutor:

(13) Vamos, *güey*.
'Let's go, *güey*.'

(14) Te lo juro, *güey*.
'I swear, *güey*.'

(Nava Sanchezllanes 2006: 61)

In examples (13) and (14), the speakers appeal directly to their listeners to emphasize and insist on what they have just said. By contrast, when used with an exclamative function, a vocative denotes surprise, anger, or other emotions. In such cases, these vocatives may be modified by a possessive, an adjective, or an interjection like *Órale* in (15):

(15) Órale *güey!* Ya me agujereaste el otro lado.
'Wow *güey!* You already put a hole on my other side.'

(Nava Sanchezllanes 2006: 64)

In the present study, vocatives are categorized following the categories described by Kleinknecht (2013) and in terms of their function as contact control markers. Notwithstanding, Kleinknecht (2013) notes that vocatives are largely interchangeable:

> Virtually all vocative occurrences could also be filled by some other vocative form. If in a given context a vocative expression cannot possibly be replaced by any other, for semantically and formally similar as it may be, this is an indication that the element in question has ceased to possess its full vocative qualities, and rather, is being subject to a process of desemantization, taking over other functions in discourse. (Kleinknecht 2013: 144)

This suggests that vocatives such as *hombre, tío/a,* and *macho* in Madrid Spanish could possibly be used interchangeably in many contexts, and other vocatives could replace *güey* in any of the previous examples. However, if they were indeed truly interchangeable, this would mean that they would convey the same intentional meanings and connotations, which in turn would need to be confirmed empirically. However, there are pragmatic, social, and contextual restrictions that impact the interchangeability of vocatives, including a speaker's attitude toward the addressee, relationship between interlocutors, degree of politeness, and the speaker's sociocultural background (Kleinknecht 2013; citing Zwicky 1974: 794-796). Although the interchangeability of vocatives is suggested by Kleinknecht (2013), no one linguistic expression can replace another in any and all contexts without there being certain consequences. Furthermore, complete interchangeablitiy would mean that two vocatives were completely synonymous, which would be highly unlikely and most certainly impossible to determine.

The categories introduced by Kleinknecht (2013) are somewhat problematic. Although the general functions of the three classes of relational, summoning, and emphasis/expressivity are potentially helpful in the categorization of vocatives, it is challenging to distinguish between his subclasses. For example, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between vocatives that add emphasis to part of an utterance, those that add illocutional reinforcement, and those that act as exclamatives. Therefore, while the general categories of relational, summoning, and emphasis/expressivity are incorporated in the analysis of vocatives in the present study, some of

the subclasses described by Kleinknecht were not used to classify vocatives in the present study due to the lack of clearly discernable defining features of those subclasses.

Portolés (2007) also describes vocatives as *marcadores de control de contacto* ('contact control markers'), classifying words such as *hombre/mujer* in the same category as examples such as imperatives like *mira* (lit. 'look') and *oye* (lit. 'listen'; 'hey'). Such expressions assert the relationship between the participants of the conversation and reinforce or justify the reasoning of the speaker. Vocatives also may act as calls to check or maintain contact (for example, to make sure that a listener truly is listening or understanding what the speaker is saying), and are used to elicit a behavioral response from the listener. For example, when a speaker uses a vocative to ensure that a listener is paying attention or understanding what the speaker is saying, s/he expects some sort of response on the part of the listener, either verbally or gesturally, to ensure that the speaker and listener are on the same page.

The categorization of vocatives such as *hombre* can be problematic as it often appears as though there is no true intended interlocutor indicated by their use. Edeso Natalías (2005: 137) describes what is an often-neglected subcategorization of vocatives, *los vocativos autorreflexivos* ('self-reflection vocatives'), which are those that "are not directed toward any concrete interlocutor, thus acquiring the form of a reflective invocation or imprecation" (my translation). She states that vocatives in this category are generally those that are more neutral, such as *hombre, mujer, chico,* etc. She continues to describe these vocatives in the following manner:

> *De este modo, el vocativo puede emplearse en el discurso para mostrar una actitud reflexiva por parte del hablante. En algunos casos, también puede manifestarse con este uso que el hablante se da cuenta de algo e, incluso, que ello le sorprende. Generalmente, los vocativos que se emplean en este uso son de carácter neutro ('chico', 'hombre'). Se seleccionan, en estos casos, aquellos que indican edad o sexo, aunque también se pueden utilizar con este fin nombres propios (Blanca) y sintagmas nominales o frases a modo de invocaciones a santos, tales como '¡ay Dios mío!'*

> ‘In this manner, the vocative can be used in discourse to show a reflective attitude by the speaker. In some cases, this use may also demonstrate that the speaker realizes something, and even that this surprises him. Generally, vocatives used in this manner are those of a neutral character (*hombre, chico*). In these cases, vocatives are chosen to indicate age or sex, although proper names (*Blanca*) and nominal phrases or phrases used as invocations to saints, such as *‘Oh my God!’*, could be used to the same end.
>
> (Edeso Natalías 2005: 138)

Therefore, while vocatives traditionally refer to a specific interlocutor, *vocativos autorreflexivos* are those which demonstrate self-reflection by the speaker. For example, a speaker my use a vocative to mark a realization or surprise. Edeso Natalías mentions that vocatives having this function are often neutral in nature, such as vocatives like *hombre, tío,* and *chico*, which have been semantically bleached to some degree and no longer maintain their original meaning. For example, *hombre* is no longer used to refer only to male interlocutors, and *tío* not only no longer refers to an uncle when used as a vocative (unless a speaker is referring to their uncle), but is also used when speaking to both men and women. While vocatives such as *hombre* are often not used in the same manner as those used with an attention-getting function, they still are considered a vocative and will be categorized as such in the present study.

Additionally, vocatives can signal a change in *frame*. Ensink and Sauer (2003: 2) state that *frame* “refers to the fact that discourse participants need a shared sense of the way in which the discourse is framed, i.e. an overall sense of the function of the discourse in the social situation.” This concept is summarized by Tannen and Wallat (1993: 59-60) as follows (see also, Blackwell 2009):

> The interactive notion of frame refers to a definition of what is going on in interaction, without which no utterance (or movement or gesture) could be interpreted. […] In order to comprehend any utterance, a listener (and a speaker) must know within which frame it is intended: for example, is this joking? Is it fighting? Something intended as a joke but interpreted as an insult (it could of course be both) can trigger a fight.

Therefore, to understand the use of certain features in the discourse, we must know the frame in which it is used. For example, the use of vocatives is dependent on the participants involved in an interaction, including their perceived relationship and the context of the conversation. The use of a taboo vocative such as *hijo de puta* among friends is usually not intended as an insult. However, if a listener does not recognize the nature and purpose of such vocatives, they can be misinterpreted. Taboo vocatives will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Koike (2015) comments on the dynamic nature of conversations, which continuously experience shifts and changes. Due to the "interactive notion of frame" (Tannen and Wallat 2003: 59), speakers may shift frames at any point during a conversation. Goffman (1981) describes this process (i.e., frame shifting) by another name, a change in *footing*, which can be marked by a posture change, and a shift in tone, pitch, volume, rhythm, or stress. According to Goffman (1981: 126), a shift in footing commonly occurs when an addressee is "singled-out" when changing topics in a conversation. Therefore, the use of a vocative can indicate such a shift in frame by identifying the intended addressee; and, as Goffman observed, such shifts are often accompanied by changes in intonation and prosodic features. In the present study, such shifts were seen when participants were speaking to a human and then changed gears to interacting with their dog, and vice-versa.

2.3. Vocative function related to utterance position

Vocatives are used in turn initial, turn medial, or turn final position, or can stand alone in a turn of their own, and may have different functions according to their position in an utterance. According to Leech (1999: 114-117) and Jørgensen (2011), the functions of vocatives based on their position in an utterance are as follows. Vocatives in initial position serve to call the

attention of or identify the addressee; in medial position, they serve to identify the addressee and help maintain and enforce social relationships; and, in final position, their functions are similar to those of vocatives in medial position. Jørgensen (2011: 139-140) identifies the following examples of vocative use in the COLAm in turn initial, medial, and final position:

(16) *tío*, me molan mazo los pantalones… [initial position]
'*tío*, I really like those pants'

(17) bueno, *tío*, venga pero esto déjatelo para arriba [initial position]
'well, *tío*, come on but leave this up there'

(18) pero o sea tal cual en plan y luego, *tía*, están sus hermanas en plan [medial position]
'but that is just as like and then, *tía*, there are his/her sisters like'

(19) ¡cómo se oye, *tío*, qué guapo! [medial position]
'listen to that, *tío*, how awesome!'

(20) eso está tirado, *tía* [final position]
'that's so easy, *tía*'

(21) es que tiene risa, risa pulgosa, *tío* [final position]
'it's just that she has a laugh, a laugh like Precious Pupp, *tío*'

In her 2011 study, Jørgensen found that *tío* was used most frequently in utterance final position in the COLAm, followed by medial position, while turn initial uses of *tío* were the least frequent. By contrast, *tía* occurred most frequently in initial position, followed by final, and then medial position. From these findings, Jørgensen deduced that *tío* and *tía* have different uses based on their most common position in an utterance, although both can be used in any part of an utterance, or alone. For instance, she found that *tía* was employed most frequently to identify or call the addressee, while *tío* most frequently is used to identify the addressee and maintain a relationship between the two interlocutors.

According to Jørgensen (2008, 2011), vocatives in Spanish are used as a phatic appellative element and can be found in utterance initial, medial, and final position according to

function. Both Leech (1999: 114-117) and Jørgensen (2008: 393) suggest that vocatives found in initial position call the attention of a listener and identify the intended interlocutor, whereas vocatives in medial or final position function to identify the interlocutor and maintain and reinforce social relationships. The authors summarize the observed functions of vocatives based on their position in an utterance as follows: 1) in initial position, they call the attention of the listener and identify the person being addressed; 2) in medial position, they identify the person being appealed to and help maintain and reinforce social relationships between the interlocutors; and 3) in final position, they identify the person being called or questioned, and maintain and reinforce social relationships (Leech 1999: 114-117; Jørgensen 2008: 393). Jørgensen (2011) adds that in Madrid Spanish specifically, vocatives in initial position function to maintain and reinforce the relationship between interlocutors, to control contact between interlocutors, to emphasize an utterance, and to manage a turn. She also maintains that vocatives often function in multiple ways at the same time.

In sum, vocatives can be used to identify or call the attention of an interlocutor and maintain or reinforce social relationships. However, they also serve an organizational function in discourse in terms of turn-taking, in addition to carrying out the socio-pragmatic function of forming and maintaining social bonds. The position of a vocative in an utterance, therefore, helps to indicate its functions, which in turn helps determine the meaning intended by the speaker upon using a vocative, although this is not the sole manner in which vocatives should be analyzed. The present study demonstrates that vocatives can be found in any position in an utterance and that some examples of vocative functions are more likely to occur in certain positions in an utterance (e.g., attention getting vocatives in utterance initial position).

Jørgensen (2008) analyzed the use of discourse markers, including the vocatives *tío/a,* in Madrid youth speech. One of her objectives was to describe the uses of *tío/a* as contact control markers in terms of both their position in the discourse and the consequential function that the markers had in an utterance. The most common vocatives used as contact control markers in this corpus were *tío* and *tía*, followed by *tronco/a, chaval/a, hombre, hijo/a* (Jørgensen 2008: 390). *Tía* was used in 1601 cases, which was almost twice the number of tokens of *tío*, with a total of 738 cases. *Tío* and *tía* became the focus of Jørgensen's study due to their high frequency of use in the COLAm. Both *tío* and *tía* occurred most frequently in utterance initial position in the COLAm, as in examples (22) and (23) below from Jørgensen (2008: 391). Jørgensen considers cases such as *tío* in (22) to be initial despite being combined with expletives.

(22) Luis: me han dicho que cuando hay mucha gente que baje el volumen
Ana: joder *tío* pues yo lo tengo a tope
Luis: pues cuando hay mucha gente tienes que bajar el volumen
Ana: bah, da igual

Luis: 'they told me to turn down the volume when there are a lot of people'
Ana: 'damn *tío* well I have it on full blast'
Luis: 'well when there are a lot of people you need to turn down the volume'
Ana: 'bah, it doesn't matter'

(23) Pilar: y te sigue molando encima
Carmen: *tía* no pienses en él, piensa en Nicolás
Pilar: *tía* pero le tengo que decir
Sofía: *tía* pero no pienses en él piensa en verde y piensa en Nicolás

Pilar: 'and you keep liking him anyway'
Carmen: '*tía* don't think about him, think about Nicolás'
Pilar: '*tía* but I have to tell him'
Sofía: '*tía* but don't think about him, don't worry, be happy, and think about Nicolás'

Vocatives in medial position were the least frequent in the COLAm. In example (24), Lucía uses *tía* in medial position, as does Juan in example (25):

(24)	María:	no eraaa
	Lucía:	no es que era
	María:	amor, era amor, *tía*
	Lucía:	un pasatiempo y ademas le quería mucho *tía* y a mí me da igual y se acabó
	María:	'it wasn't'
	Lucía:	'it's not that it wasn't'
	María:	'love, it was love, *tía*'
	Lucía:	'a hobby and I also cared for him very much *tía* and I don't care and it's over'

(25)	Marta:	eh, ¿qué pasa?
	Juan:	tienes cara pan *tía* tienes cara pan
	Marta:	mola mazo okei!
	Juan:	ay me duele la oreja ya eh, ¡va en serio!
	Marta:	'uh, what's up?'
	Juan:	'you're zoning out *tía* you're zoning out
	Marta:	'it's really cool okay!'
	Juan:	'oh my ear hurts already uh, it's serious!'

(Jørgensen 2008: 392-393)

The following examples from the COLAm illustrate speakers' use of *tía* in utterance final position:

(26)	Marta:	no no no es que mmme jodió bueno ya no sé
	Ana:	en plan que lo hizo por ti *tía* <R> no te enfades </R>
	Marta:	que no que no es que jodió mazo y digo ahhh, además, es en plan
	Marta:	'no no no it's that he screwed me over badly already I don't know'
	Ana:	'like he did it for you *tía*, don't get mad'
	Marta:	'no no no it's that he really screwed up and I say, ahhh, besides, it's like'

(27)	Pablo:	cuando se nos acaben las cintas ya será lunes y vamos ya el lunes con el minidisk ya y todo, *tía*
	Ana:	igual
	Pablo:	es que lo digo, *hija mía*, que hoy no me apetece

Pablo: ‘when we run out of tapes it will be Monday already and we will go on Monday with the minidisk done and everything, *tía*’
Ana: ‘whatever’
Pablo: ‘it’s just what I’m saying, *hija mía*, is that I don’t feel like it today’
(Jørgensen 2008: 393)

Example (26) shows the use of *tía* in utterance-final position, while *tía* in (27) occurs in both utterance and turn final positions. Jørgensen (2008: 394) argues that the use of utterance initial *tía* calls the attention of the listener and highlights a statement, whereas utterance medial and final *tío* and *tía* in the Madrid youth speech from the COLAm serve the purpose of maintaining and reinforcing a social relationship between speaker and listener, as well as emphasizing a statement or maintaining a turn. However, vocatives may have the same functions regardless of their position in a turn, which can make it challenging to identify function based solely on this factor.

Additionally, vocatives may have various functions depending on their position in a speaker’s turn. Haselow (2019: 5) identifies the functions of discourse markers contingent upon this factor. For example, when used at the beginning of a turn they can serve the following communicative purposes:

- getting/claiming the attention of the addressee
- dealing with turn-taking issues; indicative entitlement to take the turn
- responding to prior talk (e.g. signaling uptake, understanding, acknowledgment)
- indicating the kind of relation to prior talk (ideational, rhetorical, topical)
- indicating a new conversational action

In other words, turn initial discourse markers have an attention getting function, aid in managing a speakers’ turn, signal understanding of something that was previously stated, and signal a change in topic. Additionally, the functions of discourse markers in turn initial position described by Haselow (2019) can be applied to vocatives as well. In the current project, vocatives are analyzed by their position in a turn and by the functions that examples in each position exhibit.

Discourse markers in turn final position similarly function as turn-managers, but also add illocutionary force, and define the relationship between interlocutors. Haselow (2019: 5) identifies the following functions of discourse markers in turn final position:

- facilitating addressee-response
- addressing different aspects of the relationship to the addressee (e.g. backchanneling)
- making a transition-relevance place and thus legitimizing turn transition
- retrospective integration of a turn into an ongoing discourse (indication of the kind of relation to prior talk)
- providing a lasting interpretive cue before potential turn transition
- interpretive fine-tuning of a message just produced (e.g. in terms of epistemic value, illocutionary force, canceling possible implications)

In sum, discourse markers in turn initial position are used to get the attention of the addressee, take a turn, signal understanding, or change some aspect of the conversation; and in turn final position, they are used to indicate the need for a response from the addressee, address the speaker's relationship to the addressee, transition the conversation, add force to a message, or reformulate a message to cancel a potentially negative implication, such as an insult.

Kleinknecht (2013) also discusses the functions of vocatives such as *güey* in Mexican Spanish. He examines *güey* in turn initial, central, and final positions in examples from the corpora of Mexican Spanish of Nava Sanchezllanes (2006) and Palacios (2002a, 2002b). Kleinknecht observes that in turn initial position, *güey* is used "to start the turn in a more expressive way, to reinforce what has been said and to connect it with what is going to be said" (2013: 159). Instances of turn initial position are the least frequent for *güey*. When used in a turn central position, a vocative "strengthens the contact between interlocutors and indicates a segmentation of the turn structure, reinforcing the previously given information and relating it to the following" (2013: 159). Finally, *güey* occurred most frequently in turn final position, where it functions to "reinforc[e] what has been said before, claiming the addressee's approval and

continuous attention" (2013: 159). In sum, Kleinknecht shows how vocatives in Mexican Spanish used for turn-management can serve to organize the structure of a discourse, evoke a response from the addressee, or attract the attention of the other interlocutors so that they take a turn (2013: 153-154). Vocatives in the present study will be analyzed in terms of their position in an utterance, as well as their position in a speaker's turn, and with respect to their functions in those positions.

2.4. Vocatives in Spanish

Kleinknecht (2013) and Hasbún Hasbún (2003) observe that speakers of all varieties of Spanish use vocatives frequently. As Kleinknecht points out, Spanish speakers "seem to feel a strong need to use a lot of vocatives in their everyday interaction" (2013: 141). Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b) note that, in a comparison of the COLAm (*Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid*) and the COLT *(the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language)*, in Peninsular Spanish, the tendency to use vocatives is five times greater than in London English, and therefore, as these authors argue, vocatives are an essential feature of discourse in Spanish.

Recent studies such as those by Jørgensen (2008, 2011, 2013) and Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b) have used corpus analysis to examine discourse markers and other linguistic elements. In her studies, Jørgenen used the COLA (*Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente*), which includes three corpora: the COLAm (Madrid), COLAs (Santiago de Chile), and the COLAba (Buenos Aires). Jørgensen's (2008) project focused on the use of two vocatives, *tío* and *tía*, in the COLAm corpus, and she identified them as a frequent feature of youth speech in Madrid Spanish. In a later work, Jørgensen (2011) examined the use of vocatives in all three of the COLA corpora, analyzing them as forms of address and discourse and

pragmatic markers. Additionally, Jørgensen (2013) investigated Spanish teenage language in Madrid by analyzing various linguistic features in the COLAm corpus, including the use of vocatives. In each of their projects, Jørgensen (2008, 2011, 2013) and Stenström and Jørgensen (2008) analyzed the frequency of vocative use and other discourse features in the three corpora and found numerous instances of vocative use. Access to the large number of naturally occurring data in the corpora analyzed and knowledge of the contextual factors surrounding their use allowed these researchers to examine vocative use by a wide array of speakers in various contexts. Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a) identified the vocatives in the approximately 350,000 words within the corpus and found 1,696 uses of *tía*, 802 tokens of *tío*, and several hundred uses of *tronco/a, chaval/a, hombre*, as well as other vocatives. Jørgensen (2008) also analyzed the position and function of the vocatives in her studies and determined that these two factors are related. Similarly, the position and function of vocatives are variables analyzed in the current study.

Kleinknecht (2013) examined the functions of *güey* as a noun, adjective, invective (expression most commonly used to insult someone), and discourse marker, and discusses *güey*'s path from noun to ritual insult to expressivity marker and, finally, to discourse marker. *Güey* became a characteristic feature of Mexican Spanish after its generalization in the last 30 to 40 years. *Güey* originally comes from the word *buey* 'ox', which had a pejorative connotation meaning 'stupid' or 'idiot'. This term became a popular solidarity marker among Mexican adolescents in the 1990s and eventually became a frequent marker in Mexican Spanish. As its use began to become conventionalized, *güey* lost its pejorative connotation as it gained acceptance in Mexican society, acquiring an almost neutral meaning referring to a '(male) individual' (Kleinknecht 2013: 148). In some contexts, *güey* may even have a positive meaning

and be used as an affectionate term, especially among adolescents. The conventionalization of pejorative terms is relevant to the study of vocatives, as taboo vocatives such as *hijoputa* and *cabrón* are commonly used between friends, and especially by teenage and young adult speakers of Madrid Spanish.

Another work focused specifically on vocatives in Spanish is that of Hasbún Hasbún (2003), who examined the use of vocatives between vendors and customers in a farmers' market setting in San José, Costa Rica. Her research objectives were 1) to determine the types of vocatives used toward women in public spaces, such as the farmers' market in San José, where the participants were strangers and where there was a marked difference in social status; and 2) to speculate about the motives that led speakers to choose a vocative at specific moments in their discourse (Hasbún Hasbún 2003: 203). She recorded her interactions with fruit and vegetable salespeople in the farmers' market and examined the speakers' use of *vocativos cariñosos*, or those vocatives that express affection between participants, such as *negrita*, *reinita*, and *amor*. In the 99 dialogues she collected, 52 did not use vocatives, while 47 did. In the 47 dialogues that included at least one vocative, she analyzed 12 vocatives that she considered to be of an intimate or affectionate nature, including: *mamita* (diminutive of 'mother'), *madre* ('mother'), *reina* ('queen'), *mi reina* ('my queen'), *reinita* (diminutive of 'queen'), *negra* (lit. 'black woman'; 'darling'), *negrita* (diminutive of 'black woman'; 'darling'), *amor* ('love'), *mi amor* ('my love'), *angelito* ('little angel'), *linda* ('beautiful'), *amigos* ('friends'); and a group of four vocatives that convey more social distance or respect: *señora* (lit. 'lady', 'ma'am', 'Mrs.'), *doña* (lit. 'lady', 'ma'am'), *doñita* ('miss', 'young lady'), *señorita* ('miss', 'young lady'). From her analysis, she concluded that one can offend others by treating them with too much familiarity or intimacy, and

by using a form that expresses too much distance. As an example of the former, when these expressions were used by a stranger or mere acquaintance, they were interpreted as too informal.

In general, affectionate vocatives are reserved for use with people close to the speaker, such as friends and family members. However, in the farmers' market, Hasbún Hasbún observed that certain words were commonly used in an attempt to make a customer feel validated and offer a "faux sense" of friendship or intimacy with the salesperson (2003: 210). Additionally, affectionate vocatives were used very frequently between a female customer and a male salesperson, and could be seen either as common behavior, a compliment, or as an imposition or threat, depending on who the recipient of the vocative was (2003: 204). The vocatives showing respect made up 41.5% of the examples recorded by Hasbún Hasbún, while those considered to be affectionate represented 58.5% of the total. She also found that variations of *reina* and *señora* were the most common (2003: 209). This study reveals that vocatives can be used in unexpected ways. For instance, in an interaction between strangers, we would expect the use of polite or respectful vocatives, such as *señora*, which also mark social class differences. However, in the service interactions analyzed by Hasbún Hasbún, it was extremely common to observe uses of affectionate vocatives such as *mi amor* or *reina*. Hasbún Hasbún states that these findings reveal that the client may choose to interpret these affectionate vocatives as the speaker's being friendly and/or trying to create a sense of familiarity to make a sale, or could view them as an imposition or threat. Hasbún Hasbún's study demonstrates how the type of interaction and participants involved, as well as their communicative objectives, influence both the use and interpretation of vocatives. However, it is challenging to make any claims regarding speaker intent based on the methodology used by Hasbún Hasbún. Furthermore, the conclusions she describes are speculative as they are based purely on her own observations.

Arias Nuñez (2002) also investigated the use of forms of address by 30 participants in San José, Costa Rica. Similar to Hasbún Hasbún (2003), Arias Nuñez observed the treatment of participants in a service setting, in which speakers address someone who is considered subordinate to them because of this social distance. She examined which vocatives were used by participants toward bus drivers, male and female salespeople, and male and female restaurant servers. Her participants were grouped by age (speakers aged 20 to 34, 35 to 54, and 55 and above) and gender. Arias Nuñez found differences in forms of address based on both of these factors, as well as the type of employment of the addressee. While Hasbún Hasbún (2003) considered the use of *vocativos cariñosos* toward an unfamiliar addressee to be too informal, Arias Nuñez believes them to be manifestations of courtesy that function to "win over" the opposite sex. In the group of speakers aged 20-34, no women reported using *vocativos cariñosos* (those expressing affection), either toward women or men. Men of that age group reported using solidarity terms such as *jefe* (lit. 'boss') or *bróder* (from English 'brother') exclusively to refer to other males. They used more intimate terms such as *linda* ('beautiful', 'pretty', 'lovely') when addressing saleswomen, and *reina* for waitresses. In participants aged 35-54, men also reported using solidarity terms when speaking to other males, and more affectionate terms when addressing females. Unlike the younger group of speakers, women in this age group used *vocativos cariñosos* toward male interlocutors, including *corazón* (lit. 'heart'; 'sweetheart') and *mi amor* ('my love'). In the oldest group of speakers, aged 55 and above, there are some notable differences from the other groups. Men of this age used fewer solidarity terms with speakers of a similar age, whereas women used examples of diminutives such as *chiquilla* (e.g., 'kid' or 'little girl') in situations marked by differences in age between interlocutors. Therefore, among the

three different groups of speakers, vocative use varied based on the age and gender of the speaker, as well as that of the addressee.

Natural spoken data are crucial to understanding the use of vocatives by native speakers. The methods used in Rincón's (2006) study of address forms can be applied to the study of vocatives as well. Rincón (2006) explored the use of pronominal address forms *tú, usted* and *vos* in Bucaramanga, Colombia. She recorded group conversations by 70 participants to observe pronoun uses, additionally employing a linguistic questionnaire to explore social factors impacting their pronoun selection. She examined social factors such as gender, age, and social class to determine the instances and contexts of use of certain pronominal address forms and concluded that *tú* tends to be preferred among upper-class speakers and is not used by lower social class speakers. The incorporation of both linguistic interviews and a questionnaire allowed the author to examine specifically why speakers used certain forms of address in certain situations. However, there is some bias in a situation like this, because speakers must self-evaluate, and thus rely on their intuitions about their language use, which may or may not match their linguistic tendencies. Because speakers' self-evaluations and intuitions about their language use may not reflect how they actually use language, this type of questionnaire was incorporated in the current study as only one measure of how they use and interpret vocatives.

The methods involving observation of conversational interactions used by Hasbún Hasbún (2003) and Arias Nuñez (2002) are relevant to the present study because both authors examined the treatment of participants in settings where speakers were addressing someone with a greater social distance (e.g., differences in social class, race, or gender). If vocatives are commonly used in these settings, they could be expected to occur even more frequently in situations where the interlocutors have a much closer relationship. Rincón (2006) incorporated

both recorded group conversations and a linguistic questionnaire to examine why speakers used different address forms in certain situations. The present study incorporates analyses of oral data, as well as data collected from a written survey, to include different measures of how vocatives are used and interpreted by native speakers in Madrid. A more detailed discussion of methods for the current project can be found later in this chapter and in Chapter 3.

2.5. Politeness and vocatives

In order to account for discourse-pragmatic features of conversational interaction, including speakers' use of vocatives, it is important to consider various aspects of the context of the conversation. For example, the social relationship between the interlocutors is crucial for determining the appropriate use of vocatives. Furthermore, concepts such as respect, deference, and face are key to understanding both their appropriate use and meaning.

Speakers' use of certain linguistic forms is determined by the level of formality of the social setting and the participants involved, as is the case of the Spanish pronouns of address *tú* and *usted*. Vocative use is constrained by many of the same constructs that also condition the use of these pronominal address forms. The use of a term of solidarity or familiarity such as the vocatives *tío* or *chaval* would not be acceptable if used to address an elder, a superior, or an acquaintance, on account of differences in age, experience, and/or social status, and social distance between the interlocutors. For example, in service interactions, there is an implicit hierarchy where the server tends to exhibit deference and respect toward the customer. Deference is defined as a courteous regard to someone higher ranked on some kind of hierarchical scale (Haugh 2010: 272). Therefore, Spanish speakers providing a service are more likely to use honorifics such as *señor* or *señora* and address customers with *usted* forms instead of more

familiar terms. Speakers take into consideration certain factors of politeness when determining how to address an interlocutor, including how the listener will perceive the selection that the speaker has made, based on context and the perceived relationship between participants in the interaction.

The concept of face is another factor that can influence vocative use. Brown and Levinson (1987) differentiate two aspects of face: a *negative face*, connected with the need (*face wants*) of not suffering impositions and having freedom of action; and a *positive face*, related to wanting to be accepted by others. According to Bernal (2008: 785), the potential threats to face that might emerge from different types of interactional situations are mitigated through strategies of politeness, which are aimed at one aspect of face or the other. Politeness is characterized by the desire to maintain both types of face, given that many types of actions can be seen as threatening to one's face and self-image. Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that there is a correlation between negative politeness and indirect speech, which are the types of speech that mitigate an imposition (a face-threatening act to the listener). Bravo (2012) explains the difference between the following three phrases:

(28) a. ¿Puedo pasar?
b. ¿Te correrías un poquito para que pueda pasar?
c. Disculpa, pero si no te molesta, quisiera pasar.

a. Can I pass by?
b. Could you move a little bit so that I can pass by?
c. Excuse me, but if it wouldn't bother you, I'd like to pass by.
(Bravo 2012: 95).

These examples show varying degrees of politeness in Spanish, while all three request the same thing: to pass by the listener. The request in (28a), while not considered rude, is potentially the most face-threatening because the speaker makes no real effort to demonstrate that their passing by may be an imposition to the listener. In example (28b), use of the conditional demonstrates

the speaker's awareness that the action of passing by may be an imposition, while the utterance in (28c) incorporates linguistic elements intended to mitigate the imposition of asking the listener to move, including *disculpa* ('excuse me'), *si no te molesta* ('if it wouldn't bother you'), and use of the more polite, imperfect subjunctive verb form. The two types of face, positive and negative, represent an individual's feeling of self-worth. A person's desire to be liked by others is a part of positive face, while their desire to have the freedom to act as they choose is an aspect of negative face (Brown and Levinson 1987). Face-threatening acts (FTAs) are those illocutionary acts that are likely to damage or threaten another person's face. These would include acts traditionally thought of as impolite.

Levels of formality and politeness can be applied to the use of address forms in Spanish as well as vocatives (Labov 1972a; Brown and Levinson 1979; Brown and Levinson 1987; Hwang 2009; Bravo 2012). The use of *tú* or *Ud*. can convey different meanings based on speech context. While these forms are traditionally taught to non-native speakers as formal-*Ud.* and informal-*tú*, there is much more to it than merely the formality vs. informality of a social context. The relationship between speakers is very important, especially in certain countries. Asymmetrical forms of address most frequently represent age differences, but may have other meanings as well (Solé 1978). The use of *Ud.* among family members may represent the difference in ages of speakers, or in certain instances may represent the mood of speakers. For example, while in some countries it is common to refer to family members by *Ud*., if a mother is angry at her child, she may assert her authority as the mother and refer to them with *tú*. Additionally, the use of *Ud.* is typically characterized to be used with acquaintances to show politeness, and then when speakers begin to *tutear*, it means the relationship has progressed to that of friendship or closeness. However, depending on the country or social context, the use of

Ud. with an acquaintance could be perceived as impolite, especially if speakers are of the same age. There are so many factors that influence the interpretation of politeness or impoliteness of address forms, that it is important to consider them all when examining a speaker's choice.

Bernal (2008) states that many of the acts that Brown and Levinson would have defined or considered as impolite are just the opposite in Peninsular Spanish, and instead act as indicators of group affiliation and reinforced solidarity between group members (see also Albelda 2008). Especially in the case of youth speech or teenage talk, these types of impolite expressions are used to demonstrate affiliation and closeness rather than to create distance through authentic impoliteness and a face-threatening act, as in (29) from Bernal (2008):

(29) S1: me estoy haciendo una bodega en Cirat// macho// me estoy haciendo una bodegaa
V1: ¡**calla cabrito**! que te vas y no me dices ni pío/ tú
S2: pero si fue pensao y hecho/ mira era- era un sábado a las ocho de la noche/ y dig(o) *¡hostia!/ yo tengo que (( )) me muero*

S1: 'I'm setting up a cellar in Cirat// man //I'm setting up a ceellarr'
V1: shut up kid! go away and don't make a peep/ you
S2: but it was tought and done / look it was- it was a Saturday at 8 at night/ and I say *damn!/I have to (( )) I'm dying*

(Bernal 2008: 794-5).

In this example, the reaction from speaker S in his second turn (S2) conveys that the use of *cabrito* (lit. 'little bastard'; 'kid') did not offend him as he makes no reference to the expression by speaker V. Therefore, there are no impoliteness effects, and no apology is required on the part of S. Additionally, *cabrito* is a diminutive form of *cabrón* and therefore is a softer or mitigated form of an insult. This interaction shows that there must be some degree of friendship and/or trust between the two speakers for there to be no interpretation of impoliteness by the use of a taboo word such as *cabrito*. Bernal (2008) concluded that impolite expressions such as this do not cause damage to an addressee's face nor does it injure the relationship between interlocutors.

Edeso Natalías (2005) studied vocatives in spoken Spanish, including vocatives used to imply politeness (whether positive or negative), point out a speaker attitude of reflection (self-reflective vocatives), and implicate to the hearer the speaker's point of view (implicative vocative) (2005: 123). The author states that while vocatives are traditionally considered appellatives, there are other functions of vocatives, determined by the context of use, that can be considered more important than the initial call. The distinct effects that a vocative can add to an utterance when combined with other features are also examined in Edeso Natalías's study. She observes that vocatives can accompany the following speech acts:

- Greetings ('saludos'): Hola, *preciosa*. ('Hello, *beautiful*.')
- Farewells ('despedidas'): Pues hasta ahora, *señores*. (Well, see you soon, *gentlemen*.')
- Orders ('órdenes'): ¡Mira, *tú*! ('Look, *you*!')
- Apologies ('disculpas'): Perdóname, *monina*. ('Excuse me, *cutie*.')
- Thanks ('agradecimientos'): Gracias, *señora*. ('Thank you, *ma'am*.')

