

***VOSEO TO TUTEO* ACCOMMODATION AMONG TWO SALVADORAN
COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES**

A Dissertation

by

TRAVIS DOUG SORENSON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2010

Major Subject: Hispanic Studies

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May 2010

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ABSTRACT

Voseo to Tuteo Accommodation among Two Salvadoran Communities

in the United States. (May 2010)

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This study documents and accounts for maintenance and change in dialectal features of Salvadoran Spanish in the United States, especially *voseo*, as opposed to *tuteo*, terms signifying the use of the second person singular familiar pronouns *vos* and *tú*, with their corresponding verb forms. It compares two distinct Salvadoran populations, one in Washington, D.C., and the other in Houston, Texas.

Salvadorans constitute the largest Hispanic group in the nation's capital, while in Houston they are outnumbered by other Hispanics, particularly Mexicans. It was predicted that Salvadorans in Washington, D.C. would maintain *voseo* more and employ *tuteo* less than those in Houston. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is accounted for by Accommodation Theory. Based on previous studies, it was also predicted that male participants would maintain *voseo* more than females due to the covert prestige of this form.

To test these hypotheses, data were gathered using three protocols. The first was a questionnaire, with over 100 respondents in each city, on second person singular address forms and social variables. In the second protocol, 10 pairs of subjects in each city engaged in different verbal activities aimed at eliciting direct forms of address. The

third protocol involved unstructured home visits with two married couples to observe spontaneous speech.

The results supported the hypotheses in some regards more than others. When considering all the protocols, the levels of *voseo* were much lower and those of *tuteo* much higher in both cities than what had been predicted. As expected, *voseo* usage rates in Washington, D.C., were higher than in Houston in the second and third protocols, but *voseo* claiming rates in the first protocol were slightly higher in Houston. Also as expected, in both the first and second protocols there was a significantly higher rate of accommodation to *tuteo* among women than men. The most salient finding from the home visit participant observations was that while there was *voseo* use in Washington, D.C., there was none in Houston, even among those who had previously used it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Dissertation overview

This study documents and accounts for changes in speech patterns of Salvadoran Spanish speakers in two US cities, Washington, D.C., and Houston, after they come in contact with speakers of other varieties of Spanish. The specific feature studied is the second person singular familiar address of Salvadoran Spanish, *voseo*. This form is used almost universally in El Salvador (Lipski 2008:158) and constitutes a set of pronominal and verb forms which contrasts with *tuteo*, the form employed nearly exclusively in Mexico. For example, ‘you have’ is rendered *tú tienes* in Mexican Spanish, but *vos tenés* in Salvadoran Spanish. *Voseo* offers a clear dialectal difference that can be used to quantify the effect of demographics on language change. Salvadorans were chosen for this study because they are the most numerous *voseante* contingent in the United States and because they are established in various US cities in different densities. This made them an ideal candidate population.

Although *voseo* is recognized as a feature of Salvadoran Spanish both in El Salvador and the United States (Canfield 1960, Baumel-Schreffler 1989, Ortiz 2000, Quintanilla Aguilar 2009), works that deal specifically with the effect of dialect contact on the use of *voseo/tuteo* in the United States are much scarcer. Lipski (1988, 2000, 2008) discusses the matter in general terms regarding Central Americans in contact with

This dissertation follows the style of *Studies in Language*.

Mexicans in places such as Houston, while Baumel-Schreffler (1994) and Hernández (2002) explore the topic in greater depth with studies on contact between speakers of Salvadoran and Mexican Spanish, also in Houston. To my knowledge, the current study is the first to explicitly contrast Salvadoran Spanish in two US cities.

This study examines movement from *voseo* to *tuteo* among the Salvadoran subjects, a sociolinguistic phenomenon accounted for by Accommodation Theory. This pragmatic theory was first introduced by Giles in work he and others did in the 1970s. Giles et al. (1973) argued that people tend to alter their speech depending on their particular speech situations. For example, speakers attempt to imitate the speech of their interlocutors in an attempt to improve communication, or simply to garner another's approval (178-179). Trudgill (1983) further discussed and developed this theory, describing accommodation as adjustments in linguistic behavior "to that of one's interlocutor," especially when this is "regarded as socially desirable" (143).

Regarding Salvadoran Spanish specifically, and the sociolinguistic reasons for movement from *voseo* to *tuteo*, Lipski (1994) notes that with the exception of Argentina, where the use of *voseo* is so deeply rooted in all areas and classes that its use is practically never met with any type of challenge or disapproval, many *voseo* users experience uncertainty regarding its appropriateness (141). Despite hearing *voseo* at home, many Central Americans, including Salvadorans, are taught *tuteo* in school and see it employed in official language. This can cause them to hesitate or vary in their *voseo* use, especially when they come in contact with Spanish speakers from other

countries (Lipski 1994:141), a situation known as “schizoglossia” (Haugen 1972[1962]:148).

The decision to study Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., and Houston was based on the similarities and differences in these cities’ demographics, in particular the concentration of the various Spanish-speaking groups in each one. For instance, while Mexicans constitute the largest group of Hispanics in the United States, there are relatively few of them in Washington, D.C. In contrast, Salvadorans have chosen Washington, D.C., and its Virginia and Maryland suburbs as one of their preferred areas of settlement in the United States. A 2001 report by the Brookings Institution showed that in the Greater Washington, D.C., area, Salvadorans comprised the largest single immigrant group, despite being only the fourth largest nationally, at 1.4 million, or 3.2 percent of the overall Hispanic population. Moreover, between 1990 and 1998, Salvadorans made up 10.5 percent of all immigrants to the Washington, D.C., area, whereas Mexicans accounted for only 1.3 percent of recent immigrants, and only 4 percent of Latin American newcomers. This can be seen more concretely in Washington, D.C., neighborhoods such as Adams Morgan, figures from the US Census Bureau’s online *2006 American Community Survey* (2007) show that over 32 percent of Hispanics are Salvadorans, compared to approximately 9 percent Mexicans, a ratio favoring Salvadorans by more than 3:1.

The second location, Houston, exhibits a different demographic pattern. While it is also one of the favored destinations of Salvadorans in the United States, in this case they have minority status among larger groups of Mexican Spanish speakers. In the

Houston neighborhood of Bellaire, for example, nearly 58 percent of Hispanics claim Mexican descent, while Salvadorans make up about 14 percent of the population, a ratio of more than 4:1 in favor of Mexicans. This is typical of Houston neighborhoods.

Speaking specifically of the contact between Salvadorans and Mexicans in Houston,

Lipski has stated that:

A very high percentage [of Salvadorans] work with Mexicans, and nearly all Salvadoran immigrants patronize stores and restaurants where Mexican and Mexican Americans are found in large numbers (1988:99).

The significant difference in the concentration of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., and Houston provides the opportunity to determine how these distinct demographics affect the sociolinguistic behavior of the Spanish speakers in question. It was hypothesized that a large number of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., would maintain their use of *voseo* to a higher degree, whereas in Houston significant movement to *tuteo* was expected. It was also hypothesized that *voseo* maintenance would be stronger among males, in accordance with findings by Trudgill (1983) that women tend on average to use more “standard language” forms, which have “higher prestige” (169) (cf. Chapter II, 2.8). *Tuteo* is widely seen as the prestigious form; therefore, *voseo* use among men would constitute what Trudgill (1998) refers to as a form of “covert prestige” (27). In order to test these hypotheses, three different data collection methods were employed in Washington, D.C., and Houston. These protocols, explained in Chapter III and presented in full in Appendix A, were designed to compare and contrast the two cities regarding *voseo/tuteo/ustedeo* self-reporting and actual usage.

The remainder of this chapter deals with the background of Salvadorans, in order to provide a better understanding of how large numbers of them came to live in US cities such as Washington, D.C., and Houston, as well as to describe their social and linguistic situations. A brief history of El Salvador is presented, followed by an overview of Salvadoran immigration to the United States, starting over a century ago and leading up to the present. A general timeline is provided of the different waves of Salvadoran immigrants, as well as an account of the circumstances that have spurred this immigration, including economic hardship, civil unrest and war, gang problems, and self-perpetuating patterns of migration. There is also a discussion of the areas in the United States where the majority of Salvadorans have settled and, in relevant cases, their concentrations and socioeconomic background in comparison to other Hispanics.

1.2. El Salvador from the 16th to the 20th century

The pre-Colombian area of Central America where El Salvador is presently located was originally colonized by groups such as the Mayans and Aztecs. In fact, even today some rural inhabitants speak the Aztec language, Nahuatl (Cordova 2005:5). At the time of the Spanish Conquest in the 16th century, the territory that today is the state of El Salvador was divided into two *señoríos*, or kingdoms (Boland 2001:12). The largest, accounting for 75 percent of modern El Salvador, was Cuscatlán, ruled by the Pipiles, a people who exhibited both Aztec and Mayan characteristics (Equipo Maíz 2001:118). The other was the kingdom of Chaparrastique, controlled by the Lencas, a Mayan branch (Boland 2001:13). The Spaniards were initially drawn to the region in 1524 from Mexico, to the north, and Panama, to the south, by tales of fertile land and hopes of

finding gold. By 1540 both kingdoms had been completely subjugated, with the assistance of considerable numbers of Indian allies (13-14). In 1549, the area was placed administratively under the Captaincy General of Guatemala, a situation that continued for nearly 300 years (15-16). This captaincy took in all of modern Central America except Panama, as well as what is now the Mexican state of Chiapas (Barón Castro 1978:24).

Later in the 16th century, two *alcaldes mayores*, or lord mayors, were appointed under the Captaincy General of Guatemala to govern over the provinces of Sonsonante, an area that comprises the present departments of Sonsonante and Ahuachapán, and El Salvador, which covers the remainder of the modern country. When it became apparent that these provinces were almost completely devoid of precious metals, and the Peruvian gold rush threatened to draw away some of the most ambitious settlers, Spanish authorities encouraged them to stay by granting them the use of Indian laborers to grow balsam and cocoa in an arrangement of *encomiendas*, or estates, which was basically slavery (Boland 2001:16). This brutal treatment, along with European diseases such as smallpox and the bubonic plague, is estimated to have killed as much as 80 percent of the native population in the early years of colonial rule (Cordova 2005:6).

Contact between Europeans and indigenous Americans in the region led to a growing number of *mestizos* over the centuries of Spanish rule. In fact, by the time of the Latin American wars of independence (approximately 1810-1825), of the estimated 250,000 inhabitants of what is now El Salvador, about 50 percent were *mestizos*, compared to some 40 percent Indians and less than 3 percent Spaniards, born either in

America (*criollos*) or in Spain itself (Boland 2001:19, Barón Castro 1978:474). Of these quarter million inhabitants in the early 19th century, only 250 were in school throughout the entire country (one for every 1,000), and there was as yet not a single school in the capital, San Salvador. There were also no institutions of higher learning anywhere in the country, so anyone desirous of pursuing higher education was forced to do so at the Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (Boland 2001:19).

In late 1811, a priest named José Matías Delgado was the leader of a revolution that would culminate in independence for El Salvador a decade later. This was followed by many years of instability and uncertainty. For a brief period, most of Central America was incorporated into Mexico, though parts of El Salvador such as San Salvador and the district of San Vicente remained separate. In 1822, El Salvador failed in an attempt to join the United States of America, instead becoming part of the Independent United Provinces of Central America, along with Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica (Boland 2001:20).