(Edeso Natalías 2005: 126; examples from *El Jarama*)

Politeness is a relevant factor in the use of vocatives and vocative choice in the speech acts cited above. For instance, when an utterance may act as a threat to the face of an interlocutor, it is common to use vocatives to soften the threat, such as with *monina* in the apology above. This is not only a vocative, but also a diminutive, which could have an even stronger effect to soften the inconvenience the speaker may impose on the listener.

Certain vocatives are used in Spanish purely to establish and maintain contact, as well as to express affection in some cases. Stenström and Jørgensen (2008) discuss the use of taboo words and insults, stating that "[f]rom a cultural point of view, the use of taboo words can be perceived as highly impolite in one language and seen as a token of camaraderie in another, with a bonding effect, a use that is typical of teenage talk" (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008b: 655). They also mention that while taboo words and insults might seem inherently impolite, their use

fulfills a social function while the actual intrinsic meaning of the words is irrelevant. Fine (1981: 55-56; in Stenström and Jørgensen, 2008b: 653) completed a study on preadolescent speech and argued that among friends, insults are allowed and even expected to show a level of camaraderie and friendship. He states that insults often "build upon each other" and do not actually insult members of the group in the traditional face-threatening manner, but instead create and maintain bonds among group members, while simultaneously maintaining face. An impolite statement can only truly be considered impolite based on the intent of the speaker and the interpretation of the listener in an interaction. However, it is important to note that if speakers misread their relationship with another interlocutor, they can cause offense or damage to face (either to their own or to that of the interlocutor) by using an inappropriate address form or vocative.

2.6. Identity in young adult and teenage speech

Each time someone speaks, that person reveals certain characteristics about themselves. Age, gender, social class, and ethnicity are sociolinguistic characteristics that can be discerned from speech (Brown and Levinson 1979, 1987; Coulmas 1996; Chambers 2002; Geeslin 2014). Where a person is from can also be perceived based on their speech. All of these factors together form pieces of a person's linguistic identity. Geeslin (2014: 49) describes individual variation as how "a single speaker uses language to reflect a range of characteristics". Additionally, Chambers (2002) states that sex, class, and age are inseparable elements of individual identity. We can therefore observe an individual identity, as well as a group identity, both of which reflect the tendencies of a group of speakers, rather than an individual, and can be based on a variety of factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, etc.

Characteristics such as age, gender, and social class influence the way a speaker uses a language, and in turn, they make up their linguistic background and form part of their identity. The use of a certain phonological feature, for example, can be indicative of a speaker's gender, or the use of a certain taboo vocative could be a characteristic of youth speech and thus indicate that the speaker belongs to one of those specific groups. A speaker may be unconscious of their use of certain linguistic forms and features. However, s/he may also choose to use or not use certain linguistic characteristics and expressions that form his or her linguistic identity. For example, the use of certain features is characteristic of adolescent speech in Madrid, including the overuse of discourse markers, the use of taboo vocatives, and the use of exaggerations (Jørgensen 2013). If speakers use a word such as *hijoputa* because their friends are using that word, it may indicate that they want to be considered a part of the group to which their peers belong. Similarly, adults may use a word or phrase that is considered to be common to youth speech to sound more youthful or, perhaps, to relate to their children. This use can be temporary, or the adoption of a linguistic feature may be long-term and become part of a speaker's permanent linguistic identity.

In social conversation, a speaker's aim is typically to establish rapport with others, not necessarily to convey information. This type of phatic talk forms the backbone of relationships (Boxer 2002). The way speakers choose to present themselves is part of their social identity, as Boxer (2002: 48) explains:

> We choose to present ourselves in a certain way, featuring some of our identity characteristics, depending on our interlocutor's identity, role, and/or power in society. Our social identities are multiple. We may at the same time be a woman, have a certain job or career, be of a particular ethnic/religious/racial group, participate in various smaller communities (e.g. sports teams, choirs, community organizations); be a member of a certain political party, and on and on. Every time we participate in social interaction we display some of these individual and social identities. Likewise, identity is co-

> constructed through interaction. That is to say, it is neither fixed nor stable, but fluid, and depends on where, when, and with whom we are interacting.

Summarizing, a person can have several social identities depending on the groups to which they belong. Therefore, speakers may use speech containing linguistic features that are characteristic of a variety of social groups because they do not belong to only one group, but rather a collective based on their age, gender, social class, ethnicity, religion, etc. Additionally, social identity is not fixed. It is ever-changing based on who is involved in an interaction, and where and when that interaction takes place. Many people adopt a more formal register in certain situations, using features that are characteristic of a standard variety of their language, but use a more colloquial register with close friends and family.

The selection of address forms can express social identity, as well as the perceived formality and informality of a situation. Emihovich (1981) explored friendship markers in the social play of a group of children and determined that even young children (age 4) use terms of address to differentiate 'friends' from 'nonfriends' in their social play. In a class of 14 students, three emerged as a very close-knit and exclusive group that regularly played 'house'. When communicating with each other, these students used first names, whereas the rest of the children used the implied pronominal form ("give me the cup"), or the explicit pronoun *you* (Emihovich 1981: 190). At times, a student who was not a part of this group of three attempted to play 'house' with them. In these instances, the members of the exclusive group would demand they leave, using the *you guys* to address them. Among the group of three, real first names were used, as well as invented first names for the pretend game of 'house'. The use of proper names versus implied pronominal forms and the explicit pronoun *you* directly demonstrated the hierarchy of relationships that was established among this group of children. Overwhelmingly, the play of these children showed that if a child was a part of the group, they were addressed with a more

familiar term, and if they were not a part of the group, they were excluded from the game and not addressed in the same familiar manner. Selecting a term of address is, therefore, an active choice, and takes into consideration many factors, even by such young speakers.

Identities are dynamic properties of discourse and are "emergent in the sequentiality of discourse" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakoploulou 2003: 1). As part of this dynamicity throughout an interaction, "certain identity aspects may be more salient or relevant than others at different points of an interaction" and "identities can be activity reconstructed, reframed, and, even more or less consciously transgressed and reconstituted" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakoploulou 2003: 1; see also Butler 1990). In other words, discourse participants may actively choose certain aspects of their identity to demonstrate via their speech based on the type of interaction in which they are participating. This is particularly relevant when examining youth identity related to language. Language used by adolescent speakers is often viewed as "a symbolic assertion of autonomy and as an index of affiliation to (or distancing from) relevant peer groups and youth-cultural scenes" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakoploulou 2003: 4). Vocative use is a key feature of youth discourse, and the intention of speakers to distance themselves from other age groups can be observed in their choice of vocatives as well as their overuse of such features.

2.7. Characteristics of youth speech

"Youths" refer to early to post-adolescent speakers, and youth speech refers to the features employed by young people in a broad sense (Androutsopoulos 2005; in Saltidou and Stamou 2014: 225). Youth speakers use linguistic resources to distance themselves from other age groups and demonstrate that, while they are no longer children, they are also not yet to the point of

adulthood (like their parents, for example). As noted earlier in this chapter, repetition of discourse markers, exaggerations and hyperbolic intensifications, hedging, lexical creations, vocatives, taboo words, and loanwords, especially Anglicisms by non-English speakers, are frequent characteristics of adolescent speech. It is not merely the use of these characteristics, but rather their overuse that is what teenage language is known for. Jørgensen (2013) determined that these features that are specific to teenage language, and speakers build their personal identity by using them. They also increase group identity by interacting with their peers, as "group identity is reinforced by the use of the same language" (Jørgensen 2013: 152). Jørgensen (2013) concluded that, in addition to functioning as group identity markers, the constant presence of phatic appellative elements such as discourse markers and vocatives represents the teenagers' insecurity and lack of linguistic competence.

Speakers of this age also tend to be extremely insecure and need constant reassurance of many things, including their relationships. Jørgensen (2013) maintains that this is why they repeat themselves so often and why they overuse so many linguistic features, especially those with an appellative or contact control function. Teenagers are constantly trying to assure that they are being heard and understood by their peers. Jørgensen (2013) describes a tendency for teenagers and adolescents to overuse or "abuse" certain language features, such as discourse markers:

> [t]eenage talk has been criticized for being inarticulate and full of slang and taboo words and not least for being peppered with unnecessary small words (discourse markers/vocatives), like, for instance, o sea, como, ¿sabes? tío/a, tronco/a (Sánches Olsen 2006). These "unnecessary" small words are often what irritate speakers of normative standard language, who think they should be eradicated from their speech or at least avoided. (Jørgensen 2013: 154)

This appears to be the case in the language of Madrid youths, or at least those recorded in the COLAm, as can be seen in (30), where a 15 years old speaks to her friend about her father's reactions:

> (30) Mar: mi padre tenía ayer el cable cruzado, *tía,* y *yo qué sé*, le dijo eso y ya *pues nada y nada* esta mañana me dice mi padre *bueno* entonces que vas a hacer esta tarde, *en plan bien, ¿sabes?* y *no sé* entonces, antes de bajarme del coche me ha dicho bueno luego hablamos y *tal sabes o sea como que* yo creo que sí y que no salga *me cago en la puta ¿sabes?*
>
> 'my dad had his wires crossed, *tía*, and *what do I know*, I told him this and now *well nothing and nothing* this morning my dad tells me *well* what are you going to do this afternoon, *like well*, *you know?* and *I don't know* then, before I got out of the car, I told myself, well later we will talk and *stuff*, *you know?* Like I think yes and don't go out *shit you know?*
>
> (Jørgensen 2013: 154)

There is an excessive use of discourse markers in (30). However, several of these markers serve a specific communicative function, such as maintaining communication or taking or keeping a turn. Some have a dramatic effect (such as *me cago en la puta*, lit. 'I shit on the whore'), while others, such as *pues nada* ('well', 'anyway')*, yo qué se* ('what do I know')*,* and *como que* ('as if'), do not have any lexical meaning and do not convey any information (Jørgensen and Aarli 2008). These discourse markers, including vocatives such as *tío* and *tía,* function as contact control markers to ensure that the hearer is committed to the conversation and understands the underlying message. While discourse markers do not have a syntactic function in an utterance, they have several interpersonal functions, such as contact control, clarifying and structuring a message, organizing turns, and intensifying or hedging the message (Jørgensen 2013).

In the COLAm, there are also examples of hyperbole and exaggeration, which are strategies to influence the listener's opinion and show the intention of the speaker. These features are used to try to persuade the hearer to either agree or accept the opinion of the speaker. Jørgensen (2009) found that teenagers use intensification as a pragmatic strategic mechanism

more often than hedging. Exaggeration is also used to intensify, yet not to be impolite, as can be seen in the following examples:

(31) había ahí en la rotonda a pleno sol un calor *que te cagas*
'there was so much sun in the square and it was so fucking hot'

(32) A: vale, pero el culo justamente que lo tengo *como una mesa camilla*
B: ¿qué dices, tía?
A: es *como un pueblo* mi culo, tía

A: 'okay, but it's just that my ass as big as a table with a built-in heater'
B: 'what are you saying, *tía*?'
A: 'my ass is like a village, *tía'*

(33) *joder* es que eres *gilipollas, vete a la mierda*
'fuck, you're stupid, go to hell'

(Jørgensen 2013: 156)

When the speaker in example (31) is discussing the heat and mentions 'un calor *que te cagas*', the use of taboo words is not intended to be impolite, but rather to exaggerate the heat they were feeling. In (32), speaker A refers to the size of her *culo* ('ass') as 'a table with a built-in heater' (*como una mesa camilla*) or 'like a village' *(como un pueblo*), which is a much exaggerated description of her physical attributes. In example (33), the speaker uses several taboo words, including a vocative in calling the listener *gilipollas* ('dumbass', 'stupid'), and telling them to 'go to hell' (*vete a la mierda*). While this utterance seems filled with impolite phrases, the speaker is emphasizing her message, not trying to insult her friend. Caja (2009: 115) explains that "teenagers exaggerate and do not spare any details when they inform something be it high spirits, be it low spirits, and they show this clearly with their linguistic creativity". Again, these exaggerations are used to aid the speaker to make sure their listener is in fact paying attention, understanding what they are saying, and agreeing with them.

Finally, youth speech is characterized by lexical creations and the use of loan words, especially anglicisms. Teenage language has a special lexicon that is used to unify the group and

to exclude those who are not considered as belonging to the group because they cannot master the ‘code’ of youth speech (Martínez López 2009, in Jørgensen 2013). Casado Velarde (2002, in Jørgensen 2013) described mechanisms of teenage talk in the eighties, but many of these are still valid in Madrid today. These include “[w]ord changes, suffixes on -ada and -azo, like in *triunfada, empachada, feada, guapada, incordiazo, puritazo, bolsazo, guarrazo,* and prefixes like *súper* y *mega*” (Jørgensen 2013: 159). In the case of lexical borrowings, words are taken from magazines, television, internet, and the like and then used in youth language, from where they may eventually be used by the general public, although, again, not all youth innovations come to be used in the standard varieties. One word that was taken from English is *flipado* from the verb *flipar* (‘to be shocked’) which comes from English ‘to flip’. *Flipado* is used by teenagers in Spanish as an adjective meaning ‘enthusiastic’ or ‘mad’ (Jørgensen 2013: 160). While some anglicisms are used in Spanish with their original meaning and grammatical category, often one or the other is changed upon their adoption in Spanish. This is in accord with youth speakers being creative and tending to make linguistic changes.

Saltidou and Stamou (2014) discuss the often negative connotations associated with youth language:

> The conceptualization of youth as ‘adolescence’ stresses the transitory state of (immature) adolescents to a (complete) adulthood. Consequently, this discourse is bound up with several negative stereotypes regarding youth people: e.g. instability, irresponsibility, impulsiveness, confusion and vulnerability to the negative influences of mass culture and globalised cultural practices. (Saltidou and Stamou 2014: 226)

The negative stereotypes associated with youth language are largely due to adolescent speech being different than the standard language associated with adult speech. It is therefore a nonstandard variety and exemplifies the ‘generation gap’ between adults and teenagers. However, it is also interesting to note that, although there are negative connotations associated

with youth language, this group tends to be the most innovative, taking more linguistic chances than their adult counterparts. Youth language is a way for adolescents to connect with each other, as previously mentioned, and to distance themselves from other age groups. It also acts as a resource for other age groups to attempt to identify with teenagers or to appear more youthful for adults or to appear older for children.

2.8. Taboo words and vocatives

Taboo vocatives are another common feature of adolescent speech. Jørgensen (2008) found that the most common vocatives used by Madrid teenagers are *tío/a, tronco/a, chaval/a,* and *colega*. However, teenage language is filled with taboo words, including taboo vocatives. Jørgensen (2013) states that 80% of the taboo words in the COLAm corpus have a sexual connotation. Navdal (2007) lists the various functions of taboo words as interjections, including: *¡joder!* (lit. 'to have sex with'; 'damn it!'), *¡cojones!* (lit. 'testicles'; 'damn it!'), *¡por gilipollas!* ('for being such a dumbass'), *¡una polla!* (lit. 'a penis'; 'no fucking way!'), interrogations including *¿dónde/qué coño*? (lit. 'where/what female genitalia?'; 'where/what the hell?'), intensifiers like *los putos cojones* ('fucking balls') and *la puta maleta* ('the fucking suitcase'), expressions of negation such as *ni una polla* (lit. 'not even a penis', 'not even a bit'), adjectives (*follada* 'screwed'), derogatory denominatives such as *putilla* (lit. 'small whore')*, gilipollas* ('moron', 'dumbass'), and phatic vocatives such as *hijo/a de puta, gilipollas* and *cabrón*. These taboo words have a clear phatic function in teenage language and are used with no face-threatening intentions. They are used to form bonds and are, in fact, considered to be a device of positive politeness among youths because they show camaraderie (Brown and Levinson 1987, Zimmermann 2002, Jørgensen 2010, 2011, Stenström and Jørgensen 2008). Taboo words are

used by young adult speakers as another measure to distance themselves from older adults and children.

Stenström (2006) examined taboo words in youth speech by comparing conversations by teenagers in both London and Madrid through the COLT and COLAm. She determined that in both cities, several taboo words such as *joder* in Spanish and *god* in English have lost much of their sense of taboo because of their frequent use and inclusion by other age groups. She also found that taboo words express speakers' attitudes, act as intensifiers, and have phatic functions such as creating and maintaining contact between interlocutors. While Stenström concluded that these uses were similar in both Madrid and London, she observed that taboo words were more common in the London English corpus than in Madrid Spanish corpus that she analyzed for her study.

Common taboo vocatives used by Spanish speakers, such as *hijoputa* 'son of a whore', *cabrón* 'bastard', *maricón* 'wimp' or 'gay, or *gilipollas* 'dumbass', are oftentimes not used to insult the listener, but rather to demonstrate affection and solidarity between the participants in a conversation as a 'vocativo cariñoso' (Zimmermann 2002; Rodríguez González 2002). Magnus Ljung (1986) distinguishes between "aggressive" and "social" swearing, where "[s]ocial swearing is supposed to be strongly related to and [is used] even to strengthen a feeling of group affinity," and found that students used their strongest swearwords when they were either alone or with their peers (Stenström 1995: 75, citing Ljung 1986: 14). In other words, younger speakers' desire to establish group affinity can lead to their use of taboo vocatives with their peers. However, the intended meaning of such vocatives does not necessarily match their lexical-semantic meaning. Thus, just as *tío/tía* no longer always mean *uncle/aunt*, taboo words used among friends do not maintain their negative connotation, but rather serve as solidarity markers.

This is especially true with taboo vocatives which are not used with the intent to insult the listener as their original semantic meanings would suggest. For instance, Vigara Tauste (2002: 227) maintains that words like *puta* or *zorra* 'whore' are commonly used among even young girls with no intention of insulting their interlocutors.

The same can be said about taboo vocatives in Spanish and English, which are often used among friends, not to insult each other, but rather to demonstrate the strength of a relationship. Stenström (2014) maintains the following about vocatives:

> Vocatives are used to establish and strengthen the bonds between speakers (*I feel really sorry for you* ***girl***). And even if they are realized by taboo words they are generally used in a friendly, playful sociable way (*I got this muck you* ***motherfucker***). (2014: 35)

In other words, taboo vocatives such as *motherfucker* are not intended as insults when used between close friends. Stenström (2006) examined taboo words in Peninsular Spanish and British English and explored the use of taboo words in the COLAm and the COLT (*The Bergen Corpus of London teenage language*). She observed that *fuck* in English and *joder* in Spanish are particularly common, as can be seen in the following examples (from Stenström 2006: 121-124):

(34) Ana: Y *joder* es un *coñazo* todo el *puto* día en casa y no puedo fumar ni nada
'And damn it's such a pain in the ass the whole fucking day at home and I can't smoke or anything'

(35) Susie: Look record! … You *fucking arsewipe*.

While both of these examples include taboo words, including the taboo vocative *arsewipe*, the use of *joder, coñazo* ('bore, pain in the ass'), *puto* ('damned, fucking'), and *fucking* are not necessarily viewed as offensive by the speakers. Stenström (2006) explains that while a taboo word is traditionally "strongly forbidden by social custom," in the case of many of the examples found in the COLAm and COLT, such words are used so frequently that "they seem to have lost all sense of 'taboo' in the users' minds" (2006: 118), and instead are used to express strong

emotions or reactions. Stenström maintains that adolescent speakers use taboo words for two reasons: "as a means to provoke the older generation and to oppose authority," and "to strengthen the feeling of camaraderie within the group" (2006: 67). The idea that speakers use taboo words to separate themselves from older generations reflects what Zimmermann (2002) describes as a strategy to mark group identity, which is determined by social class, age, and sex. He explains that because adolescents have created their own cultural system by identifying with each other because of their age, their language has also been affected. He further explains that "voces denigrantes y hasta insultantes", such as *cabrón* and *macho* that are typical of adolescent speech, are used "con sentido cariñoso entre amigos", or with an affectionate meaning between friends (2002: 150). Rodríguez González (2002) and Zimmermann (2002) refer to this type of vocative (e.g., *cabrón, maricón, gilipollas*) as *vocativos cariñosos*, which are vocatives that no longer have their original intent to insult when used in certain contexts.

2.9. Previous research methods

The following three sections discuss previous studies that support the selection of each of the three experiments that make up the current study. The advantages and disadvantages of each of these types of tasks will be examined in this section to demonstrate why the combination of these methods provides a more complete look at vocative use by native speakers of Spanish from Madrid.

Previous studies utilizing methodologies that are relevant to the analysis of vocatives include the corpus-based research carried out by Jørgensen (2008, 2011, 2013) on discourse markers in the *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente*, or COLA. Additionally, Rincon's (2006) examination of pronominal address forms in Colombian Spanish and Hasbún Hasbún's (2003)

work on vocatives in Costa Rican farmers' markets offer useful data collection methods, which in turn inform the current study. Examples of works that use discourse completion tasks include Iragui's (1996) comparison of the use of requests and apologies by native and non-native English speakers, and Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin and Prieto's (2015) study of vocative intonation preferences and politeness. Finally, Díaz-Campos and Killam's (2012) exploration of attitudes concerning consonantal deletion in Venezuelan Spanish, and Bugel's (2012) study regarding opinions and attitudes about varieties of Spanish in Argentina, both used matched guise tasks to elicit participants' attitudes towards linguistics forms. A similar experimental technique was also employed in the current study.

2.9.1. Oral data

The first portion of this study involves the collection of recorded spontaneous speech by native speakers of Madrid Spanish to create a corpus. Therefore, a brief examination of previous corpus data is necessary to determine how vocatives and other discourse markers have been previously treated. Tagliamonte (2012: 102) describes corpora as the following: "Written corpora come from collections of materials from the past whether correspondence or literary work. Spoken corpora are typically built from conversations with real people in real communities." She also mentions that some benefits to using corpus data are the ability to analyze patterns of individuals and groups, and the ability to analyze multiple variables depending on the size of a corpus. Assuming the corpus is written or has transcribed oral data with a search function, it can also be fairly easy to search for certain variables or patterns in a corpus that is already established. Additionally, oftentimes transcriptions of recordings of spoken discourse do not provide analysts with potentially significant contextual information such as background about the context,

relationship between the speakers, and other similar factors, and, therefore, some data may need to be excluded. For the current study, an oral corpus and subsequent transcribed written corpus of the oral data were created. Prior to the data collection, I gathered as much information about the relationship between speakers and the context of the conversations as possible. This is important in the study of vocatives because knowledge of background information such as context and age and relationship of participants aids in understanding why such features were or were not used in an utterance.

For the recordings of natural spoken data from native speakers of Madrid Spanish in the current study, I followed a methodology similar to the collection methods for recordings in *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT) and *Corpus de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm). In the creation of these corpora, students ages 13-17 were equipped with a Walkman recorder and lapel microphone. Volunteers recorded their conversations with friends of a similar age for a few days, and the recordings were orthographically transcribed (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008; Stenström 2006). Similarly, in the present study, a small group of four participants were asked to use a portable recording device for between one day and two weeks each to record their interactions with friends and family members to determine the usage of phatic talk (i.e. small talk or chatting). The studies by Stenström (2006) and Stenström and Jørgensen (2008b) concluded that the use of phatic talk, of which vocatives are a part, depends on the nature of the relationship between the participants in an interaction. Naturally occurring spoken data is crucial to the analysis of discourse features, such as vocatives. In such recorded speech, participants merely record their conversations and do not know what feature of their speech is being examined. In linguistic interviews where a participant interacts directly with the researcher, recorded speech can be more artificial, as the speaker is cognizant of the researcher

and may modify their speech in what is known as the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1972b: 209). However, when speaking directly with friends and family members and merely having a recorder present, participants are interacting with someone with whom they have a close bond and not the researcher. Therefore, the conversations are more spontaneous and less artificial, which offers the potential that speakers will speak as they would naturally with no reservations. This method was utilized in the present study to record conversations between friends and family members in a natural way without the investigator present in the hope that speakers would use all the language characteristics that they normally do. However, as all the speakers in the present study were aware that they were being recorded, the possibility that they might alter their speech in some way and thus not produce entirely natural speech still existed.

2.9.2. Discourse completion task (DCT)

The second part of the current study involves a Discourse Completion Task (DCT), which is a specific type of questionnaire that “typically sets up a situation in which the speech act being studied (e.g. compliments, apologies, requests) or possible responses to them, are required by the subject” (Boxer 2002: 15). DCTs consist of “a written description of a situation followed by a short dialogue with an empty gap that has to be completed by the learner. The context specified in the situation is designed in such a way that the particular pragmatic aspect under study is elicited” (Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2011: 53). Therefore, DCTs lay out a specific situational context, and the subject must describe what he or she would say or do in that situation. This experimental technique offers insights into how specific variables are used in different specified contexts. Boxer (2002) also explains that this type of test relies on participants tapping into their intuitions about how they speak, which can be different from how they actually speak or what

they would truly say in naturally occurring speech. This can be problematic because when participants are asked to self-report, they often over or under-use variables in the contrived DCT, when compared with the variables that would typically occur in their natural speech. One advantage of using a DCT is that it normally takes less than 20 to 30 minutes to complete, and it offers the ability to collect a large number of responses in a short period of time. Another benefit to DCTs is that the social distance of participants and specific social contexts can be established to elicit a specific type of response, which is valuable to this study because a larger group of participants could be reached via an online questionnaire-style DCT, which in turn could be completed in a short time.

DCTs have been employed in a variety of previous studies to elicit different aspects of language use, and they have been used to make comparisons between responses produced by native and non-native speakers of a language. For instance, Iragui's (1996) study of requests and apologies by native and non-native speakers of English focused on communicative competence. Participants completed a DCT designed to elicit the speech acts of requesting and apologizing. This study analyzed the role of the subject's linguistic background, as well as the interlocutor's social status and gender, in their use of speech acts in English. Linguistic and cultural backgrounds were important to this study because they were expected to cause or account for some misunderstandings between American and Basque university students. The DCT was administered in English, and included eight socially differentiated situations. Four of these involved the elicitation of requests and four elicited apologies. Results showed differences between native and non-native English speakers, including greater use of politeness markers by native English speakers compared to non-native speakers, who tended to be more direct (1996: 58). Iragui carried out several chi-square analyses as part of a quantitative analysis and found

that no significant differences existed between male and female speakers. Notwithstanding, the use of a DCT in this study allowed participants to produce individual responses based on specific situations and determine clear differences in the forms elicited from the native and non-native English speakers.

Generally speaking, DCTs allow researchers to manipulate sociopragmatic factors, such as social distance, age, gender, and other factors, in the creation of test scenarios in order to attempt to constrain participants' responses and measure the effects of certain factors. In the current study, by using the DCT format, it was possible to create items involving different discourse scenarios and specified relationships between the study participants and their hypothetical interlocutors. These items were chosen in an attempt to determine whether these contextual factors (the scenario and sociopragmatic variables such as age, familiarity, and social distance) would elicit vocative use or not.

DCTs have also been used to study specific discourse features of Spanish, such as vocative intonation. Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto (2015) investigated the choice of vocative pitch contours in Catalan through a DCT and an acceptability judgment task. They found that both situational and social politeness factors influenced the choice of vocative intonation. In the first experiment, using a DCT, two sociopragmatic features (social distance and power) and two situational factors (physical distance and degree of insistence) were controlled for in the target discourse contexts (i.e., the DCT scenarios given to the participant). The authors surmised that physical distance would decrease as the interlocutors got closer together, while the other situational factor, degree of insistence, would increase after the first attempt to call a listener. The following examples (Borràs-Comes et al. 2015: 71) are two DCT communicative situations that Borràs-Comes et al. used to analyze these four factors:

> (A) Discourse context: You're a project manager in a big company. The vice-president is Mrs. Marina Smith. She holds a position of authority and you don't know her very well. You need her to sign some documents. She's in front of you. Call out her name so that she will come over.

> (B) Discourse context: Your little sister Marina is very good at math and you want her to help you with your homework. You are the older sister and you have a lot of influence over her. She's now in the next room, so she may not hear you very well. You have already called her once. Call out to her again.

Participants were asked to focus first on their interlocutor's name, with no additional information contained in the utterance. In context (A), participants were interacting with a superior (and thus a person with greater power) at work. Therefore, they were in a situation where there was a high social distance between the participant and the company vice president. At the same time, the participant and the hypothetical addressee were in close physical distance because the participant's call is a "first call" the degree of insistence was classified by the investigators as "low insistence". In example (B), participants were interacting with a subordinate (low power) at home (low social distance), while far away (high physical distance), through an insistent call. Other discourse contexts included in the DCT were designed to elicit different high/low combinations of social distance, power, physical distance, and degree of insistence. Similarly, in the DCT of the present study, different combinations of social distance and power were incorporated in the discourse contexts in an attempt to elicit vocative use by participants. Although pitch contouring is not relevant to the current project, Borràs-Comes et al. also found that the production of vocatives was influenced by both situational and sociopragmatic factors, such as social distance between interlocutors. As vocative use is determined by the context of a conversation, as well as the participants involved, factors of social distance and power, as in Borràs-Comes et al., were incorporated into the DCT created for the present study.

Written DCTs offer various advantages to researchers, as they allow a great deal of control over the variables to which participants respond, and they also allow the collection of data from a large group of participants. However, Félix-Brasdefer (2003, 2010) notes that, although the discourse contexts may be derived from natural data, participants respond to an artificial, usually written prompt. As a result, speech elicited from a DCT is not completely authentic or sincere and is not comparable to spontaneous oral data (Cohen and Shively 2007; Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1992). However, when written DCTs are combined with other methods, they can provide interesting and valuable insight due to the control this data collection technique offers over variables and the possibility of collecting large amounts of data. The DCT implemented in the current study provided a way to elicit patterns of vocative use through an online survey from a relatively large number of participants.

2.9.3. Guise and perception tasks

The final task implemented in this study was a perception task in which participants were asked to judge other speakers on characteristics based on small samples of orthographically transcribed conversations. This perception task was not a true matched-guise task. However, it was developed based on several of the features of a matched guise test, which is described as follows:

> The matched-guise technique is the use of recorded voices of people speaking first in one dialect or language and then in another; that is, in two "guises." ...The recordings are played to listeners who do not know that the two samples of speech are from the same person and who judge the two guises of the same speaker as though they were judging two separate speakers. (Richards, Platt, and Weber 1985: 171).

This technique allows participants to judge two recordings from the same speaker as if they were evaluating two different speakers. The current study employs two versions of a perception task in which participants were asked to evaluate their opinions of each speaker involved in a

transcribed conversation. The first version of the task included transcribed conversations with various examples of vocatives, while the second version included the same conversations with all vocatives removed. Therefore, a comparison could be made between the opinions regarding the speakers', whose speech appeared in the transcribed dialogue, as regarded their use of vocatives or lack thereof.

Gaies and Beebe (1991) mention that a matched guise technique has been used to investigate a variety of sociolinguistic issues, including attitudes toward different language varieties and toward nonnative speakers or language learners. However, Gaies and Beebe (1991: 168) maintain that there are a few problems that could arise with this type of task. First, can speakers be properly deceived into thinking that there are two different speakers in the task? Second, can an authentic context be produced to elicit the anticipated response by participants? Finally, how is it possible to compare study participants' reactions in this type of task to actual speech participants' behavior in a natural setting? While there are some potentially negative aspects of this type of task, it can be helpful by providing insights into listeners' attitudes towards, and perceptions of, different varieties or languages, as well as different linguistic and non-linguistic variables. These observations suggest that matched-guise tasks may be useful in the study of vocatives.

Some previous studies that included matched guise tasks include Bugel's (2012) and Díaz-Campos and Killam's (2012) works. Bugel (2012) analyzed the attitudes of speakers of Rioplatense Spanish toward different varieties of Spanish. She asked participants to complete a matched guise interview to obtain attitudes regarding speakers in an indirect manner, and through two different questionnaires to receive opinions more directly. The first questionnaire included yes or no questions about phonetics, vocabulary, and syntax, while the second was a

multiple-choice task to elicit participants' preferences toward one Spanish variety or the other. She found that participants overall stated a preference for their local variety of Spanish over Peninsular Spanish in their guided questionnaires. However, the same participants consistently produced a higher evaluation of Peninsular Spanish over their own variety in matched guise interviews. These results reveal a discrepancy between what participants believe that their opinions are, or perhaps should be, and what they produce in a matched guise interview. For this reason, matched guise tasks can be effective in determining participants' attitudes towards, and opinions of, different features of speech in an indirect way.

Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) also examined language attitudes toward different varieties of Spanish through a matched guise experiment. This task explored the attitudes of native speakers of Venezuelan Spanish toward consonantal deletion to determine if retention of syllable-final consonants is perceived as a prestigious variant in this variety of Spanish. Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012: 83) mention that a benefit to this task is that this is a perceptual task, which is not very commonly used for assessing a linguistic variable. One problem is that matched-guise results may not necessarily reflect a speaker's evaluation of linguistic variants, as revealed in the discrepancy between what speakers assumed they believed, versus what they demonstrated in the matched guise interviews in the study by Bugel (2012). Additionally, other factors (not just the variable being studied) may influence a participant's opinions about a speaker. In the current study, the perception task consisted of excerpts of transcribed and thus written Spanish conversational discourse. Multiple versions of the perception task were created to ensure that the variable in question was the factor being manipulated to measure its impact on participants' responses. For instance, one version of the perception survey designed for the present study included vocatives as they occurred in the transcriptions of the oral data collected

from native Madrid Spanish speakers, while the second version included the same samples of speech with the vocatives removed.

Davydova, Tytus, and Schleef's (2017) work supports the use of two versions of a task to control for the variable in question. This study determined perceptions of the quotatives "be like" and "say" by German learners of English, compared with native speakers of English. Data was taken from written verbal guise tests (VGT) in which participants rated stimuli doublets, each containing only one of the quotative variants on multiple social attribute scales. In the VGT, learners had to read texts placed next to each other and were asked to rate Speaker A (*be like* condition) and Speaker X (*say* condition) on a variety of personality traits on a five-point semantic differential scale. They were asked to assess both speakers' age, sex, social standing, ethnicity, occupation, and provenance. Two online surveys were designed that were identical to each other except for one crucial feature. In the two versions, the quotative markers were swapped to determine if there was a significant difference in evaluations of speakers based on that factor alone.