El Salvador remained linked to the other Central American states until 1839, when it began the process of becoming its own nation (Lindo-Fuentes 1991:35). Interaction with the other countries in the region continued even if it was often conflictive. Between 1840 and 1890, as these nations attempted to influence one another and fend each other off, El Salvador was involved in five wars with Guatemala, four with Honduras, and one with Nicaragua. El Salvador also suffered from domestic instability; this same 50-year period saw 13 successful coups d'état in the country (62).

At the close of the 19th century there was an effort, led by the Salvadoran president, General Rafael Gutiérrez, to reunite parts of Central America. In 1895, he signed the short-lived Pact of Amapala with Honduras and Nicaragua to join the three countries. In 1898, when Gutiérrez doubled the export duty on coffee to deal with a financial crisis, he himself was toppled from power by General Tomás Regalado, a member of one of the powerful coffee-growing families. Though the unrest would continue, this coup put an end to successful revolts for over 30 years (until 1931), during which the country was ruled by leaders who were also coffee growers (Lindo-Fuentes 1991:153, 167).

1.3. The 20th century prior to the civil war

Though the civil war did not officially start until 1980, trouble had been brewing in El Salvador since even before the turn of the 20th century, revolving in large degree around agrarian policies favoring large landowners over the masses.

In the late 1800s, Indians were given a certain degree of independence to work on *ejidos*, or communal lands, but this would not last for long (Cordova 2005:9).

Between 1880 and 1930, El Salvador underwent significant economic and political changes, inserting itself into the world economy on the strength of its coffee exports. Just before the turn of the century, government decrees privatized, for coffee cultivation, much of the land that had been held and farmed by the indigenous groups under the *ejido* arrangement. The entire coffee production apparatus eventually ended up in the hands of a few, and large numbers of displaced peasants worked as wage laborers. By the 1920s, as much as 90 percent of Salvadoran export revenues came from coffee (Almeida

2008:36). The Salvadoran population had now grown to over one million inhabitants, having more than quadrupled since independence a century earlier (Barón Castro 1978:498).

By 1930, El Salvador was already feeling the effects of the worldwide Great Depression. The price of coffee had dropped dramatically and workers' wages plummeted as much as 50 percent, while others found themselves completely out of a job (Almeida 2008:41-42). With little money, food, or shelter, and without work in many cases, large groups of *campesinos* were ripe for rebellion (Cordova 2005:9). This situation gave rise to small strikes and demonstrations in different parts of the country, leading the government to ban such protests. Then, in December of 1931, President Arturo Araujo was overthrown in the first successful military coup in more than three decades. General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez took the reins as dictator and annulled the municipal elections held in January of 1932. These conditions led to a mass uprising of peasants and workers who attempted to take over several towns in the west of El Salvador and to occupy military facilities (Almeida 2008:43, 45-46). The days and weeks that followed saw a brutal crackdown by security forces, with most of their victims being Indians from the western departments. Some were killed on the spot, while others were rounded up for mass executions in San Salvador. This event is referred to as *la matanza* (the massacre), and the highest estimates put the death toll at 30,000, or approximately 1 percent of the population at the time (46). This massacre would give rise to Latin America's longest lasting military-controlled government (51).

Indeed, the military was in control of the country's political life in one way or another from 1931 until 1992.

With the rise of the Hernández Martínez dictatorship came the dismantling of civil society in El Salvador, a process that continued in the 1940s and 1950s as one military regime repeatedly gave way to another, often through coups (Almeida 2008:51-59). In the mid-1950s, the government and leading families began to place less emphasis on agricultural exports as the basis of the national economy and replace them with the urban production of factory goods to be sold on the US market. As a result, many rural Salvadorans moved to the capital during this decade and into the 1960s (Cordova 2005:19).

In 1962, the opposition sat out the presidential election when the ruling military party announced it would not allow observers from the Organization of American States. Subsequently, Colonel Julio Rivera was elected as El Salvador's new leader (Almeida 2008:62). In 1963, following this embarrassing situation, the military allowed other parties to operate in a more proportional and representative electoral system for the first time after 32 years of one-party rule (77). There were also efforts to liberalize civil society, and groups such as labor unions, educational organizations, and the Catholic Church were allowed to operate more freely (71). The population felt freer and more inclined to demonstrate their discontent, and the number and size of strikes and other protests eventually grew into a nonviolent "protest wave" between 1967 and 1972 (89). These events spurred an awakening among dormant peasant groups, with many of them taking part in the protests and marches (95). The protest wave also led to a backlash and

a reversal of freedoms. The period from 1972 to 1976 saw the military regime abandon the path toward democratization, causing a decisive shift in the internal affairs of the country. While different sectors of civil society had taken advantage of the situation between 1967 and 1972 to work within the regime, the end of liberalization led many to work toward an end of the regime itself; the period from 1976 to 1981 saw a change in tactics from reformism to revolution (Almeida 2008:103, 125, 161).

Just as had been the case a century earlier, there was at times serious strife during these years between El Salvador and its nearest neighbors. The most well-known incident came in the late 1960s, and its causes were both geographical and economic. El Salvador is more densely populated than the other Central American countries, something that by the 1960s caused many poor Salvadorans to cross the border into adjoining Honduras in search of work, often living as squatters. This situation led to resentment of Salvadorans in Honduras, something that came to a head in 1969 when a disputed soccer game served as a catalyst to ignite a brief but bitter war between the two nations. In the 1970s, thousands of Salvadorans, forced to leave Honduras, ended up in Guatemala in various agricultural jobs. However, they never acquired legal status, since Guatemala did not give out work permits to foreigners. Mexico also became a favorite destination of Salvadorans, but the country was mostly seen as a place of transit on the way to the United States (Lipski 2000:192).

Domestically, the 1970s were not only a period of continued political strife, but the economic outlook for large sectors of the country remained bleak (Cordova 2005:11). Amid this backdrop of manifold difficulties, the year 1977 became “one last

chance at competitive elections” (Almeida 2008:137). During that year, and as stipulated by the constitution, the government of General Humberto Romero organized presidential elections, and the opposition fielded a slate of candidates. On election day, the opposition coalition, the Unión Nacional Opositora or UNO, asserted it had won the popular vote and accused the government of electoral fraud. The next day, tens of thousands of protesters filled La Plaza Libertad in downtown El Salvador, and many stayed there for more than a week. Then, the National Guard forcibly removed the demonstrators from the plaza, killing as many as 100, and sent UNO leaders into exile (Almeida 2008:137-138). These actions led to increased tension between the military government and civil society. The protests turned more violent, government repression became even harsher, and the electoral process was completely closed until 1981 (138, 161).

Events in Nicaragua at the end of the 1970s also had an impact on the socio-political situation in El Salvador. There, in July 1979, the Sandinistas were successful in overthrowing the Somoza government. Only the relatively narrow Gulf of Fonseca separates El Salvador from Nicaragua, so the news and its implications were an incentive to Salvadorans wishing for change in their country (Almeida 2008:163). The parallels between Nicaragua and El Salvador and their 20th-century history surely were significant to Salvadoran groups opposed to their government. Not only had both countries seen democratically elected governments overthrown by military force at nearly the same time in the 1930s, but since that time neither democratic nor civilian rule had really ever again taken hold. El Salvador’s long and unbroken succession of

military presidents or juntas ran parallel to the dynastic dictatorship of General Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. Even after the elder Somoza was assassinated in 1956, his sons remained at the helm as actual or de facto leaders until the Sandinistas were finally able to take control in 1979. After this, Anastasio Somoza Debayle fled the country and was denied entry into the United States by then President Jimmy Carter, so he took refuge instead in Paraguay, where he was assassinated in 1980.

Some in El Salvador hoped that the most recent chain of events in Nicaragua could be repeated in El Salvador (Almeida 2008:163). Protests in the country increased in the months following the Nicaraguan revolution. The Salvadoran opposition had taken note of the fact that the insurrectionary forces in Nicaragua had begun to be particularly effective after uniting the erstwhile disputing factions of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Therefore, these opposition forces resolved to strive for the same sort of unity, bringing together many different fronts, leagues, unions, and other groups in early 1980 under one umbrella entity, the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). In March, June, and August of that same year, the CRM called for general strikes, paralyzing up to 90 percent of the nation's economic activity (Almeida 2008:163, 165). It also held a march on January 22, 1980, to commemorate the 48th anniversary of the 1932 uprising that led to *la matanza*. The peaceful march was reported to be the largest in the history of the country, with an estimated 200,000 protesters. Snipers on rooftops killed dozens of marchers and wounded many more (165).

By this point, the opposition was no longer willing to work within the constrictions of the government. By the end of 1980, the insurgents had as their specific goal the overthrow of the regime (Almeida 2008:172). Events in the United States at this time also had a profound effect on the situation in El Salvador. In 1981, the newly elected Reagan administration began to give the Salvadoran government aid, which “redefined the Salvadoran crisis in a Cold War framework” (172). On the other side, Nicaragua and Cuba supported the insurgents, and both Mexican and French officials publicly recognized the unified opposition party, the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation, or FMLN (Almeida 2008:168, 172).

1.4. The civil war

The details of when exactly protest and repression turned into full-blown civil war can be debated. State repression peaked during the “reign of terror” between 1980 and 1983, continuing to linger until the signing of the peace accords in 1992 (Almeida 2008:178-179). However, one could push the start of the war back to 1979 if considering the “veritable genocide, or second *matanza*” of as many as 40,000 civilian victims by government forces or paramilitary death squads from 1979 to 1983 (178). With a population of 4 million, this would constitute the second time in 50 years that as many as 1 percent of the population had been killed *en masse* (179).

The killings at the beginning of the civil war drove many from the country, or from one place to another within the country, in an attempt to avoid becoming victims themselves. The death toll for 1981-1982 is estimated at 25,000, whereas some 600,000 farm workers were displaced within their own country. Many others crossed the border

and traveled to nearby countries such as Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Approximately 800,000 more Salvadorans made their way to farther destinations such as Mexico, Venezuela, Canada, Spain, France, Germany, Sweden, Greece, the United States, and even Australia (Cordova 2005:14).

In the early part of the war, the FMLN had considerable success against the military, but by 1985 the balance of power had shifted in favor of the government forces as the United States provided them with funding, equipment, and training (Cordova 2005:15). By 1988, the war had gone from being a mostly rural affair to one also fought in San Salvador and other urban areas. At this point more than 70,000 Salvadorans had been killed in the conflict. After Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) candidate Alfredo Cristiani was elected to the presidency in 1989 and peace negotiations broke down, the FMLN launched an assault on San Salvador that left some 2,000 dead or injured. This was the first time the fighting had reached upper-class neighborhoods, and the government retaliated by engaging in the random aerial bombing of the city's blue collar sectors, also killing and injuring many (15-16).

In April 1991, a month after legislative elections, outgoing lawmakers agreed to a number of reforms that would place more civilian control over the military and create a police force independent of the army, as well as withdraw control of the judiciary from the ruling party and improve the electoral process. The next year, President Cristiani and the FMLN, with UN mediation, signed the peace accords to end the 12-year civil war, which by its end had killed some 80,000 people, and had led to the internal

displacement of approximately one million Salvadorans and the emigration of another million (Cordova 2005:16).