The purpose of the two surveys employed by Davydova et al. (2017) was to determine the sociolinguistic awareness of foreign language learners. Specifically, they examined whether learners who acquired English as a foreign language exhibited similar evaluations of colloquial speech variants to those demonstrated by native English speakers. They determined that, overall, learner evaluations matched those of native speakers: speakers using *be like* are considered more fashionable, extroverted, cheerful, popular, etc. and less educated, pleasant, successful, responsible, and professional than speakers who use *say*. Similar to the study completed by Davydova et al. (2017), the current project includes different versions of a guise task to try to control for the variable in question (vocative use) alone. This task will be combined with the

analysis of the recorded speech collected in Madrid and the DCT to offer a more complete analysis of the use of vocatives by native Spanish speakers.

In Díaz-Campos and Killam's (2012) study, participants listened to different versions of the same examples. The first included syllable-final consonants, and the second included deletion of examples of these consonants, such as /d/ in "Hemos *lucha**d**o* con entusiasmo" ('We have fought enthusiastically') (Díaz-Campos et al. 2012: 89). The attitudes rated by the listeners in the study were the following: intelligence, professional capability, attractiveness, and kindness. These attitudes were rated using a Likert scale to allow participants to rate each attitude individually on a scale ranging from the highest degree ("very") to the lowest degree possible ("not at all"). Each attitude was analyzed using six options on a scale in the following manner (2012: 92):

> "Choose from the six options on the scale…
> The person is…
> 1. Very [target attitude]
> 2. Quite [target attitude]
> 3. [target attitude]
> 4. Only slightly [target attitude]
> 5. Not very [target attitude]
> 6. Not [target attitude] at all"

An even-numbered scale was chosen to ensure that respondents did not opt for a neutral evaluation, but instead had to provide either a positive or negative evaluation of what they heard. An even-numbered Likert scale was also incorporated in the current study to measure the attitudes of participants toward speakers' use of vocatives. The experiments carried out by Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) and Davydova et al. (2017) highlight the importance of having two versions of online surveys or speech samples to ensure that the variable being studied is the variable impacting participants' opinions of the speakers.

2.10. Summary

Vocatives have multiple functions, which vary depending on the speakers participating in an interaction, as well as other contextual factors. Vocatives as discourse markers signal turn-taking, call a listener, maintain contact, and establish and reinforce the relationship between interlocutors. Even taboo vocatives, whose semantic meaning would indicate an intention to insult, function to strengthen a relationship between participants in an interaction. Teenage and young adult Madrid Spanish speakers employ examples such as *hijo de puta, cabrón,* and *puta* to demonstrate camaraderie, as well as distance themselves from younger and older generations.

Previous methods of categorizing vocatives have been problematic. The traditional dichotomy of vocatives as calls and addresses is outdated. However, more recent studies have not found a clear method of grouping vocatives by their functions either. The classes of parallel markers described by Fraser (1996) (vocative markers, speaker displeasure markers, solidarity markers, and focusing markers) exhibit overlap, and his inclusion of vocatives as parallel markers but not discourse markers is confusing. Kleinknecht's (2013) characterization of vocatives as relational, summoning, or emphatic is interesting, but the subclasses he employs in his study refer to functions that are not always clearly distinguishable when analyzing the actual functioning of vocative use in conversational discourse (e.g., emphasizing part of an utterance, illocutional reinforcement, and exclamative functions). Therefore, a combination of the categorizations used by Fraser (1996) and Kleinknecht (2013) is employed in the present study. The subclass of *vocativos autorreflexivos* described by Edeso Natalías (2005) is also incorporated in the analysis of vocatives in the current project, as well as vocatives used as contact control markers (Portolés 2007). The functions of vocatives in the present study were

also analyzed based on their position in an utterance and in a speaker's turn, based on previous works by Leech (1999) and Jørgensen (2011).

Key factors influencing the use of vocatives by native speakers of PS from Madrid include factors of politeness, such as respect and face. Both the level of formality of a conversation and the relationship between interlocutors impact the use of vocatives in a similar manner to the way these factors influence the choice between asymmetrical forms of address (Solé 1978). Bernal (2008) indicated that impoliteness as traditionally defined must be analyzed differently in PS. Additionally, palabrotas (curse words) and other words that traditionally had the intent to insult do not serve the same function in PS. Bernal (2008) confirms that the use of taboo words does not damage the face of a speaker. Vocatives, which are a common characteristic of teenage and young adult speech, aid in the creation of a group identity between speakers of this age group. Taboo vocatives, which are also frequent features of youth speech, are also used in the maintenance of bonds between speakers, rather than to insult a listener.

The three experiments of the present study are the collection of oral data by native Madrid Spanish speakers, a discourse completion task, and a perception task. The methods of data collection of recorded naturally occurring conversations in the COLT and COLAm corpora carried out by Stenström and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b, 2009; Stenström 2006, 2007, 2008; Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013) were incorporated in the current study. Additionally, Rincon's (2006) examination of pronominal address forms in Colombian Spanish and Hasbún Hasbún's (2003) work on vocatives in Costa Rican farmers' markets offer useful data collection methods, which in turn inform the current study. The DCT included in the present study was modeled after the discourse contexts created by Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin and Prieto's (2015) in their study of vocative intonation preferences and politeness. Finally, a perception task was designed to

examine perceptions toward native speakers that use, or do not use vocatives in their discourse. Two versions of the perception task were designed to control for the variable in question based on the work of Davydova, Tytus, and Schleef (2017) in their comparison of quotatives *be like* and *say* by German learners of English and native English speakers. Through these methods, this project aims to better understand the use of vocatives in Peninsular Spanish, including their function in the formation and maintenance of bonds between native speakers.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This chapter describes the methodology implemented in the present study based on the previous methods and rationale described in Chapter 2. The current project consists of three experiments and two data collection methods. The first is the collection of recordings of naturally occurring spoken Madrid Spanish, which were orthographically transcribed. The resulting corpus was then examined to determine how vocatives are used by native speakers in Madrid. The final two experiments included a discourse completion task (DCT) and a perception task that together comprised an online survey sent out to native speakers from Madrid. The DCT asked speakers to describe what they would say in hypothetical conversations. In the perception task, participants were asked to evaluate other speakers based on what they read in transcribed conversations. The overall format of each experiment, the participants, data collection methods, research questions, and hypotheses are discussed subsequently. Analysis of the data from these experiments, as well as associated results and conclusions, can be found in Chapter 4.

3.1. The present study

Three experiments were carried out for the current project. The first of the three data collection methods utilized involved the recording of naturally occurring spoken Madrid Spanish to create a corpus. This corpus was analyzed to determine how vocatives are used by native speakers in Madrid. Additionally, a two-pronged survey was sent out to native speakers of Madrid Spanish.

The survey combined a DCT, in which speakers were asked to describe what they would say in hypothetical conversations, and a perception task, in which participants were asked to evaluate Madrid Spanish speakers' transcribed conversations in terms of the perceived level of intelligence, education, kindness, professional capability, frankness, and level of empathy of those speakers. Providing a more complete account and a better understanding of vocatives and other types of discourse markers requires that they be examined in specific contexts. The implementation of three experimental designs eliciting three sets of data aims to provide a more holistic view of the use of vocatives in Madrid Spanish and the attitudes that native speakers possess toward their use in various social settings.

The combination of these three tasks was chosen for several reasons. Naturally occurring oral data is invaluable because it provides authentic samples of speech that can be transcribed and analyzed. While it was a potential concern that speakers would restrict themselves to certain topics or talk in a more formal register because they knew they were being recorded, this was not found to be the case. The recorded conversations covered a wide array of topics and speakers used a very informal register when talking to their friends and family members, regardless of their knowledge of being recorded, as was the case with the recordings collected by Stenström (2006) and Stenström and Jørgensen (2008) in the creation of the COLAm and COLT corpora. Natural spoken data are crucial to understanding the use and functioning of vocatives by native speakers in their conversational contexts. The two methods devised for the online survey, while not eliciting naturally occurring language production and interpretation, are complementary to the oral data because they gathered responses from a much larger number of participants (N = 81) and offered insight into speakers' perceptions of vocative use.

The overall objective of this study was to determine when and where native speakers of Madrid Spanish use vocatives by carrying out an empirical study of naturally occurring speech in this Spanish variety. The four research questions that guided the project as a whole were the following:

RQ1: What vocatives are used by native teenage and young adult speakers of Spanish from Madrid?
RQ2: How are vocatives used by native speakers of Madrid Spanish? More specifically, how and in which situations are vocatives used by these speakers?
RQ3: How is vocative use influenced by age group and gender?
RQ4: Do factors such as power distance, formality, and social distance influence the use of vocatives?

Research questions and hypotheses that were specific to each of the elicitation tasks in the current project (i.e., the DCT and perception task) are included in their respective subsections later in this chapter.

3.2. Oral data recorded in Madrid

For the collection of naturally occurring speech in Madrid Spanish, I traveled to Madrid, Spain and collected approximately 20 hours of recordings. I employed a technique similar to the collection methods for recordings in the COLAm, in which students ages 13-17 recorded conversations with their friends for a few days, and the recordings were orthographically transcribed (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008; Stenström 2006). Similarly, I asked a group of five participants to record their conversations over a few days to gather instances of phatic talk (i.e., small talk or chatting). The studies by Stenström (2006) and Stenström and Jørgensen (2008) concluded that the use of phatic talk, of which vocatives are a part, depends on the nature of the relationship between the participants in an interaction. This data collection method was chosen to record naturally occurring speech without the researcher present. In this manner, the speakers

would be less likely to be impacted by the "observer's paradox" defined by Labov (1972b: 209), in which speakers modify their speech due to the presence of the researcher. Participants in the present study recorded their interactions with friends and family, and the researcher was not present.

The five participants who recorded their conversations for the study were found using "gatekeepers" or people who stand "between the data collector and a potential respondent" who are personal contacts of the investigator (Lavrakas 2008). These participants were first asked to complete a personal data questionnaire, providing age, education completed in Spanish, and information on other languages spoken and any time spent living abroad. Speakers were then provided with a portable recording device and asked to record any conversations with friends, family members, and acquaintances that they felt comfortable sharing with me. Participants did not know that I was examining the use of vocatives, although they were aware that I was studying features of Madrid Spanish. They were also asked to disclose to any other participants involved in their conversations that they were being recorded.

Of the 20 hours of collected recorded conversations, 12 hours provided usable data. The other hours of recordings were either too masked by background noises or contained extremely long pauses (e.g., while speakers were eating) that rendered the conversations unusable. This was the case with all of the conversations provided by one male participant, age 18. Therefore, of the five people recruited to participate, one was excluded. The remaining four participants were native speakers of Spanish between the ages of 19 and 25 and were born and raised in the autonomous community of Madrid, or *Comunidad de Madrid*. Two of the speakers were male, ages 23 and 25, and two were female, ages 19 and 24. The 19-year-old female speaker was born and raised in Alcalá de Henares, while the other three speakers were from the Madrid city center.

All four speakers had completed at least a high school education and could speak at least one other language proficiently, although only one had lived abroad. These demographic factors are summarized in Table 1. All participants' names were changed to protect anonymity, as were the names of anyone with whom these participants interacted. Any personally identifiable information was removed from the conversations.

Table 1: Personal history summary of oral data participants

	Gender	Age	City of origin	Level of education completed	Other languages spoken (and level)	Experience living abroad
Speaker 1: "Carmen"	Female	19	Alcalá de Henares	Some university	English (Advanced) French (Beginner)	None
Speaker 2: "Ramón"	Male	23	Madrid	University Degree	English (Intermediate) French (Intermediate)	None
Speaker 3: "Ana"	Female	24	Madrid	Masters' Degree	English (Advanced) Arabic (Advanced) Portuguese (Advanced)	None
Speaker 4: "José"	Male	25	Madrid	University Degree	English (Advanced)	<6 months in England

The four participants provided 12 hours of usable recorded data, which were then orthographically transcribed by a native Spanish speaker from Madrid. The conventions used for these orthographic transcriptions were adapted from Levinson (1983: 369-370) and Portolés (2004: 13-14). The full list of transcription conventions can be found in Appendix A. After the orthographic transcriptions were completed, they were analyzed quantitatively using the data analysis program *ATLAS.ti*, which allows users to highlight and sort tokens found in large bodies of text, such as this data set. Vocatives were highlighted and sorted based on vocative choice (e.g., *hombre, tío, tía*, etc.), as well as their position in an utterance (initial, medial, or final) and a speaker's turn. Vocatives were also categorized by their function, following the categories

described in Section 2.4. Many examples of vocatives in the data served more than one function at a time. However, examples cited and discussed in each section below were categorized based on their perceived primary function, which were confirmed by a group of eight native Spanish speakers from Spain.

The objectives for this task were to determine which vocatives were commonly used by the four native speakers of Madrid Spanish in the study, whether or not there were differences in vocative choice by age group and gender, and how vocative function varied in their conversations based on position in an utterance and a speaker's turn. Basic frequency patterns of vocatives are observed as well. This is a mixed methods approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. Therefore, the four research questions outlined for the study as a whole (RQs 1-4) apply to this task, as well as an additional question specific to the oral data analysis (RQ5):

RQ5: How is vocative function related to position in an utterance and a speaker's turn? I predicted that vocative function would vary by utterance and turn position, as determined by previous works on vocatives such as Leech (1999), Jørgensen (2008), Kleinknecht (2013), and Haselow (2019). With respect to RQs 1-4, I predicted that *tío* and *tía* would be among the most commonly used vocatives in the recorded conversations. Additionally, based on the results of the works by Hasbún Hasbún (2003) and Arias Nuñez (2002), I expected to find differences between the male and female interlocutors' use of vocatives and variation in their usage in interactions where both genders were involved. For example, I expected the men to use solidarity markers when addressing other men, and more affectionate terms when speaking to women. I also predicted that the women in the study would use more examples of *vocativos cariñosos*.

3.3. Survey design and distribution

The next portion of the current study involved the distribution of a survey containing a personal data questionnaire, a DCT, and a perception task. Before the survey was distributed, three pilot tests of the DCT and perception task were completed by native Spanish speakers to determine its viability for the current study. This ensured that the discourse contexts in the DCT had the potential to elicit the use of vocatives, and that participants were not able to identify the specific discourse feature under observation.

Four versions of the online survey were created to prevent any given version from being too long, and thus encourage more participants to complete all of the tasks before getting fatigued. Based on the methodology of Davydova et al. (2017) and Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012), two distinct versions of the perception task were created, one with vocatives included and one without, to avoid the influence of any other variables. While each of the four versions included the same three tasks, the questions in each of these tasks varied in the different versions. The contexts included in each version of the survey are summarized schematically in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of the four versions of the online survey

	Discourse Contexts	Perception Task Conversations	Vocatives Included
Version A	A, E, F	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Yes
Version B	A, E, F	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	No
Version C	B, C, D	3, 6, 7, 8, 9	Yes
Version D	B, C, D	3, 6, 7, 8, 9	No

Versions A and C contained identical DCT items; that is, participants receiving these versions responded to the same three discourse contexts. These two versions also included the same five conversation samples in the perception task. However, Version A's perception task

was complete with the vocatives used in the naturally occurring conversations recorded and transcribed for the first portion of the present study. By contrast, Version C had all vocatives removed from the transcriptions. The difference between Versions B and D was the same. Both of these versions had the same three discourse contexts in the DCT section and identical perception task conversations. However, the perception task items in Version B were replete with all vocatives originally used in the recorded conversations, while they were removed in Version D.

All four versions of the survey had a distractor monologue included in the perception task in which no vocatives were used (labeled Perception Task Conversation 3, both in the Appendix and in Table 2). Likewise, all four perception tasks had four additional conversations: three directly from the transcriptions of the naturally occurring data recorded in the first portion of the current study, and one from the Spanish TV show *Élite* (Ramos and Zeta Ficción TV 2018). *Élite* is a very popular Spanish television show geared toward teenagers and young adults. Therefore, in total, the survey consisted of six discourse contexts in the DCT, and nine transcribed excerpts of conversation in the perception task, including two from *Élite*, one monologue from the transcribed recordings, and six excerpts of conversation from the transcribed recordings.

Each version of the survey was designed and distributed using the online survey program *Qualtrics*. Survey participants were recruited through the use of gatekeepers, who were friends and colleagues of the investigator. Participants were required to be native Spanish speakers, born and raised in Madrid or its surrounding suburbs, and at least 18 years old.

3.4. Personal data questionnaire and participant information

Respondents who consented to participate in the survey were immediately sent to the personal data questionnaire, which included eight questions that asked about their sex, age, and highest level of education completed (primary school, high school, university, Masters, doctorate, or other). Additionally, participants were asked to confirm that they were born and raised in Madrid, and if not, they were asked to specify where they were from. This allowed me to accept participants from suburbs of Madrid, such as Alcalá de Henares. Participants were also asked to describe their knowledge of any other languages, experience with formal education in other languages, experience speaking any other languages at home, and experience living abroad. The complete questionnaire in Spanish, as well as the English translation, can be found in Appendix C.

101 people completed the survey in its entirety. However, 20 respondents indicated that they were from an area other than Madrid and were therefore eliminated from the study. Of the remaining 81 participants, 41 were male, 39 were female, and one chose the option "I prefer not to give a response" (see Table 3). Respondents' ages ranged from 19 to 66 (see Figure 1). Forty-six, or 56.8% of the 81 participants, were under age 30, and 39.5% (N=32) were under the age of 25, which is also the age group of the speakers who recorded their speech to provide the oral data for the first part of this study. The median age of the participants was 28, while the average age was 29.7. The distribution of participants' ages is shown in Figure 1.

Table 3: Sex distribution of survey participants

Sex	Number of participants (N)	Percentage of respondents
Male	N = 41	50.6%
Female	N = 39	48.1%
Prefer not to respond	N = 1	1.2%

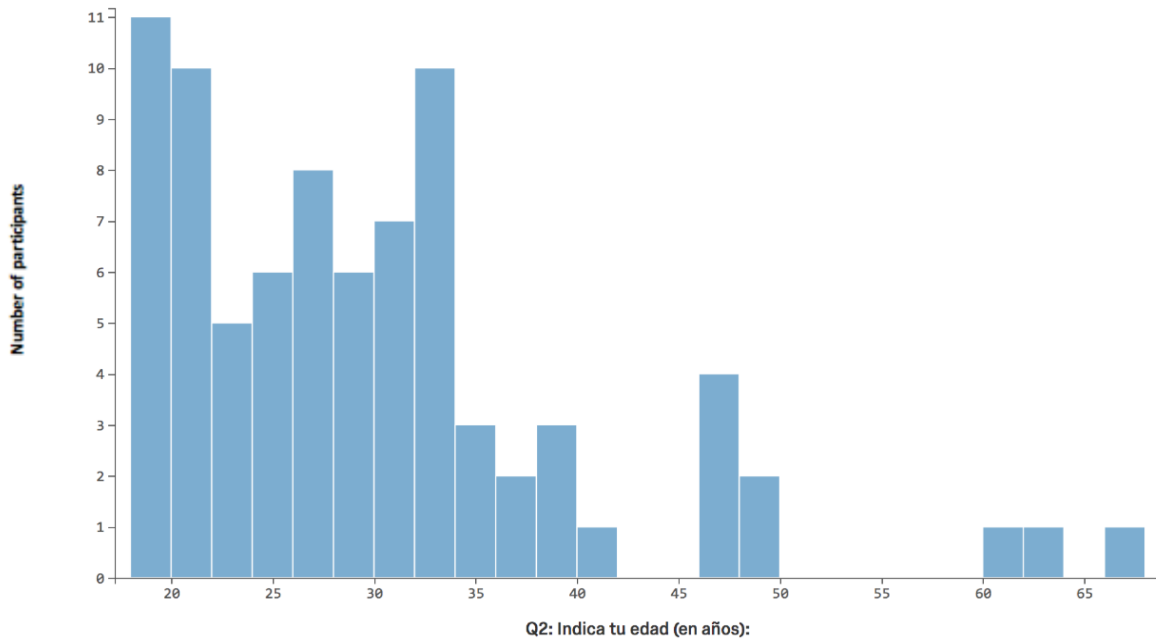

Figure 1: Age distribution of survey participants (in years)

Table 4: Level of education of survey participants

Level of education	Number of participants	Percent of total participants
University	36	44.4%
Masters	28	34.6%
High School	11	13.6%
Other	4	4.9%
Doctorate	2	2.5%

Participants had varying levels of completed education, but all had at least finished high school. Thirty-six, or 44.4%, of the respondents received a university degree and 34.6% (N=28) completed a Master's degree. The participants that selected the choice "other" for education were asked to specify their level. As Table 4 shows, two had a postgraduate degree, one had a "formación profesional" (vocational training), and one had completed a "grado superior" (similar

to junior college in the United States). Of the 81 total participants, 74 (91.4%) spoke another language, 64 (79.0%) had formal education in another language, and 14 (17.2%) grew up speaking or currently speak another language at home. Forty-seven (58.0%) had also lived abroad for anywhere from just over two weeks to upwards of six years. Although data regarding other languages spoken were not expected to be a relevant variable in the current study, this information will be stored for future studies, in which it may be a relevant factor.

3.5. Discourse completion task

The second portion of the survey was a DCT that consisted of a combination of six possible discourse contexts. Participants were asked to read the following discourse contexts and respond as if they were speaking directly to the hypothetical participants involved. A model was given for participants to follow to reiterate that they should act as if they were speaking directly to the person described in the discourse context: Modelo: *Hola, ¿qué tal?...* ('Model: *Hi, what's up?...*'). All six of the original Spanish versions of the DCT scenarios sent out to participants can be found in Appendix D. The English translations of these six contexts are as follows:

A. Discourse Context: You are meeting up with your best friend that you have not seen in a very long time. What do you say when he/she arrives?

B. Discourse Context: You are walking behind a man who drops his wallet. You call to him. What do you say to get his attention? Then, what do you say to return the wallet to him?

C. Discourse Context: Your phone rings. You see that it is your brother/sister calling and you answer. What is the first thing you say?

D. Discourse Context: You are waiting behind four people in line to buy movie tickets. The clerk at the ticket counter is taking too much time with each customer and the movie is about to start. What do you say to the man next to you in line to express your frustration?

E. Discourse Context: You are a salesperson at a high-end store. A client is considering purchasing an expensive bag. What do you say to convince her to do so?

F. Discourse Context: Your grandmother wants to discuss your love life. She wants to know if you are going out with anyone but you do not want to talk about it. How would you try to change the subject?

These contexts were designed so as to involve situations in which speakers commonly use vocatives in the hope that they would elicit their use by participants. These scenarios were created based on the DCT from the study of vocative intonation and politeness preferences by Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin and Prieto (2015). Vocatives are used frequently in conversations between friends and family members, which influenced the creation of contexts A, C, and F. Context B was designed to determine whether or not vocatives would be used with a stranger when it was necessary to get his attention. The situation described in Context D is one where the respondent and the other people in line at the movies are annoyed. As vocatives are frequently used as solidarity markers, this context was designed to potentially elicit vocatives by respondents indicating their mutual displeasure with others waiting in line. Finally, Context E includes a situation where the salesperson is trying to demonstrate a relationship with the client to get her to purchase an expensive bag. Vocatives are, again, commonly used as relationship markers, and thus, could be used in this context. What is more, each of these discourse contexts are very stereotypical scenarios, while also similar to the types of interactions in the recorded conversational data. Importantly, in the construction of these scenarios I was able to control for differing levels of social distance and different speech acts (such as calling the attention of a listener or maintaining contact with a listener). Additionally, the combination of these contexts was designed so that respondents interacted with people of different age groups, as well as different combinations of interlocutors by gender (man to man, woman to woman, man to woman, woman to man).

The objective of the DCT was to see whether or not native speakers of Madrid Spanish would produce vocatives in the six discourse contexts, and to analyze those vocatives used in each context. I expected to find more vocatives used in informal situations with a greater degree of closeness between participants (Contexts A, C, and F). However, I did not expect a similar production of vocatives in more formal contexts (Contexts B, D, and E). I also expected that if vocatives were used, the choice of vocative would be different based on the level of formality of the situation and the level of perceived closeness between the speaker and interlocutor. The meeting between friends in discourse context (A) indicates that, while some time has passed since the interlocutors have seen each other, a strong sense of familiarity exists between the two participants. An example of a more formal context can be found in (B), in which the man drops his wallet. In this setting, the interlocutors do not know each other. Therefore, a greater social distance exists between the respondent and the hypothetical addressee, and the situation is rendered more formal than that in (A).

Research questions (RQs) 1-4 all apply to the DCT, as does an additional question (R6):

RQ6: In which discourse contexts are vocatives used or not used?

Based on previous literature that observes the use of vocatives in phatic speech (Stenström 2005; Jørgensen 2008; Stenström and Jørgensen 2008b) and my personal observations of interactions in Spain, I hypothesized that there would be greater vocative use in scenarios involving interactions between friends and family, when compared with responses to DCT scenarios involving more distant relationships. In other words, I expected to see differences in frequency and use of vocatives among the DCT contexts based on these controlled factors.

3.6. Perception task

The final task in the survey was the perception task. To my knowledge, no study has examined native speaker attitudes toward vocatives using a perception task, and this portion of the current project directly analyzes respondent's perceptions toward speakers that used vocatives compared to those that had vocatives removed from their speech samples. For this portion of the study, four versions of the elicitation tool were constructed, and for each version, participants were asked to read sample conversations extracted from two sources. Firstly, excerpts were taken from the transcriptions of the conversations recorded in Madrid for the present study. Samples were selected to include conversations in which either one vocative occurred, several vocatives occurred, or no vocatives occurred. A sample monologue with no vocatives was included in all four versions of the task as a distractor so that participants would not be likely to realize the specific discourse feature being studied. Samples were also selected to include transcribed conversations between speakers of both genders, as well as a variety of vocatives (e.g., proper names, *hija, tío, tía, hombre*, etc.). Samples were chosen to include vocatives that were used as solidarity and unsolidarity markers, contact control markers, and attention getters, as these were among the most common functions of vocatives determined in Experiment 1 (oral data). Some samples were also selected to include multiple vocatives in a short sequence.

The second source of sample conversations used in the perception task was season one of the Spanish television show *Élite*, a crime drama geared toward teenagers and young adults. The show takes place in Las Encinas, a very exclusive private school in Spain where the upper-class send their children to study. Several of the actors playing the roles of teenage students in the show use a vernacular characteristic of the speech of teenagers in Madrid. Excerpts of conversation from the show included in the perception task were produced by speakers whose

speech was characteristic of this Spanish variety. These excerpts were taken from the Spanish subtitles provided by Netflix and were verified by me to match the dialogue that occurred in the program. The names of the *Élite* characters were also changed to avoid immediate recognition of the conversation excerpts as coming from this television show.

The differences among the four versions of the perception task were as follows. Version A and Version C consisted of excerpts of transcribed speech with several vocatives, as illustrated by the following sample from Version A (the use of bold for emphasis on vocatives was not included in the distributed survey):

(36) ***Jorge es dueño de un bar. Su amigo, Mateo, está visitándole y quiere pedir algo de comer:***
Mateo: Si te pidieras algo, ¿qué te pedirías, ***Jorge***?
Jorge: Yo ahora mismo, con el hambre que tengo, todo. ¡Buf! Hasta un sándwich que me he comido ahí, y eran migas.
Mateo: *Tú*, es que los pimientos rellenos estaban bastante buenos, creo.
Jorge: Imagínate como estoy ahora mismo, es que no quiero comer, ***tío***, quiero perder kilos.
Mateo: ¡Uf! El rabo de toro asado con pisto andaluz. Tengo un hambre, ***tío***, que da calambre.

'***Jorge is the owner of a bar. His friend, Mateo, is visiting him and wants to order something to eat***:
Mateo: If you were going to order something, what would you order, ***Jorge***?
Jorge: Right now, with how hungry I am, everything. Uf! Even a sandwich that I ate there, it was just crumbs.
Mateo: You, it's just that the stuffed peppers were really good, I think.
Jorge: Imagine how am I right now, it's just that I don't want to eat, ***tío***, I want to lose weight.
Mateo: Uf! The roasted bull tail with Andalusian ratatouille. I'm so hungry, ***tío***, that it's giving me a cramp.'

Therefore, the task could be controlled so that the only factor analyzed was the use of vocatives or their removal from the speech sample. While other factors could be impacting perceptions of the transcribed speech (such as filler words, connectives, and exclamatives, which are

stereotypical of Madrid speech), I was able to directly compare the attitudes toward samples that included vocatives and those that had the vocatives removed.

Versions B and D of the perception task were identical to versions A and C, respectively, except that all vocatives were removed from the conversational excerpts in versions B and D. Therefore, the sample conversation from example (37) appeared as follows (from version C):

(37) ***Jorge es dueño de un bar. Su amigo, Mateo, está visitándole y quiere pedir algo de comer:***
Mateo: Si te pidieras algo, ¿qué te pedirías?
Jorge: Yo ahora mismo, con el hambre que tengo, todo. ¡Buf! Hasta un sándwich que me he comido ahí, y eran migas.
Mateo: Es que los pimientos rellenos estaban bastante buenos, creo.
Jorge: Imagínate como estoy ahora mismo, es que no quiero comer, quiero perder kilos.
Mateo: ¡Uf! El rabo de toro asado con pisto andaluz. Tengo un hambre que da calambre.

All the excerpts of transcribed conversation in the four versions of the perception task were prefaced by a brief statement describing the situational contexts in which the interactions took place, as examples (36) and (37) illustrate. Additionally, all four versions of the perception task included the following distractor in which only one person was speaking and no vocatives were used:

(38) ***Marcos está hablando con unas amigas. Una amiga le llama "malo" y "travieso" a él, pero Marcos le dice que prefiere la palabra "pícaro", que viene de Lazarillo de Tormes.***

Marcos: Cuando era, cuando era pequeño, todas mis travesuras las firmaba como el Lazarillo de Tormes, y dejaba una nota, en plan: firmado, El Lazarillo de Tormes. Que es el primer, es el primer libro de pícaros de la historia. Sobre mil quinientos de Lope de Vega. Entonces el Lazarillo es un pícaro, que es un niño que va pasando por varios amos, entonces empieza en los peores y acaba en los mejores, se supone. Y empieza en un mendigo, o sea, empieza siendo como la mano derecha de un mendigo, luego de un…una señora, luego de un hidalgo y luego como de un señor. Y… así como feudal.

‘***Marcos is talking with some friends. One friend calls him ‘bad’ and ‘mischievous’, but Marcos says that he prefers the term ‘rascal’, which comes from Lazarillo de Tormes.***

Marcos: When I was, when I was young, I signed all of my antics like Lazarillo de Tormes, and I left a note, like: signed, the Lazarillo de Tormes. Which is the first, it’s the first book about rascals in history. Around the 1500s, from Lope de Vega. So Lazarillo is a “pícaro”, which is a child who is passed around by various masters, so he starts with the worst and ends up among the best, supposedly. And he starts with a beggar, that is, he starts out as the right hand of a beggar, after that of a…a lady, later of a nobleman and later of a lord. And…like feudal labor.’

For all versions, participants were instructed to read the conversation or monologue and evaluate each speaker on the following characteristics: intelligence, level of education, kindness, professional capability, frankness, and level of empathy on a scale of 1 (not [characteristic]) to 6 (very [characteristic]), and to give their general opinion of each person on a scale of 1 (*I do not like them at all*) to 6 (*I like them a lot*). The selection of characteristics for the perception task was based on those used in the study completed by Casesnoves and Sankoff (2004) and the work of Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012), who included intelligence and professional capability among characteristics analyzed. Level of education was included in the present study as it could allude to how old respondents felt the participants were. As vocatives may function as solidarity (or unsolidarity) markers or as mitigators, the categories of friendliness, directness, and level of empathy were chosen to observe attitudes toward speakers with regard to their having (or not having) these attributes. An even-numbered Likert scale obligated participants to express either a positive or negative opinion of each speaker, eliminating the possibility of a neutral response.

Using the data from the Likert scale values provided by survey respondents, a paired t-Test was implemented in the quantitative analysis of data from the perception task. First, the mean of the respondents’ perceptions was calculated for each interlocutor involved in the transcribed conversation. The mean of the survey version with vocatives and the survey version

without vocatives were then analyzed using a paired t-Test. A paired t-Test compares two related-sample means to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the two values. This type of test was chosen because the two sets of data from the perception task (i.e., Likert test attitudes toward interlocutors that used vocatives versus those that did not) are related samples and differ only in one aspect (the inclusion of vocatives) (Roberson, Shema, Mundfrom, and Holmes 1995). I hypothesized that the two samples (one with vocatives and one without) would not have the same value and, therefore, that the inclusion of vocatives in a conversation impacted survey respondents' attitudes toward the interlocutors that used them. A more detailed explanation of how the paired t-Test was completed is provided in Chapter 4.

The research questions specific to the perception task portion of the survey are the following:

> **RQ7**: Are speakers cognizant of other speakers' use of vocatives?
> **RQ8**: Does the use of vocatives influence a listener's attitude about the speaker?
> **RQ8.1**: Is there a difference in attitudes toward a speaker when vocatives are used versus when they are not used?

I expected that participants would not specifically notice the use of vocatives by the speakers they were ranking. However, I expected that these features would influence attitudes about each speaker. For example, there are some situations where the use of a vocative can make a speaker seem more friendly, but samples were also included where the vocative used would seem to make the speaker appear more condescending or less friendly. Therefore, I expected that there would be a difference in attitudes toward a speaker when they used vocatives versus when they were not used.

3.7. Summary

The three experiments and two data collection methods implemented in this study elicited three sets of data for analysis. First, a group of four participants recorded conversations with their friends and family members to provide examples of phatic talk. The two male and two female speakers were between the ages of 19 and 24, and provided 12 hours of recordings of naturally occurring spoken Madrid Spanish. This data was then orthographically transcribed to create a corpus used to determine how vocatives are used by native speakers in Madrid. The final two experiments, the DCT and the perception task, were combined in an online survey that was sent out to native speakers of Madrid Spanish. The survey was sent to potential participants using gatekeepers, and 81 participants from Madrid completed the entire survey. The three tasks comprising this study insured the collection of authentic conversational discourse, as well as the responses of a much larger group of participants in two types of elicitation exercises in which contextual variables were manipulated. The three tasks together provided data which allowed for a more comprehensive analysis of the use of vocatives in this variety of Spanish.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This analysis was guided by the research questions posed in Chapters 1 and 3. The results of each of the three experiments that comprise the present study are discussed with respect to those questions. Examination of data elicited via three tasks aimed to determine the contexts in which speakers of Madrid Spanish ages 19 to 24 used vocatives, which vocatives they used, and whether use of these expressions impacted the opinions of listeners toward the speaker. The oral data analysis includes an evaluation of vocative use by the speakers, a breakdown of vocative functions, and an investigation of vocative functioning based on each token's position in an utterance and within a speaker's turn. The data gathered from the two experiments that form the survey component were analyzed to determine in which contexts vocatives occurred and if vocative use impacted native speaker attitudes about participants in a conversation. Results of these experiments are analyzed individually and will be discussed in turn. Finally, a summary of the results from the three experiments and the whole study is provided.

4.1. Oral data analysis

The oral data collected in Madrid comprised approximately twelve hours of speech by four participants and their friends and family members, which were subsequently transcribed orthographically. Of this twelve hours of recorded speech, only approximately 15 minutes total included interactions with strangers or non-intimates. In total, 309 vocatives appeared across the

transcribed discourse of all the native Spanish speakers. While two non-native speakers participated in one of the transcribed conversations, their use of vocatives was ignored for this study. The breakdown of vocatives used can be found in Table 5. *Tío* and *tía* were the most widely used vocatives with 148 tokens between the two, including 103 tokens of *tío* (33.33 %) and 45 tokens of *tía* (14.56%). There were 83 tokens of proper names (26.86%), while *hombre* followed with 41 tokens (13.27%), and then *hijo/a* with 12 tokens (3.88%). While *macho* is a frequently used vocative in Madrid youth speech, it was only used six times (1.94%) in the transcribed conversations comprising the data set. *Cabrón* was the only taboo vocative used with only four tokens (1.29%).

Based on previous studies of vocatives in Madrid Spanish (Stenström 2006, 2007, 2009; Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013; Stenström and Jørgensen 2009, 2013), is not surprising that *tío* and *tía* were the most frequently used vocatives in this study. Proper names were also frequently used (83 tokens, 26.86% of vocatives), especially when two or more participants were involved in a conversation. Two proper names that appeared in the data set were excluded from the total vocatives used, because the speaker was directly referring to herself, as shown in examples (39) and (40):

(39) CARMEN: No sé guardar esto en PDF. ¡Ah, sí! Aquí. (2.0) A ver… Memoria, **Carmen**. (4.0) Pé, dé, efe. (3.0) ((Estornuda)) (5.0) ¡Pé, dé, efe! (4.0) ¡Mch! (4.0)

CARMEN: 'I don't know how to save this as a PDF. Oh, yes! Here. (2.0) Let's see…Memory, **Carmen**. (4.0) P, d, f. (3.0) ((Sneezes)) (5.0) P, d, f! (4.0) Mch! (4.0)'

(40) ANA: No, pues es verdad que coincidimos en mazo cosas. Lo que pasa que… (2.0) Lunes, **Ana**.

ANA: 'No, well it's true that we agree on a bunch of things. It's just that… (2.0) Monday, **Ana**.'

In both examples, the speaker cannot remember something. Attempting to spark her memory, she appeals directly to herself. In (39), the speaker does not know how to save something as a PDF, and says "Memoria, Carmen," before pausing to think. Similarly, in example (40), Ana trails off and takes a pause, then remembers something and appeals directly to herself before ending her turn in the conversation. Although these names have a self-reflective property similar to *vocativos autorreflexivos*, they do not have the neutral nature that Natalías Edeso (2005) observes about this group, and were, therefore, excluded. While these examples could not be treated in the same way as vocatives in this data set, they are interesting uses of proper names and could be used in a future study.

Table 5: Vocatives used by all speakers

Vocative	**Tokens**	**Percentage**
Tío/tía	148	47.90%
Proper name (including Mamá/Abuela)	83	26.86%
Hombre	41	13.27%
Hijo/a	12	3.88%
Macho	6	1.94%
Cabrón	4	1.29%
Chico/a/os/as	4	1.29%
Other (asaltacunas, cariño, ché, corazón, falsa, gorda, idiota, pesada, profe, tronca)	11	3.56%
Total	**309**	**100%**

In other cases, proper names were used to identify a specific addressee in a group or to maintain contact with him or her. Also not counted in the present data set were 61 instances of proper names and *palabras cariñosas* (e.g., *bonito, bebé, bizcocho*), where several different

participants in multiple recordings changed from speaking to a human to speaking directly to their dog, as shown in example (41):

(41) 1 JULIÁN: Tus buenas amigas.
2 CARMEN: Ná, si son niñas.
3 JULIÁN: ¡Qué! ¿Qué te pasa?
4 CARMEN: ¡**Osito**! ¿Tienes frío, **Oso**?

1 JULIÁN: 'Your best friends.'
2 CARMEN: 'Nah, they're kids.'
3 JULIÁN: 'What! What's going on with you?'
4 CARMEN: '¡**Osito**! Are you cold, **Oso**?'

In the conversation preceding the excerpt in (41), Carmen was speaking with her boyfriend, Julián, as shown in turns 1 and 2 of (41). They both then shift to interacting with her dog, Oso, in turns 3 and 4. Such markers serve to shift the *interactive frame* of a conversation (Gumperz 1982; Tannen and Wallat 1987; Ensink and Sauer 2003; see also *footing* in Goffman 1981). In (41), *Osito* and *Oso* are both used to change the interactive frame of the conversation from a discussion between two humans to that of one human speaking to the dog. In such cases, the shift in frame was accompanied by changes in intonation, providing easily recognizable "contextualization cues" that made the shift obvious (Gumperz 1982). As Blackwell (2016: 618) explains, Gumperz (1989, 1996) defines these cues as "'a class of verbal signs…that serve to relate what is said on any particular time-bound occasion to knowledge acquired through past experience' (1989: 77), and 'one of a cluster of indexical signs…produced in the act of speaking that jointly index, that is invoke, a frame of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterance' (1996: 379)." While each of these previous studies examined human interaction, interactions such as the one shown in example (41) involved speaking with a pet and therefore do not constitute conversational discourse. Although these tokens where humans were speaking

directly to their dog were not usable in the present study, they merit further examination in the future as markers of frame shifts and indicators of interactive frames of interpretation.

Excluding the examples above, there were 309 vocatives to be analyzed. Some speakers used multiple vocatives in a single turn, or within a single utterance. An utterance can consist of a pause filler (e.g., 'ehh'), or a syntactic sentence (Jørgensen 2013: 154). In the present study, utterances often coincided with syntactic sentences. The end of an utterance was indicated by falling final intonation and marked with a period in the orthographic transcriptions. Additionally, examples of multiple vocatives occurring in the same turn or utterance were analyzed based on certain factors. When the same vocative occurred twice consecutively (e.g., *...tío, tío…*), it was counted as two separate vocative uses. Example (42) serves to illustrate such cases. In this example, Ramón and Carla and speaking with a group of friends at a bar. They work together and wanted to leave early from their job, so they described a "secret" and "special" place that required a special key to enter to trick their two friends, Amelia and Alina, into helping them take out the recycling. In examples of conversations with more than two or three turns taken by speakers, turns were numbered to the left of the speaker's name.

(42) 1 RAMÓN: Es el sitio. A ver, habíamos quedado con ella para tomar algo luego, entonces han venido al bar y digo: *Ven, que te voy a enseñar el sitio secreto. Y tenéis que llevar UNA LLAVE.* La llave del lugar secreto. El lugar secreto es encontrarte con Amelia ((inaudible 3:39)) y encontrarte unos cartones. Ahí había cartones…Y cuando lo han visto han dicho: *Joder*.
2 CARLA: Gracias, de verdad, gracias.
3 RAMÓN: **Cabrón, cabrón**.
4 CARLA: Porque joder…

1 RAMÓN: 'It's the place. Let's see, we were meeting with her to have a drink later, so they came to the bar and I say: *Come, I'm going to show you the secret place*. *And you guys have to bring A KEY*. The key to the secret

place. The secret place is for Amelia to find ((inaudible) and find some cardboard. There were boxes there…and when they saw it, they said: *Damn it.*'
2 CARLA: 'Thank you, really, thank you.'
3 RAMÓN: '**Cabrón, cabrón.**'
4 CARLA: 'Because damn…'

In (42), each use of *cabrón* was coded by vocative choice, utterance and turn position, and function. In both instances, *cabrón* functioned as a solidarity marker, because this taboo vocative was used to refer to Carla as a close friend, and therefore conveys the relationship of camaraderie between these interlocutors. *Cabrón* was counted as two individual instances because the panel of native speakers felt that the second token added emphasis to the first. The first instance of *cabrón* is turn-initial and is refers to Carla. Additionally, Ramón's reply appears to be an emphatic reaction to what Carla just stated.

Example (43) shows a vocative occurring immediately following a different vocative. In such cases, these two vocatives were counted separately, and both iterations were assigned the same utterance position (initial) as well as turn-initial position. These vocatives were counted separately because they have two different functions in the utterance. In (43), Carmen is talking to her sister, María, about driving in to the city center. She hasn't done this in a while and is afraid that things have changed and she won't know where she is going. María assures her that there will be signs for her to follow:

(43) CARMEN: **María**, y si lo han cambiado, me voy a enterar, porque habrá señales, ¿no? A ver si (1.0) me voy a meter y voy a tener que dar la vuelta.
MARÍA: No **hombre**, **Carmen**. Hay señales.

CARMEN: '**María,** and if they've changed them, I am going to notice, because there will be signs, right? Let's see if (1.0) I'm going to notice and I'm going to get there and have to turn around.'
MARÍA: 'No, **hombre, Carmen**. There are signs.'

In this example, *hombre* acts as a *vocativo autorreflexivo* as it is not being used to refer to Carmen, but rather serves a self-reflective function for María (e.g., that María realizes that while Carmen doesn't know where she is going, there are lots of signs that can help her). In (43), the two vocatives were counted separately, and their functions were tagged individually. In contrast, in example (44), the vocatives *tío* and *tía* occur in the same utterance but differ regarding their positions in the utterance. In this example, Magda and José are discussing some of the jobs that they applied for, and Magda is sure that she will get an offer from El Personal. Before taking his turn, José pauses for six seconds, and then speaks, using two vocatives in his reply. In turn 3, José uses *tía* and *tío* both as solidarity markers and contact control markers, functions that will be discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, these two vocatives were tagged the same with respect to their functions, but differently regarding their position in the utterance. In (44), José and Magda are discussing Magda's job search. She works in journalism and has received an offer at El Financiero, but also feels that she will get an offer at El Personal:

(44) 1 JOSÉ: Y que si me cierra una sola cosa te arriesgas a que no te cojan.
2 MAGDA: Eso es lo que me va, lo que me va a pasar a mí con El Personal como no me cojan, a ver qué coño hago, estoy como muy convencida de que me van a coger.
(6.0)
3 JOSÉ: No sé **tía**, fijo que te cogen, si no, **tío**, echas a más cosas.
4 MAGDA: No, si no yo creo que aceptaríaa ehh, la plaza en El Financiero.

1 JOSÉ: 'If one thing closes on me you risk them not hiring you.'
2 MAGDA: 'That's what I'm doing, it's what's going to happen to me with El Personal like they don't hire me, let's see what the fuck I do, I'm really convinced they're going to hire me.'
(6.0)
3 JOSÉ: 'I don't know, **tía**, I think they'll hire you, and if not, **tío**, apply to other things.'
4 MAGDA: 'No, if not I think that I would accept uhh, the position at El Financiero.'

When examining the positions of the vocatives in the data, some additional factors emerged that impacted how each word was tagged. For example, in (45), all uses of the vocatives were tagged as occurring in utterance initial position. If a vocative occurred in sequences of discourse markers, as illustrated in turn 2 of (45) ("¡Pf! Pues *hija*"), it was counted as utterance and turn initial (Jørgensen 2011):

(45) 1 MARÍA: Pero igualmente. Yo ya no te hablaría.
2 CARMEN: ¡Pf! Pues **hija**, ¿tú eres capaz de dejar apuntes aquí tres años?
3 MARÍA: No, pero me da igual.
4 CARMEN: ¡Y no pedirlos nunca!
5 MARÍA: No, pero…
6 CARMEN: Se lo dijimos cuatro o cinco veces: ***Rebeca**, tienes que recogerlo. Sí cuando venga por mi papi*. Y un día, después de, mm, mil años sin saber, me dice: ***Carmen**, que me voy a pasar a recoger los apuntes.* Pues ahora ya no están. Que no había que hacerlo, pues no, pero ya está.

1 MARÍA: 'But still. I wouldn't talk to you anymore.'
2 CARMEN: '¡Pf! Well, **hija**, are you able to leave notes here for three years?'
3 MARÍA: 'No, but I don't care.'
4 CARMEN: 'And never ask for them!'
5 MARÍA: 'No, but…'
6 CARMEN: 'We told her four or five times: ***Rebeca**, you have to pick it up. Yes when I come get my dad*. And one day, after, um, a thousand years of not knowing, she says to me: ***Carmen**, I'm going to stop by to pick up the notes.* Well they're gone now. That it didn't have to be done, well no, but that's it.'

Rebeca and *Carmen* in (45) were tagged this way because they occur at the beginning of a breath group (i.e., at the beginning of an articulated expression or phrase after a pause).

Another recurring feature in the conversations was the use of vocatives in constructed dialogues, which occurred 76 times in the data set. For instance, the italicized portions of the conversation in (45) above represent constructed dialogue. Constructed dialogues are "sequences, formed by quotations that represent past, possible, or imaginary dialogues in an unrehearsed and not literal presentation, [and] are contextually and pragmatically dependent by nature" (Camargo Fernández 2010: 31). Tannen (1986: 311) suggests that "[w]hat is commonly

referred to as reported speech or direct quotation in conversation is constructed dialogue." Because of the frequent instances of constructed dialogue in the transcribed conversations, I created a category with the same name to analyze these particular cases. As these are, in a sense, a conversation within a conversation, each vocative that began a constructed dialogue segment was counted as occurring in initial position. This is the case with the two vocatives, *Rebeca* and *Carmen*, in turn 6 of (33) ("*Rebeca, tienes que recogerlo…me dice: Carmen…*" '*Rebeca*, you have to pick it up…she says to me: *Carmen*…').

Table 6: Summary of vocative use by position in an utterance

Vocative position in utterance	Tokens	Percentage of total vocatives
Initial	215	69.58%
Medial	32	10.36%
Final	62	20.06%
Total	309	100%

Table 7: Summary of vocative use by position in a speaker's turn

Vocative position in a turn	Tokens	Percentage of total vocatives
Initial	103	33.33%
Central	152	49.19%
Final	41	13.27%
Entire Turn	13	4.21%
Total	309	100%

Vocatives were used most frequently in initial position in an utterance, comprising 215 (69.58%) of the 309 cases of vocatives in the entire data set. Utterance final position vocatives were the second most frequent with 62 cases (20.06%), while utterance medial position vocatives

occurred 32 times (10.36%), as shown in Table 6. A more detailed analysis of vocative function concerning position in an utterance is provided in Section 4.7.

Each vocative's position was further analyzed within a speaker's turn. Turn central (or turn medial) vocatives occurred most frequently with 152 tokens (49.19% of all tokens). Vocatives in turn central position were also further divided to include those that occurred in the same turn, but after a pause. Therefore, I indicated when a vocative started, ended, or was in the middle of a breath group, and tagged vocatives for appearing in turn initial (after a pause), turn medial (vocatives by the same speaker before a pause, or with no pauses occurring), and turn final position before the next speakers' turn. Turn initial vocatives occurred 103 times (33.33%), and turn final ones occurred 41 times (13.27%). In 13 cases (4.21%), a vocative made up a speaker's entire turn. These categories are summarized in Table 7. Vocatives as an entire turn were not very common, perhaps because the speaker already had the interlocutor's attention, so there was no need for a call or summons. Example (46) illustrates a vocative constituting an entire turn:

(46) 1 ABUELA: El día…
2 MARÍA: Que…síi, que ya, que casi se ha pasado el día.
3 ABUELA: Pero yo no quiero que pase el día.
4 MARÍA: ¡Que no, que no! ¡Que todavía no ha pasa(d)o!
5 CARMEN: **¡María**!
6 MARÍA: ¡He dicho que casi se ha pasa(d)o, pero no te enfades!
7 CARMEN: No, no, si todavía es por la tarde.
8 MARÍA: Si aún son las seis.

1 ABUELA: 'The day…'
2: MARÍA: 'That…yes, that already, that the day is already almost over.'
3: ABUELA: 'But I don't want the day to be over.'
4 MARÍA: 'No, no! It's still not over yet!'
5 CARMEN: '**María!'**
6 MARÍA: 'I said that it was almost over, but don't get mad!'

7 CARMEN: ‘No, no, it’s still the afternoon.’
8 MARÍA: ‘It’s not even six.’

The vocative in (46) is also an exclamative (i.e., a vocative adding emphasis or expressivity), and conveys surprise in a negative sense. It also functions as an unsolidarity marker, as Carmen’s interjection (*¡María!)* is critical of the response of her sister (María) to their grandmother, as indicated by her tone in the recording, as well as by María telling Carmen “pero no te enfades!” (‘but don’t get mad!’).

There were two different types of vocatives found in turn central position, those occurring in the middle of a turn in any utterance position, and, within that category, vocatives that appeared in the same turn after a pause. Examples (47) and (48) show vocatives in turn central position. The use of brackets in (48) indicates that two participants were speaking at the same time. These examples demonstrate that vocatives in turn central position can occur both at the end of a breath group and at the beginning of one. A specific category within turn central vocatives are those that occur within the same turn, but before or after a pause, as with examples (47) and (48). These vocatives have distinct functions, which will be analyzed in more detail later in this chapter.

(47) 1 CARMEN: Yo eso no lo sabía. Oye, pero es que me echa, me echa muy poco. Yo hago así y sale mierda. Me tengo que echar más.
2 MARÍA: Me teníann, me tenían guardada. ¡Pues espérate ahora y te echas de la tuya, **Carmen**! ¡Que casi no hay!
3 CARMEN: Mira.
4 MARÍA: Pero espérate y te echas ahora cuando se seque. ¡Joe!...Y te desmaquillas bien.

1 CARMEN: ‘I didn’t know that. Hey, but it takes off, it takes off very little I do it like that and it’s turns out like shit. I have to take more off.’
2 MARÍA: ‘I had, I had kept them. Well wait and get yours, **Carmen**! There’s almost none!’
3 CARMEN: ‘Look.’

4 MARÍA: ‘But wait and you take it off when it dries. Damn! And you take your makeup off properly.’

(48) ANA: [Claro, no, no, no. Entonces bien no.] Porque de repente a las nueve de la noche me llamó. (1.0). Y es como: *Mira, yo ya tengo clases*. O sea, a las nueve de la noche un viernes para trabajar el sábado. Yo tenía clases cogidas particulares ya con las niñas. **Tío**, si normalmente me mandas el cuadrante el jueves, qué pasa, que te ha fallado alguien ahora y por eso quieres que vaya yo.

ANA: ‘[Of course, no, no, no. Well then no.] Because all of a sudden at night o’clock at night he called me. And it’s like: *Look, I already have classes*. I mean, at nine o’clock at night on a Friday to work that Saturday. I had private lessons already with the girls. **Tío**, if you normally send me the schedule on Thursday, what happens, that somebody flaked and that’s why you want me to go.’

4.2. Vocative use by functional category

Vocatives occurred in similar percentages across three of the functional categories of vocatives proposed by Kleinknecht (2013), relational, summoning, and emphasis. To this set of functional categories, I also added the class of *vocativos autorreflexivos* (‘self-reflection vocatives’), defined by Edeso Natalías (2005) as vocatives that do not express any kind of positive or negative politeness and that are not necessarily directed toward any specific interlocutor, but rather expresses some type of self-reflection (e.g., the speaker has realized something or is surprised). This category includes expressions such as *hombre, mujer,* or *chico*, which function differently than the other classes of vocatives because they do not always have an intended interlocutor.

Table 8 summarizes the frequency at which vocatives were used by the Spanish speakers having one or more of the four general functions. Summoning vocatives occurred most frequently with 202 tokens (65.37%), followed by 198 (64.08%) emphatic uses, 181 (58.58%)

relational functions, and 55 (17.80%) self-reflective uses. These categories are broken down in more detail in Table 9. Due to their polyfunctional nature, each vocative often had more than one function in an utterance. However, examples cited and discussed in each section below were categorized based on their perceived primary functions, which were confirmed by a group of eight native Spanish speakers from Spain. The polyfunctional nature of vocatives also accounts for the totals by function in Tables 8 and 9 being higher than the 309 tokens of vocatives used in the recordings. Therefore, percentages given in these tables do not total 100%, as they were calculated based on the 309 vocatives used. For example, 181 relational vocatives equate to 58.58% of the 309 vocatives present in the data set. Therefore, 58.58% of the 309 vocatives were used in a relational capacity, but may have also been used for summoning, emphasis, or self-reflection. For example, it was not uncommon for a vocative to be used as a solidarity marker (relational function) and as a contact control marker (summoning function). In such cases, the vocative marks a speaker's need to be heard and understood, and also highlighted the closeness of their relationship. The ways in which these functions were identified in the data set are explained below. Additionally, examples of vocatives included in the following sections may have more than one function in the utterance, and were coded as such (as in Tables 8 and 9). For example, ¡*María*!, repeated from (46), has both an exclamative (emphasis/expressivity) function as well as that of an unsolidarity marker, but its primary function, determined by the group of native speakers, was that of exclamation indicating surprise.

4.3. Relational vocatives

In the relational category, vocatives were commonly used to identify and recognize an addressee and mark solidarity or define a relationship between the interlocutors. Vocatives in this category

were also used to mitigate a request or order, or as part of a formula or routine, although these cases were much less frequent. Examples of each of these relational uses are presented in the following sections.

Table 8: Summary of vocative function by category

Functional Category	Tokens	Percentage of total
Relational	181	58.58%
Summoning	202	65.37%
Emphasis	198	64.08%
Self-reflection	55	17.80%

Table 9: Specific vocative function by category

Vocative Function	Tokens	Percentage of total
Addressee identification	65	21.04%
Call	13	4.21%
Contact control	111	35.92%
Constructed dialogue	76	24.60%
Emphasis/expressivity	198	64.08%
Formulae and routines	2	0.65%
Mitigator	2	0.65%
Self-reflective (*autorreflexivo*)	55	17.80%
Solidarity marker	116	37.54%
Turn management	165	53.40%
Total	309	

4.3.1. Addressee identification and recognition

Examples (49) and (50) are taken from conversations involving more than two participants. In such situations, speakers commonly use the name of the intended addressee to ensure that all participants know with whom they are trying to engage. In (49), Ramón is at a bar and is deciding what he wants to eat, so he asks David (the owner of the bar and his good friend) what he would order, referring to him directly by his first name. In using the proper name *David*, he is selecting David as the addressee among the group of interlocutors present. The excerpt in (49) also includes an example of what Levinson (1983) calls an adjacency pair. Adjacency pairs are "the kind of paired utterances of which question—answer, greeting—greeting, offer—acceptance, apology—minimization, etc., are prototypical" (Levison 1983: 303). In (49), Ramón clearly selects David as the next speaker by asking him a question, and David directly replies. This question—answer is an example of an adjacency pair, and demonstrates Ramón's identification of David as the addressee:

(49) CARLA: …tiene que estar en las últimas.
RAMÓN: Si te pidieras algo, ¿qué te pedirías, **David**?
DAVID: Yo ahora mismo, con el hambre que tengo, todo. ¡Buf! Hasta un sándwich que me he comido ahí, y eran migas.

CARLA: '…it had to be in the last ones.'
RAMÓN: 'If you were ordering something, what would you order, **David**?'
DAVID: 'Right now, with how hungry I am, everything. Uf! Even a sandwich I ate there, it was just crumbs.'

Similarly, in the excerpt in (50), in which Victoria is involved in a conversation with several family members, she addresses Carlos by his first name to ensure he understands that she is speaking directly to him. Vocatives with a function of addressee identification and recognition were most commonly used when more than two interlocutors were participating in a conversation.

(50) 1 VICTORIA: Entonces erais muchos.
2 CARLOS: Quizás somos quinientos.
3 VICTORIA: **Hombre**, tantos no creo. **Carlos**, cuántos, cuántos, ¿cuántas clases hay? ¿Cuántas aulas hay de primero y cuántas aulas hay de la E.S.O?
4 CARLOS: Diría que son cinco.
5 VICTORIA: De bachiller.
6 CARLOS: Sí.

1 VICTORIA: 'So there are a lot of you.'
2 CARLOS: 'I think there are fifty of us.'
3 VICTORIA: '**Hombre**, I don't think there are that many of you. **Carlos**, how many, how many, how many classes are there? How many classrooms are there for primary and how many rooms are there for Compulsory Secondary Education?'
4 CARLOS: 'I'd say there are five.'
5 VICTORIA: 'For high school.'
6 CARLOS: 'Yes.'

Example (51) illustrates the use of the vocative *David* by Carla to indicate the addressee. In this example, a group of friends are sitting at a bar while they talk. David hasn't spoken in a few turns, and Carla directly identifies him and states that he should say something:

(51) 1 CARLA: Ya, porque se sentiría ella mal. Diría: *Ya mejor que no voy porque me han hecho la cobra tres o cuatro veces, mejor no voy*.
2 AMELIA: Sí.
(2.0)
3 CARLA: Venga, **David**, cuéntate algo.
4 RAMÓN: Estoy cansa(d)o, **tía**.
5 CARLA: ¿No te ayudó nadie al final?
6 DAVID: ¿Hoy qué es, martes?

1 CARLA: 'Yeah, because she would feel bad. I would say: *It's better that I don't go because they already rejected me three or four times, it's better if I don't go.*'
2 AMELIA: 'Yes.'
(2.0)
3 CARLA: 'Come on, **David**, say something.'
4 RAMÓN: 'I'm tired, **tía**.'

5 CARLA: ‘Nobody helped you out in the end?’
6 DAVID: ‘What’s today, Tuesday?’

4.3.2. Formulae and routines

Vocatives used in formulae and routines were not very common in this data set. Formulae and routines are commonly used when greeting an addressee upon arrival, or to say goodbye when leaving a conversation. The participants in the recorded conversations had already greeted each other when the recordings were started, and they stopped recording themselves before saying their goodbyes, which appears to have influenced the number of examples in this category. In fact, the only two examples of vocatives in formulae and routines in the recordings were instances of reported speech. In example (52), Victoria repeated a formulaic leave-taking expression from a previous conversation, involving another speaker saying goodbye to Carlos.

(52) VICTORIA: Dijo: *¡Adiós,* ***Carlos****!*
‘I said: *Bye,* ***Carlos****!*’

In the other instance of formulaic language use with a vocative, Magda and José are discussing a new job that Magda will be starting soon. While imagining her first day, Magda describes to José a hypothetical situation in which she enters her new job from a big door and greets everyone using the vocative *chicos*. In this case, Magda acts as though she is arriving to her first day and greets everyone there. In (53), brackets indicate that two speakers were talking at the same time.

(53) 1 MAGDA: Entrando por la puerta grande…
2 JOSÉ: [*¡Hola*!]
3 MAGDA: *¡Hola,* ***chicos***!
4 JOSÉ: [*¡Hola, buenas*!]

1 MAGDA: ‘Entering through the big door…’
2 JOSÉ: ‘[*Hello*!]’
3 MAGDA: ‘*Hi,* ***chicos****!’*
4 JOSÉ: ‘[*Hi, hello!*]’

The lack of vocatives pertaining to this category in the corpus analyzed is not necessarily representative of the everyday use of such vocatives by native speakers of Madrid Spanish as a whole, especially because of the absence of greetings at the beginning and goodbyes at the end of the recordings.

4.3.3. Mitigators

Vocatives in this category are used to mitigate potentially face-threatening speech acts, such as jokes or orders, and function to diminish the threat such speech acts may engender. Vocatives used with the function of mitigation of speech acts and badinage (i.e., playful, light-hearted banter or teasing; Kleinknecht 2013: 152) were extremely infrequent in this data set, with only two examples in the transcribed conversations. Example (54) illustrates the use of a vocative for mitigation. José uses *Hombre* in turn 2 to initiate his turn in the conversation and then expresses his disagreement with Magda, who has just stated, in turn 1, that she believes that their friend, Lola, receives excessive male attention because she has large breasts.

(54) 1 MAGDA: Claro, y además Lola tiene curvas, porque igual si yo me pongo eso tampoco te fijabas, ¿sabes? Porque no llamo la atención, pero ¡LOLA SÍ LLAMA la atención porque tiene cuerpo! ¿Sabes? Entonces claro, pues los chicos nnn, tal y LOLA: *Joder, **tía**, es que no sé qué*. Y estuve a punto de decirle: ***Tronca**, qué esperas, es que de verdad*. Yo tam…((inaudible))

2 JOSÉ: **Hombre**, a ver, te quiero decir, nunca la culpa es de la persona que lleva el vestido escotado, la culpa es de la persona que no se puede controlar, o sea, quiero decirte…

3 MAGDA: No controlar, pero tampoco se lo estaban diciendo en plan mal, ¿sabes?

4 JOSÉ: ¡Pero es que no tienen que decirle nada!

1 MAGDA: ‘Sure, and besides, Lola has curves, because even if I wear that, you don’t even notice, you know? Because I don’t draw attention, but LOLA DOES DRAW attention because she has a body! You know? So of course, the boys nnn, and such and LOLA: *Damn, **tía**, it’s just I don’t know what*.

And I almost told her: ***Tronca****, what did you expect, seriously.* I also…((inaudible))'

2 JOSÉ: '**Hombre**, let's see, I want to tell you, it's never the fault of the person that wears the low-cut dress, it's the fault of the person who can't control themselves, I mean, I want to tell you…'

3 MAGDA: 'Not control, but they also weren't saying it like it was bad, you know?'

4 JOSÉ: 'But they don't have to tell her anything!'

In turn 2, José explains that it is never the fault of the woman who chooses to dress in a more revealing manner, and that men are perfectly capable of not looking at Lola. José's disagreement with what Magda has said, and the fact that the topic may be a sensitive one for many women, could be why José mitigates what he is about to say by using the vocative *hombre*. In other words, *hombre* serves to mitigate José's ensuing counterargument.

4.3.4. Solidarity markers/definition of a relationship

This final category of the relational functional group involves the use of solidarity and unsolidarity markers. Vocatives as solidarity markers were very common and were used with this function 116 times. These vocatives either mark solidarity with the interlocutor, by attempting to bond with them, or they mark a lack of solidarity, by showing animosity toward the listener. There is an issue of circularity with this category in that, on the one hand, the use of vocatives with a solidarity function marks the relationship between interlocutors, but on the other, the relationship between the interlocutors determines whether or not vocatives would be used between interlocutors at all. This observation raises the methodological problem of how to discern speakers' motivations for using vocatives, which should be addressed future analyses of vocative use and functioning. Furthermore, vocatives in this category often overlap with (i.e., also function as) contact control markers because the speaker is both reinforcing her relationship

with the interlocutor, while assuring that she is being heard and understood (Jørgensen 2008). Vocatives used in this manner are shown in examples (55)-(59). In (55), a group of friends are hanging out in a bar and deciding if anyone wants anything to eat. Ramón appears to be the only one who is hungry, so Carla tells him "Todo para ti, *corazón*." ('Everything [is] for you, sweetheart.')

(55) 1 RAMÓN: O sea, quiero decir. Yo voy a pedir algo de cenar, por si queréis…
2 AMELIA: Yo no.
3 RAMÓN: ¿No?
4 AMELIA: Que yo comí a las seis.
5 RAMÓN: ¡Vaya!
6 CARLA: Todo para ti, **corazón**.
7 RAMÓN: Justo…El otro día probé las gulas. Sí, la…
8 CARLA: ¿La tosta?

1 RAMÓN: 'I mean, I want to say. I'm going to order something for dinner, in case you guys want to…'
2 AMELIA: 'I don't.'
3 RAMÓN: 'No?'
4 AMELIA: 'I ate at six.'
5 RAMÓN: 'Wow!'
6 CARLA: 'Everything for you, **sweetheart**.'
7 RAMÓN: 'Fair…The other day I tried the eels. Yes, the…'
8 CARLA: 'The tosta?'

Here, the use of the vocative *corazón*, a *vocativo cariñoso* (Hasbún Hasbún 2013) expresses affection toward the listener, and therefore demonstrates the close relationship between the interlocutors. Although in (55), a *vocativo cariñoso* is used to demonstrate the relationship between Carla and Ramón, the interpretation of this example as expressing a close relationship between interlocutors is independent of the vocative choice. In (56), Magda discusses how comfortable her new pants are, and José responds that he thinks they look great, using *tía* to demonstrate his bond and friendship with Magda.

(56) MAGDA: Estoy tan cómoda con esos pantalones, me los compré el otro día.
JOSÉ: Molan bastante, **tía**.

MAGDA: 'I'm so comfortable in these pants, I bought them the other day.'
JOSÉ: 'They're really cool, **tía**.'

In (57), the same two speakers are discussing their opinions about how Spain usually fares in the Eurovisión competition. They both have similar opinions and reinforce their agreement with, and understanding of each other, by using the solidarity markers *macho* and *tío*.

(57) 1 JOSÉ: Claro, pues nada, pues ganamos ese año Eurovisión, pero dicen que bueno, que no fue muy lícito.
2 MAGDA: ((Risas)) Puto Franco (1.0).
3 JOSÉ: Siempre nos boic-, de todas formas, ¡siempre nos boicoteamos nuestras historias, **macho**!
4 MAGDA: ¡Eso digo yo, **tío**! Con lo bonito que habría quedado en la historia en *Ganamos una vez Eurovisión*.

1 JOSÉ: 'Of course, well nothing, we win Eurovision that year, but they say okay, that it wasn't very fair.'
2 MAGDA: '((Laughs)) Fucking Franco (1.0).'
3 JOSÉ: 'We always sab-, in any case, we always sabotage our stories, **macho**!'
4 MAGDA: 'That's what I say, **tío**! Think of how beautiful it would have been in the story in *We once won Eurovision.*'

It is interesting to note that in example (56), José refers to Magda using *tía,* while in (57) he refers to her with *macho*. This illustrates that certain vocatives are more neutral or semantically bleached (i.e., they retain less of their original semantic meanings) than others. *Macho*, among other vocatives, can be used to refer to both men and women.