1.5. Post-war era and rise of international Salvadoran gangs

At the end of the war, marked by the signing of peace accords in 1992, the FMLN was given legal status and allowed to participate in local, parliamentary, and presidential elections in 1994 (Almeida 2008:184). The FMLN has continued to take part in elections ever since. In 2004, its presidential candidate, Schafik Handal, a former Communist leader who helped to form and shape the party in 1980, was defeated by Antonio Saca of ARENA. Then, in a reversal of outcomes, FMLN candidate Mauricio Funes narrowly defeated ARENA hopeful Rodrigo Ávila in March 2009 to win the presidency. However, neither the end of the war nor the successful implementation of political pluralism has brought an end to conflict in El Salvador. Ironically, by some reports life in El Salvador has become even more perilous now than during the civil war fighting (Cordova 2005:40). There is still significant crime and violence, much of it gang-related.

There are two main rival gangs or *maras* in El Salvador, M-18 and MS-13, both of which got their start in the Salvadoran immigrant communities in the United States. M-18, short for Mara 18, is the name given in El Salvador to the 18th Street gang from Los Angeles, dating from the 1960s. Mara Salvatrucha 13, or MS-13, can also be traced back to Los Angeles' 13th Street. This latter gang is the result of Salvadoran migration to the United States in the early 1980s, which will be considered later in this chapter (1.7). As many families had fled the civil war and economic hardship in El Salvador,

their teenage children, unable to enter other gangs, created their own (Arana 2005:1). In the aftermath of the Los Angeles race riots of 1992, law enforcement officials determined that gangs such as MS-13 had carried out much of the looting and violence, so California began passing tough laws that led to the incarceration of many gang members. In 1996, stricter US immigration laws led to the deportation to El Salvador and other parts of Central America of many *mara* members convicted of crimes. Between 2000 and 2004, as many as 20,000 young Central American criminals were sent to countries they might have only barely remembered from their childhood. Many were native English speakers and spoke little or no Spanish. Local governments were not notified of the deportations and at first they took little notice of the new arrivals. However, once M-18 and MS-13 members began battling each other, recruiting local youth, and wreaking havoc among the general population, the problem became more apparent. Lacking the skills, knowledge, and financial resources needed to fight these “supergangs,” Salvadoran officials failed to control the problem (Arana 2005:1). It is calculated that there are 10,000 core gang members and 20,000 “young associates” in a country with a population of six million (2).

El Salvador and other Central American governments began to implement *mano dura* “strong hand” measures, arresting gang members and swelling prison populations beyond capacity. The gangs responded to the mass arrests with random and deadly violence and simply replaced jailed leaders with others. M-18 and MS-13 members began to leave El Salvador for Mexico and to return to the United States. MS-13 established links with Mexican drug cartels and created human smuggling rings.

Starting in 2003, many of these gang members began showing up in several places with previously established Salvadoran populations such as New York City, Washington, D.C., and Massachusetts (Arana 2005:3). As a result, their organizations are now octopus-like, with tentacles all over the United States and Central America.

With the deportation of gang members to El Salvador and the recruitment efforts and growth of these groups there, the turbulence of the war has been replaced by the violence of gang activity and other crime (Baker-Cristales 2004:44). Despite the difference in the nature of the unrest, the outcome is often the same: people leave the country to escape danger. However, Salvadoran immigration to the United States is not new, having begun more than a century before the civil war. The following sections trace this phenomenon over time.

1.6. Early Salvadoran immigration to the United States

Patterns of Central American immigration to the United States, including Salvadoran immigrants, can be traced to as early as the 1870s, when coffee was introduced as a cash crop in Central America and created a thriving export market whose main processing center was San Francisco. Many Central Americans ended up in the California city as a result of labor and business contracts (Cordova 2005:60). Other turn-of-the-century destinations of this first wave between 1870 and 1930 were New York and New Orleans due to the banana trade, but the number of immigrants involved is unknown (61).

Another wave of Central Americans arrived in the United States in the pre-World War II years between 1931 and 1940, as a result of serious economic crises in their home countries. As was seen earlier, some were also forced into exile for being dissenters

against the military regimes (Cordova 2005:61). It was during this wave, in 1932, that statistics on the number of Salvadorans entering the United States began to be kept.

However, overall official figures were still quite modest. Between 1932 and 1940 a total of 673 Salvadorans were recorded as immigrating to the United States. There were other relatively small contingents between 1941 and 1950 and between 1951 and 1960. This number grew considerably between 1961 and 1970 (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Documented Salvadoran immigration to United States (1932-1970).
Source: US Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1996-2001.

Years	Total documented Salvadorans
1932-1940	673
1941-1950	5,132
1951-1960	5,895
1961-1970	14,992

1.7. Later waves of immigration

The first massive waves of immigrants from El Salvador to the United States came in the 1970s, followed by the war years of the 1980s, and continuing into the mostly post-war decade of the 1990s (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Documented Salvadoran immigration to United States (1971-2000).
Source: US Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1996-2001.

Years	Total documented Salvadorans
1971-1980	34,436
1981-1990	213,539
1991-2000	217,394

These waves were the first to bring contingents whose size would have a significant impact on both the sending and receiving countries. The sharp increase from the 1970s to the 1980s was clearly triggered by the civil war. The harshest part of the conflict came in the earlier part of the decade, which is reflected in the fact that almost as many legal Salvadorans had arrived in the United States by 1984 (32,666) as came in all of the 1970s. While numbers of documented immigrants continued to be available, it can be surmised that by the 1980s the number of undocumented immigrants must have begun to grow greatly (Vigil 2002:132)¹. To demonstrate just how different the official and estimated numbers of Salvadoran immigrants can be, Cordova (2005:60) notes that by the early 1970s, Salvadoran consular records in San Francisco, CA, indicated that some 40,000 Salvadorans lived in that one city alone, whereas official Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records showed a lower total number for the entire country. Similarly, while the Department of Homeland Security's (2003) *2002 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* put the total number of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., at around 130,000, the Salvadoran Embassy believes the number to be closer to 500,000 (Aizenman 2007:A15). Cordova (2005:39) also cites INS figures showing that in the four decades between 1932 and 1970, only 26,692 Salvadorans had entered the United States legally. If this number is added to the 34,436 legal entrants of the 1970s, it still

¹ Regarding immigrants who do not come through official channels, some use the term "illegal aliens," while Cordova (2005:38) states that others consider this derogatory and prefer the term "undocumented" persons. In any event, the word undocumented has considerable relevance for Salvadorans. In the 1980s, many intentionally traveled across Mexico into the United States without any documentation revealing their nationality so they would have more possibilities of remaining in Mexico if detained. Also, once in the United States, they stood the chance of only being deported to Mexico, making subsequent crossing attempts into US territory much more feasible than from El Salvador (39). This practice of Salvadorans in the United States trying to pass for Mexicans continues to the present and can be expected to have sociolinguistic consequences.

only comes to 61,128. The INS itself has realized the discrepancy between these official figures and the much higher number of those who actually cross into the United States, since in 1982 it placed the estimate for undocumented Salvadorans living in the United States at more than 500,000 (39). A quarter century later, the Department of Homeland Security continues to believe that this situation exists, estimating that 510,000 undocumented Salvadorans live in the United States, second only to 6.6 million Mexicans (Hoefer et al. 2007:1, 4).

Other figures for Salvadorans in the United States also show discrepancies. According to the *2006 American Community Survey* (2007), there are 1.4 million people in the United States who claim Salvadoran origin or background. However, underreporting in census counting cannot be discarded since many undocumented immigrants understandably prefer to remain anonymous. As a result, many entities use their own records and methods to estimate the number of Salvadorans in the United States. For example, former Salvadoran President Antonio Saca (2007) and former US Treasurer Anna Escobedo Cabral (2007) have recently been quoted in press reports as estimating that as many as two million Salvadorans reside in the United States. This figure is also cited by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2001:212, 2003:53) and USAID (2006). Salvadoran academic Carlos Alberto Saz puts the number at 2.5 million (personal communication, September 2, 2008).

The latter figure is more than one million above the official count and has interesting parallels to the recent Salvadoran census, which found more than one million fewer people than had been projected. Using the 1992 census, officials had estimated

that by 2007 there would be some 7.1 million people in El Salvador (Ibarra 2007).

However, when the official report was released in April of 2008, the final count revealed the significantly lower number of 5.74 million, an approximate increase of only 640,000 over the 5.1 million figure of 1992 and nearly 1.3 million fewer inhabitants than had been predicted (*VI Censo de Población y V de Vivienda* 2008:31). Accepting as accurate the estimates for growth in the Salvadoran population over this 15 year period, based on factors such as fertility and mortality rates, it must be assumed that what was not taken into account was how many would leave their homeland for destinations such as the United States. No figures are kept on how many people leave El Salvador.

Also significant is the gender breakdown revealed by the same 2007 Salvadoran census. Of the approximately 5.7 million inhabitants of El Salvador, 52.7 percent were female, while 47.3 percent were male, a disparity that could be explained by a higher rate of out-migration among men, something that the Salvadoran census states is supported by preliminary results on that question (*VI Censo de Población y V de Vivienda* 2008:31). This argument is bolstered by the fact that for the nearly 1.4 million Salvadorans in the United States as counted by the US Census Bureau's *2006 American Community Survey* (2007), the percentage of men vis-à-vis women is exactly the reverse of El Salvador: 52.7 percent male versus 47.3 percent female (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3. Percentages of Salvadoran males versus females by country of residence.
Sources: *2006 American Community Survey* (2007), 2007 Salvadoran Census.

Salvadorans' country of residence	Percent male	Percent female
El Salvador (2007)	47.3	52.7
United States (2006)	52.7	47.3

While there appears to be no specific study on why more men leave El Salvador than women, some anecdotal data do exist. One factor is that women seem more reluctant than men to make the trip. They are afraid to emigrate through Mexico, especially alone, due to the personal threat posed by others, including fellow travelers and even Mexican authorities. Some women have reported being raped or otherwise abused, stating that these problems can persist at the hands of other immigrant men even after reaching the United States (Menjívar, 2000:69-71). Another possible explanation may be related to Salvadoran culture, in which the male is expected to be the protector and main breadwinner. If a family decides to send only one person to explore the possibilities of immigration or work for a time to send back remittances, it will most likely be the man.

1.8. Causes of Salvadoran immigration to the United States

Some of the causes compelling Salvadorans to leave their homeland and immigrate to the United States have been touched upon in the previous section. During the earliest period (1870s-1970s), the main causes were financial, stemming either from economic crises at home or agriculture-related business opportunities abroad. Later, as the civil war broke, many Salvadorans' motives for emigrating were also political. The ideological and socioeconomic status of those who fled El Salvador for the United States during the war was varied. Lipski (2000:191) and Cordova (2005:56-57) have categorized the different groups. Some were middle-class citizens seeking business opportunities abroad to avoid economic ruin in El Salvador. Others were people who actively belonged to organizations targeted as subversive by Salvadoran security forces

or paramilitary squads, such as political parties, labor unions, the Catholic Church, and those affiliated with the National University, either as administrators, staff, professors, or students. On the other side of the political spectrum, some of those who fled El Salvador during the war were members of right-wing political parties or government, military, or paramilitary organizations who had received death threats from left-wing guerrilla groups. Others were family members of victims of either right- or left-wing groups, who were often perceived as potential future victims. Yet others were persons displaced by the destruction of their villages or homes who felt their only chance at returning to the agricultural work they knew was by relocating to the farming regions of the US Southwest. Finally, many left the country simply because they saw it as a dangerous place for anyone, with the possibility of getting caught in the crossfire of the warring factions.

Since the end of the war and up to the present, there have also been a number of other reasons, besides the salient gang issue, that have continued to drive people from El Salvador. One of the main factors has been the continuing stagnation of the Salvadoran economy and high unemployment, leading people to try their luck abroad and help those family members left behind by sending remittances (Baker-Cristales 2004:44). Cordova (2005:67) points out that in October of 1998 Hurricane Mitch left thousands dead and many more hundreds of thousands homeless. The severe infrastructure damage further hampered the economy and many felt that their only option was to leave for the United States. Then, more such damage from natural disasters came in the form of earthquakes in January and February of 2001, with much the same result.

Beyond the direct effect of such crises, once migration begins, it is often self-perpetuating due to the growth of social networks in which previous migrants help to finance the journey and settlement of those family members and friends who follow (Baker-Cristales 2004:45). In fact, these transnational contacts are so pervasive that “many villages in the Central American rural areas today know exactly when the apples are being picked in the valleys of Washington state or when hotels are hiring in Atlanta” (Cordova 2005:67).

1.9. Salvadorans in the United States

Of the approximately 44 million individuals identified by the US Census Bureau’s 2006 *American Community Survey* (2007) as claiming Hispanic origin or background in the United States, Salvadorans are currently the fourth largest group officially (1.4 million, or 3.2 percent), after Mexicans (28.3 million or 64.3 percent), Puerto Ricans (4 million, or 9.1 percent), and Cubans (1.5 million or 3.4 percent). However, in all likelihood there are actually more Salvadorans than Cubans in the United States. As mentioned earlier in 1.7, undocumented Salvadorans are more likely to avoid participating in the census and therefore go underreported. Some estimates put the numbers of Salvadorans in the United States as high as 2.5 million. In contrast, all of the 1.5 million Cubans mentioned above are in the United States legally by law, so underreporting is less of an issue. Under the Cuban Adjustment Act, any Cuban who manages to reach the United States, or who defects while here, is allowed to stay and is given legal status. In any event, Salvadorans make up the largest group of Central Americans in the United States. This is despite the fact that El Salvador is the region’s smallest country and, with 5.7 million

inhabitants, has a population smaller than that of its immediate neighbors (e.g. Guatemala's estimated 13 million inhabitants and Honduras' 7.6 million, according to *The World Factbook*, published by the CIA). Some claiming Salvadoran background in the US Census were born in the United States but still identify with the nationality of their forebears. Some of them might not even speak Spanish, though most do, as will be discussed in 1.10. For the purposes of this study, the term Salvadoran, unless otherwise noted, applies to those who claim this identity whether born in or outside of El Salvador.

With regard to where they settle in the United States, Los Angeles has been the main destination of most Salvadoran immigrants, though there are also other large populations of Salvadorans in cities such as Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, Tucson, Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., and Miami (Vigil 2002:132-33). Table 1.4 provides a breakdown of the 12 US cities with the largest Salvadoran populations as of 2000 (80).

Table 1.4. Location of Salvadorans in United States.
Source: Cordova (2005:80).

City	Number of Salvadorans in 2000 Census
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	312,384
Washington, D.C.	129,631
Houston, TX	78,325
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	57,108
New York, NY	39,662
San Francisco, CA	37,839
Dallas, TX	29,073
Oakland, CA	22,054
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	19,524
Orange County, CA	11,892
Boston, MA	13,755
Miami, FL	9,115

Although Miami is not among the top destinations for Salvadorans as a whole, it has at times been the city of choice for many belonging to the elite, both before and during the civil war (Cordova 2005:77). This is corroborated by Vigil (2002), who states that while most Salvadorans did not qualify for amnesty in the United States in the 1980s (134), “wealthy Salvadorans were routinely given visas to live in Miami” (183).

Another way to measure the Salvadoran population in the United States is to consider their concentration in a given area, in other words, their percentage of the population compared both to the overall population and to other Hispanics. For example, although Washington, D.C., is second behind Los Angeles in the total number of Salvadorans, it is the only major US city where they are the largest Hispanic group (Menjívar 2006:1017). In fact, Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., constitute the largest immigrant group with regard to all nationalities (Aizenman 2007:A15). Much of this immigration took place in the 1990s, when, as Table 1.2 above has shown, more Salvadorans were recorded entering the United States than during the war decade of the 1980s. In a Brookings Institution report, Singer et al. (2001) note that between 1990 and 1998, 10.5 percent of all immigrants to Greater Washington, D.C., were of Salvadoran extraction (1). The next eight largest groups were not Hispanic (Vietnamese, Indian, Chinese, Filipinos, South Koreans, Ethiopians, Iranians, and Pakistanis), and the tenth largest group was made up of Peruvians (4). At 10.5 percent, nearly as many Salvadorans arrived during this period as the other seven Hispanic immigrant groups combined, which together accounted for 11.4 percent (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. Hispanic Immigrants to Washington, D.C. (1990-1998).
Source: Singer et al. (2001:3-4).

Country	Percentage of all immigrants
El Salvador	10.5
Peru	2.9
Bolivia	2.3
Guatemala	1.6
Nicaragua	1.3
Mexico	1.2
Dominican Republic	1.1
Colombia	1.0

The low percentage of Mexican immigrants in the nation's capital is noteworthy. Whereas Mexicans represented 29 percent of all new immigrants overall in the United States between 1990 and 1998, they only accounted for 1.2 percent of newcomers to the Washington, D.C., area during the same period and only 4 percent of the Latin American contingent (Singer et al. 2001:10). This means that for every Mexican immigrant who relocated to Washington, D.C., in the first eight years of the 1990s there were approximately nine Salvadorans.

The concentration of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., can also be measured by considering individual neighborhoods, identified by their ZIP codes, as done in the 2006 US Census Bureau figures. For example, in Adams-Morgan (ZIP code 20009), the percentage of Hispanics among the overall population is 19.9 percent, of which 32.3 percent is made up of Salvadorans and 8.7 of Mexicans, or nearly four Salvadorans for every Mexican. The same trend can be seen in Greater Washington, D.C. In the northern Virginia town of Herndon (ZIP code 20170) the percentage of Hispanics in the overall population is 18.7, of which 31.2 percent is Salvadoran and only 9.1 percent is

identified as Mexican. This means there are more than three Salvadorans for every Mexican. This contrasts with the situation in Los Angeles, despite being the top US destination for Salvadorans. For example, one can consider the Pico-Union neighborhood, long reported as the greatest gathering area for Salvadorans in the United States (Vigil 2002:131). According to the 2000 Census, out of the 78.6 percent of Hispanics in the Pico-Union ZIP code (90006), only 14.8 percent are Salvadoran, whereas 43.8 percent are Mexicans. In other words, for every Salvadoran in the area, there are approximately three Mexicans.

Houston, which is home to the third largest group of Salvadorans in the United States, has demographics much closer to Los Angeles than Washington, D.C. In the Bellaire neighborhood (ZIP code 77081), which is home to Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), 57.6 percent of the those identified as Hispanics are Mexicans and 13.8 percent are Salvadorans. In other words, there are slightly more than four Mexicans for every Salvadoran, a ratio typical for Houston neighborhoods in general.

While this section so far has considered specific cities where Salvadorans have settled in the United States, their immigration can also be considered regarding more general regions based on their place of origin in El Salvador. Cordova (2005:76) states that the main areas for Salvadoran concentration in the United States are the western, northeastern, and southern states, and that they are less likely to live in the Midwest. For the most likely places of relocation, he notes three different patterns of migration that have been followed by Salvadorans resettling in the United States. These patterns demonstrate how place of origin largely determines this distribution, and each will be

discussed here in turn. To gain a better sense of the Salvadoran locations mentioned, the following map shows the capital cities of the country's 14 departments, as well as its location relative to neighboring Central American countries.



Figure 1.1. Map of El Salvador

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(http://www.appliedlanguage.com/maps_of_the_world/map_of_el_salvador.shtml)

The first pattern is followed by immigrants from El Salvador's three main urban centers of San Salvador, Santa Ana, and San Miguel, who seek to find the same conditions by moving to US cities (Cordova 2005:76). These people have higher levels of education than their rural counterparts and possess some of the skills that enable them to incorporate into US urban centers. An example are the Salvadoran populations in San Francisco and Los Angeles (77). Another are the people from the eastern city of San Miguel, who have made their way to both Washington, D.C., and Houston due to social networks already established before their arrival (78).

The second pattern is followed by Salvadorans from rural areas who relocate to US urban centers, despite the fact that they may not be prepared for city life due to low education and skill levels. This situation can often lead to an inability to succeed economically, and many such immigrants become part of an urban underclass in large cities, working in service industry jobs or in the gardening and domestic sectors. They can be found in cities such as Houston, Washington, D.C., New Jersey, and Los Angeles (Cordova 2005:77).

The third immigration pattern includes Salvadorans who have come from a rural setting and who move to a similarly rural US community in order to continue working in the agricultural sector. The most obvious places to find them are the vast fields of California, Texas, and Florida. A large segment of this particular population is made up of young men who labor as seasonal farm workers (Cordova 2005:77).

The inclusion by Cordova of both Washington, D.C., and Houston in the first two patterns (urban to urban, rural to urban) has significance for the current study. Being able to draw from similar populations in terms of origin increases the likelihood that the observable linguistic differences are due to the areas where they chose to relocate and not a consequence of dialectal differences from their places of origin.

1.10. Social characteristics of the Salvadoran population in the United States

This section describes the main social features of Salvadorans in the United States, comparing them with other Hispanics in the country. It considers their language ability, educational attainment, occupations, and income in order to present a clearer picture of the social make-up of this group.

As mentioned earlier, most individuals in the United States who claim Salvadoran descent were born in El Salvador. Table 1.6 compares the ratio of US-born Salvadorans with the three largest Hispanic groups in the United States – Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The figure for US-born Puerto Ricans, nearly 100 percent, is not as meaningful as the other numbers since those born on the island of Puerto Rico are automatically US citizens and are not distinguished in census figures from those born on the mainland in places such as New York City. The figures for Salvadorans and Cubans are nearly the same; approximately two-thirds were born in El Salvador and Cuba. This is nearly the reverse of those claiming Mexican descent, more than 60 percent of whom were born in the United States.

Table 1.6. US-born rate of Salvadorans in the United States compared to larger Hispanic groups.
Source: *The American Community – Hispanics: 2004* (2007:13).

Origin/nationality	Percentage born in the United States
Mexicans	60.6
Puerto Ricans	98.7
Cubans	36.7
Salvadorans	32.3

Salvadorans in the United States can be compared to other Hispanics on a range of social parameters to determine if their standing in these areas vis-à-vis other groups presents differences that could have significant bearing on their linguistic behavior. In some cases, such as educational attainment, this will also serve to compare Salvadorans as a whole in the United States to the participants in the present study.