Unsolidarity markers (Fraser 1996: 186), while much less common, were also found in the oral data collected. The use of these markers demonstrates a lack of solidarity with the interlocutor, as illustrated in example (58):

(58) CARMEN: ((Tose)) ¡Ay, bueno! Y luego en el baile ese que hubo, al principio, pusieron así tipo reguetón y tal. Y luego, a los diez minutos pasados del… la discoteca, pusieron música tipo: *Saturdei night, nanana…* Y ya, y una canción nueva, que es, que luego te la pongo que se llama Veo, veo. Y está súper guay. Pero en plann marchosa de bailar. Y ves a un, a uno de

los monitores que es dell campamento en inglés, que es animador de cruceros y tal, que se le nota un montón, él haciendo la coreografía ¡Y TODOS IMITANDO LA COREOGRAFÍA! Fue genial, bailando.
MARÍA: Esoo es lo que hacemos siempre, **hija**.

CARMEN: '((Coughs)) Oh, good! And later in that dance there was, at the beginning, they played reggaeton and such. And later, within ten minutes of…the discoteque, they put on like type of music like: *Saturday night, nanana*…And already, and a new song, that is, I'll play it for you later that's called I see, I see. And it's really cool. But likee upbeat for dancing . And you see a, one of the instructors that's from thee English camp, that's an entertainer on cruises and such, that's super obvious, he's doing the choreography. AND EVERYONE IMITATING THE CHOREOGRAPHY! It was awesome, dancing.'
MARÍA: 'Thaat is what we always do, **hija**.'

The conversation in (58) occurs between two sisters, with Carmen speaking very excitedly about a night out at the discotheques. After listening, her sister replies by saying that this is what they always do, using *hija* at the end of her utterance. This use of *hija* appears to be dismissive of Carmen's excitement about the disco, and conveys Carmen's little consideration of, or interest in what her sister said, and possibly her annoyance at her level of excitement over a regular occurrence. While there are other instances of *hija* used as a solidarity marker in the oral data, in (58), it functions as a marker of unsolidarity (dismissiveness) toward the interlocutor (Carmen). In another conversation between the same sisters, María demonstrates unsolidarity (disagreement) with Carmen regarding her opinion of a girl that they both know (Rebeca), which is immediately followed by the vocative *hombre* in turn 4 in (59):

(59) 1 CARMEN: ¿Y qué dijimos?
2 MARÍA: No me acuerdo.
3 CARMEN: Yo creo que le dije la verdad. Qué mal me cae Rebeca.
4 MARÍA: Qué no, **hombre**, ¿por qué?
5 CARMEN: ¡Porque es una falsa! Si ya casi, ya ni me habla. Desde los apuntes, me odia.
6 MARÍA: Pero es normal.

1 CARMEN: ‘And what did we say?’
2 MARÍA: ‘I don’t remember.’
3 CARMEN: ‘I think that I told her the truth. I don’t like Rebeca.’
4 MARÍA: ‘No, **hombre**, why?’
5 CARMEN: ‘Because she’s a fake! And now she hardly, she doesn’t even talk to me. Since the thing with the notes, she hates me.’
6 MARÍA: ‘But that’s normal.’

María appears to reinforce her opposition to Carmen’s negative appraisal of Rebeca in turn 4 by using *hombre* in the phrase “Qué no, *hombre*, ¿por qué?” (‘No, *hombre*, why?’). *Hombre* could also be a mitigator in the context of disagreement, while also serving the self-reflective function, which will be described in further detail in Section 4.6.

4.4. Attention summoning vocatives

The next category of vocative functions proposed by Kleinknecht (2013) is that of summoning attention. Vocatives categorized in this group were commonly used to call the attention of an interlocutor, to summon an interlocutor, or to manage turn-taking. While Kleinknecht includes vocatives as summonses in this category, there were no examples of vocatives used this way in the present data set. I also added *marcadores de control de contacto* (‘contact control markers’) to this category as they help a speaker to maintain contact with an interlocutor during a conversation. Examples of each of these attention summoning uses are discussed in the subsequent sections.

4.4.1. Calls

Calls are used to get the attention of a listener, and vocatives employed for this purpose occurred 13 times (4.21%) in the oral data. In (60), David uses *tía* to get the attention of another participant in the conversation (Amelia) who seems to be forgetting her phone.

(60) CARLA: … Historia. Creo que cada vez que se acuerden, les va a salir la risa tonta. Pero cuando están hasta solas. Te lo digo de verdá. Tienes cada cosa.
DAVID: **Tía**, tu móvil.

CARLA: '…History. I think that every time they remember it, they're going to giggle. But even when they're alone. I'm telling you. You have everything.'
DAVID: '**Tía**, your phone.'

4.4.2. Contact control

Vocatives serving as contact control markers were used 111 times (35.92%), making them the fourth most frequent function of vocatives in the data set. These markers both strengthen contact between interlocutors and assure that the speaker is being understood. For example, in (61), Carmen can't believe that a friend could have cockroaches in her house. María responds in the next turn, first with the vocative, *Carmen*, followed by a statement of justification to support the supposition that Lola's house has cockroaches (they can be found in every house in the world). When Carmen doesn't appear to believe that such a nice house could have them, her sister repeats the vocative *Carmen*, in a second attempt to get her point across and mark her desire that her sister understand her message.

(61) 1 CARMEN: ¿Pero Lola tiene cucarachas?
2 MARÍA: **Carmen**, en todas las casas del mundo.
3 CARMEN: ¡Pero si es una casa maravillosa!
4 MARÍA: **Carmen**, ¿en Barcelona, Lola tiene una casa maravillosa?
5 CARMEN: ¡Ah! La de Salamanca.
6 MARÍA: Claro.

1 CARMEN: 'But does Lola have cockroaches?'
2 MARÍA: '**Carmen**, they're in every house in the world.'
3 CARMEN: 'But even if it's a fabulous house!'
4 MARÍA: '**Carmen**, in Barcelona, does Lola have a fabulous house?'
5 CARMEN: 'Oh! The one in Salamanca.'
6 MARÍA: 'Of course.'

Many of the examples of vocatives used for contact control frequently served to simultaneously add emphasis to an utterance and to maintain contact with the listener, as is the case with both examples (61). While both vocatives in (61) also add emphasis to what María is saying, their primary function is to assure that her message is being understood by Carmen. Similarly, in example (62), José discusses his opinions on Eurovisión and how 24 out of 26 countries did a pop song for their performances. While giving his opinion, he uses *tío* to maintain contact with Magda. *Tío* also marks José's desire to be heard and understood. In (62), the first use of *tío* in "¡Coño, tío!" ('Damn, *tío*!') functions primarily as an exclamative. However, the second example of *tío* primarily functions as a contact control marker, to ensure that Magda is still listening and understanding what José is discussing.

(62) 1 JOSÉ: O sea, es que por ejemplo el otro día en Eurovisión era sis-, si eran veintiséis países, pues veinticuatro canciones eran pop, una era rock y otra era heavy metal.
2 MAGDA: [Hm]
3 JOSÉ: O sea, dos canciones (.) que no eran pop. Comparada con el resto, ¡y era todo pop! ¡Coño, **tío**! Hay que busc-, o sea, no sé. Es como todo producirlo en plan paraa, para que guste, para ganar, para tal, cuando, **tío**, Eurovisión tendría que ser buscar un talento en tu país y sacarlo ahí.
4 MAGDA: Eso es lo que hizo Portugal el año pasado y de es-, de hecho, ese chico es MUY BUENO…

1 JOSÉ: 'I mean, for example the other day in Eurovision there were sis-, if there were twenty-six countries, then twenty-four songs were pop, one was rock and one was heavy metal.'
2 MAGDA: '[Hm]'
3 JOSÉ: 'I mean, two songs (.) that weren't pop. Compared to the rest, everything was pop! Damn it, **tío**! You have to loo-, I mean, I don't know. It's like everything is made in a way that, that you like it, to win, so that, when, **tío**, Eurovision would have to look for talent in your country and get it there.'
4 MAGDA: 'That's what Portugal did last year and in th-, in fact, that guy is REALLY GOOD.'

The second use of *tío* in (62) functions as a contact control marker because it occurs before

José's criticism of Eurovision and how it could improve. José ensures that Magda is listening and understands him before making this strong point.

4.4.3. Turn management

Vocatives used for turn-management can serve to organize the structure of the conversation, to elicit a response from the addressee, or get the attention of the other interlocutors, as if to invite them to take a turn (Kleinknecht 2013: 153-154). Additionally, they may be used to signal that the speaker wants to claim the floor. When analyzing vocative functioning in the transcribed conversations, it is crucial to note that details regarding body language and gestures were not included in the transcriptions. These contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982, 1989, 1996; Blackwell 2016) could have an impact on the interpretation of vocatives as turn managers and contact control markers. This makes it difficult to nail down the functions of vocatives in some instances, and is a limitation of this study that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In the transcribed conversations, vocatives were used in 165 cases (53.40%) to manage a speaker's turn in the conversation. Within this category, vocatives occurred 96 times in turn initial position, and 37 and 27 times in turn central and final positions, respectively. Finally, five of these examples constituted a speaker's entire turn. Frequently, these markers were found at the beginning of a turn to signal that the speaker wanted claim the floor from another speaker. Additionally, as is the case with example (63), vocatives with a turn-management function were often found after a pause within the same turn to denote that the speaker wished to continue his current turn in the conversation (an uncertain passage spoken by José is included in parentheses):

(63) JOSÉ: Mira que me lo ha dicho mi madre, ¿eh? (Algo podemos…)
(5.0) **Tío**, tengo la mano congelada. Estoy escribiendo…
MAGDA: Quieres que sujete yo un ratoo el este.

JOSÉ: 'Look at what my mom said to me, okay? (Something we can…)
(5.0) **Tío**, my hand is frozen. I'm writing…'
MAGDA: 'Do you want me to hold that for a while.'

In (63), José speaks and then takes a five second pause. In order to continue speaking (i.e., resume his turn) in the conversation, he uses *tío* to reinitiate his turn and preface his upcoming utterance. *Tío* also functions to get the attention of Magda, who may not be listening after a five second pause.

4.4.4. Constructed dialogues

There were several examples in which vocatives were used in constructed dialogues, including (64) and (65) (constructed portions of the transcribed speech appear in italics). In (64), José and Magda are discussing a band that Magda likes, which is going to split up soon and just had one of their final concerts. Magda constructs a conversation about this topic based on one she previously had with her friend, Sara.

(64) 1 JOSÉ: ¿Se van a separar?
2 MAGDA: ¡Síii! Este ha sido su penúltimo concierto. Le digo a Sara: ***Sara**, ehh, volvemos al siguiente fijo*.
3 JOSÉ: [Al último]
4 MAGDA: Se me queda así mirando y me dice: *¡Se van a separar, **tía**!*
5 JOSÉ: ¿Qué dices?

1 JOSÉ: 'They're breaking up?'
2 MAGDA: 'Yesss! This was their second to last concert. I tell Sara: ***Sara**, uhh, we are going to the next one for sure.*'
3 JOSÉ: '[To the last one]'
4 MAGDA: 'She just looks at me like this and says: *They're going to break up, **tía**!*'
5 JOSÉ: 'Are you serious?'

In (65), Ana discusses her part-time job in a clothing store. She complains to Javier about her schedule and her boss's disorganization by recounting a conversation that she had with him.

(65) ANA: Yo fui y le dijee en plan: *Oye, mira, no voy a seguir trabajando, tal, no sé qué*. Y me dijo: *No, **hombre**, tómate estee, este fin de semana no trabajas y el siguiente vienes*. Y yo (dije): ***Tío**, ¿qué dueño es este?. No tengo experiencia en vender, no entiendo pa'(ra) qué me quiere retener*, ¿sabes?, pero dije: *Bueno, bueno, (ya veré)*. (1.0). Yy, bueno, entonces, ehh, ese fin de semana no trabajé.

ANA: 'I went and I toldd him like: *Hey, look, I'm not going to keep working, and this and that*. And te tells me: *No, **hombre**, take thiss, this weekend don't work and then the next you come back.* And I (said): ***Tío**, what kind of boss is this?. I don't have any retail experience, I don't understand why he wants to keep me*, you know?, but I said: *Okay, okay, we'll see*. (1.0). Andd, well, then, uhh, that weekend I didn't work.'

In both (64) and (65), the speakers recreate a conversation that happened in the past. To demonstrate that multiple people were involved in these conversations, both Magda and Ana use vocatives to mark the points in their conversations where their speech is a constructed dialogue. Magda uses a proper name to distinguish between speakers, while Ana uses *hombre* and *tío* to do so. According to the native speakers whom I consulted regarding vocative interpretation and functioning in the Spanish conversations, the vocatives used in (64) and (65) also add emphasis to what the speaker is saying, which was common throughout the examples of constructed dialogue appearing in the data.

4.5. Emphatic vocatives

The final functional category of vocatives is that of emphasis or expressivity. Within this category, Kleinknecht (2013) differentiated between vocatives were used to emphasize part of an utterance, to add illocutional reinforcement to an utterance, or as exclamatives. As described in Chapter 2, these uses have frequent overlap, and it can be extremely challenging to distinguish between them. Therefore, I identified vocatives used to add emphasis or expressivity to an utterance, and found 198 tokens of vocatives (64.08% of total vocatives used) employed for

either or both of these purposes. For example, a speaker might add emphasis or reinforcement to their statement by citing something that a speaker has said before (Kleinknecht 2013). In example (66), Ramón, Carla, and David are at David's bar discussing food. First, David states that he does not want to eat because he wants to lose weight, and he interjects *tío* to appeal to Ramón and emphasize and justify his stance. However, Ramón continues to read through the menu and insists that he is extremely hungry, using *tío* to refer directly to David, thus emphasizing his current state, being hungry and wanting to eat, which contrasts directly with the addressee's desires.

(66) DAVID: Imagínate como estoy ahora mismo, es que no quiero comer, **tío**, quiero perder kilos.
(2.0)
RAMÓN: ¡Uf! El rabo de toro asado con pisto andaluz. (2.0) Tengo un hambre, **tío**, que da calambre.
DAVID: Pues tú mismo. Estás a tiempo.

DAVID: 'Imagine how am I right now, it's just that I don't want to eat, **tío**, I want to lose weight.'
(2.0)
RAMÓN: 'Uf! The roasted bull tail with Andalusian ratatouille. I'm so hungry, **tío**, that it's giving me a cramp.'
DAVID: 'Well suit yourself. You're just in time.'

Example (67) also illustrates the use of vocatives to add emphasis. In (68), Ana and Javier are talking about the photos that a friend posts on Instagram and both think that she must use Photoshop:

(67) 1 JAVIER: Hemos servido pa'(ra) acercar ahí a ((inaudible)).
2 ANA: **Tío**, que flipábamos. **Tío**, ¿cómo lo hará para que parezca eso? Porque, claro, otra amiga que ((inaudible)) que también está muchísim-, o sea, la otra también está con lo de la, el peso y tal, y decimos: ***Tío****, qué fuerte, lo que ha adelgazado, ¿cómo lo habrá hecho?, no sé qué.* ((inaudible)) **Tío**, nos hemos torturado mogollón, que cómo lo habrá hecho y ((inaudible)).
3 JAVIER: Día-, días así todos ((risas)). ¡Necesito saberlo!
4 ANA: Y es como: ***Tío****, ¿en serio?*

5 JAVIER: Sí, joder. Es raro. Es que yo nunca he te-, no, no sé, la única perso-, no, no tengo nadie que disimule tan bien sus fotos, ¿sabes? En plan, ¿a ver?

1 JAVIER: 'We came in handy to get closer to ((inaudible)).'
2 ANA: '**Tío**, we freaked out. **Tío**, how are you doing it to make you look like that? Because, of course, another friend that ((inaudible)) that also is real, that is, the other girl also is like that with, the weight and such, and we say: ***Tío****, how crazy, how skinny she got, how could she have done it?, And this and that.* ((inaudible)) **Tío**, we've tortured ourselves, trying to figure out how she did it and ((inaudible))'
3 JAVIER: 'Day-, everyone spent days like this ((laughs)). I need to know!'
4 ANA: 'And it's like: ***Tío****, really?*'
5 JAVIER: 'Yes, damn. It's weird. It's like I never have te-, no, I don't know, the only perso-, no, I don't have anyone that fakes their photos so well, you know? Like, let's see?'

Example (67) includes five uses of *tío*. The first two examples of *tío* function to add emphasis to what Ana is saying, as does the final example of *Tío* in turn 2. Each of these examples reinforces part of the informational structure of the utterance. For example, the first use of *tío* in turn 2 emphasizes Ana's reaction to the information that Javier has just shared. Her next use of *tío* in the same turn reinforces the information that follows ("¿cómo lo hará para que parezca eso?"). As previously mentioned, vocatives functioning as contact control markers frequently overlapped with those adding emphasis to an utterance. However, the panel of native speakers indicated that the primary function of these three examples of *tío* was that of adding emphasis to what was stated by Ana. The remaining two examples of *tío* in (67) occur in constructed dialogues (indicated in italics in turns 2 and 4) and are discussed separately in this chapter.

Some vocatives within this category denote surprise, anger, or other emotions, and are often modified by an interjection, a possessive, or an adjective, although they may occur alone (Kleinknecht 2013). Example (68) shows the use of two vocatives in a row, *Hombre* and *Carmen*

(turn 4). While *Hombre* has a self-reflection function, *Carmen* is an expressive vocative that denotes María's annoyance with her sister:

(68) 1 CARMEN: No, pero que tiene nueve años. No, sí, que tiene nueve años, pero a mí me han parecido que han tenido seis. Mi, mi, mi grupo, o sea, yo con ocho años, ¿a que no era así?
2 MARÍA: Que sí, **Carmen**, que eras así. No te acuerdas. ¡Porque tú no te ves!
3 CARMEN: Pero yo no era tan enana. Pero es que yo...
4 MARÍA: **¡Hombre, Carmen**! Es que tú has sido muy alta siempre, pero... ¡Anda, que tu clase! **Carmen**: ¿Nadia era alta? Noo.

1 CARMEN: 'No, but she's nine years old. No, yes, she's nine, but she looked to me like she was six. My, my, my group, rather, when I was eight, I wasn't like that, no?'
2 MARÍA: 'Yes, **Carmen**, you were like that. You don't remember. Because you don't see yourself!'
3 CARMEN: 'But I wasn't that small. But it's just that I…'
4 MARÍA: '**Hombre, Carmen**! It's just that you've always been really tall, but… Come on, think of your class! **Carmen**: Was Nadia tall? Noo.'

In (68), María is very annoyed with her sister and uses *hombre* immediately followed by her name (in turn 4) to show her frustration that her sister is not on the same page. The other two instances of *Carmen* add emphasis (in turn 2) and serve as a contact control marker (the final example in turn 4).

In example (69), Magda mentions that she doesn't see herself having sex with Rubén again even though she has known him for so long. José then responds by laughing and exclaiming *¡Tía!*, as he seems to be shocked by her statement:

(69) MAGDA: Sí, me ha dicho eso que si estaba por Madrid, que si nos veíamos y tal, pero… O sea, yo a Rubén le tengo mucho cariño de verdad además que le conozco desde hace ya seis o siete años o sea que ya es tiempo no le conocí ayer, ¿sabes? Le conozco ya y le conozco bien (1.0) Peroo… es que yo no me veo volviendo a follar con él, ¿sabes?
JOSÉ: ((Risas)) **¡Tía**!

MAGDA: 'Yes, he told me that if he was in Madrid, that if we saw each other and such, but…I mean, I really care for Rubén honestly and I've known him for six or seven years already that is I didn't meet him yesterday, you know? I know him already and I know him well. (1.0) Buut…it's just that I don't see myself fucking him again, you know?'
JOSÉ: '((Laughs)) **Tía**!'

In both examples (68) and (69), the use of an expressive vocative suggests that the speaker felt a strong emotion, such as surprise, anger, or frustration.

4.6. Self-reflection vocatives (*vocativos autorreflexivos*)

This category of vocatives, as proposed by Edeso Natalías (2005), are those that show a self-reflective attitude by the speaker. These vocatives are usually more neutral, meaning that they indicate neither positive nor negative politeness, and include vocatives such as *hombre*, *mujer*, and *chico*. There were 55 tokens (17.80% of all vocatives in the data) used for self-reflection. According to Edeso Natalías (2005), these vocatives may be used to demonstrate that a speaker has realized something or to show surprise. Finally, these vocatives differ from the those with one or more of the other three functions in that they may not refer to a specific interlocutor, but rather are reactionary on the part of the speaker. Examples (71) and (72) illustrate the use of vocatives in this category. Self-reflection vocatives frequently also served a turn-management function, as they often occurred in turn-initial position, indicating that a speaker wanted to take a turn in the conversation.

In example (70), sisters María and Carmen are chatting about their days, when María asks "¿Qué voy a comer?" ('What am I going to eat?') to her sister, Carmen. When Carmen responds that she has no idea what María should eat, María pauses for a second and then merely states "*Macho*."

(70) 1 MARÍA: ¡Pues arroz! ¿Qué voy a comer?
2 CARMEN: Yo que sé.
(1.0)
3 MARÍA: **Macho**.
(5.0)
4 CARMEN: ((Estornuda)) Quee…chus.

1 MARÍA: 'Well rice! What am I going to eat?'
2 CARMEN: 'How should I know.'
(1.0)
3 MARÍA: '**Macho**.'
4 CARMEN: '((Sneezes)) Whaat…a sneeze.'

In (70), María appears to attempt to reinitiate the conversation, and not let the silence continue, after a brief pause in the conversation by simply stating *Macho* and waiting for Carmen to continue her turn. *Macho* is not referring specifically to Carmen, but rather merely functions to avoid silence (and, therefore, serves a phatic purpose), and is a self-reflective vocative used as María indecisively figures out what she wants to eat. While intonation was not a factor in the present study, in this example, intonation was examined to determine whether or not María used *Macho* in annoyance with Carmen. Her tone does not rise or fall and indicates no annoyance. *Macho* is also neutral in that it can be used with males or females, and is not a taboo vocative.

In (71), José and Magda are discussing summer plans. José doesn't know what he is going to do and Magda states that everyone seems to be staying in Madrid and no one is doing anything particularly interesting. José replies that they could always go to Gandía by stating "*Hombre*, Gandía siempre estará ahí" ('*Hombre*, Gandía will always be there'):

(71) 1 JOSÉ: No sé qué voy a hacer este verano tampoco, así que bueno, ni idea.
2 MAGDA: No, está todo el mundo igual, ¿eh? Yo la verdá es que todo el mundo que conozco se quedaa en Madrid este verano o sea nadie se va, a ningún la(d)o ni va a hacer nada así especial, igual dos o tres días, pero nada tal, digo: *Ah, bueno, de puta madre*.
3 JOSÉ: **Hombre**, Gandía siempre estará ahí.
4 MAGDA: Sí, y Alicante también lo tenemos, o sea que a unas malas un finde.

1 JOSÉ: ‘I don’t know what I’m going to do this summer either, so yeah, no idea.’
2 MAGDA: ‘No, everyone is the same, yeah? See the truth is that everyone that I know is staying in Madrid this summer I mean no one’s leaving, going anywhere and they’re doing nothing special, maybe two or three days, but nothing to where I’d say: *Oh, nice, that’s awesome.*’
3 JOSÉ: ‘**Hombre**, Gandía will always be there.’
4 MAGDA: ‘Yeah, and we also have Alicante, I mean worst case for a weekend.’

In (71), José’s use of *hombre* is an example of a self-reflective vocative. Magda is not being referred to as *hombre* by José, but instead, the use of the vocative indicates that José has realized something (e.g., that Gandía is always an option for their vacation this summer).

4.7. Vocative function based on utterance and turn position

Vocatives in utterance initial position occurred 215 times (69.58% of all tokens), while those in medial and final position appeared 32 (10.36%) and 22 times (20.06%), respectively (see Table 10). Vocatives with summoning function occurred most frequently with 202 (65.37%) cases, followed by emphatic vocatives with 198 tokens (64.08%). Relational vocatives occurred 181 times (58.58%) and vocatives with a self-reflective function appeared 55 times (17.80%). An overview of the number of cases of vocatives according to their function and position is found in Table 10, while Tables 11.1 and 11.2 show a breakdown of each of the functional categories into their more specific functions. In both tables, the total number of vocatives in each position is different than the sum of vocatives used in relational, summoning, and emphatic capacities in each position because many vocatives had more than one function. Across all three functional categories (relational, summoning, and emphasis), vocatives in utterance initial position were overwhelmingly the most common, followed by those used in final position, and then medial position. Except for vocatives used for formulae and routines, when categorized by specific functions, vocatives were used most commonly in utterance initial position. For all functions,

vocatives in final position were the second most common, followed by medial-position vocatives. This was also the case with the three broader functional categories (relational, summoning, emphasis). Therefore, in terms of their utterance position, the more specific functions of vocatives overwhelmingly followed the same pattern as the general functional categories of which they form a part. In other words, vocatives in the specific functional categories shown in Tables 11.1 and 11.2 follow the same patterns as those in Table 10.

Table 10: Summary of vocative function by position in an utterance

	Relational	Summoning	Emphasis	Self-reflection	Total vocatives in each position
Initial position	145 (46.93%)	120 (38.83%)	133 (43.04%)	48 (15.53%)	215 (69.58%)
Medial position	21 (6.70%)	20 (6.47%)	20 (6.47%)	5 (1.62%)	32 (10.36%)
Final position	40 (12.94%)	37 (11.97%)	45 (14.56%)	2 (0.65%)	62 (20.06%)
Total	187 (60.52%)	202 (65.37%)	198 (64.08%)	55 (17.80%)	309

Table 11.1: Specific functions of vocatives by position in an utterance

	Addressee ID	Call	Constructed dialogue	Contact control	Emphasizing	Formulae & Routines	Mitigator	Solidarity marker	Self-reflective	Turn management	Total vocatives by position
Initial	50	11	70	72	133	0	1	70	48	137	215
Medial	0	0	0	19	20	0	0	21	5	2	32
Final	15	2	6	20	45	2	1	25	2	26	62
Total	65	13	76	111	198	2	2	116	55	165	309

Table 11.2: Specific functions of vocatives by position in an utterance by percentages

	Addressee ID	Call	Constructed dialogue	Contact control	Emphasizing	Formulae & Routines	Mitigator	Solidarity marker	Self-reflective	Turn management	Total vocatives by position
Initial	16.18%	3.56%	22.65%	23.30%	43.04%	0%	0.32%	22.65%	15.53%	44.34%	69.58%
Medial	0%	0%	0%	6.15%	6.47%	0%	0%	6.80%	5	0.65%	32
Final	15	0.65%	6	6.47%	45	0.65%	0.32%	25	0.65%	26	62
Total	65	13	76	111	198	0.65%	0.65%	116	55	165	309

Jørgensen (2008: 393) and Leech (1999: 114-177) identified the typical functions of vocatives by position in an utterance. According to these authors, in initial position, vocatives call the attention of an addressee and identify the intended interlocutor, while in medial and final position, they identify the appealed and act to maintain and reinforce social relationships. Jørgensen (2008: 394) also argues that utterance initial *tía* calls the attention of an addressee and highlights a statement, while utterance medial and final *tío/a* in the COLAm maintain and reinforce social relationships and emphasize a statement or maintain a turn. The results of my analysis of vocative function by utterance position frequently coincide with the functions of vocatives based on their position outlined by Jørgensen (2008) and Leech (1999). However, vocatives in each position can have multiple functions. For instance, the results of the present study demonstrate that vocatives found in utterance initial position call the attention of an addressee and identify the intended interlocutor. Vocatives in medial and final position serve to

identify the person being called and reinforce social relationships. However, solidarity markers can also be found in initial position, and many vocatives found in initial position are used with an emphatic function, and not merely to get an addressee's attention. Vocatives in initial position were also commonly used for turn-management, where the speaker acknowledged the addressee, and also signaled that they were taking their turn in a conversation. Jørgensen (2008: 394) states that vocatives found in medial and final positions can be used to emphasize a statement, and the present data shows this to be the case. Therefore, vocatives in any position in an utterance can emphasize a statement, begin or maintain a turn, control contact with the addressee, and mark solidarity and reinforce the relationship between speaker and addressee.

Vocatives also have different functions based on their position in a speaker's turn. Kleinknecht (2013) maintains vocatives in turn initial position add expressiveness, reinforce what has already been said, and connect what has previously been stated to what a speaker is about to say. Turn central vocatives strengthen the contact with the addressee, reinforce previous information and connect it to newly stated information. Vocatives in turn final position reinforce previous statements and claim the attention or approval of the addressee. Haselow (2019) also pointed out that discourse markers in turn initial position are used to get the attention of the addressee, take a turn, signal understanding, or change some aspect of the conversation. Those in turn final position indicate the need for a response from the addressee, address the speaker's relationship to the addressee, transition the conversation, and add force to a message. The results of the present study concur with those reported by Kleinknecht (2013) and the functions of discourse markers outlined by Haselow (2019). The results of my analysis of the vocatives in the Spanish conversations in terms of their general function (relational, summoning, emphatic, and self-reflection) and their position in a turn are summarized in Table 12. Tables 13.1 and 13.2

show the more specific functions of vocatives based on their position in a speaker's turn. In both tables, the total vocatives in each turn position is lower than the sum of vocatives in each category (relational, summoning, emphasis) because many vocatives had more than one function in a turn.

Table 12: Summary of vocative function by position in a turn

	Relational	Summoning	Emphasis	Self-reflection	Total vocatives in each turn position
Initial position	64 (20.71%)	99 (32.04%)	55 (17.80%)	38 (12.30%)	103 (33.33%)
Central position	86 (27.83%)	71 (22.98%)	106 (34.30%)	11 (3.56%)	152 (49.19%)
Final position	25 (8.09%)	27 (8.84%)	29 (9.39%)	2 (0.65%)	41 (13.27%)
Entire turn	6 (1.94%)	5 (1.62%)	8 (2.59%)	4 (1.29%)	13 (4.21%)
Total	181 (58.58%)	202 (65.37%)	198 (64.08%)	55 (17.80%)	309 (100%)

Table 13.1: Specific functions of vocatives by position in a turn

	Addressee ID	Call	Constructed dialogue	Contact control	Emphasis	Formulae & Routines	Mitigator	Solidarity marker	Self-referential	Turn management	Total vocatives by turn position
Initial	10	5	0	54	55	0	1	54	38	96	103
Central	45	7	69	48	106	0	0	41	11	37	152
Final	9	1	7	9	29	2	1	16	2	27	41
Entire turn	1	0	0	0	8	0	0	5	4	5	13
Total	65	13	76	111	198	2	2	116	55	165	309

Table 13.2: Specific functions of vocatives by position in a turn by percentage

	Addressee ID	Call	Constructed dialogue	Contact control	Emphasis	Formulae & Routines	Mitigator	Solidarity marker	Self-referential	Turn management	Total vocatives by turn position
Initial	3.32%	1.16%	0%	17.48%	17.80%	0%	0.32%	17.48%	12.30%	31.07%	33.33%
Central	47.90%	2.27%	22.33%	15.53%	34.30%	0%	0%	13.27%	3.56%	11.97%	49.19%
Final	2.91%	0.32%	2.27%	2.91%	9.39%	0.65%	0.32%	5.18%	0.65%	8.74%	13.27%
Entire turn	0.32%	0%	0%	0%	2.59%	0%	0%	1.62%	1.29%	1.62%	4.20%
Total	21.04%	4.20%	24.60%	35.92%	64.08%	0.65%	0.65%	37.54%	17.80%	53.40%	100%

Each vocative was analyzed based on its position in an utterance and a turn. Example (72) illustrates how a vocative, *Amelia*, could appear in turn central position and in utterance initial position after a pause:

(72) 1 RAMÓN: Pero escucha, escucha. Compínchate conmigo. Entonces, me lo dices a mí.
2 CARLA: ¡Qué peligro! No, no.
3 RAMÓN: No, no. A ver. Ay, no, déjame terminar. **Amelia**, no me estés dejando terminar.
4 AMELIA: ((Risas))
5 RAMÓN: ¿Me dejas terminar?
6 AMELIA: Vale, okey.
7 RAMÓN: Pero solo si no me interrumpes.

1 RAMÓN: ‘But listen, listen. Work with me. So then, you’ll just tell it to me.’
2 CARLA: ‘That’s risky! No, no.’
3 RAMÓN: ‘No, no. Let’s see. Oh, no, let me finish. **Amelia**, you’re not letting me finish.’
4 AMELIA: ‘((Laughs))’
5 RAMÓN: ‘Are you going to let me finish?’
6 AMELIA: ‘Fine, okay.’
7 RAMÓN: ‘But only if you don’t interrupt me.’

Vocatives that occurred in the same turn after a pause functioned to address or identify the addressee in a group, or maintain contact with the addressee if there were only two participants in a conversation. In (72), Ramón directly addresses Alina, identifying her among the group of interlocutors. She is not allowing him to finish what he would like to say, so he appeals to her to let him speak.

In turn initial position, vocatives were used most frequently with a summoning function. Within this category, the most common function of turn initial vocatives was that of turn-management, followed by solidarity marking and contact control. The following examples illustrate vocatives used in turn initial position. In (73), both *Hombre* and *tío* in turn 5 occur in turn initial position, as do *hija* and *María* in (74).

(73) 1 RAMÓN: El otro día me dijiste que el rabo de toro está bastante bueno, ¿no?
2 DAVID: A mí me mola.
3 RAMÓN: Pero ¿hay algo mejor? Joe, estoy por pedirme un pulpo, **tío**, es que el pulpo está que ni Hitler.
4 DAVID: **Hombre**, el pulpo está de puta madre. ¡Si ya lo has proba(d)o en tapa!
5 RAMÓN: Ya **tío**, y me lo he proba(d)o veinte veces en plan, bueno veinte no, tres, peroo…(1.0) peroo no sé. (2.0) El mejillón premium gallego. Pero, qué son, ¿tres mejillones?
6 DAVID: Ocho.

1 RAMÓN: ‘The other day you told me that the bull’s tail is really good, no?’
2 DAVID: ‘I like it.’
3 RAMÓN: ‘But, is there something better? Damn, I’m about to order the octopus, **tío**, the octopus is really delicious.’

4 DAVID: '**Hombre**, the octopus is fucking awesome. That's right, you tried it as a tapa already!'
5 RAMÓN: 'Yeah **tío**, I've already tried it twenty times like, well not twenty, three, buut…(1.0) buut I don't know. (2.0) The Galician premium mussels. But, what does it come with, three mussels?'
6 DAVID: 'Eight.'