Let us first consider language claiming in the home for people over age five. In claiming English-only use in the home, Salvadorans lagged behind not only Hispanics in

general, but also all the other groups surveyed, including the two other countries in Central America (Table 1.7). There appears to be a clear causal connection between the ratio of native to US-born Salvadorans and language ability. The low rate of Salvadorans born in the United States translates into few claiming English-only language use in their homes (5.2 percent). In contrast, nearly two-thirds of those claiming Mexican descent were born in the United States and 22 percent of them claim English-only language use in the home (the second highest rate after Puerto Ricans).

Table 1.7. Language ability of Salvadorans in the United States compared to other Hispanics.
Source: The American Community – Hispanics: 2004 (2007:16).

Origin/nationality	Percent of English-only at home	Percent non-English at home, English spoken “very well”	Percent non-English at home, English spoken less than “very well”
All Hispanics	22.8	38.5	38.7
Puerto Ricans	30.6	47.2	22.2
Mexicans	22.9	36.4	40.7
Cubans	14.1	42.7	43.2
Colombians	12.9	46.1	41.0
Ecuadorians	10.7	39.2	50.1
Peruvians	10.2	43.7	46.1
Dominicans	6.9	41.8	51.3
Hondurans	6.5	31.7	61.8
Guatemalans	6.2	32.3	61.5
Salvadorans	5.2	36.2	58.6

Table 1.8 indicates the educational attainment of people from the same 10 countries over the age of 25. Less than half of Salvadorans living in the United States finished high school (41.3 percent), giving them the lowest ranking on the list. Only 6.2 percent have at least a bachelor’s degree, which places them second-to-last in this category. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III, educational attainment can

affect the forms of speech people use. In the specific case of Salvadorans, it can be a factor in the choice between the use of *voseo* and *tuteo*, the competing forms of second person singular familiar address.

Table 1.8. Educational attainment of Salvadorans in the United States compared to other Hispanics.
Source: *The American Community – Hispanics: 2004* (2007:17).

Origin/nationality	Percent high school graduate or more	Percent of bachelor's degree or more
All Hispanics	59.6	12.7
Peruvians	89.1	30.0
Colombians	85.6	29.4
Cubans	74.2	25.3
Ecuadorians	73.8	18.4
Puerto Ricans	71.4	16.2
Dominicans	61.6	14.5
Hondurans	52.7	5.1
Mexicans	52.4	8.6
Guatemalans	48.3	8.0
Salvadorans	41.3	6.2

Table 1.9 shows the percentages of occupational areas selected by those over the age of 16. It may seem surprising at first that fewer Salvadorans in the United States work in farming than any of the others listed. However, it does reflect census figures showing Salvadorans having settled in big cities such as Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Houston. It therefore also seems to confirm Cordova's treatment of Salvadoran immigration patterns earlier in this section (2008:76). Given the low average educational attainment of Salvadorans in the United States, it is also consistent that the highest number work in service jobs and that only a small percentage work in professional settings.

Table 1.9. Occupation of Salvadorans in the United States compared to all Hispanics.
Source: The American Community – Hispanics: 2004 (2007:18).

Occupation	Percent of all Hispanics	Percent of Salvadorans
Management/ Professional	18.0	9.8
Service	23.7	33.5
Sales/office	22.2	16.4
Farming/fishing/ Forestry	2.1	0.5
Construction/extraction/ Maintenance	15.5	16.1
Production/transportation/ Material moving	18.5	23.7

Table 1.10 shows the median household income of Salvadorans compared to other Hispanic groups. As might be expected, there is a significant correlation between educational attainment and income. For example, a comparison of Tables 1.8 and 1.10 shows that of the 10 nationalities considered, the four with the highest percentage of high school and college graduates are also the top four in household income: Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Cuba. El Salvador, on the other hand, comes in last regarding high school education and second-to-last in percentage of college graduates. As a result, Salvadorans are also in the bottom half regarding earnings. While it is true that at \$36,789 they earn slightly more in absolute terms than the average for all Hispanics, these totals must be adjusted for the high cost of living in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., where most of them live. Therefore, their slight apparent financial advantage may very well not translate into a higher standard of living.

Table 1.10. Median household income of Salvadorans in the United States compared to all Hispanics.
Source: The American Community – Hispanics: 2004 (2007:19).

Origin/nationality	Median household income
All Hispanics	\$35,929
Ecuadorans	\$43,184
Peruvians	\$42,956
Colombians	\$41,566
Cubans	\$38,256
Guatemalans	\$37,912
Salvadorans	\$36,789
Mexicans	\$35,185
Puerto Ricans	\$34,092
Hondurans	\$31,526
Dominicans	\$29,624

1.11. Summary and implications of US Salvadoran demographics

The information provided above on Salvadoran history and the social characteristics of Salvadorans both in El Salvador and the United States must be considered in light of its possible linguistic ramifications. For instance, it is clear that the early history of El Salvador has consequences for *voseo* retention. In the centuries after the Spanish conquest, El Salvador was part of the backwaters of the Spanish empire, with a very small *criollo* population in comparison to the indigenous and *mestizo* residents. As a result, *voseo* managed to be maintained despite having become a non-standard form in Peninsular Spanish vis-à-vis *tuteo* (Benavides 2003:612). This situation was reinforced by the limited social mobility of campesinos and other low-class laborers in a society dominated by a *criollo* oligarchy. As has been seen, at the time of independence from Spain, school was a nearly unheard-of privilege for Salvadorans. Today the educational situation in El Salvador is much improved, but the country's poverty, the effects of its decade-long civil war, and its ongoing struggle with social ills such as gangs have

deprived many of a chance for a formal education. This is reflected in a UNESCO report (2007) revealing that the current high school enrollment rate in El Salvador is below 60 percent and that only 36.5 percent of those aged 20-24 graduated from high school (13, 44). As school is one of the few places Salvadorans might hear *tuteo*, this low level of educational attainment may contribute to the continued dominance of *voseo* in El Salvador. This situation is somewhat different from that of other *voseante* countries such as Argentina and Uruguay, where *voseo* use is reinforced not only outside but also inside the classroom since this form of address has been incorporated into the educational system (Lipski 1994:141, 341).

The main significance of the information on Salvadorans in the United States, particularly in such areas as education and the percentage of US- vs. Salvadoran-born (Tables 1.8 and 1.6, respectively), is that it can be contrasted with the data for those participating in the study. As will be seen in Chapter III, both the Washington, D.C., and Houston populations exhibit considerable parity regarding these variables, as well as others such as gender, marital status, place of origin in El Salvador, age of arrival in the United States, and years since arrival. Therefore, if there are differences between the two cities regarding *voseo* use, it must be assumed that the difference is due to the locations themselves.

1.12. Chapter summary

This introductory chapter has established the main hypothesis of the study: that the incidence of *voseo* and *tuteo* among Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., and Houston is affected not only by the fact that these speakers are not in their home country but by

their settlement in different US cities in differing concentrations. It is hypothesized that the higher percentage of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., has led to more *voseo* retention than in Houston, where there has been more accommodation to *tuteo*, the norm for the dominant Mexican group there. The demographic data on which these findings are based have also been presented as part of a larger history of El Salvador and of Salvadorans, both in their home country and in the United States.

1.13. Subsequent chapters

This dissertation is made up of the present introduction and five subsequent chapters. The second chapter constitutes a literature review. The first half of the chapter concerns language contact and change in general. It features a theoretical overview, addressing matters such as *koineization* and Accommodation Theory, and also offers specific examples, especially regarding the sociolinguistic variables of age, gender, and class. The second half of Chapter II covers the history of *voseo* as well as its main features in present-day American Spanish, with a special focus on its use in Central America and El Salvador. It also discusses Salvadoran *voseo* in the context of the United States. This discussion of *voseo* exemplifies the more general points made earlier in the chapter. Chapter III discusses the data sources and methods of collection used in the study and addresses how the sample sizes for each protocol in the two cities were determined. It also describes the sociodemographic characteristics of the populations studied. Finally, this third chapter explains how the data were treated in order to arrive at the results provided in later chapters. Chapter IV presents the results, discussion, and analysis of Protocol 1, while Chapter V does the same for Protocols 2 and 3 and then compares the

findings of all three protocols. Finally, Chapter VI presents conclusions and recommendations for further research.

1.14. Significance of study

This study is of interest to sociolinguists because it presents a descriptive analysis of the circumstances under which Salvadorans accommodate from *voseo* to *tuteo* in the United States. More generally, it contributes to a model of language change that goes beyond Spanish dialectology. Linguistic accommodation in Spanish based on variables such as geography and gender can be extrapolated widely, perhaps even universally, to other languages and other parts of the world. Speakers of any language are susceptible to alterations in their language use when they come into contact with other dialects, especially in the features of their own dialect that are considered less prestigious. For example, existing research shows that women in general tend to use overtly prestigious forms while men more often use forms of covert prestige. This study can be used to bolster such findings if men select the covertly prestigious *voseo* more than women, or cast doubt on it if they do not. Beyond academia, this study has possible relevance as regards public policy, since the recognition of diversity within the Hispanic community in the United States is crucial when it comes to dealing with the large and growing contingents of this population in contexts such as immigration and education.

CHAPTER II

DIALECT CONTACT AND CHANGE

2.1. Chapter overview

This chapter begins by considering the issues of language change and variation, focusing on the effects of dialect contact, including accommodation and *koineization*. Because the processes at work in Salvadoran Spanish are expected to be universal, and since this dialect has not been studied in great detail, the exemplification of the points under discussion will often come from languages other than Spanish which have been studied in greater depth. Many of these points will then be exemplified through the specific case of *voseo*. To this end, *voseo* will be discussed in depth both historically and with regard to its modern distribution vis-à-vis *tuteo* in the Spanish-speaking countries. Special attention will be paid to *voseo* among Salvadorans both in El Salvador and in the United States as they come into contact with *tuteante* speakers from other countries. In addition to geographic location, other sociolinguistic variables such as social class, gender, and age are discussed in terms of their impact on *voseo* use. Finally, as contact between *voseo* and *tuteo* users has resulted in varied *voseo* forms, pronoun and verbal paradigms for the Spanish-speaking world will be presented.

2.2. Inevitability of language change

From the very inception of linguistic study, scholars have observed and puzzled over the inevitability of language change and have sought to explain its causes. In fact, despite prescriptive efforts over the centuries to stop or at least slow linguistic change, what would be truly amazing would be if such efforts were successful and language remained

unaltered (Saussure 1959[1915]:77). Changes sometimes come swiftly and other times they are more gradual, but one can never suppose that there is a time when any spoken language is totally and completely stable (Milroy & Milroy 1997:52). Change affects all the linguistic subsystems: phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. It takes place in all grammatical categories, from verbs to nouns and pronouns, from prepositions to adverbs and adjectives (Sankoff 2002:643-644; Thomason 2005:693).

2.3. Causes of language change: internal

Language change can be considered as either internal, due to “linguistic factors,” or external, as a result of “social factors” (Labov 1994:1). Internal causes derive from the instability caused by competing elements within the grammar or structure of a language itself. In English, for example, /t/ tends to creep into /ns/ clusters since /nts/ is somewhat more “natural” or easier to pronounce, so that over time, and independent of spelling, a word like ‘prince’ comes to be pronounced the same as ‘prints.’ Similarly, the clusters /ml/ and /mr/ have tended over time to change to /mbl/ and /mbr/. This may cause individual speakers to pronounce a word like ‘family’ as [fambly] (Aitchison 1991:130-131). In Spanish, a historic transition from /mr/ to /mbr/ can also be observed. The Latin word for ‘man,’ *homine*, underwent the transition in Old Spanish of *omne* > *omre* > *ombre*, and in modern Spanish is *hombre* (Green 1990:92). Another example of consonant change in the history of Spanish involves the seven sibilants that existed in the language prior to the 15th century. This complex system of similar pronunciations is an example of what linguists might consider a point of weakness or an imbalance prone

to change (Aitchison 1991:123). Indeed, through a process of simplification, by the 18th century most of the sibilants had been lost, leading to two modern systems. In central and northern Spain, there are three sibilants: /s/, /θ/, and /ç/. In the dialects of southern Spain and Latin America, only two of the seven original phonemes remain: /s/ and /ç/ (Penny 2002:98-101, 2000:42).

Internal changes regarding vowel shifts have also occurred. The raising of long vowels, for instance, has occurred in the history of English, as well as many other Indo-European languages, but not in North Frisian (spoken on the mainland and insular regions of northern Germany). Inversely, the lowering of short vowels and the fronting of back vowels has taken place in North Frisian but not in English (Labov 1994:121-122). A general but not inviolate rule of language change is that mergers, including vowel mergers, are permanent, meaning they cannot be undone by linguistic factors (311). However, an exception to this rule can be seen in the merging, by the 18th century, of the English /ay/ and /oy/ in words that had contained the Middle English *ī* and *oi*. As a result, words like *line* and *loin*, *vice* and *voice*, and *pint* and *point* came to be pronounced the same. Nevertheless, in the 19th and 20th centuries, these words split cleanly, with the exception of occasional crossover pronunciation in local dialects (15, 306-309).

While the previous examples of internal change are phonetic, where similar sounds can move or crowd out others, leading to new pronunciations, too many words with close meanings can also lead to change through simplification. An example are English demonstrative pronouns, of which today two singular forms are commonly used,

‘this’ and ‘that.’ However, in Shakespeare’s day a third such pronoun was utilized, ‘yon’ (Bryson 1990:56). This pronoun has ceased to exist with the possible exception of regional varieties. While no exact reason can be known for the virtual loss of ‘yon,’ it may be that its differentiation from ‘that’ was too subjective. Instead of saying ‘This book,’ ‘That book,’ and ‘Yon book,’ the synthetic ‘yon’ came to be expressed through an analytic phrase also containing the pronoun ‘that,’ such as in, ‘That book *over there*.’ . In Spanish, by contrast, the equivalents of the same three pronouns once common in English continue to be so in Spanish: *Este libro, Ese libro, Aquel libro*.

2.4. Causes of language change: external

Although this section addresses external language change as though it were completely separate from internal factors, such a division is somewhat artificial, since linguistic variables are often linked to social distribution in speech communities (Labov 1994:2). Aitchison (1991) uses the metaphor of a gun to explain the connection between internal and external causes of change. Internal causes, or at least the underlying, perhaps even dormant, tendency toward change, are like a gun that is loaded and cocked. External factors are social triggers that can cause the discharge of the gun. Or, if internal changes have already begun, social factors can accelerate the pace of these changes (123-124). Nevertheless, the separation between internal and external factors in the present discussion of causes of language change has not been merely one of convenience. The two are distinct enough to justify considering them separately. One principal difference is that the internal factors of language change considered in the previous section are

essentially independent from each other, while the external or social elements discussed in the next section are often highly interactive (Labov 1994:3).

In contrast to internal language change, external changes are the result of sociological and other forces that occur outside the human mind (Yang 2000:248). Such language change can be wrought by either violent or peaceful encounters between speakers of different languages. An example of violent or imposed contact leading to language modification is the influence of French on Old (and then Middle) English after the Norman Invasion and the British loss at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. In the history of Spanish, one can consider the effect that Arabic had on Ibero-Romance, and subsequently on Castilian, as a result of nearly eight centuries of Muslim rule over much of the Iberian Peninsula. Instances of non-violent language encounters include, among countless examples, modern contact between English and Spanish in the United States as a result of migration or due to trade along the US-Mexico border, or between Spanish and Portuguese where the countries of Uruguay and Brazil meet.

While the cases above entail contact between different languages, change through external pressure also occurs at the dialectal level. An example comes from the history of Arabic in Cairo. In the latter half of the 19th century, an enormous influx of non-Cairene dialect speakers moved from the countryside to the Egyptian capital. This led to changes in the more prestigious Cairene dialect. For instance, certain features once common to all the dialects involved, including Cairene, such as the plural ending of verbs in *-um*, disappeared due to stigmatization because they came to be identified with the low-prestige dialects of the rural newcomers (Versteegh 1997:160). When the

numbers of those moving to a new dialect area is much smaller in relative terms than in the previous example, the most likely outcome is for the newcomers to undergo change rather than cause it. Such is the case with Argentine immigrants to Mexico City, who over time tend to move away from the typical Argentine pronunciation of <y> and <ll> – both alveo-palatal fricative sibilants rendered as either the voiced [ž] or the voiceless [š] – in favor of the Mexican voiced palatal fricative /y/ (Pesqueira 2008:171). Dialect contact will be discussed more thoroughly in 2.9 and 2.10, including the fact that this phenomenon also applies to situations where all the speakers involved find themselves in a new area through migration rather than their native dialect zone. Such is the case of *roseante* Salvadorans in contact with *tuteante* Spanish speakers from other countries when they come together in the United States.

2.5. Social categories of variation and change

In modern industrialized societies, language variation and externally induced change are influenced by independent variables such as age, gender, class, education, race, occupation, and income (Labov 1994:2, Penny 2000:2). As many of these specific social variables are highly interrelated, the main social factors of variation and change may be more broadly defined as age, gender, and class (Chambers 2002:349).

2.6. Age and language

In general, older speakers tend to be conservative in their speech (Eckert 1997:152). A variant in the older generation can be increased in the middle generation and become even more frequent in the youngest generation (Chambers 2002:355), though the opposite can occur and minor variants may simply disappear. Typically, language

change is driven by younger speakers. An example of this is found in a longitudinal study (1971 to 1984) of Montreal French speakers regarding allophonic changes in the use of the phoneme /r/ (Sankoff & Blondeau 2007). All participants moved in the direction of innovation, which in this case was a shift from the conservative apical [r] to the dorsal [R]. However, this change was clearly led by the younger speakers, while the other generations followed, imitating the young but not reaching their levels of usage (581). Regarding this phenomenon in Spanish, Aaron & Hernández (2007) study language change among Salvadoran speakers living in Houston, where the largest Hispanic group is comprised of Mexicans (cf. Chapter I, 1.9). The study, whose focus is on syllable final -s reduction, analyzes data collected by a Mexican interviewer from 12 Salvadorans who have lived in Houston for at least five years. They find that while /s/ reduction is a salient feature of the Spanish spoken in El Salvador, it occurs less frequently among the informants in Houston. Those who arrived before the age of 14 are particularly apt to accommodate and speak more like the majority Mexican population, which does not tend to undergo /s/ reduction (331, 342). The change is once again driven by the younger speakers. It must be pointed out that in this latter study on Salvadoran final -s pronunciation the researchers were particularly interested in accommodation, which does not always lead to permanent change. The degree of permanence of the change could perhaps only be determined by future longitudinal studies as was done with the /r/ production of the Montreal French speakers.

2.7. Class, ethnicity, and language

Social class is also a well-recognized factor of variation in speech. It took Labov's (1966) groundbreaking research to highlight the importance of social strata in linguistic performance. His study considered the pronunciation or elision of /r/ in the words 'fourth floor' among the employees of three different New York City department stores based on their social status. He found that there was a higher rate of /r/ pronunciation, the prestige form, among the employees in the elite Saks Fifth Avenue than among those in middle class Macy's, which in turn had a higher rate than the working class S. Klein (Labov 1966:65-73).

Ethnicity is often linked to social class. This is the case in the United States, for example, where minorities such as African Americans and Hispanics tend to have lower socioeconomic status than the majority Caucasians. Even in cases where there is a less clear connection between ethnicity and social class, there remains a link between ethnic groups and language. Because language is the main symbolic system of humans, people tend to group themselves into differently speaking subcommunities which are determined to a large extent by ethnicity (Fishman 1997:329-330). Labov (1966) considered this factor in his study on /r/, comparing the speech of African Americans with the study population as a whole, which was largely white. When considering the respondents who did not pronounce the /r/ in any case, the percentage, both for all respondents and for African Americans, grows higher as the status of the department store goes down, but the numbers in each case are higher for African Americans (77).

The data from the department store study also allowed for an analysis of vowel pronunciations by ethnicity and class. It was discovered, for example, that speakers of Jewish and Italian extraction were more likely to pronounce the word ‘floor’ in a way that rhymes with ‘sewer’ – [fluə] rather than [flo] (Labov 1972:172, 177). While puzzling at first, this was eventually identified as a case of hypercorrection due to hypersensitivity. It turns out that many of these speakers were children of Jewish and Italian immigrants who, due to the phonetic structure of their native tongues, had difficulty differentiating between vowels in words such as ‘cup of coffee,’ pronouncing this phrase as if it were ‘cop of coffee.’ Their children, therefore, reacted to this situation, exaggerating the difference between the two vowels by pronouncing ‘coffee’ as [kuəfi], and by extension, ‘floor’ as [fluə] (128, 177). It is true that lower-middle-class speakers in general demonstrated this same pronunciation, but ethnicity was even more important than class. Age was also a factor, as younger speakers in general were shown to drive the change among both the Jewish and Italian populations (172-174). This is another example of how social factors of language change are often intertwined.

An important distinction must be made to account for the connection between class and diachronic change: the difference between change from above and change from below. Changes from above are introduced into a language or dialect by members of the upper class, often openly. These changes may not be compatible with the vernacular language system and therefore may not be integrated generally, constituting a separate subsystem. Changes from below, in contrast, are systematic changes that initiate in the vernacular itself and become general throughout the entire language

system. These changes often go unnoticed until they are nearing completion. Such changes tend to be introduced by any class other than the very highest-status social group (Labov 1994:78) (cf. 2.20 on *voseo* use by class). Even though only pressure from below can eventually bring systemic changes affecting the language of all speakers of a language or dialect, pressure from above can cause changes in individual speakers or groups of speakers in lower classes. One such change can occur when these speakers take an upper-class feature and apply it in an exaggerated fashion. This is known as hypercorrection.

Before his study on /r/ in New York City department stores, Labov (1972[1964]) had studied the same phoneme in the speech of residents on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. As with the department store employees, only upper-class speakers showed a significant degree of /r/ pronunciation in casual speech. However, when subjects carefully read minimal pairs differentiated by the presence or absence of /r/ ('guard' vs. 'God', 'dock' vs. 'dark', etc.), those of lower middle class hypercorrected, pronouncing the /r/, in words containing it, to a higher degree than even those of the upper class (115). This hypercorrection was attributed to the linguistic insecurity of the lower middle class. These speakers were reported to dislike their own speech and feel that others outside the city also viewed it as a stigmatized dialect. They often consciously attempted to alter their pronunciation, especially in careful conversation (132). It will be seen in the next section that language change tends to be driven by females. In the case of lower middle class /r/ pronunciation in New York City, hypercorrection was indeed strongest among women. They may have been the prime agents in leading this class of

speakers from an absence of /r/ pronunciation in all situations to a stage in which this phoneme was pronounced in careful speech (141). Therefore, while at the time of the study it was found that individuals who grew up in the lower middle class were generally unable to completely control their production of /r/, the possibility was put forth that mothers and female teachers may in the future affect children's speech the point of having /r/ pronunciation become the lower middle class norm (138, 141).