(74) CARMEN: Entonces se fue a cambiar y se puso mona.
MARÍA: **Hija**, ponte escote, pero no sujetador, ¿no?
CARMEN: Ya, **María**. Es que además se veía por detrás que era sujetador, o sea, ¡iba un sujetador! Y es que tenía unas súper tetas. Entonces, ahí eso era increíble. Que me parece genial, porque a los chicos les iba a encantar. Pero…en un campamento…

CARMEN: 'So then she went to change and get dolled up.'
MARÍA: '**Hija**, show some cleavage, but don't just wear a bra, right?'
CARMEN: 'For sure, **María.** And the fact is when you saw from behind that it was a bra, that is, it was a bra! And she has huge boobs. So, that was awesome. I think it's great, because the boys were going to like it. But…at camp…'

In both examples, the speakers use a vocative to begin their turns. In (73), David takes his turn beginning with *hombre* to talk about what he thinks Ramón should order to eat. Ramón replies with "Ya *tío* […]" to indicate agreement with Ramón and claim the floor. Both vocatives in (74) serve a turn-management function by marking the initiation of a turn, and as solidarity markers, demonstrating agreement between the interlocutors, as well as their close relationship. Vocatives in turn initial position also function to ensure that the speaker is being heard by the addressee or to emphasize the utterance to follow. For example, in (74), María begins her turn with *Hija,* which both suggests that she wishes to reply to what Carmen has just said and continue with that subject. Carmen responds with "Ya, *María*" to begin another turn and to also indicate her agreement with María (that the girl they are discussing should not have worn just a bra as a top while at camp). In the present study, vocatives in turn initial position were frequently used to

signal that a speaker was taking a turn, to initiate contact with the addressee, or to emphasize the relationship between interlocutors.

Vocatives in turn central position were used most frequently for emphasis. However, relational and summoning functions of vocatives in turn central position were also common. In this position, vocatives were used most commonly to add emphasis, address and identify the addressee, and maintain contact. Turn central vocatives also had a turn-management function of connecting what was previously said (either by the current speaker or previous speaker) to something that was about to be said. Example (75) included a vocative in turn central position, as well as utterance medial position. In such cases, speakers used vocatives to maintain contact with the addressee and add emphasis to the statement "mogollón de gente" ('loads of people').

(75) 1 MAGDA: Yo todo mi este es, encontrar un trabajo fijo desde ya y, y vivir sola aquí en Madrid.
2 JOSÉ: ¿Desde ya? ¡Joder!
3 MAGDA: O sea, desde ya, yo ya quiero encontrar algo, ¿sabes?
4 JOSÉ: Sí.
5 MAGDA: No quiero estar tres años más, ehh haciendo el tonto de estudiando de prácticas…de haciendo Pascual, de metiéndome en un sitio y no, yo quiero fijarme y ya luego ver, pero tener algo fijo, ¿sabes?
6 JOSÉ: Joe, yo es que conocido a mogollón de gente, **macho**, ahora con el tema de Diario Médico te vas dee viaje, y a la gente mayor, ha tenido muchísimas oportunidades, dentro del periodismo, pero la gente joven es que te decía en plan: *Es que acabó la Carrera, y estado siete años siendo becario*.
7 MAGDA: Es que yo eso no…
8 JOSÉ: Yo no quiero. Es que para eso prefiero irme a Inglaterra.

1 MAGDA: 'All I have is this, find a steady job right away and, and live alone here in Madrid.'
2 JOSÉ: 'Right away? Damn!'
3 MAGDA: 'That is, right away, I already want to find something, you know?'
4 JOSÉ: 'Yeah.'

5 MAGDA: 'I don't want to spend three more years, uhh doing this dumb internship stuff…of working here and there, of getting into a place and not, I want to establish myself and then see, but to get something steady, you know?'
6 JOSÉ: 'Damn, I know a lot of people, **macho**, now with the topic of Medical Journal that go to travel, and even older people, have had lots of opportunities, within journalism, but young people will tell you like: *I finished my degree, and I've spent seven years as an intern*.'
7 MAGDA: 'It's just that I don't…'
8 JOSÉ: 'I don't what to. It's just that for that I'd rather go to England.'

In turn final position, vocative function was also closely divided between the three categories of relational, summoning, and emphasis. The most common function of turn final vocatives was that of emphasizing, followed by turn-management, contact control, and solidarity marking. Examples (76)-(78) include vocatives in turn final position. In (76), *Martín* is used to identify the addressee and call his attention. In (77), *José* is used for emphasis and as a contact control marker, as Magda wants to demonstrate that she was dying ("estaba muriendo") and ensure that José hears her and understands how she feels. In (78), *tía* is used as a solidarity marker to mark the relationship between José and Magda.

(76) CARMEN: Yo. De nada, je. O sea, que yo (Inaudible 5:50) para ir a clase tardo…una hora, unos cuarenta minutos. A ver, son veinte en tren. Veinte en tren. Y son, y coger el autobús, que son cinco minutos. Coge a Osito, **Martín**.
MARTÍN: Voy a pedir.

CARMEN: 'Me. You're welcome, eh. That is that I (Inaudible 5:50) to go to class it takes me…an hour, about forty minutes. Let's see, it's twenty minutes by train. Twenty by train. And it's, and taking the bus, it's five minutes. Grab Osito, **Martín**.'
MARTÍN: 'I'm going to order.'

(77) 1 JOSÉ: Vale, sí. Típica canción de las fiestas del pueblo.
2 MAGDA: ¡Síiii! De, sí…
3 JOSÉ: Porque Mago de Oz y Ska-p y todo eso es que es el número uno en las fiestas de los pueblos.

4 MAGDA: Sí, pero por eso sobre todo por el rollo que te da bailar, ¿sabes? Y es mazo de buen rollo, pero es que claro, imagínate pues es que yo me estaba muriendo, **José**.

1 JOSÉ: 'Okay, yeah. A typical village party song.'
2 MAGDA: 'Yessss! Of, yes…'
3 JOSÉ: 'Because Mago de Oz and Ska-p and all of those are number one in the village parties.'
4 MAGDA: 'Yeah, but it's because dancing puts you in a good mood, you know? And it's such a good time, but it's that of course, imagine that I was dying, **José**.'

(78) 1 MAGDA: …quedar con otro chico, ¿sabes? O liarme con otro chico, porque ya me he lia(d)o. Nos liamos tanto, que no sé, sabes. Me resultaría raro en plan…
2 JOSÉ: [Ya.]
3 MAGDA: …sería como no sé. Pero no por amor, ni por tal, sino por. Que no me apetece, ¿sabes? En plan estoy bien con el para qué…(1.0) ¿Sabes? Ya p-, ya pas-, ya surgirá, si es que surge. Pero vamos. ((Risas))
4 JOSÉ: Prisa ninguna.
5 MAGDA: Nno.
(3.0)
6 JOSÉ: Pues sí, **tía**.
7 MAGDA: Ostia, el de Bocatas que es más pesado que su puta madre. Le he dejado de contestar.

1 MAGDA: '…hang out with another guy, you know? Or hook up with another guy, because I'm already involved. We hook up all the time, and I don't know, you know. It seems weird to me like…'
2 JOSÉ: '[Sure.]'
3 MAGDA: '…it would be like I don't know. But not for love, and not for that, but for. It's just that I don't feel like it, you know? Like, I'm fine with it for…(1.0) You know? Soon i-, soon it-, soon it will happen, if it happens. But come on. ((Laughs))'
4 JOSÉ: 'Not in a hurry at all.'
5 MAGDA: 'Nno.'
(3.0)
6 JOSÉ: 'Well yeah, **tía**.'
7 MAGDA: 'Damn, the guy from Bocatas is so fucking annoying. I stopped responding to him.'

Vocatives in turn final position in the data serve to identify the addressee or appeal directly to him or her, to add emphasis to an utterance by appealing to the addressee, or to indicate that the speaker's turn has ended. By addressing interlocutors with a vocative, speakers often indicated that their turn was ending and that they expected the addressee to have a response. Additionally, in (78), José appears to be attempting to elicit more information from Magda after a pause by appealing to her, seemingly in hopes that she will continue speaking.

Finally, there were 13 examples of vocatives representing a speaker's entire turn having one or more of the four general vocative functions used to categorize the tokens. Although vocatives or discourse markers serving as an entire turn were not discussed by Kleinknecht (2013) or Haselow (2019), most of the instances of such vocatives in the present study functioned emphatically, followed by their use as solidarity markers and turn-managers. Examples of vocatives constituting an entire turn are shown in (79) and (80).

(79) 1 CARMEN: ¡Ah! Y me he enamorado en el campamento, te lo conté, ¿verdad?
2 MARÍA: Síi.
3 CARMEN: De Miguel.
4 MARÍA: Vaya. No podrás vivir sin ello.
5 CARMEN: **María**, ¡es que es tan guapo! Que tiene once años, pero es muy guapo.
6 MARÍA: **Asaltacunas**.
7 CARMEN: Ya. (1.0) Así me llamaba Eva. ((Inaudible))….Charlie y la fábrica de chocolate. (2.0) ¡Oh! ¡Pizzas! (1.0) ¡Dioses! (8.0) ((Tose))

1 CARMEN: 'Oh! And I fell in love at the camp, I told you that, right?'
2 MARÍA: 'Yess.'
3 CARMEN: 'With Miguel.'
4 MARÍA: 'Wow. You can't live without him.'
5 CARMEN: '**María**, it's just that he's so handsome! He's only eleven, but he's so handsome.'
6 MARÍA: '**Asaltacunas**.'
7 CARMEN: 'Enough. (1.0) Eva called me that. ((Inaudible))…Charlie and the Chocolate Factory. (2.0). Oh! Pizzas! (1.0) Goodness! (8.0) ((Coughs))'

In example (79), Carmen is describing a crush that she has on a boy that she met at camp. When she reveals that he's only eleven years old, her sister calls her an *asaltacunas* 'cradle robber'. This use of *asaltacunas* in turn 6 of example (79) represents María's entire turn. In this case, it appears that María feels that her description of her sister as a 'cradle robber' is information enough to end her turn in the conversation.

In (80), Rubén is describing a guy he has been chatting with on WhatsApp. He shows Ana a photo of the guy's tattoo that he finds to be attractive, but Ana seems to disagree about how *guay* ('cool') it is:

(80) 1 RUBÉN: …Ehh, mira. Eso sí, tiene un tatuaje guay. ¿Dónde está? Aquí. Vale…Te doy libertá de, de explorar…Hostia, ¿cómo se, cómo has hecho eso?
2 ANA: Tiene un tatuaje guay, dice, tiene un tatuaje enorme.
3 RÚBEN: Sí, enorme pero guay.
4 ANA: ¿Tengo que opinar algo?
5 RUBÉN: Noo, da igual. No me interesa para nada.
6 ANA: ¿Por?
7 RUBÉN: Ehh.
8 ANA: **Tío**.
9 RUBÉN: Tengo otras prioridades.

1 RUBÉN: '…Uhh, look. This guy yeah, he has a cool tattoo. Where is it? Here. Okay…I'll give you the chance to, to explore. Damn, how is it that, how have you done that?'
2 ANA: 'He has a cool tattoo, you say, he has an enormous tattoo.'
3 RUBÉN: 'Yeah, enormous but cool.'
4 ANA: 'Do I have to give an opinion?'
5 RUBÉN: 'Noo, it doesn't matter. I'm not interested at all.'
6 ANA: 'Because?'
7 RUBÉN: 'Uhh.'
8 ANA: '**Tío**.'
9 RUBÉN: 'I have other priorities.'

In (80), Ana doesn't appear to think that the tattoo is as cool as Rubén does, so she asks "¿Tengo que opinar algo?" ('Do I need to give an opinion?'), which seems to annoy Rubén, as he replies

"No me interesa para nada." ('It doesn't matter to me at all.'). Ana tries to elicit more information from him. After he takes a turn consisting merely of "Ehh", Ana appeals directly to Rubén with the vocative *tío* to get him to continue speaking and give her more information. Summarizing, in the data analyzed for the current project, vocatives comprising a speaker's entire turn most frequently function as turn-managers, either to prompt the addressee to continue speaking, to add an evaluative comment directed towards the addressee, or as exclamatives or solidarity markers.

4.8. Qualitative analysis and discussion

The research questions for the oral data collected in Madrid were the following:

RQ1: What vocatives are used by native teenage and young adult speakers of Spanish from Madrid?
RQ2: How are vocatives used by native speakers of Madrid Spanish? More specifically, how and in which situations are vocatives used by these speakers?
RQ3: How is vocative use influenced by age group and gender?
RQ4: Do factors such as power distance, formality, and social distance influence the use of vocatives?
RQ5: How is vocative function related to position in an utterance and a speaker's turn?

Results for RQ1 were similar to those reported by Stenström and Jørgensen (2008) when analyzing conversations from the COLAm. Similar to their study, *tío* and *tía* were the most frequently used in transcribed conversations collected for the present study, as was predicted, and, *hombre* followed closely behind as the third most frequently used vocative. Proper names were also very commonly used, especially when more than two participants were involved in an interaction.

With respect to RQ2 and RQ4, vocatives were used most frequently between speakers who had a close relationship and in informal settings. Vocatives were infrequent or nonexistent when participants interacted with someone that they did not know. However, only approximately

15 minutes of interactions across all participants occurred with strangers or non-intimates, which skews these results. All the conversations occurred in an informal setting, so the incorporation of vocatives in them was not surprising. The frequent use of these markers between friends and family members in informal contexts supports my hypotheses and the findings of previous studies on vocative use (e.g., Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013; Stenström and Jørgensen 2008).

Concerning RQ3, dealing with the influence of gender and age on vocative use, I expected to find differences between males' and females' use of vocatives, as well as variation in their usage in interactions where both genders are involved. These predictions were based on my previous observations while living in Madrid and the results of the works by Hasbún Hasbún (2003) and Arias Nuñez (2002). For example, I expected men to use solidarity markers when addressing other men, and more affectionate terms when speaking to women. I also predicted that women would use more examples of *vocativos cariñosos*. Speakers of both genders used solidarity markers with interlocutors of both genders. However, *vocativos cariñosos* were almost nonexistent in the current data set, making it impossible to reach any clear conclusions regarding how they are used by Madrid Spanish speakers. Additionally, there was an unanticipated use of *tío/tía* interchangeably in interactions between females and gay men. Overall, while there was some variation in vocative choice and frequency of use by the speakers, all participants used the same vocatives (*tío*, *tía*) most frequently.

The participants in the study used a surprisingly low number of taboo vocatives, compared to results cited in previous studies analyzing the COLAm, which demonstrated that this type of vocative is a frequent feature of young adult speech in Madrid Spanish (Stenström 2006, 2007, 2008; Jørgensen 2008, 2011, 2013; Stenström and Jørgensen 2009, 2013). There were only four occurrences of taboo vocatives across all speakers, and all four uses of *cabrón*. I

expected there to be a much higher occurrence of these vocatives. It is possible that participants limited their use of taboo vocatives because the conversations were being recorded. Although some curse words were used by participants, their use may have been less frequent than in un-monitored speech. The topics of positive and negative face were outlined in Chapter 2. However, as there were very few examples of taboo vocatives in the data set, their use for maintaining positive face was not discernable in the data set.

Finally, RQ5 questioned the relationship between vocative function and position in an utterance and a speaker's turn. I expected vocatives in initial position to occur most often, which was supported by the data. Vocatives in initial position occurred 215 times (69.68% of all vocative tokens), while those in medial and final position appeared 32 (10.36%) and 62 times (20.06%), respectively. Across all four functional categories (relational, summoning, emphasis, and self-reflection), vocatives in utterance initial position were overwhelmingly the most common. As expected, vocatives were often found to have more than one function in an utterance. For example, vocatives frequently acted as both contact control and solidarity markers. Therefore, they simultaneously indicated the speaker's desire to be heard and understood by an addressee and reinforced the relationship between the interlocutors.

Vocatives also appeared throughout a speaker's turn. Vocatives in turn central position occurred most frequently (49.19%), followed by turn initial (33.33%), turn final (13.27), and, finally, vocatives acting as a speaker's entire turn (4.21%). Haselow (2019) determined that discourse markers at the beginning of a speaker's turn have an attention getting function, aid in managing a speakers' turn, signal understanding of something that was previously stated, and signal a change in topic. Discourse markers in turn final position function similarly as turn-managers, but also add illocutionary force and define the relationship between interlocutors

(Haselow 2019). Kleinknecht (2013) observed that turn initial *güey* occurred least frequently and had an emphatic function, while turn central vocatives served a contact control and turn-management function. Finally, he noted that turn final *güey* was most common, and was used in this position to reinforce what had previously been said and to maintain contact with the interlocutor. The present data differs from the results reported by Kleinknecht (2013) in terms of the frequency of vocatives in each position in a turn. However, as demonstrated by Kleinknecht (2013) with respect to vocatives, and Haselow (2019) regarding discourse markers, these features can appear in any position in a speaker's turn. In turn initial position, vocatives most frequently had a summoning function, followed by the emphatic, relational, and self-reflective functions. In turn central position and when serving as a speaker's entire turn, vocatives had an emphatic function most often, followed by having relational, summoning, and self-reflection functions. Finally, vocatives in turn final position most frequently had an emphatic function, followed by the summoning, relational, and self-reflection functions.

In addition, a potential avenue for future study arose in this analysis. While coding the examples of vocatives, the speakers' use of the pronominal address form *tú* was observed. Table 14 summarizes an analysis of all tokens of overt *tú* in the oral data in terms of utterance position and its use in constructed dialogues. While use of overt *tú* was not the focus of the current study, it bears mentioning that upon initial observation, it appears that *tú* was used as an emphasizer or contact control marker in several of these cases. *Tú* was also used in utterance initial position most frequently, followed by medial, and then final, and appeared in constructed dialogues. An in-depth analysis of this feature should be considered in a future project to determine its functions and compare them with those of vocatives. Directions for future research on the functioning of overt *tú* in the oral data will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Table 14: Uses of pronominal address form "tú"

	Tokens	Percentage of total uses
Tú total uses	156	100%
Tú in utterance initial position	77	49.36%
Tú in utterance medial position	63	40.38%
Tú in utterance final position	16	10.26%
Tú in constructed dialogues	9	5.77%

4.9. Discourse completion task analysis

The DCT portion of the survey had two versions, each with three discourse contexts, which were randomly distributed among participants. These contexts are described in Chapter 3 and summarized here. The first version of the survey included contexts (A), (E), and (F), and was completed by 36 respondents. The second version included contexts (B), (C), and (D), and was completed by 45 participants. In both versions, participants were asked an open-ended question to elicit what they would say in each context, and were instructed to act as if they were speaking directly to the hypothetical interlocutor. At least two speakers used vocatives in each of the six contexts.

Beginning with the first version of the DCT, which was completed by 36 respondents, each context will be examined individually. In Context (A), participants were asked to imagine that they were meeting up with a close friend that they had not seen for quite a while. In this context, there were 14 examples of vocatives used. These included *tío* and variants such as *tíiiiio*, which were used eight times, all by male speakers. In Tables 15-18, male respondents are denoted with an M, followed by their age, and females are denoted with an F and their age. *Hombre* or the variant *hombreeee* was used four times total, and *querido/a* was used once (the

respondent indicated that she would use either form depending on the addressee), as summarized in Table 15. In Context (A), no vocatives were used by 23 respondents. There were 12 participants who used the vocatives *tío* and *hombre*, and all were male, while those who selected *tía* and *querido/a* were both female. Of a total of 14 vocatives used in responses to Context (A), 12 were used by participants under age 35 and nine were used by participants age 30 or younger. Participants in Context (A) were instructed to act as if they were speaking to someone with whom they shared a close relationship, so it is not surprising that they used examples of vocatives. As in the oral data from Experiment 1, the most common vocatives used in the DCT were *tío/a* and *hombre.*

Table 15: Vocative use in discourse context (A)

Vocative choice	Gender/Age of participant	Number of tokens
Tío	M22, M34, M24, M33, M30, M21, M23, M29	8
Tía	F27	1
Hombre	M47, M29, M33, M28	4
Querido/a	F70	1

Discourse context (E) asked participants to imagine that they were a salesperson in a luxury store trying to convince a woman to buy an expensive bag. In this context, only three respondents incorporated a vocative, using *señora*, and all were male, ages 27, 34, and 38. Three stated that they were unsure what they would say in this situation (and therefore did not use a vocative), while the remaining 31 participants did not use a vocative in their responses. I did not expect many speakers to use a vocative in this context as it involved a formal setting in which the

interlocutors supposedly did not know each other, and there was social distance and a power difference between the customer and salesperson.

In the final discourse context of the first survey version, Context (F), participants were asked what they would say to their grandmother, who was being very instrusive about their love life, to change the topic of conversation. In this context, two different vocatives were used, with *abuela* being the overwhelming first choice with 17 tokens. One respondent used *curiosona*, while the remaining 19 participants did not use a vocative in this context. The genders and ages of the participants who used a vocative are outlined in Table 16. Unsurprisingly, *abuela* was commonly used in this context, because Madrid Spanish speakers typically use this vocative to address their grandmothers. For Context (F), participants were instructed to act as if they did not want to discuss their love life with their grandmother, and to change the subject, hopefully without offending their grandmother. For this reason, I anticipated respondents would use vocatives to appeal directly to their family member and show that, while they did not want to talk about this topic, they were happy to speak about other subjects. Although, given their reported ages, participants were interacting with a (often) much older interlocutor, I hypothesized that the close family relationship between interlocutors would result in the use of vocatives. Unlike in some Latin American countries, it is not uncommon in Spain to use the informal *tú* form with grandparents, which I felt might also result in the use of vocatives in this discourse context. *Curiosona* was only used one time; however, its use suggests that the speaker both assumed she had a good relationship with her grandmother, but also called her out for being too nosey via her choice of vocative. Vocatives were used by female participants in this context six times and by males 12 times. A total of 13 speakers who implemented vocatives were age 30 or younger.

Table 16: Vocative use in discourse context (F)

Vocative choice	Gender/age of participant	Number of tokens
Abuela	F19, F19, F27, F27, F32, F48, M19, M21, M21, M23, M24, M28, M29, M30, M38, M47, M66	17
Curiosona	M29	1

The second survey version consisted of Discourse Contexts (B), (C), and (D), and was completed by 45 participants. Context (B) asked respondents to pretend that they saw a man drop his wallet and wanted to return it to him, but needed to get his attention to do so. In this context, seven participants used *señor* to get the man's attention, while one used *caballero*. The remaining participants used discourse markers such as *oye/mira* or imperatives like *disculpe/a* or *perdone/a* to get the attention of the man. In five instances, respondents combined a vocative with other discourse markers or imperatives, with three cases of Perdone*, señor* ('Excuse me, sir'), and one each of *Oiga caballero* ('listen sir') and *Señor, disculpe* ('Sir, excuse me'). Context (B) differs from the other contexts examined thus far, as only two of the vocatives produced for this context were used by respondents under the age of 30. Additionally, the vocative uses were split evenly between males and females, a finding which is different when compared with the other two contexts in this version of the DCT.

Table 17: Vocative use in discourse context (B)

Vocative choice	Gender/age of participant	Number of tokens
Señor	F27, F56, F59, F62, M24, M32, M39	7
Caballero	M37	1

Table 18: Vocative use in discourse context (C)

Vocative choice	Gender/age of participant	Number of tokens
Proper name	F39, F56, M62	3
Herman@	M32	1
Brother	F60	1
Bro	F27	1
Cari	F47	1
Rapás	M32	1
Gordi	F35	1
Peke	M37	1

Context (C) stated that participants were receiving a phone call and, upon picking up the phone, they realized it was their brother or sister calling them. Respondents were asked to describe what they would say to their brother/sister upon picking up the phone. Of the 45 participants, only one indicated that they did not have siblings, and therefore would not be in this situation. Of the remaining 44 respondents for Context (C), there were 10 tokens of vocatives used, as summarized in Table 18. Proper names were used three times, while all other choices were each used once. *Brother* and *bro* were used in their English form by two female participants (ages 27 and 60) who reported in their questionnaire that they could speak English at either an advanced or intermediate level. *Rapás* comes from *rapáz* ('kid') in Galician, and the speaker who used this vocative grew up in a household that spoke Galician as well as Spanish and has Galician family members. Six of the respondents that used vocatives in this context were females, while only four were males, and only one of the ten speakers was under the age of 30,

a finding which contrasts with those of the other DCT contexts analyzed so far. Context (C) offered the largest variety of vocative choices, when compared to results from the other discourse contexts.

Participants were next asked in Context (D) to describe what they would say to the man next to them in line if they were waiting to buy a ticket at the movies and the clerk was extremely slow. The purpose of this context was to have speakers express their frustration over an annoying situation to a complete stranger. In this context, only two respondents used vocatives, which was the lowest number of tokens elicited, when comparing results gleaned from all six discourse contexts created for the study. Both were 19-year-old females, and they were the youngest participants in the survey. One of them addressed the man with *macho*, while the other used *tío*. As younger, teenage speakers have been observed to use vocatives more frequently than older speakers, it is not surprising that the only two tokens came from the two youngest participants. I expected more vocatives to be used in this context because, from my observations, vocatives are frequent discourse features when speakers are complaining and trying to demonstrate their mutual frustration and thus solidarity with others in the same situation. However, other common discourse features such as exclamatives and taboo words (*¡Joder!* 'fuck') were used frequently by participants in this context. For example, taboo word *joder* was used by six respondents while *¡qué coñazo!* was used by another, and exclamatives such as *vaya* ('damn', 'wow'), *madre mía* ('oh my'), *caramba* ('for crying out loud'), and *jolín* ('darn') were used by another twelve respondents.

4.10. Discussion of DCT results

The DCT was completed by 81 participants, including 36 participants for Version 1 and 45 for Version 2. In the first version of the DCT (Contexts A, E, and F), vocatives were used 34 times across the three contexts. In Version 2, vocatives were used 20 times across the three discourse contexts (B, C, and D). Therefore, a total of 54 vocatives were used in the six discourse contexts from the DCT. The most pertinent research questions for this experiment were as follows:

> **RQ2**: How are vocatives used by native speakers of Madrid Spanish? More specifically, how and in which situations are vocatives used by these speakers?
> **RQ3**: How is vocative use influenced by age group and gender?
> **RQ4**: Do factors such as power distance, formality, and social distance influence the use of vocatives?
> **RQ6**: In which discourse contexts are vocatives used or not used?

Regarding RQ2 and RQ6, vocatives were used in all six of the discourse contexts, though in varying degrees throughout. In the creation of this task, it was a concern that speakers might not use vocatives in the open-ended DCT prompts. However, the six discourse contexts were designed based on real situations with observed vocative use, and participants did in fact use vocatives in each discourse context in the DCT. Context (F) (speaking to Abuela) elicited the highest tokens of vocatives with 18 (17 of uses of *abuela*; one use of *curiosona*). Context (A) (reuniting with an old friend) also had a high number of tokens at 14. While these uses varied between *tío, tía*, *hombre,* and *querido/a*, *tío* was the most popular choice with seven occurrences. Next, Context (C) (answering your sibling's phone call) had 10 vocative tokens. Vocative choice varied greatly in this context, although proper names were used three times. It is not surprising that the greatest use of vocatives occurred in these three contexts, as Contexts (A), (C), and (F) were designed to ensure that the participants were hypothetically interacting with someone with

whom they shared a close relationship, and therefore they would be more likely to use a vocative in these situations.

The other three contexts also elicited vocative use, just in smaller numbers. In context B (calling to a man that dropped his wallet), participants used vocatives eight times (seven uses of *señor*; one of *caballero*). This context involved getting the attention of a stranger, and several speakers used a vocative to do so, although others chose discourse markers such as *oye/mira* for this purpose. By contrast, Context (E) (convincing a woman to buy a purse in a luxury store) elicited only three instances of the vocative *señora*. I did not anticipate many participants to use vocatives in this context, although I hypothesized that they might occur in an attempt to make the shopper feel like she and the participant were friends. Finally, the lowest number of vocatives used came from Context D (complaining about waiting in line and the slow movie theater clerk). In this context, only two vocatives (*macho* and *tío*) were used, both by 19-year-old female speakers. Although speakers in this context marked their frustration through exclamatives, taboo words, and other markers, vocatives were used very infrequently in this context.

RQ3 poses the question of whether or not social factors such as gender and age influence the use of vocatives in these discourse contexts. Although a larger sample size is needed to reach any conclusions about these variables, it seems that gender may play a role in the use of vocatives. Men used vocatives more frequently than did women, with 34 tokens (62.96%) as opposed to 18 tokens (33.33%) produced by women (one respondent preferred to use neither gender and used two examples of the vocatives from the DCT). Men also used more solidarity markers, whereas women used *vocativos cariñosos* very slightly more frequently than did men. Specifically, solidarity markers were used by men 12 times, while they were used by women in 3 instances; and *vocativos cariñosos* were used in 3 instances by women, and twice by men. With

respect to age and vocative use in the DCT, vocatives were used evenly by speakers under the age of 31 and 31 and older. Each group used vocatives 27 times (50%). Therefore, no conclusions can be determined regarding the impact of age on vocative use in the DCT. In the six contexts making up the DCT, vocatives were also used more frequently in contexts that were informal and in which participants were interacting with someone with whom they shared a close personal relationship.

The final research question for this experiment is RQ4, which asks if factors such as power distance, formality, and social distance influence the use of vocatives by the participants. In this experiment, these factors were proven to impact vocative use. The three discourse contexts that elicited the highest number of vocatives were those in which the speakers had a close relationship with the interlocutors and were in an informal situation. Additionally, in Context (E) (luxury store), where power distance would have been greater between the interlocutors, as the respondent was a salesperson and the addressee was a customer, only three participants incorporated a vocative, in each case, *señora*. In other words, the participants did not tend to use vocatives in the more formal context of a luxury store, where power distance may be assumed to be greater. However, the tokens of *señora* suggest that this vocative is appropriate in more formal settings such as more exclusive stores. Additionally, in Context (B) (man dropped his wallet), the only two vocatives elicited were *señor* and *caballero*, occurring a total of eight times altogether. This is another situation where respondents did not know the hypothetical addressee, thus providing a possible explanation for why a more formal address form, such as señor, was deemed appropriate, especially if the man was assumed to be older than the survey respondent. Notwithstanding, in order to reach any reliable conclusions regarding this research question, more participants would be required.

4.11. Perception task analysis

The second data set gathered via the survey was the perception task. Therefore, the respondents in this experiment were the same as those who responded to the DCT. In the perception task, participants were asked to read samples of orthographically transcribed speech from the recorded conversations that were collected for the first experiment in this study, or from the Spanish television show, *Élite*. For each of the conversations, participants were instructed to rank each speaker on a scale of 1 [not (characteristic)] to 6 [very (characteristic)]. The characteristics were intelligence, kindness, professional capability, frankness, and level of empathy, as well as level of education and respondents' general opinion of each speaker, whose conversations appeared in transcribed form. Level of education was ranked on a scale of 1 (will have completed primary school education) to 6 (will have completed postgraduate education, while general opinion was ranked from 1 (I do not like this person at all) to 6 (I like this person a lot).

The scores of each speaker analyzed were averaged for all participants to a score out of six for each characteristic. This process was completed for each speaker twice, once when vocatives were used and once for the conversations that excluded vocatives. For example, María's intelligence score averaged 2.60 in her dialogue with vocatives included (N=15) and 2.53 without vocatives (N=17). The average scores for each characteristic of the speakers, both with and without vocatives, were compared in an Excel table.

For each speaker from the perception task, a paired t-Test was performed (Winter 2019). This test compared the mean score of each speaker when they used vocatives versus when the vocatives were removed from their transcribed speech samples. There are two hypotheses that are examined when completing a paired t-Test. The first is the null hypothesis: $H_0{:}\mu_D=0$; that is, that the difference in the mean score for a speaker's speech with vocatives versus without is zero.

The second hypothesis is the alternative hypothesis: $H_A{:}\mu_D{\neq}0$; that is, that the difference between the two values is not zero. If the null hypothesis is accepted, there is no difference between the perceptions of speakers when they used vocatives versus when the vocatives were excluded.

When implementing the paired t-Test, first, the means of all characteristics (intelligence, education level, kindness, professional capability, frankness, empathy, and overall general opinion) were calculated for each speaker, both in their transcribed speech with vocatives and without. Table 20.1 shows the average of María's scores for each characteristic, and the mean of all of these categories when vocatives were included in her speech versus when they were excluded. Table 20.2 includes the results of the paired t-Test result for María. When analyzing the t-Test for each speaker, two comparisons were used to determine whether or not the null hypothesis should be accepted or rejected, and if the difference in the mean evaluations of each speaker when they used vocatives versus when vocatives were excluded was statistically significant or not. First, for María, the t Stat value of 0.824267 was less than the t Critical two-tail value of 2.446912. This indicates that the null hypothesis should be accepted (i.e., there is no difference between the two categories because t Stat is less than t Critical). Additionally, the *p* value for María was greater than the alpha of .05 ($p>.05$), which also indicates that the null hypothesis should be accepted and that the difference between María's scores when she used vocatives versus when the vocatives were removed is not statistically significant. The same comparisons were made for each speaker included in the perception task. Table 20 illustrates the results of the paired t-Test for each speaker. The t Critical two-tail value was the same for all categories because there was the same number of samples for each t-Test (i.e., each person was measured on the same 7 characteristics, so the "sample size" is 7 for each speaker). Therefore, the t Critical two-tail value is 2.446912. If the t Stat value for each speaker was less than the t

Critical two-tail value, the null hypothesis was accepted. Additionally, if the *p* value was greater than the alpha (.05) for each speaker, the null hypothesis was rejected. In these cases, where the p value was greater than alpha ($p > .05$), the null hypothesis was rejected and there was a statistically significant difference between the two values, meaning that there was a difference in perception between the speaker's use of vocatives.

Table 19.1: Mean Likert scale scores for María

	María- No vocatives	María- Vocatives
Intelligence	2.53	2.60
Education level	2.82	2.53
Kindness	2.56	2.60
Professional capability	2.82	2.80
Frankness	4.06	3.93
Empathy	2.41	2.33
General opinion	2.76	2.87
Mean	**2.851429**	**2.808571**

Table 19.2: Paired t-Test results for María

	María- No vocatives	María- Vocatives
Mean	2.851429	2.808571
Variance	0.309014	0.275948
Observations (# of characteristics)	7	7
Hypothesized mean difference	0	
t Stat	0.824267	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.441316	
t Critical two-tail	2.446912	

Table 20: Paired t-Test results for perception task

	t Stat value	t Stat value > or < t Critical two-tail value	P(T<=t) two-tail	p value > or < alpha (.05)	Accept or reject null hypothesis	Statistically significant (p<.05)?
María	0.824267	<	0.441316	>	Accept	No
Jaime	0.248343	<	0.812151	>	Accept	No
Carmen	0.054162	<	0.958565	>	Accept	No
Lola	3.595907	>	0.011423	<	Reject	Yes
Mateo	0.449920	<	0.668566	>	Accept	No
Jorge	1.742080	<	0.132130	>	Accept	No
Carlos	1.236898	<	0.262339	>	Accept	No
Adrián	2.582073	>	0.041653	<	Reject	Yes
Cristina	0.330551	<	0.752221	>	Accept	No
Luisa	1.007443	<	0.352608	>	Accept	No
Julián	2.367141	<	0.055738	>	Accept	No
Selena	1.538598	<	0.174823	>	Accept	No
Alejandro	1.739723	<	0.132561	>	Accept	No
Camilo	0.068153	<	0.947878	>	Accept	No
Lucía	0.533994	<	0.612541	>	Accept	No
Carla	0.843274	<	0.431403	>	Accept	No

There were only two instances where the t Stat value was greater than the t Critical two-tail value and the *p* value was less than the alpha (p<.05). In these two groups (Lola and Adrián), the null hypothesis was rejected and the results were statistically significant. In the cases of Lola and Adrián, both speakers averaged higher rankings when they did not use vocatives in their speech compared to when they did use vocatives. The mean Likert test scores and paired t-Test results for Lola appear in Tables 21.1 and 21.2 respectively, while those for Adrián are shown in Tables 22.1 and 22.2.

When analyzing the perceptions of the survey respondents toward Lola and Adrián, the mean of both speakers when vocatives were removed from their transcribed speech was higher than the average when vocatives were included. Upon completing a paired t-Test for Lola, the t Stat value was 3.595907, which is higher than the t Critical value (2.446912), and the *p* value of 0.041653 was lower than the alpha (p<.05). Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected for this speaker and there was a statistically significant difference in attitudes toward Lola when using vocatives. In the case of the paired t-Test for Adrián, the t Stat value was 2.582073 (>t Critical value) and the *p* value was .041653 (p<.05), signifying that there was a difference in respondents' perceptions toward Adrián when using vocatives. In both of these cases, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypothesis, that there was a difference in perceptions between speakers using vocatives, was accepted.

Fifteen speakers (i.e., interlocutors whose speech was represented in the transcribed excerpts in the perception task) were analyzed in the perception task as a whole. One of those speakers produced the distracter item, which included no vocatives in either version of the survey, and was therefore excluded from the paired t-Test. Only two of the remaining fourteen speakers showed a statistically significant difference when comparing survey respondents'

perceptions toward vocative use. As the results of the paired t-Test for Lola and Adrián demonstrated a significant difference in respondent perception, the presence of vocatives does appear to have an impact on native speaker attitudes toward another interlocutor, although this experiment should be repeated with more respondents for more reliable results.

Table 21.1: Mean Likert scale scores for Lola

	Lola- No vocatives	Lola- Vocatives
Intelligence	3.53	3.40
Education level	3.94	3.67
Kindness	3.24	3.00
Professional capability	4.12	3.33
Frankness	4.76	3.80
Empathy	3.06	2.80
General opinion	4.12	3.07
Mean	**3.824286**	**3.295714**

Table 21.2: Paired t-Test results for Lola

	Lola- No vocatives	Lola- Vocatives
Mean	3.824286	3.295714
Variance	0.345995	0.131762
Observations (# of characteristics)	7	7
Hypothesized mean difference	0	
t Stat	3.595907	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.011423	
t Critical two-tail	2.446912	

Table 22.1: Mean Likert scale scores for Adrián

	Adrián- No vocatives	Adrián- Vocatives
Intelligence	3.71	3.42
Education level	2.88	3.33
Kindness	3.59	2.67
Professional capability	3.53	3.25
Frankness	4.35	3.50
Empathy	3.59	2.92
General opinion	4.00	3.33
Mean	**3.664286**	**3.202857**

Table 22.2: Paired t-Test results for Adrián

	Adrián- No vocatives	Adrián- Vocatives
Mean	3.664286	3.202857
Variance	0.204862	0.088990
Observations (# of characteristics)	7	7
Hypothesized mean difference	0	
t Stat	2.582073	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.041653	
t Critical two-tail	2.446912	

4.12. Discussion of perception task results

The research questions for the perception task were the following:

RQ7: Are native speakers of Madrid Spanish cognizant of vocative use in transcribed discourse involving naturally occurring conversations produced by speakers of the same Spanish variety?

RQ8: Does the use of vocatives influence their attitude about the speaker?

RQ8.1: Is there a difference in attitudes toward language users who use vocatives in their conversational discourse versus those who do not?

There were fifteen speakers whose transcribed speech served as the elicitation items yielding the responses analyzed in the perception task, one of which was a distractor that included no vocatives in any task, and was excluded from the paired t-Test. Only two of the remaining fourteen speakers showed a statistically significant difference when comparing survey respondents' perceptions toward vocative use (RQ8). The paired t-Test for both Lola and Adrián showed a significant difference in respondent perception of each speaker when using vocatives or when they were excluded from the transcribed speech samples (RQ8.1). Therefore, the presence of vocatives does appear to have an impact on native speaker attitudes toward another interlocutor, and it appears that native speakers are cognizant of their use by other speakers (RQ7).

In the future, the perception task should be repeated with a greater sample size, as there would likely be a statistically significant difference in attitudes toward speech with versus without vocatives, if a larger group of respondents completed the survey. An important limitation of the perception task must also be mentioned. Phonology and intonation are extremely important influences on perceptions toward other speakers. However, the judgments in the perception task were based solely on what was orthographically transcribed. I tried to account for this issue by changing only one aspect of the transcribed items used in the perception task, namely, the presence versus the absence of vocatives in them. In the future, a matched guise task

should be completed to include phonology and intonation in respondents' judgements of speakers.

4.13. Summary of results

This study provides a comprehensive look at how native speakers use vocatives in Madrid Spanish through the implementation of three experiments. The recorded conversations between native speakers and their subsequent orthographic transcription created a corpus of naturally occurring data. In this corpus, consisting of approximately 12 hours of transcribed speech, there were 309 tokens of vocative use. Vocatives in the corpus were analyzed by word choice and characterized by functional category (relational, summoning, emphasis, self-reflective). These functions of the vocatives were also analyzed in light of each vocative's position in an utterance. Unsurprisingly, the most common vocatives used were *tío/tía,* followed by proper names, and then *hombre*. While it was not possible to determine whether age played a factor in vocative choice or functioning, interlocutors' gender may have played a role in the use of *tío* versus *tía* between females and gay males. Vocatives used in the data set were found to pertain to one or more of the three functional categories. Furthermore, there was much overlap between the three categories due to the multifunctional nature of vocatives. As expected, vocatives in utterance initial position were overwhelmingly the most common, followed by those used in final and then medial positions. Additionally, vocatives in turn central position were the most common, followed by turn initial and turn final positions.

The survey consisted of a DCT and a perception task. The results of the DCT showed that vocatives were used in all contexts. However, their frequency was influenced by power distance, formality, and social distance, as well as by the age and gender of the speaker. Vocatives were

used most frequently in conversations between interlocutors with a close relationship and in informal settings. Vocatives were also used most often by males and younger speakers (under the age of 30). While the perception task had a relatively small sample size for quantitative analysis, it appears that certain characteristics such as professional capability and the respondents' overall opinions of the speakers, whose transcribed conversational discourse comprised each item tested, were influenced by a speaker's use or lack of use of vocatives. Two of the transcribed excerpts included in this task had statistically significant differences in respondent perceptions of their respective "speakers" when they used vocatives in their discourse versus when those vocatives were extracted from the transcribed speech samples. Vocatives therefore do appear to influence native speaker attitudes toward other speakers when respondents' perceptions of speech incorporating vocatives are compared with their perceptions of speech lacking them. Results of analyses of the data gathered for the three experiments carried out in the present study demonstrate that vocatives are a frequent and multifunctional feature of Madrid Spanish and that they warrant further investigation.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The present dissertation has addressed the use of vocatives as a feature used by native speakers of Madrid Spanish. Previous studies have shown that vocatives are used most commonly in informal settings, between interlocutors that have a close relationship, and most frequently by teenage and young adult speakers. However, there is very little research on Spanish vocative use in natural settings. The goal of this project was to fill this apparent research gap and to help us better understand the uses of Spanish vocatives as a frequent and essential feature of native-speaker discourse. It was expected that native speakers would use vocatives most frequently in informal contexts toward interlocutors with whom they have an established relationship. I also predicted that vocative function would be related to position in an utterance and a speaker's turn. Based on previous work by Stafstrom and Jørgensen (2008), I expected that *tío* and *tía* would be the most commonly used vocatives. With respect to the DCT, I predicted that vocatives would be used in informal settings, with friends and family members, where there was a minimal degree of social distance between interlocutors. I also predicted that the use of vocatives would impact native speaker attitudes toward other speakers of the same variety of Spanish. The results of the present study support these predictions, and they add to our understanding of vocative use by teenage and young adult speakers of Madrid Spanish and how this use is perceived by other native speakers. Additionally, results show that vocatives function most frequently to add emphasis/expressivity, manage a speaker's turn, mark solidarity, and control contact between

interlocutors. This concluding chapter will begin with a discussion of the results and implications of the present study. This will be followed by considerations for future research, including pedagogical applications of studying vocatives, which can be explored using this project as a base.

5.1. General conclusions and implications

This dissertation contributes to our understanding of how, when, and with whom vocatives are used by teenage and young adult speakers. This was assessed through the implementation of a three-pronged study, including the collection of naturally occurring oral data, and the distribution of an online survey consisting of a discourse completion task and a perception task. The results of these experiments demonstrate that vocatives are a multifunctional feature of Madrid Spanish that warrant further investigation. This dissertation is the only known study that combines these three methods in the analysis of vocatives in an attempt to provide a more complete assessment and characterization of vocative use and perception by native speakers of Madrid Spanish.

Previous categorizations of vocatives have been problematic or incomplete. The traditional dichotomy of vocative functions as calls and addresses (Schegloff 1968) does not account for the many other purposes of vocatives in discourse. The three categories proposed by Kleinknecht (2013) are more detailed, but unclear when trying to operationalize them in the analysis of vocatives in real conversations. For the present study, these categories were modified, including the condensing of several of Kleinknecht's subclasses of vocatives into merely "emphatic or expressive vocatives". Based on the classifications created by Edeso Natalías (2005), I also added the general functional category of *vocativos autorreflexivos* (self-reflection vocatives), which are used differently than other vocatives because they do not always refer to an

intended interlocutor. The use of a vocative in these instances merely demonstrates an aspect of self-reflection by the speaker. Finally, the category of contact control markers (Briz 1998; Portolés 2007) was incorporated as a classification of vocatives in the current project. Prior works on vocatives, such as those by Leech (1999) and Jørgensen (2008, 2011), also indicated that vocative function is inherently linked to utterance and turn position. However, I found that vocatives with almost any function can occur in an any position in a turn or utterance.

The current dissertation aimed to improve upon these previous works by combining and simplifying previous classification systems based on vocative functions. In the first experiment of the present study (oral data recordings), the most common functions of vocatives were those of emphasis/expressivity (64.08%), turn-management (53.40%), solidarity marking (37.54%), and contact control (35.92%). These four categories often had vocatives that overlapped in function, as oftentimes speakers were not only adding emphasis to their utterances by using a vocative, but also ensuring that the listener heard and understood them, while also ensuring that the listener knew their level of friendship or relationship. This overlap demonstrates the polyfunctional nature of vocatives.

Vocatives occurred in utterance initial, medial, and final position across these functional categories. Tokens in utterance initial position occurred in 69.58% of tokens, while those in medial and final position appeared 10.30% and 20.06% of all cases, respectively. Vocatives with summoning function occurred most frequently with 202 tokens (65.37% of the cases), while those with emphatic function appeared 198 times (64.08%), those with relational function totaled 181 cases (58.58%), and self-referential vocatives occurred 55 times (17.80%). Across all of the functional categories examined (relational, summoning, emphasis, and self-reflective), vocatives in utterance initial position were overwhelmingly the most common, as was also concluded

previously by Jørgensen in her 2008 study of vocatives in the COLAm. The results of this experiment also confirm that vocatives found in utterance initial position call the attention of a listener and identify the intended interlocutor, as previously observed by Leech (1999) and Jørgensen. Vocatives in medial and final position were found to serve to identify the person being called, as well as to reinforce social relationships. However, interestingly, many vocatives in the data collected for the present study that occurred in initial position were used with an emphatic function, not merely for getting the attention of a listener. Vocatives in initial position were also commonly used for turn-management, where the speaker acknowledged the listener, but speakers also used vocatives to signal that they were taking their turn in a conversation. The results indicated that vocatives in any position in an utterance can emphasize a statement, begin or maintain a turn, control contact with the listener, and mark solidarity and reinforce the relationship between speaker and listener.

With respect to vocative position in a speaker's turn, Kleinknecht (2013) concluded that vocatives used for turn-management can serve to organize the structure of a discourse, to evoke a response from the addressee, or to attract the attention of the other interlocutors necessary to take a turn. Haselow (2019) determined that discourse markers occurring at the beginning of a speaker's turn serve a communicative purpose and that those in turn-final position serve to manage a speaker's turn, add illocutionary force to an utterance, and define the relationship between interlocutors. The results of the present study demonstrate that vocatives in turn-central position were most common, and functioned most frequently to add emphasis to an utterance. Those in turn-initial position most commonly served a summoning function, and those in turn-final position functioned almost equally as emphatic, summoning, and relational vocatives. Finally, vocatives serving as a speaker's entire turn were most frequently used to add emphasis.

In the second experiment, the discourse completion task or DCT, participants were provided with a combination of six discourse contexts designed to elicit vocative use, which were based on contexts implemented by Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin and Prieto (2015) in their study of vocative intonation preferences and politeness. Each of the six contexts created for the current project resulted in the use of these markers to varying extents. As predicted, the highest number of vocative tokens occurred in the discourse contexts where participants were interacting with someone with whom they shared a close relationship and in an informal situation. The other discourse contexts also elicited vocative use, but to a lesser extent. Therefore, factors such as formality and social distance did appear to impact the use of vocatives by participants. Additionally, social factors such as age and gender of the respondents played a role in their use of vocatives. Overall, males used vocatives more frequently than females, and males used more solidarity markers, while females used *vocativos cariñosos* a bit more frequently.

The perception task was implemented using a Likert scale to measure attitudes toward native speakers' use of vocatives by other native speakers of the same variety of Spanish. The Likert scale was incorporated based on previous study by Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012), who studied attitudes toward consonant deletion in Venezuelan Spanish. Additionally, two versions of this task (one with vocatives and one without) were created following the methods implemented by Davydova et. al (2017) in their examination of sociolinguistic awareness of foreign language learners. The results of the perception task are less conclusive than the other two experiments due to the small sample size. However, some conclusions may still be drawn. Only two of the fourteen speakers analyzed in a paired t-Test showed a statistically significant difference between survey respondents' perceptions toward vocative use. Nevertheless, this difference indicates that respondents were influenced by the use of vocatives in their perceptions of

speakers in the conversations analyzed. Although this experiment should be repeated in the future with more participants, it can be preliminarily concluded that vocatives can influence native Spanish speakers' attitudes toward other speakers of the same variety of Spanish.

5.2. Limitations

As is the case with any study, the current dissertation had several limitations. For the oral data collection, I was only able to secure four participants that were willing to complete the recordings. Additionally, although I was approved by the University of Georgia's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to work with participants under the age of 18, I was unable to secure any participants in this age group. Teenage speakers tend to use discourse markers such as vocatives in a higher frequency than their older counterparts (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003; Stenström and Jørgensen 2009; Palacios Martínez 2008), so their inclusion in this study could have provided a greater frequency and variety of vocatives in conversational interactions. Also, regarding the oral data, the speakers may have been impacted by knowing that they were being recorded, which in turn may have altered their speech in some way, although it did not appear to affect the personal nature of topics covered by participants (including parties, drinking, and sex). Finally, the lack of access to contextualization cues such as body language and gestures, due to the fact that the data were audio recorded only, could have influenced the analysis of some vocatives used for contact control and turn management. Without these cues, it was at times challenging to identify with complete certainty the functions of some vocatives in the recorded data.

Concerning the online survey, including the DCT and perception task, there is an inherent bias as all participants must have access to a computer with internet or a smartphone to complete

the survey. However, as this study focused on teenage and young adult speakers in Madrid, the intended sample population tends to have access to these resources. Additionally, the sample size (N=81) was divided into different subgroups that completed each of the four versions of the survey, resulting in a small sample size completing each survey version. The use of gatekeepers may have also influenced the demographics of the participants. For example, many of my friends have advanced degrees, and many of their friends and family do as well. Therefore, a large number of participants had completed a university degree or higher. The results of the survey may have been different with a more socioeconomically diverse group of participants and should be repeated in the future so as to include a larger and more diverse pool of informants. Finally, with respect to the perception task, phonology and intonation are extremely important factors that influence perceptions of other speakers. Therefore, survey respondents' judgments in the perception task could have been assessments of various aspects of the transcriptions, rather than solely the use versus absence of vocatives in the speakers' discourse.

5.3. Avenues for future research and pedagogical applications

Future studies can and should expand the corpus of oral data created for the current project. For example, it would be beneficial to repeat the oral data collection methods used with more speakers of different age groups. Comparing the use of vocatives by different age groups would provide a more complete picture of vocative use in Madrid Spanish. Additionally, intonation is a factor that was not examined in the present study, but should be explored to determine how it impacts vocative use and interpretation. An analysis should also be carried out to determine the functions (i.e., illocutionary forces) of segments that come before and after each vocative in the corpus. Vocatives often connect two segments of discourse, and it is necessary to

consider these sequences and their respective illocutionary forces. Furthermore, it would be very insightful to determine the extent to which each vocative in the data can be replaced with another marker without impacting the meaning of the speaker's utterance. For example, I hypothesize that vocatives as contact control markers could be replaced with discourse markers such as *oye, mira,* or *escucha* at the beginning of a turn, but not necessarily in turn central or turn final positions. I also would expect that *tío* and *tía* could be replaced with other vocatives that are no more or less lexically specific, whereas a proper name could not be substituted in such contexts. As vocatives such as *hombre* and *tío* are more semantically bleached than others, and some vocatives are more referential than others, a continuum based on the lexical specificity of vocatives could be proposed to reflect such nuances.

The survey should also be repeated with more participants to determine if the results of this study hold to be true in a larger sample size. A larger sample size would also allow for further statistical analysis of the perception task. I hypothesize that a larger sample size would have even more examples of statistically significant differences in opinions toward speakers' uses of vocatives. Additionally, a matched guise task should be implemented to test hearers' perceptions of vocative use versus omission. This type of task would take into account aspects of intonation and phonology that could not be analyzed in the perception task in the present study. In a matched guise task examining vocatives, two samples from the same speaker would be played to a listener, one with vocatives used in a conversation and one with vocatives excluded. A paired t-Test analysis could also be implemented to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between attitudes toward speakers who use vocatives compared with attitudes towards speakers whose speech samples lack vocatives.

The pronominal address form *tú* should also be considered in a future study. Although this was not examined to any great extent in the current study, it appeared that the primary function of *tú* was as an emphasizer or contact control marker, and thus had a function similar to that of vocatives. *Tú* was also used in utterance initial position most frequently, followed by medial, and then final, and also appeared in constructed dialogues, as was the case with the vocatives used. An in-depth analysis of this feature should be considered in a future project to determine its functions and compare them with those of vocatives.

There are also potential pedagogical applications of this project that should be explored. In an earlier preliminary study, I examined two Spanish textbooks, one for beginners and one for intermediate learners, and found only one mention of vocatives. In the two textbooks (Guzmán, LaPuerta and Liskin-Gasparro 2015 and Pérez-Gironés and Adán-Lifante 2013), there are very few examples of vocatives in activities and readings. Additionally, only the intermediate textbook has a small text on *palabras cariñosas* ('affectionate words' or 'words of endearment'), which briefly discusses words you can use among friends. This topic warrants more than a note in an intermediate textbook and begs the question: why are vocatives not included in L2 Spanish instruction? Vigara Tauste (1994) argues that students' first efforts in a second language are to consciously and progressively learn lexical elements and rules of the grammatical system. However, the classroom setting loses the authenticity of naturally occurring speech, as many discourse-pragmatic features are removed to make activities simpler. According to Vigara Tauste (1994: 300), pedagogical materials used in language classes do not incorporate authentic oral texts of the type which would allow teachers to present students with phatic expressions in their natural settings in conversations.

Félix-Brasdefer (2008) also examined teaching pragmatic forms of mitigation in a Spanish as a second language classroom setting. He recommends that teachers should consider

drawing learners' attention to these forms and making them aware of the pragmatic function(s) of mitigators in specific sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, he affirms that "learning the pragmatic function of mitigators enhances communicative competence in a L2 and allows learners to communicate more effectively by enabling them to interact in accordance with the sociocultural norms of the target culture" (Félix-Brasdefer 2008: 480). Therefore, instructors must encourage the inclusion of classroom activities that raise learners' pragmatic awareness.

In a future study, I hope to ascertain the extent to which vocatives are (or are not) included in the second language (L2) instruction of Spanish. Based on my research to date, vocatives are minimally included, if included at all, in textbooks created for Spanish as a second language instruction, which suggests that this common feature of spoken Spanish should be incorporated in the materials used to teach Spanish language classes. Specifically, if vocatives are important in creating and maintaining social connections, especially amongst youth and groups of peers of similar ages, why is there a lack of inclusion of their uses in Spanish textbooks directed toward L2 learners? Including vocatives and other discourse markers as part of a concerted attempt to teach pragmatic features of Spanish to second language learners should be explored, as the use of such features could help L2 learners to form and maintain bonds with their peers. Students of a second language must understand when it is appropriate or not to use certain grammatical forms and vocabulary, but they also need learn how to communicate using features of native-speaker discourse. I intend to find ways for instructors to incorporate examples of naturally occurring speech with pragmatic features like mitigation, the use of discourse markers, and vocatives. These features are part of natural conversation, and should be included as input for language learners.

Finally, an avenue for future vocative research is to examine the extent to which students can acquire their use or, minimally, recognize in which contexts their use is appropriate or not,

after completing a study abroad program of varying lengths. Programs lasting four to six weeks, a semester, and a year should be included. Reynolds-Case (2013) examined the acquisition and production of the *vosotros* pronoun and corresponding verbal forms following a four-week study abroad program in Madrid, Spain using a pre- and post-test. This study aimed to establish whether short-term study abroad programs lasting six weeks or less offer sufficient time and contact for students to demonstrate measurable development in their command of the language. Reynolds-Case concluded that students "are indeed able to recognize and produce regional-specific linguistic variations even if they have not received previous exposure to, or direct instruction on, these variations in class" (2013: 318). She found that the crucial factor in the acquisition of these forms was the amount of exposure students have to the target language and emphasized that even if students have not received direct instruction on regional-specific variations, students can recognize and produce them after time spent abroad. Study-abroad students may be able to recognize the basic uses of vocatives if they have sufficient immersion experiences with native speakers.

REFERENCES

ALBA-JUEZ, LAURA. 2009. 'Little words' in small talk: Some considerations on the use of the pragmatic markers *man* in English and *macho/tío* in Peninsular Spanish. *Little words: Their history, phonology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and acquisition*, ed. by Ronald P. Leow, Héctor Campos, and Donna Lardiere, 171-181. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

ALBELDA MARCO, MARTA. 2008. Influence of situational factors on the codification and interpretation of impoliteness. *Pragmatics* 18(4).751-773.

ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS. 1997. (in Greek) Youth language from a comparative perspective: Greek, French, German, Italian. *Studies for Greek language: Proceedings of the 17th Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, 562-576. Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis. [cited in Saltidou and Stamou 2014]

ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS. 2001. (in Greek) Youth language. *Encycolpedic guide for language*, ed. by Christidis and M. Theodoropoulou. Thessaloniki: Center of Greek Language. [cited in Saltidou and Stamou 2014]

ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS. 2005. Research on youth language. *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik: An international handbook of the science of language and society/Ein internationals handbuch zur wissenscaft von sprache und gesellschaft,* ed. by A. Ulrich, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill, 1496-505. Berlin: De Gruyter. [cited in Saltidou and Stamou 2014]

ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS AND ALEXANDRA GEORGAKOPLOULOU. 2003. Discourse constructions of youth identities: Introduction. *Discourse constructions of youth identities*, ed. by Jannis Androutsopoulos and Alexandra Georgakoploulou, 1-26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

ARIAS NUÑEZ, CAROLINA. 2002. Los tratamientos en el español intermontano central de Costa Rica, área metropolitan: un análisis socio-pragmático. Tesis para optar por el grado de Licenciatura en Filología Española: Universidad de Costa Rica.

BERNAL, MARÍA. 2008. Do insults always insult? Genuine impoliteness versus non-genuine impoliteness in colloquial Spanish. *Pragmatics* 18(4).775-802.

BLACKWELL, SARAH E. 2009. What's in a pear film narrative: Framing and the power of expectation in Spanish. *Spanish in Context* 6(2).249-299.

BLACKWELL, SARAH E. 2016. *Porque* in Spanish oral narratives: Semantic *porque*, (meta)pragmatic *porque* or both?. In *Interdisciplinary studies in pragmatics, culture and society. Perspectives in pragmatics, philosophy & psychology*, vol 4, ed. by A. Capone and J. Mey, 615-651. Springer, Cham.

BORRÀS-COMES, JOAN, and RAFÈU SICHEL-BAZIN, AND PILAR PRIETO. 2015. Vocative intonation preferences are sensitive to politeness factors. *Language and Speech* 58(1).68-83.

BOXER, DIANA. 2002. *Applying sociolinguistics. Domains and face-to-face interactions.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

BRAVO, DIANA. 2012. Cortesía lingüística y comunicativa. *Fundamentos y modelos del estudio pragmático y sociopragmático del español*, ed. by Susana De los Heros and Mercedes Niño-Murcia, 83-115. Georgetown University Press.

BRIZ, ANTONIO. 1998. *El español coloquial en la conversación*. Barcelona: Ariel.

BROWN, PENELOPE, AND STEPHEN C. LEVINSON. 1979. Social structure, groups, and interaction. *Social markers in speech*, ed. by Klaus Scherer and Howard Giles, 291-341. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BROWN, PENELOPE, AND STEPHEN C. LEVINSON. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BUGEL, TALIA. 2012. Buenas y no tan buenas variedades del español: Opiniones y actitudes en Montevideo y Buenos Aires. *Revista Internacional De Lingüística Iberoamericana* 10(1 (19)).83-107.

BUTLER, JUDITH. 1990. *Gender Trouble*. London: Routledge.

CAJA, M.J. 2009. La intensificación en el lenguaje juvenil de Madrid. Masters' Thesis. Foreign Languages: Bergen University.

CAMARGO FERNÁNDEZ, LAURA. 2010. Dialogues within oral narratives: Functions and forms. *Dialogue in Spanish: Studies in functions and contexts*, ed. by Dale Koike and Lidia Rodríguez-Alfano, 31-54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

CASADO VELARDE, MANUEL. 2002. Aspectos morfológicos y semánticos del lenguaje juvenil. *El lenguaje de los jóvenes*, ed. by Félix Rodríguez González, 57-66. Barcelona: Ariel Social. [cited in Jørgensen 2013]

CASAMIGLIA BLANCAFORT, HELENA, and AMPARO TUSÓN VALLS. 2001. *Las cosas del decir: Manual de análisis del dicurso*. Barcelona: Ariel.

CASESNOVES FERRER, RAQUEL, and DAVID SANKOFF. 2004. The Valencian revival: Why usage lags behind competence. *Language in Society* 33.1-31.

CHAMBERS, J. K. 2002. Patterns of variation including change. *The handbook of language variation and change*, ed. by J.K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 349-372. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

COHEN, ANDREW D., and RACHEL L. SHIVELY. 2007. Acquisition of requests and apologies in Spanish and French: Impact of study abroad and strategy-building intervention. *Modern Language Journal* 91(2).189-212.

COULMAS, FLORIAN (ED.). 1996. *The handbook of sociolinguistics*, 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

COUPLAND, NIKOLAS. 2007. *Style: Language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CULPEPER, JONATHAN. 2005. Impoliteness and entertainment in the television quiz show: *The Weakest Link. Journal of Politeness Research* 1.35-72.

DAVYDOVA, JULIA, AGNIESZKA EWA TYTUS, and ERIK SCHLEEF. 2017. Acquisition of sociolinguistic awareness by German learners of English: A study in perceptions of quotative be like. *Linguistics* 55.783-812.

DÍAZ-CAMPOS, MANUEL, and JASON KILLAM. 2012. Assessing language attitudes through a matched-guise experiment: The case of consonantal deletion in venezuelan spanish. *Hispania* 95(1).83-102.

EDESO NATALÍAS, VERÓNICA. 2005. Usos discursivos del vocativo en Español. *Español Actual* 84.123-142.

EMIHOVICH, CATHERINE A. 1981. The intimacy of address: friendship markers in children's social play. *Language in society*, 10(2).189-199.

ENSINK, TITUS, and CHRISTOPH SAUER. 2003. Social-functional and cognitive approaches to discourse interpretation: The role of frame and perspective. *Framing and perspectivising in discourse,* ed. by Titus Ensink and Christoph Sauer, 1-21. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

FÉLIX-BRASDEFER, J. CÉSAR. 2003. Validity in data collection methods in pragmatics research. *Theorgy, practice, and acquisition: Papers from the 6th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium and the 5th Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese,* ed. by Paula Kempchinsky and Carlos-Eduardo Piñeros, 239-257. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

FÉLIX-BRASDEFER, J. CÉSAR. 2008. Teaching pragmatics in the classroom: Instruction of Mitigation in Spanish as a Foreign Language. *Hispania,* 91(2).477-492.

FÉLIX-BRASDEFER, J. CÉSAR. 2010. Data collection methods in speech act performance: DCTs, role-plays, and verbal reports. *Speech act performance: Theoretical, empirical and*

methodological issues, ed. by Alicia Martínez-Flor and Esther Usó-Juan. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

FINE, GARY ALAN. 1981. Rude words. Insults and narration in preadolescent obscene talk. *Maledicta* V.51-68.

FINK, ROBERT O. 1972. Persons in nouns: Is the vocative a case? *The American journal of philology 93*(1).61-68.

FRASER, BRUCE. 1996. Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics* 6.2.167-190.

FRASER, BRUCE. 2006. Towards a theory of discourse markers. *Approaches to discourse particles*. ed. by Kerstin Fischer, 189-204. Bremen: Elsevier.

GEESLIN, KIMBERLY (ED). 2014. *The Handbook of Spanish Second Language Acquisition.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

GAIES, STEPHEN J, and BEEBE, JACQUELINE D. 1991. The matched-guise technique for measuring attitudes and their implications for language education: A critical assessment. *Language acquisition and the second/foreign language classroom,* Anthology series 28.156-176.

GOFFMAN, ERVING. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

GUMPERZ, JOHN. 1982. *Discourse strategies* (Studies in interactional sociolinguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GUMPERZ, JOHN. 1989. Contextualization cues and metapragmatics: The retrieval of cultural knowledge. In *CLS 25: Papers from the Parasession on language in context*, ed. Caroline Wiltshire, Randolph Graczyk and Bradley Music, 77-88. Chicago: University of Chicago.

GUMPERZ, JOHN. 1996. The linguistic and cultural relativity of conversational inference. In *Rethinking linguistic relativity*, ed. John Gumperz and Stephen C. Levinson, 374-406. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GUZMÁN, ELIZABETH E, PALOMA E. LAPUERTA, and JUDITH E. LISKIN-GASPARRO. 2015. *Unidos classroom manual: An interactive approach*, 2ª ed. London: Pearson.

GRICE, HERBERT PAUL. 1975. Logic and conversation. *Syntax and semantics: Speech acts,* vol. 3, ed. by P. Cole and Morgan 41-58. New York: Academic Press.

HARTFORD, BEVERLY S, and KATHLEEN BARDOVI-HARLIG. 1992. Experimental and observational data in the study of interlanguage pragmatics. *Pragmatics and language learning*, Vol. 3, ed. by Lawrence F. Bouton and Yamuna Kachru, 22-52. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

HASBÚN HASBÚN, LEYLA. 2003. Que le vendemos, reina? The use of vocatives at farmers' markets. *Revista de Filología y Lingüística de la Universidad de Costa Rica* 29 (1).201-212.

HASELOW, ALEXANDER. 2019. Discourse marker sequences: Insight into the serial order of communicative tasks in real-time turn production. *Journal of Pragmatics* 146.1-18.

HAUGH, MICHAEL. 2010. Respect and deference. *Interpersonal Pragmatics*, ed. by Miriam A. Locher and Sage L. Graham, 271-288. New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

HODGES, BRIAN DAVID, AYELET KUPER, and SCOTT REEVES. 2008. Qualitative research: Discourse analysis. *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 337 (7669).570-72.

HWANG, JUCK-RYOON. 2009. 'Deference' versus 'politeness' in Korean speech. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1990 (82).41-56.

IRAGUI, JASONE CENOZ. 1996. Requests and Apologies: A Comparison Between Native and Non-native Speakers of English. *Atlantis* 18(1/2).53-61.

JØRGENSEN, ANNETTE MYRE. 2008. Tío y tía como marcadores en el lenguaje juvenil de Madrid. *Actas del XXXVII Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística*, ed. by I.O Moreno, M.C. Velarde, and R.G. Ruiz, 387-396. Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra.

JØRGENSEN, ANNETTE MYRE. 2011. Formas de tratamiento: Los vocativos en el lenguaje juvenil de Madrid, Buenos Aires y Santiago de Chile. *Las formas de tratamento em português e em espanhol: variação, mundança e funções conversacionais*. Rio de Janeiro: UFF.

JØRGENSEN, ANNETTE MYRE. 2013. Spanish teenage language and the COLAm-corpus. *Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies* 3.151-166.

JØRGENSEN, ANNETTE MYRE, and GUNN AARLI. 2008. Los marcadores de control de contacto en el lenguaje juvenil de Madrid y Santiago de Chile. *XV Congreso de la ALFAC*. Montevideo, Uruguay.