While the notion of hypercorrection involved lower-classes speakers who imitated the speech of the upper class, it did not address a situation in which this can lead such a speaker to add non-etymological phonemes. This does occur, and examples are available in Spanish. In certain dialects, especially among uneducated lower class speakers, /s/ deletion is common. Since this is not the prestige form, such individuals seek to compensate or "correct" the situation by pronouncing this phoneme elsewhere. This leads to hypercorrection, since such speakers are not sure where the /s/ goes in the standard variety, making its placement essentially random. This phenomenon has been termed *hablar fisno*, referring to the insertion of an /s/ in *hablar fino* 'to speak refined' (Harris 2002:97). This can be seen among many uneducated Dominicans who omit /s/ in syllable-final position: *etúpido* instead of *estúpido* and *do* instead of *dos* (Bradley 2006:4). When trying to sound educated, such a speaker might say *etúspido* (Núñez Cedeño 1988:322) or, for the word *abogado* 'lawyer', *asbogado* or *abosgado* (Núñez Cedeño 1994:30).

Another case of hypercorrection in Spanish results from the elision of intervocalic /d/ in certain past participles and adjectives that end in *-ado(s)*. For

example, speakers of some varieties of Spanish pronounce the word *cansado* ‘tired’ as [kansáo] in casual speech but [kansáðo] in more careful speech. However, if a word truly ends in *-ao*, such as *bacalao* ‘cod’, less educated speakers might think that [bakaláo] is the incorrect pronunciation and render it [bakaláðo], a hypercorrection (Penny 2000:7).

2.8. Gender and language

While sex and gender are terms that are often used interchangeably, Eckert (1989) takes pains to clarify that while sex is a biological distinction, gender is a broader, more complex social category related to cultural norms, and that any differences between men and women in the realm of speech should be seen as gender- and not sex-based (245). The use of the word “gender” is therefore favored throughout this dissertation.

Gender differences are also considered in Labov’s (1966) study of New York City English. Fewer men than women pronounced the /r/ in all social groups, and more men than women did not pronounce it at all (89). Labov (1990) explains that in stable language situations, females tend to utilize what are considered correct or prestige forms with greater frequency than men, who tend to use more “nonstandard” forms (205). These nonstandard forms are often viewed as demonstrating the positive male values of “masculinity” and “toughness” (214). Women, in contrast, use widely accepted prestige forms because they lack the “material power” enjoyed by men and rely more on the “symbolic capital” that comes from using language that is generally considered to be more educated (214).

Later studies focused more specifically on the different linguistic behavior of men and women. Trudgill, for instance, found such differences to be supported by data from Norwich, England, gathered in the late 1960s. He discovered that “women ... produce on average linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men,” who are more prone to use the non-standard, working-class varieties associated with “covert prestige” (Trudgill 1983:169, 177). One reason is because females’ social position is less secure and they need to demonstrate their status linguistically. While men are judged according to their work, women are judged more on their appearance, including language (Trudgill 1972:182-183).

In addition to the studies showing preference among females for overtly prestigious forms found in both American and British English, other research has established the same phenomenon in Spanish. A phonological example is the deletion of [-ð-] in the pronunciation of [kansáo] instead of [kansáðo] that was considered in the previous section on language and class. While some Spanish speakers of both genders drop this intervocalic /d/, women of all classes have been reported to be substantially more resistant to the total elision of this phoneme (Williams 1987:71). Similarly, a study on the pronunciation of final /s/ in Bahía Blanca, Argentina, discovered that men in the city often aspirate this phoneme or simply delete it altogether. Females, in contrast, tend to more carefully pronounce the final /s/ (Fontanella de Weinberg 1973:58).

It must be pointed out that there are exceptions to the rule of women using more prestigious forms than men. In another study of Bahía Blanca by Fontanella de Weinberg (1979a), the forms in question were the allophones [ž] and [š], the local variants of /y/. At the time of the study, in Bahía Blanca, as well as Argentina in general, the standard or prestigious phoneme was the voiced [ž], but it was sometimes devoiced to become [š], a phenomenon that was seen as an innovation. In Bahía Blanca, it was discovered that women were using the new voiceless form more than men, especially among the lower class, despite its lack of prestige (95, 110). This greater use of [š] by females than males may have been due to a perception that it represented a gender display variant, making it undesirable if men used it but not women. In any event, the use of this innovative form by women was consistent with their tendency to drive linguistic change more than men (Labov 2001:294).

Another example of women using a lesser prestige form at a higher rate than men involves the /r/ assibilation of speakers in San Luis Potosí, Mexico (Rissel 1989). This phenomenon was chosen for study precisely because it represents a change that deviates from the standard at a higher rate among women than men (271). Previous studies (Boyd-Bowman 1960, Perissinotto 1972) found that final /r/ assibilation was most frequent among middle- and upper-class females in Guanajuato and Mexico City, respectively. Rissel discovered that females in San Luis Potosí showed this same tendency. The assibilation of /r/ first appeared in the speech of middle- and upper-class females, before spreading to the speech of women in the lower class. While lower-class men might have been expected to be the ones to lead the change to such an innovative

non-standard form, they were highly resistant to such a shift. This may have been the case due to their perception that the assibilated /r/ was now a feminine form with which they did not want to be associated (Rissel 1989:281-282). When considering this study together with that of the devoicing of [ž] in Bahía Blanca, the common thread is the greater use of the non-standard, non-prestigious forms among females. However, a significant difference is the fact that /r/ assibilant in San Luis Potosí is led, at least in part, by members of the upper class. This is not only different from the Bahía Blanca study, but it runs contrary to the direction of systematic language change in general (cf. 2.7 on discussion of change from above and change from below).

Even when women use fewer stigmatized, nonstandard variants than men, as the majority of research has consistently shown (Chambers 2002:352), it is important to keep in mind that the difference in variants used by men and women is rarely so great that it is readily noticeable to the casual observer. The difference is one of degrees and requires studies that present quantitative results (Rissel 1989:269, Milroy & Milroy 1997:55). Nevertheless, the discrepancy between men and women regarding nonstandard variants has been so firmly established over decades of study that some feel any finding to the contrary should itself become the object of investigation (McConnell 2002:354)

2.9. Dialect contact: *koineization*

Dialect contact is a cause for change that occurs when one or more groups of speakers of mutually intelligible varieties come together, often in a new place as a result of migration. One of the most commonly discussed results of dialect contact is

koineization, or the creation of a “new dialect” known as a *koiné* (Cuartas 1990:744, Fontanella de Weinberg 1992a:275, Kerswill & Williams 2000:65, Trudgill et al. 2000:303). The term and notion of a *koiné* (‘common’ in Greek) have their origins in Hellenistic Greece beginning in the 4th century B.C. During this era, the port of Athens was inhabited by speakers of different variations of Greek from diverse parts of the Mediterranean who developed a compromise dialect to aid in communication for commerce and trade (Kerswill 2002:670-671). An important feature of a *koiné*, then, is that it is the result of “the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible,” as in the case of “regional or social dialects” (Siegel 2001:175). “Levelling” is the process by which certain differing (competing) features from the dialects involved disappear (Kerswill & Williams 1999:149). This issue of leveling, and particularly the resulting increase in intelligibility, distinguishes a *koiné* from a pidgin and a subsequent creole. A pidgin is a very simple language system, both grammatically and with regard to lexicon, which arises among groups who come into contact and must communicate but who speak mutually unintelligible languages. A pidgin is no one’s native language, and its vocabulary is limited to speakers’ immediate needs and tasks. A creole is the full native language that develops from a pidgin when its speakers have children who flesh out its grammar and add much more vocabulary, the former from these children’s innate grammar and the latter from any and all sources of input available to them (Bickerton 1984:173, Penny 2000:166).

The creation of a fully developed *koiné* generally takes three generations, with each generation representing a stage (Trudgill et al. 2000:303). In the first stage, adult speakers of different dialects come together in a new place and engage in “dialect mixture” (308) that leads to “rudimentary levelling” (303-304). In the second stage, the members of the second generation, or the first native-born children in the contact situation, still encounter extreme variability and they have the freedom to select variants at will from among the dialects present and form them into various new combinations. As a result, this stage sees an increase in variant leveling as more and more distinctive features are eliminated and those remaining continue to increase in stability among all speakers (305). It is only in the third generation that the new *koiné* dialect becomes completely stable or “crystallized” (307). This occurs through focusing, a process by which the variants still present will be reduced until, in most cases, only one remains for each variable. In cases where two or more variants survive the focusing process, one will retain its original function while any others are generally reallocated, meaning they evolve and assume a modified meaning or function in the new dialect (Kerswill 2002:672). At any given time language varieties may be moving towards a *koiné* or *koiné*-like situation without having yet fully reached this stage.

As regards Spanish, the concept of *koiné* can be employed to discuss the changes in this language over the centuries, both on the Peninsula and in America. Indeed, it is through *koineization* that Spanish came about, beginning with Castilian. As with the Athens of old that witnessed the emergence of the original Greek *koiné*, Burgos and other principal cities of Castile founded in the 9th century attracted Romance speakers

from all across the northern part of the Peninsula as the Reconquest spurred population movements to the center of this region and then southward (Tuten 2000:97, 99). This migration included groups from places such as Galicia, Asturias, Santander, La Rioja, and Navarre, all of whom brought regional variations of Romance into an atmosphere of unstable social networks and weakened norm enforcement. Perhaps just as important, Castile was relatively isolated from urban centers that could have had a normative influence, such as Oviedo and Pamplona, so that innovation could proceed unchecked (Tuten 2000:99). The result of this mixing, leveling, and stabilization was a new *koiné*, Castilian. One manifestation of this process was the regularization of diphthongs in medieval Castilian and then in modern Spanish. While those who had come west from Cataluña and east from Galicia brought original monophthongal Romance articulation, which is largely preserved today in Galician and other Romance languages such as Portuguese, the Central Ibero-Romance speakers had already begun the process of diphthongation, the variant which eventually prevailed, though only after a prolonged period of vacillation, as evidenced by surviving documents (Tuten 2000:100).