JØRGENSEN, ANNETTE MYRE and MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ, JUAN. A. 2007. Los marcadores del discurso del lenguaje juvenil de Madrid. *Revista Virtual de Estudios da Linguagem*. Online: http://www.revel.inf.br/.

KALIVODA, THEODORE B. 1976. Communication in the Foreign Language Classroom. *Hispania* 59(2).294-301.

KASPER, GABRIELE, and MERETE DAHL. 1991. Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in second language acquisition* 13(2).215-247.

KLEINKNECHT, FRIEDERIKE. 2013. Mexican güey –from vocative to discourse marker: a case of grammaticalization? *Vocative! Addressing between System and Performance,* ed. by Barbara Sonnenhauser and Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna,141-174. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

KOIKE, DALE. 2015. Changing frames in native speaker and learner talk: Moving toward a shared dialogue. *Dialogue in multilingual and multimodal communities*, ed. by Dale Koike and Carl S. Blyth, 253-285. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

KURISCAK, LISA. 2015. Examination of Learner and Situation Level Variables: Choice of Speech Act and Request Strategy by Spanish L2 Learners. *Hispania* 98(2).300-318.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1972a. Rules for ritual insults. *Language in the Inner City*, ed. by William Labov, 297-353. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

LABOV, WILLIAM. 1972b. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.

LAVRAKAS, PAUL J. (ED.). 2008. Gatekeeper. *Encyclopedia of survey research* vol. 1, 18. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

LEECH, GEOFFREY. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics.* London and New York: Longman.

LEECH, GEOFFREY. 1999. The distribution and functions of vocatives in American and British English conversation. *Out of corpora*, ed. by H. Hasselgård and S. Oksefjell, 107-118. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

LEVINSON, STEPHEN C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LJUNG, MAGNUS. 1986. *Om svordomar*. Stockholm: Akademilitteratur.

MARTÍNEZ-FLOR, ALICIA, and ESTHER USÓ-JUAN. 2011. Research methodologies in pragmatics: Eliciting refusals to requests. *ELIA* 11.47-87.

MARTÍNEZ, JUAN GONZÁLEZ, and JOSÉ LUIS BLAS ARROYO. 2011. Estabilidad y dinamismo en las actitudes lingüísticas de una comunidad bilingüe española (Els Ports, Castellón). *Hispania* 94(4).663-679.

MÁRQUEZ-REITER, ROSINA, and MARÍA E. PLACENCIA. 2005. *Spanish pragmatics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

MCCARTHY, MICHAEL J, and ANNE O'KEEFFE. 2003. "What's in a name?": Vocatives in casual conversations and radio phone-in calls. *Corpus analysis: Language structure and language use,* ed. by Pepi Leistyna and Charles F. Meyer, 153-185. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B. V.

MERRIAM-WEBSTER ONLINE DICTIONARY. 2019. In *Merriam-Webster.com*. Online: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary. (Accessed on June 10, 2019).

MOWERY, BERNICE D. 2011. The paired t-test. *Pediatric nursing* 37(1).320-321.

MUSSIES, GERARD. 1998. Vocative case and pronoun in ancient Greek and Latin productivity and creativity: Studies in general and descriptive linguistics in honor of E.M. Uhlenbeck.

Trends in linguistic studies and monographs 116.559-574. Netherlands: Mouton De Gruyter.

NAVA SANCHEZLLANES, NELISAHUEL. 2006. El proceso de gramaticalización de la palabra güey en el habla de la ciudad de México. Bachelor thesis, Department of Linguistics, Universidad Autónoma de México.

NAVDAL, TORE. 2007. *Las palabras tabú en el lenguaje juvenil de Madrid*. Bergen: Universitetet Bergen.

PALACIOS, NIKTELOL. 2002a. La interdicción lingüística en el habla de los adolescentes mexicanos. Bachelor thesis, Department of Linguistics. Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

PALACIOS, NIKTELOL. 2002b. Algunos marcadores discursivos característicos del habla de los adolescentes mexicanos. *Iztapalapa* 18(53).225-247.

PALACIOS MARTÍNEZ, IGNACIO M. 2018. Lexical innovation in the language of teenagers: A cross linguistic perspective. *Jugendsprachen/Youth languages: Aktuelle perspektiven internationaler forschung/Current perspectives of international research*, ed. by Arne Ziegler, 363-390. Berlin: De Gruyter

PALMA-FAHEY, MARÍA. 2011. Exploring the representation of orality: The use of vocatives in two spanish-speaking films, machuca and volver. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 5(1).103-126.

PÉREZ-GIRONÉS, ANA MARÍA and VIRGINIA ADÁN-LIFANTE. 2013. *Más: español intermedio* (2a ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

PORROCHE BALLESTEROS, MARGARITA. 2015. On discourse marking in Spanish*. Circulo De Linguistica Aplicada a La Comunicacion* 62.10-31.

PORTOLÉS, JOSÉ. 2004. *Pragmática para hispanistas*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis.

PORTOLÉS, JOSÉ. 2007. *Marcadores del discurso* (4a ed.). Barcelona: Ariel.

PONS BORDERIÁ, SALVADOR. 2000. Los conectores. *¿Cómo se comenta un texto coloquial?*, ed. by Briz and ValEsCo, 193-218. Barcelona, Ariel.

RAMOS, FRANCISCO, AND ZETA FICCIÓN TV. 2018. *Élite* [Television series]. Directed by Ramón Salazar, Dani de la Orden, Silvia Quer, and Jorge Torredgrossa.

REYNOLDS-CASE, ANNE. 2013. The value of short-term study abroad: An increase in students' cultural and pragmatic competency. *Foreign Language Annals* 46(2).311-322.

RICHARDS, JACK C, JOHN PLATT, and HEIDI WEBER. 1985. *Dictionary of applied linguistics*. London: Longman.

RINCÓN, LUZ-MARY. 2006. 'Usted', the pronominal address of familiarity in an urban community. *Hispanic Journal* 27(1).11–22.

ROBERSON, PAULA K., SARAH J. SHEMA, DANIEL J. MUNDFROM, AND TALMAGE M. HOLMES. 1995. Analysis of patterned Likert data: How to evaluate change and preference questions. *Family medicine* 27(10).671-675.

RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, FÉLIX. 2002. Lenguaje y contracultura juvenil: anatomía de una generación. *El lenguaje de los jóvenes,* ed. by Félix Rodríguez González, 29-53. Barcelona: Ariel.

ROSNER, BERNARD. 1982. A generalization of the paired t-test. *Applied statistics* 31(1).9-13.

SALTIDOU, THEODORA, and ANASTASIA G. STAMOU. 2014. The mediation of 'youth language' in mainstream mass culture: Evidence from a Greek family sitcom. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 8(2).223-248.

SÁNCHES OLSEN, MARÍA JOSÉ. 2006. Eh tía--pues o sea pues a mí: Los marcadores pues y o sea el lenguaje oral juvenil de Madrid: Variables genolectales, generolectales y sociolectales, 191. Masters' Thesis, Department of Humanities. University of Bergen: Institutt for Fremmedspråk.

SCHADEN, GERHARD. 2010. Vocatives: A Note on Addressee-Management. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 16(1(20)).176-185. Online: http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol16/iss1/20.

SCHEGLOFF, EMANUEL A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* 70.1075-1095.

SCHEGLOFF, EMANUEL A. 1996. Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. *Interaction and grammar*, ed. by E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, and S. A. Thompson, 52-133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SCHEGLOFF, EMANUEL A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SOLÉ, YOLANDA. 1978. Sociocultural Determinants of Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Address Forms in Spanish. *Hispania* 61(4).940-949.

SONNENHAUSER, BARBARA, and PATRIZIA NOEL AZIZ HANNA. (eds). 2013. *Vocative!: Addressing between system and performance*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA. 1994. *An introduction to spoken interaction*. London: Longman.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA. 1995. Taboos in teenage talk. *Studies in anglistics,* ed. by Gunnel Melchers and Beatrice Warren, 71-79. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA. 2006. Taboo words in teenage talk: London and Madrid girls' conversations compared. *Spanish in Context* 3(1).115-138.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA. 2007. Teenage talk: A London based chat and discussion compared. *Talking Texts. How speech and writing interact in school learning*, ed. by R. Horowitz, 113-134. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA. 2008. Some characteristic features of small talk in the language of Madrid adolescents. *Oralia* 11.207-226.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA, GISELE ANDERSEN and INGRID KRISTINE HASUND. 2002. *Trends in teenage talk. Corpus compilation, analysis and findings*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA, and ANNETTE MYRE JØRGENSEN. 2008a. La función fática de los apelativos en la conversación juvenil de Madrid y Londres. *Actas del III Congreso EDICE*, Universidad de Valencia, 1-14.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA, and ANNETTE MYRE JØRGENSEN. 2008b. A matter of politeness? A contrastive study of phatic talk in teenage conversation. *Pragmatics* 18(4).635-657.

STENSTRÖM, ANNA-BRITA, and ANNETTE MYRE JØRGENSEN. 2009. *Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

STETTER, CHRISTIAN. 2013. On the case of the vocative. *Vocative! Addressing between System and Performance,* ed. by Barbara Sonnenhauser and Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna, 305-318. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

TAGLIAMONTE, SALI. 2012. *Variationist Sociolinguistics: Change, Observation, Interpretation*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

TANNEN, DEBORAH. 1986. Introducing constructed dialogue in Greek and American conversational and literary narrative. *Direct and indirect speech*, ed. by Florian Coulmas, 311-322. Berlin: Mouton.

TANNEN, DEBORAH. 2007. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.

TANNEN, DEBORAH, AND CYNTHIA WALLAT. 1987. Interactive frames and knowledge schemas in interaction: Examples from a medical examination/interview. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 50(2).205-216.

VAIREL, HELENE. 1981. The position of the vocative in the Latin case system. *The Amerian Journal of Philology* 102(4).438-447.

VIGARA TAUSTE, ANA MARÍA. 1994. Las expresiones de función fática en la enseñanza de español a extranjeros. *Actas del Segundo Congreso Nacional de ASELE: español para extranjeros: didáctica e investigación: Madrid, del 3 al 5 de diciembre de 1990*, coord. by Salvador Montesa Peydró andAntonio Manuel Garrido Moraga, 299-312.

VIGARA TAUSTE, ANA MARÍA. 2002. Cultura y estilo de los 'niños bien': Radiografía del lenguaje pijo. *El lenguaje de los jóvenes*, ed. by Félix Rodríguez González, 137-161. Barcelona: Ariel.

VOCATIVO. 2014. In *Real Academia Española: Diccionario de la lengua española* (23a.ed.) Online http://www.dle.rae.es/vocativo.

WINTER, BODO. 2019. *Statistics for linguists: An introduction in R*. New York, NY: Routeledge.

ZIMMERMANN, KLAUS. 2002. La variedad juvenil y la interacción verbal entre jóvenes. *El lenguaje de los jóvenes*, ed. by Félix Rodríguez González, 137-161. Barcelona: Ariel.

ZWICKY, ARNOLD. 1974. Hey, whatsyourname! *Papers from the 10th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. by Michael La Galy, Robert Fox, and Arnold Bruck, 787-801.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Adapted from Levinson (1983: 369-370) and Portolés (2004: 13-14):

Symbol	Meaning
(.)	Brief pause (.)
(1.0)	Longer pause: pauses or gaps in approximately seconds
[	Point of beginning of the overlap with next speaker
]	End of an overlap with next speaker
CAPS	Relatively high amplitude and emphatic words and syllables
-	Unfinished/abandoned words (reinicios), e.g. bue- (bueno)
= =	Latched utterances with no gap/pause (as if next speaker interrupts)?
.	Micro-pause for speech segment ending with falling intonation or pitch/final pitch drop
,	Micro-pause for listing with either rising or sustaining/continuing pitch
(( ))	Used to specify phenomena the transcriber does not want to “wrestle with”, unintelligible speech, non-verbal sounds or noises
( )	Uncertain passage (transcription included)
(en)tonces	Reconstruction of a lexical unit pronounced incompletely (to clarify meaning)
ehh, eh	Audible non-lexical markers/hedges
pa’l	Elimination of syllables between and at the end of words (contractions: para el…)
ee	Lengthened vowels
nn	Lengthened consonants
¿…?	Interrogative utterances (including question tags/markers: ¿no? ¿eh? ¿sabes?)
¿¡…¡?	Exclamative interrogative utterances
¡…!	Exclamations
italics	Reported speech, constructed dialogue, imitation or “quotatives”

APPENDIX B: LINGUISTIC HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE: RECORDED SPOKEN DATA

1. Indique su sexo: Hombre Mujer
2. Indique su edad: _____
3. ¿Sabe Ud. otra(s) lengua(s)? Sí No
    a. Indique cuál(es) y su experiencia con ella(s).
4. Describe su educación formal en español. Por ejemplo cuántos años de estudios ha recibido Ud., dónde estudió, etc.
5. ¿Ud. ha experimentado la educación formal en otra(s) lengua(s)? Sí No
    a. Indique cuál(es) y su experiencia con ella(s).
6. ¿Ud. ha hablado o habla ahora otras lenguas en el ambiente familiar? Sí No
    a. Indique cuál(es) y su experiencia con ella(s).
7. ¿Ud. ha vivido en el extranjero? Sí No
    a. Indique dónde y la duración de estadía.
8. Indique todos los idiomas que Ud. sabe de alguna manera. En una escala de 1 (menos competencia) a 5 (excelente dominio), indique cómo valora usted su habilidad de hablar, entender, leer, y escribir en todos los idiomas en cuestion:

Lengua	Hablar	Entender	Leer	Escribir
1a lengua _______________				
2a lengua _______________				
3a lengua _______________				
4a lengua _______________				
5a lengua _______________				

English Translation:

1. Indicate your sex: Male Female Prefer not to answer

2. Indicate your age (in years): ____

3. Do you know any other languages? Yes No
    a. Indicate which one(s) and your experience with them.

4. Describe your formal education in Spanish. For example, how many years of education you have received, where you studied, etc.

5. Have you experienced any formal education in other languages?
    a. Indicate which language(s) and your experience with them.

6. Have you ever spoken, or do you currently speak, any other languages with your family?
    a. Indicate which and your experience with them.

7. Have you ever lived abroad?
    a. Indicate where and the duration of your stay.

8. Indicate the languages you know to some degree. On a scale of 1 (least proficient) to 5 (fully fluent), how do you rate yourself in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing in all the languages in question.

Language	Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
1st language _________				
2nd language _________				
3rd language _________				
4th language _________				
5th language _________				

APPENDIX C

PERSONAL DATA QUESTIONNAIRE: SURVEY

1. Indica tu sexo: Hombre Mujer Prefiero no dar una respuesta
2. Indica tu edad (en años): ________
3. ¿Dónde naciste y creciste? Madrid Otro sitio: __________
4. Selecciona tu nivel de educación más alto:
    a. Primario
    b. Secundario
    c. Universitario
    d. Máster
    e. Doctorado
    f. Otro: ____________
5. Indica las otras lenguas que sabes hablar además del español y tu nivel (principiante, intermedio, avanzado, casi nativo) ____
6. ¿Has estudiado formalmente otras lenguas? Sí No
    a. Indica cuál(es) y tu experiencia con ella(s). ____________________________
7. ¿Has hablado o hablas ahora otras lenguas en el ambiente familiar? Sí No
    a. Indica cuál(es) y tu experiencia con ella(s). ____________________________
8. ¿Has vivido en el extranjero? Sí No
    a. Indica dónde y la duración de la estadía. ______________________________

English Translation:

1. Indicate your sex: Male Female Prefer not to answer

2. Indicate your age (in years):

3. Where were you born and raised?: Madrid Other: _______

4. Select your highest level of education:

    a. (Primary, secondary, university, Masters, doctorate, other)

5. Do you know any other languages? Yes No

    a. Indicate which one(s) and your experience with them.

6. Have you experienced any formal education in other languages?

    b. Indicate which language(s) and your experience with them.

7. Have you ever spoken, or do you currently speak, any other languages with your family?

    b. Indicate which and your experience with them.

8. Have you ever lived abroad?

    b. Indicate where and the duration of your stay.

APPENDIX D

DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK: SPANISH VERSION

Instrucciones: Lee los siguientes contextos y responde a las preguntas correspondientes como si fueras hablando directamente con los participantes hipotéticos descritos en los siguientes contextos.

Modelo: *Hola, ¿qué tal?...*

A. Contexto: Vas a reunirte con tu mejor amigo/a, al que no has visto en mucho tiempo. ¿Qué le dices cuando llega?

B. Contexto: Vas andando detrás de un hombre y se le cae la cartera. Lo llamas. ¿Qué le dices para atraer su atención? Después, ¿qué le dices cuando le devuelves la cartera?

C. Contexto: Te suena el móvil. Ves que la persona que te está llamando es tu hermano/a y contestas. ¿Qué es lo primero que le dices?

D. Contexto: Estás esperando en una fila para comprar entradas para el cine. El dependiente en la ventanilla está tardando demasiado tiempo con cada cliente y la película está a punto de empezar. ¿Qué le dices al chico que está a tu lado en la fila para expresar que estás molesto/a?

E. Contexto: Trabajas de dependiente en una tienda de lujo. Una señora está pensando en comprar un bolso caro. ¿Qué le dices para convencerle de que lo compre?

F. Contexto: Tu abuela quiere hablar de tu vida amorosa. Quiere saber si estás saliendo con alguien, pero tú no quieres hablar de ello. ¿Cómo intentarías cambiar de tema?

APPENDIX E

COMPLETE PERCEPTION TASK: SURVEY

Instrucciones: Lee las siguientes conversaciones o monólogos. En cada ejemplo, evalúa cada hablante en las siguientes características: inteligencia, nivel de estudios, amabilidad, capacidad profesional, franqueza, y grado de empatía en una escala de 1 (no [característica]) a 6 (muy [característica]) y da tus opiniones generales de cada persona.

Conversaciones de Versiones A/B (B sin los vocativos):

Conversación 1: ***María y Jaime están hablando de una amiga que parece muy delgada en sus fotos de Instagram, pero Marta dice que realmente no es así. Ella piensa que esta usando Photoshop para parecer más delgada***:

María: Y a mí, en zigzag nosotras vemos las fotos que sube al Instagram y decimos: Tío, cómo ha adelgazado Maya, ¿no?, la…, joder. ¡Cómo ha adelgazado!

Jaime: ¡Qué cotilla!

María: No, tío, si la…no parece. Y decimos: Joder, cómo adelgazado, no sé qué. Y luego llegamos a la uni, aquí, aquí, aquí, es que no se le ve chicha, ¿sabes? Y es tres veces yo. Y yo digo: Tío, es que qué envidia, de verdá. Esta. Esta es.

Jaime: Sí que parece súperdelgada, ¿sabes?, hasta en las… ¿Tan, tan tres veces tú? Es imposible eso. Tiene que ser Photoshop. A ver, déjame ver la foto esa de nuevo.

María: Tío, que flipábamos. Tío, ¿cómo lo hará para que parezca eso? Porque, claro, otra amiga que, que también está muchísim-, o sea, la otra también está con lo de la, el peso y tal, y decimos: Tío, qué fuerte, lo que ha adelgazado, ¿cómo lo habrá hecho?, no sé qué. Tío, nos hemos torturado mogollón, que cómo lo habrá hecho y…

Jaime: Día-, días así todos. ¡Necesito saberlo!

María: Y es como: Tío, ¿en serio?

Jaime: Sí, joder. Es raro. Es que yo nunca he te-, no, no sé, la única perso-, no, no tengo nadie que disimule tan bien sus fotos, ¿sabes?, en plan, ¿a ver?

María: Ya.

Conversación 2: ***Lola y Carmen están hablando de sus noches en las discotecas en Madrid****:*

Carmen: ¡Ay, bueno! Y luego en el baile ese que hubo, al principio, pusieron así tipo reguetón y tal. Y luego, a los diez minutos pasados de la discoteca, pusieron música tipo: Saturdei night, nanana… Y ya, y una canción nueva, que es, que luego te la pongo que se llama Veo, veo. Y está súper guay. Pero en plan marchosa de bailar. Y ves a un, a uno de los monitores que es del campamento en inglés, que es animador de cruceros y tal, que se le nota un montón, él haciendo la coreografía ¡Y TODOS IMITANDO LA COREOGRAFÍA! Fue genial, bailando.

Lola: Eso es lo que hacemos siempre, hija.

Conversación 3: ***Marcos está hablando con unas amigas. Una amiga le llama "malo" y "travieso" a él, pero Marcos le dice que prefiere la palabra "pícaro", que viene de Lazarillo de Tormes.***

Marcos: Cuando era, cuando era pequeño, todas mis travesuras las firmaba como el Lazarillo de Tormes, y dejaba una nota, en plan: firmado, El Lazarillo de Tormes. Que es el primer, es el primer libro de pícaros de la historia. Sobre mil quinientos de Lope de Vega. Entonces el Lazarillo es un pícaro, que es un niño que va pasando por varios amos, entonces empieza en los peores y acaba en los mejores, se supone. Y empieza en un mendigo, o sea, empieza siendo como la mano derecha de un mendigo, luego de un…una señora, luego de un hidalgo y luego como de un señor. Y… así como feudal.

Conversación 4: ***Jorge es dueño de un bar. Su amigo, Mateo, está visitándole y quiere pedir algo de comer***:

Mateo: Si te pidieras algo, ¿qué te pedirías, Jorge?

Jorge: Yo ahora mismo, con el hambre que tengo, todo. ¡Buf! Hasta un sándwich que me he comido ahí, y eran migas.

Mateo: Tú, es que los pimientos rellenos estaban bastante buenos, creo.

Jorge: Imagínate como estoy ahora mismo, es que no quiero comer, tío, quiero perder kilos.

Mateo: ¡Uf! El rabo de toro asado con pisto andaluz. Tengo un hambre, tío, que da calambre.

Conversación 5: ***Carlos y Adrián están hablando de una fiesta. Carlos tiene muchas ganas de ir a la fiesta pero no ha recibido una invitación***:

Carlos: Oye, por cierto, tío, ¿por qué cojones no quieres ir a la fiesta?

Adrián: Qué pesado con la fiesta. La que me estás dando.

Carlos: A ver, tío, no es pesado. Coño. Yo qué sé. Tú estarás acostumbrado a todas estas movidas y todo este lujo. Pero yo no, tío, para mi es nuevo, joder. Me hace ilusión.

Adrián: Pero tú, ¿qué crees, que yo tengo el mismo nivel de vido que el resto?

Carlos: ¿No?

Adrián: Ni de lejos.

Carlos: Y entonces, ¿qué coño haces tú en esa escuela?

Adrián: Vamos a ver, chaval, que soy el hijo de la directora.

Carlos: Qué hijo puta, claro, eres un enchufado de mierda, colega.

Conversaciones de Versiones C/D (D sin los vocativos):

Conversación 1: ***Cristina necesita conducir por el centro de Madrid y se siente nerviosa por entrar en un área que no conoce muy bien.***

Cristina: Luisa, y si lo han cambiado, me voy a enterar, porque habrá señales, ¿no? A ver si me voy a meter y voy a tener que dar la vuelta.

Luisa: No hombre, Cristina. Hay señales.

Cristina: ¡Ay, qué miedo! ¡Por favor, qué miedo!

Conversación 2: ***Julián y Selena están hablando de los planes que han hecho para el miércoles que viene****:*

Selena: Y estoy por decírselo a Ana porque también me molaría que viniera, pero es que Ana últimamente me da siempre largas que le digo…

Julián: Le pilla a un tiro de piedra, tía, y es tu cumpleaños, te va a decir que sí.

Selena: Ya, pero es que me da cosa, porque mea dicho tantas veces que no, que ya es como cuando eres pesada, en plan…

Julián: Na' tía, tú escríbela

Selena: … pero yo sé que no le pasa nada porque me escribe, me pregunta...

Julián: No, no tía, llámala, llámala

Selena: Pero es que Ramón, como Nacho, en plan: Gorda, ¿qué haces? Vente a tal sitio. Y yo siempre estoy haciendo otra cosa, ¿sabes?

Julián: Escríbela, tía, la gente el día de tu cumpleaños no te va a fallar, ¿sabes? Porque si te falla el día de tu cumpleaños, o sea...

Selena: Ana siempre me ha fallao, nunca ha venido.

Conversación 3: ***Marcos está hablando con unas amigas. Una amiga le llama "malo" y "travieso" a él, pero Marcos le dice que prefiere la palabra "pícaro", que viene de Lazarillo de Tormes.***

Marcos: Cuando era, cuando era pequeño, todas mis travesuras las firmaba como el Lazarillo de Tormes, y dejaba una nota, en plan: firmado, El Lazarillo de Tormes. Que es el primer, es el primer libro de pícaros de la historia. Sobre mil quinientos de Lope de Vega. Entonces el Lazarillo es un pícaro, que es un niño que va pasando por varios amos, entonces empieza en los peores y acaba en los mejores, se supone. Y empieza en un mendigo, o sea, empieza siendo como la mano derecha de un mendigo, luego de un…una señora, luego de un hidalgo y luego como de un señor. Y… así como feudal.

Conversación 4: ***Alejandro y Camilo están conversando durante su clase de inglés. Alejandro piensa que Carlos le ha dicho algunas cosas malas sobre él a otro chico de su clase, pero no lo hizo. Además, Carlos acaba de tener mala suerte con una chica que le gusta.***

Alejandro: Te voy a matar, tío.

Camilo: Pero que yo no he sido, te lo juro, tío. ¿Para qué le voy a contar nada a ese, tronco? ¡Coño! Si me tiene enfilado desde el primer día. Además, que yo no voy a contar nade de ti, tronco. Si eres mi colega, coño. Bueno, tú eres el único colega que tengo aquí, hostias.

Alejandro: Se ha cancelado la boda.

Camilo: Se ha retrasado un poco, ¿eh? Pero va a caer. ¡Es *weekend*, chaval! Sí que al final uno se aprende las palabras importantes, tronco.

Conversación 5: ***Lucía y Carla están conversando y Lucía piensa que Carla está hablando un poco raramente.***

Lucía: ¿Por qué hablas tan bajo?

Carla: Hablo normal.

Lucía: ¡No! Hablas así en este tono.

Carla: Pues hija, es mi tono. Y, y me, y le digo a Juana, la, la jefa esta: Me, me lo he pasado genial. Ha sido genial. …

APPENDIX F

INFORMED CONSENT

Hoja de consentimiento: Grabaciones:

Soy Alexandra Lauchnor, una estudiante graduada en el Departamento de Lenguas Románicas en la Universidad de Georgia (EE.UU.). Le pido a Ud. su participación en un estudio lingüístico que estoy realizando. La Dra. Sarah Blackwell, del Departamento de Lenguas Románicas de la Universidad de Georgia, es la investigadora principal y si tiene cualquier pregunta sobre el estudio, se le puede contactar por correo electrónico. El objetivo principal de este estudio es observar conversaciones entre hablantes nativos del español madrileño.

Ud. entiende que si su perfil no cumple los requisitos del presente estudio, los datos de las respuestas no se recogerán más y no serán analizados. Los criterios para la participación son los siguientes:

- Ud. tiene entre 18 y 25 años de edad.
- Es nacido y criado en Madrid, España.
- Es hablante nativo de español./El español es su primera lengua.

Si Ud. consiente en participar en este estudio, se le pedirá cumplir con las siguientes tareas:

1. Contestar preguntas sobre su perfil lingüístico.
2. Llevar un micrófono de solapa y dispositivo de grabación para la duración de 2-3 días.
3. Grabar sus conversaciones e interacciones con amigos, familiares, y conocidos.

Su decisión de participar no afectará cualquier conexión que tenga con la Universidad de Georgia. Su participación es voluntaria, y tiene la opción de dejar de participar en este estudio en cualquier momento sin justificación alguna, y sin recurso negativo. Ha sido informado que tiene el derecho de reclamar y pedir que se le devuelva todos sus datos, que se quite tales datos del corpus o que se destruya tales datos.

Los datos recogidos en este estudio serán anonimizados y ninguna información de identificación personal será vinculada a los participantes al publicar los resultados del estudio. La información de identificación personal será guardada por las investigadoras por 5 años, pero no será publicada de ninguna manera. Si en algún momento durante el proceso de grabación usted desea apagar la grabación por cualquier razón, incluso la discusión de temas sensibles, Ud. tiene la libertad de hacerlo sin ser penalizado o eliminado del estudio. Además, si está interactuando con un amigo, familiar, o conocido que no desea ser grabado, Ud. puede desactivar la grabación sin penalización. Los resultados del estudio de investigación podrán ser publicados, pero su nombre o cualquier información de identificación personal no será utilizada.

Las grabaciones se pueden guardar de una manera indefinida, a menos que Ud. haga una petición por escrito pidiendo destruir la información. Estas grabaciones se pueden utilizar para un análisis secundario en el futuro o para investigar otros aspectos lingüísticos en estudios futuros, pero ninguna información de identificación personal se mantendrá. Además, se puede utilizar breves clips de voz grabada en presentaciones, pero la información personal no será revelada o atada a las grabaciones. Entiende que no se compartirá ningún dato que le pueda identificar personalmente con gente ajena del estudio sin que Ud. le(s) dé permiso escrito.

De conformidad con el Reglamento General de Protección de Datos de la Unión Europea (GDPR de la UE), la Universidad de Georgia (la "Universidad"), en su capacidad de controlar datos en virtud del GDPR de la UE con respecto a la información recogido de Ud., el sujeto de datos, debe obtener su consentimiento explícito y afirmativo antes de que pueda recopilar o procesar sus datos personales sensibles.

Ud. puede corregir y/o solicitar la eliminación de datos personales inexactos con respecto a Ud., restringir y objetar el tratamiento de sus datos personales, y solicitar una copia de sus datos personales. Ud. puede retirar su participación en cualquier momento, y puede presentar una queja ante una autoridad supervisora (establecida en la UE).

Los hallazgos de este proyecto pueden aportar información sobre características del español madrileño, que se usarán en relación a la enseñanza del español como segunda lengua. Los participantes recibirán una camiseta de la Universidad de Georgia para su participación en el estudio. No se conocen riesgos o incomodidades asociados con esta investigación.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre este proyecto de investigación, por favor no dude en llamarme al +1 860-335-0423 o enviar un correo electrónico a ajl85911@uga.edu. También puede ponerse en contacto con la Dra. Sarah Blackwell por correo electrónico en blackwel@uga.edu. Para ejercer sus derechos de acceso, rectificación, cancelación y oposición, contáctese mediante comunicación escrita, acompañada de una fotocopia del DNI, o de otro documento acreditativo equivalente, dirigida a: The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602 (EEUU);

Las investigadoras contestarán cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre el estudio, ahora o durante el transcurso del proyecto.

Al completar y devolver el cuestionario lingüístico y aceptar usar un micrófono de solapa y un dispositivo de grabación, usted está de acuerdo con participar en el proyecto y está de acuerdo con los términos ya descritos.

¡Gracias por su consideración! Por favor, guarde esta carta para sus archivos.

Atentamente,

Alexandra Lauchnor

Correo electrónico de reclutamiento:

Soy Alexandra Lauchnor y le escribo para pedir su ayuda con una encuesta en línea para coleccionar datos para mi tesis doctoral.

Bajo la dirección de la Dra. Sarah Blackwell, estoy realizando un estudio sobre las características del discurso del español de Madrid y busco participantes que reúnan los siguientes criterios: **(1) son hablantes nativos del español; (2) son nacidos y crecidos en Madrid**; y **(3) tienen por lo menos 18 años de edad**. No hay ni riesgos previstos ni beneficios relacionados con su participación en este estudio.

Esta encuesta tardará aproximadamente 20 minutos en completarse. Si acepta participar, por favor siga el siguiente enlace. También, si conoce a alguien que reúna los tres criterios expuestos anteriormente, por favor reenvíele este enlace, o podría enviarme el email de personas que puedan estar dispuestos a participar en el estudio, me pondré en contacto con ellos. El enlace para hacer la encuesta es:

[Enlace]

Por favor, no deje de ponerse en contacto conmigo por email con cualquier pregunta o duda relacionada con este estudio.

Atentamente,
Alexandra Lauchnor

Hoja de consimiento: Encuesta:

Estimado/a participante de investigación:

Al continuar con esta encuesta, usted acepta participar en un estudio de investigación sobre las características del discurso del español madrileño. Su participación en el estudio es voluntaria, y puede optar por no participar o detenerse en cualquier momento sin penalización o pérdida de beneficios a los que tiene derecho en cualquier caso. El objetivo de este estudio es investigar algunas características del español madrileño de hablantes nativos de Madrid, España.

A cada participante de la encuesta se le pedirá que complete una encuesta lingüística que debería llevarle aproximadamente 25 minutos en total, aunque la duración de cada encuesta puede variar. Hay 3 secciones, incluyendo un cuestionario de datos personales e historia lingüística y 2 tareas principales.

Debe tener al menos 18 años, ser hablante nativo del español, y haber nacido y crecido en Madrid, España, para participar y su participación es voluntaria. Puede negarse a participar o detenerse en cualquier momento sin penalización. Si hay preguntas que se incomoden, puede elegir no responder a estas preguntas.

Si participa en el estudio, su identidad permanecerá anónima. Toda la información obtenida a través de este estudio se mantendrá confidencial. Su nombre o cualquier otra información de

identificación personal no se utilizará cuando los resultados de este estudio se expongan al público a través de la presentación de una conferencia o publicación académica. Sin embargo, las comunicaciones por Internet son inseguras y hay un límite a la confidencialidad que se puede garantizar debido a la tecnología propia. Una vez que la investigadora reciba los materiales, se emplearán los procedimientos de confidencialidad estándar. Por favor, pregunte a la investigadora si hay algo que no está claro o si necesita más información. Si en cualquier momento durante la encuesta se siente incómodo/a, puede salir de la encuesta sin penalización. No hay riesgos previstos en esta investigación.

La investigadora principal de este estudio es la Dra. Sarah Blackwell, y la coinvestigadora es Alexandra Lauchnor. Si tiene cualquier pregunta o duda del estudio, por favor, escriba a Alexandra Lauchnor en ajl85911@uga.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta o inquietud con respeto a sus derechos como participante de investigación en este estudio, puede comunicarse con el presidente de la Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) al +1 706.542.3199 o irb@uga.edu.

Investigadora Principal: Dra. Sarah Blackwell, Profesora de la lingüística hispánica

Coinvestigadora: Alexandra Lauchnor Mastromartino, Candidata doctoral

Para indicar si da su consentimiento para participar en la investigación, seleccione una de las siguientes respuestas:

- Consiento en la participación en este estudio.
- No consiento.