Shortly after the end of the Reconquest, Spanish arrived in America, where dialect contact would continue. As a result, *koineization* always was and continues to be a major factor in the development of varieties of American Spanish (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992a:277). Generally speaking, in the *koinés* that result from such contact, the variants preferred may be those with the most speakers, or perhaps those used by the most prestigious speakers. In the case of Latin America, it is known that the majority of the early conquistadors and colonizers were from Andalusia (Garrido Domínguez

1992:138, Penny 2000:141, Hidalgo 2001). Exactly which groups dominated the positions of prestige is less clear. As will be discussed further in 2.16 on *voseo* loss in America, the upper classes that developed in the New World differed from those in Spain (Micheau 1991:82-84). This new elite emerged in many cases from former middle class tradesmen and small landowners (Lipski 1994:40). In any event, it appears that *koinization* in Latin America has been most affected by the numerous Andalusians. Many features in New World Spanish can thus be traced to southern Spain, such as the use of *ustedes* over *vosotros*, the *seseo*, aspiration of the final /s/, and the weakening of the intervocalic and final /d/ (Hidalgo 2001:23). It is true that the modern varieties of American Spanish are the result of intermingling between speakers from many different Peninsular regions during the conquest and colonization (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992a:278). For example, non-Andalusian features of northern Spain such as the tendency to diphthongize strong contiguous vowels (*maíz* > *maiz*) and the assibilation of the final /r/ are found in numerous regions of Latin America (Hidalgo 2001:26). Nevertheless, it is possible for a *koiné* to be based most heavily on one of the dialects in question. In this regard a “special relationship” has been noted between most Spanish varieties in America and that of Andalusia, not only phonologically but also morphosyntactically (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992a:279). Lipski (1994) devotes several pages of his book *Latin American Spanish* to this same topic, stating that “the phonetic similarities between coastal Latin American Spanish and Andalusian Spanish are striking” (8).

2.10. Dialect contact: accommodation

A related but distinct linguistic concept from *koinization* is accommodation. As will be discussed later in this section, while all *koinés* are the result of repeated “accommodation between speakers in face-to-face interaction” (Trudgill et al. 2000:308), not all accommodation necessarily results in *koinization*. However, the discussion of *koinization* was presented first as a framework upon which accommodation can be more easily understood and discussed.

The notion of accommodation was first introduced by Giles et al. (1973), who argued that people will often alter their speech patterns depending on the situation in which they find themselves. They may, for example, attempt to imitate the speech of their interlocutors if they see this as a way of improving communication or of garnering the other person’s approval (178-179). It follows then, that the greater the speaker’s perceived need for approval, the greater will be the attempts made to accommodate (Giles et al. 1991:19). Trudgill has further discussed and developed this notion, focusing on this second aspect of social approval (1986:2). He describes accommodation in the following manner:

Adjustments in pronunciation and other aspects of linguistic behavior in terms of a drive to approximate one’s language to that of one’s interlocutor[s], if they are regarded as socially desirable and/or if the speaker wishes to identify with them and/or demonstrate good will towards them (1983:143).

While accommodation often takes place without the speakers giving it much thought, at times people accommodate more deliberately (Thomason 2005:703). In any event, when people accommodate to speak more like their interlocutors, they are engaging in “convergence” (Giles 1973:90-93). However, simply because two dialects come into

close physical proximity does not mean there will automatically be accommodation. The speakers of each dialect may seek to maintain the differences between their speech as a way of showing membership in their national group or pride in their own regional or social dialect (8-9). Also, bilingual speakers in one of the dialectal groups may at times choose to use the opposite language from the other group. Under such circumstances there cannot be accommodation. This was found to be the case in a study on Spanish at Marquin High School in suburban Chicago (Ghosh Johnson 2005). The majority of the students at the high school are Puerto Ricans, though Mexicans constitute a sizeable secondary group. Unlike the Puerto Ricans, whose are all US citizens and have a longer history of living in the United States, many of the Mexican students come from families recently immigrated from Mexico and in many cases are undocumented (39). The social networks observed at the school often did not include speakers of both Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish but only one or the other. Furthermore, the Puerto Ricans, who are for the most part bilingual, choose to speak mostly in English, while the Mexicans generally speak to each other in Spanish (313-314). This makes it impossible in this case for accommodation to occur between the Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish dialects, as well as the formation of any kind of *koiné*-like compromise. Even if both groups were to speak Spanish at school it appears there would not be enough contact for convergent dialect change to occur as the two groups tend to stay separate in a type of self-imposed “ethnic segregation” (70).

This previous relates to ethnolinguistic work regarding English in Philadelphia (Labov & Harris 1986), which found an increasing separation into two distinct speech

communities, that of white English speakers and that of speakers of African American English (AAE) (20). These groups share much of the general English language, including syntax and vocabulary, but experience increasing “divergence” (Giles 1973:90-93) regarding other elements such as pronunciation and grammar, including final /s/ dropping on third person singular verbs and the use of double negatives in AAE (Labov & Harris 1986:20). Similarly, Labov (2001) has stated that while AAE is nearly identical in cities as distant and demographically diverse as Boston, New York, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, it shows none of the language changes occurring among white speakers in those same cities (506). This demonstrates that linguistic change can be driven by social factors as much or more in some cases than geographical location.

Another example of divergence, but one based on regional and social distinctions rather than ethnicity, can be seen in a 1961-1962 study of language use on the Massachusetts island of Martha’s Vineyard (Labov 1972). One of the features studied was the pronunciation of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ in words such as ‘mice’ and ‘house.’ In 16th and 17th century English, before the culmination of the Great Vowel Shift, /ay/ and /aw/ were centralized diphthongs. In time, however, they began to lower, and in a modern New England location such as Boston one tends to hear [aɪ] and [aʊ]. However, the common pronunciation in Martha’s Vineyard is a higher, centralized [eɪ] and [ɐʊ], or even [əɪ] and [əʊ] (9-10). There was a time when this difference was less acute. In the 1930s, the centralization of these diphthongs had dropped to a low point on the island. However, after World War II the centralized pronunciation began to be more

common (25), starting first among fishermen in the Chilmark section of the island (37). Though subconscious, this change in Chilmarkers has been attributed to a negative reaction to the speech of the many summer tourists from the mainland (9, 40). This divergence then caught on among other islanders, who saw the fishermen as a model of permanent residence on the island, and it gradually became the norm (37).

The Martha's Vineyard study applies to several other points of language change that have been discussed. For example, the move to a more centralized pronunciation of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ was led by younger speakers (cf. 2.6), for whom this feature was an innovation, despite being simply an increase in an already extant conservative form for the older fishermen. Furthermore, the shift was even more marked among males (cf. 2.8), for whom accommodation to the speech of the Chilmark fisherman was a way to express that they were true islanders distinct from mainlanders. Finally, since this change is seen as having occurred unconsciously, it relates to the fact that people may think they speak one way while actually speaking another. Labov (1994) also studied this phenomenon in the American Midwest. As part of his study, respondents were made to listen to the word 'socks' in a recording of an 18-year-old male Chicago resident, who during an interview had stated: 'Y'hadda wear socks [sæks], no sandals.' In isolation, only few Chicago listeners correctly identified the word 'socks', despite Labov's assertion that they themselves most likely pronounced this word the same way as the speaker. Most heard things such as 'sax,' 'sacks,' 'slacks,' and even 'sex.' It was not until they heard the whole sentence that most realized that [sæks] was 'socks' (194).

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, while all *koineization* involves accommodation, not all accommodation leads to the creation of a *koiné*. It was explained in 2.9 that for *koineization* to occur, one or more groups must leave their native dialect area and relocate to another place where they come into contact with speakers of other varieties. Accommodation, however, does not require migration and can take place wherever one person interacts linguistically with another. Nevertheless, while all speakers engage in accommodation, though some more than others, this tendency is especially marked in those who travel to another part of the same country or who migrate to another country but still have the opportunity to interact with speakers of their same language (Penny 2000:39). And, while completed *koineization* generally takes three generations, accommodation can be “short-term” (Trudgill 1986:3, 11). Furthermore, while a *koiné* is a “compromise variety” (Penny 2000:226) emerging from the dialect mixture and leveling of countless interactions at the group or dialect level (Kerswill 2002:680), the focus of accommodation is more idiolectal. It can be one-sided and even take place within a single speech act, though the cumulative effect of such accommodation can at some point be evaluated at a larger group level. These initial speech changes have been described as a type of “pre-*koiné*” (Kerswill 2002:680), where “the cumulative effect of countless acts of short-term accommodation in particular conversational interactions” can lead to “long-term accommodation,” which only then, under the right circumstances, can serve as a bridge to full-fledged *koineization* (680).

Just as dialect contact has occurred in Latin America since the Spaniards first arrived on the American Continent, speakers of different varieties of Spanish have also

come into contact in the United States. An example of this, and one leading to a pre-*koiné* situation, can be seen in the interplay of the four largest dialects of Spanish found in New York City: Puerto Rican, Dominican, Colombian, and Cuban (Zentella 1990). The study considered the willingness of each group to recognize and accept the use of lexical items used by the others, a process of compromise that would be indicative of the creation of a “New Yorker Spanish” (1094). It was discovered that this does occur to a certain extent, though not universally. Colombians, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans were found to largely accept each other’s lexicon, while widely rejecting Dominican Spanish (1101). The author states that while it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons for this, clues may be found in the fact that Dominicans are among the poorest and least educated Hispanics in the city, and that they themselves evaluate their dialect much more negatively than the other groups (1102). In any event, the incipient “New Yorker Spanish” dialect shared by the other three groups can be considered a pre-*koiné*, in the sense that at the time of the study it was only in the first stage. Almost half (47 percent) of the 194 participants from the four countries in question had only been in the United States for seven years or less, and a full two-thirds (67 percent) had been in the country 15 years or less. This means their shared variety had perhaps only been passed down partially to a second generation at best but not to a third, which is where the final focusing takes place. However, if this variety were to be adopted, further developed, and stabilized by subsequent generations, it could develop into a full *koiné*. This would particularly be the case if leveling were to occur (something not addressed in the study) in which various words with the same meaning were reduced to one variant shared by all

the groups. The formation of this *koiné* would also be dependent on the relative weight of newcomers among these New York Spanish speakers. If there continued to be massive immigration, with its corresponding fresh lexical input, the pre-*koiné* described above might have difficulty establishing itself and proceeding towards focusing.

A final distinction must be made between *koineization* and accommodation. *Koineization* presupposes the possibility and even likelihood that all the linguistic systems of the dialects in contact are subject to change. Accommodation, on the other hand, may involve a single variable, such as the *voseo/tuteo* forms of address in different Spanish dialects. As will be discussed further in 2.23 on Salvadoran Spanish in contact with other dialects in the United States, Salvadorans may accommodate from *voseo* to *tuteo* but not change other features of their speech. Therefore, they may begin to employ the *tuteante* forms used by speakers of other dialects, while at the same time retaining an essentially Salvadoran dialect in other aspects such as pronunciation and vocabulary. In order to discuss this and other issues, the remainder of this chapter deals with *voseo* in a comprehensive fashion, including its history, its modern usage and distribution, and its pronominal and verbal paradigms.

2.11. Voseo

The history of Spanish second person pronominal and verbal forms illustrates in many ways the interplay between several of the social and structural aspects of the language change and variation discussed in the previous sections. Therefore, in the following discussion on *voseo* these elements will be highlighted and discussed.

Voseo is the pronominal use of the etymological second person plural *vos* and its corresponding verb forms to address a single interlocutor. This singular familiar form of address is the norm in El Salvador and most of Central America, as well as Southern Cone countries such as Argentina and Uruguay. It contrasts with *tuteo*, the form employed nearly universally in other Spanish-speaking countries such as Spain, Peru, and Mexico. For example, “you have” is rendered *vos tenés* among Salvadorans but *tú tienes* by *tuteante* speakers. In order to appreciate how *voseo* came to be used in El Salvador, it will first be addressed from a historical perspective, followed by a brief overview of its modern geographical distribution in the Spanish-speaking world. After that, the focus will be on *voseo* use among Salvadorans both in El Salvador and in the United States as they come into contact with *tuteo* users from other countries. Since the use of *voseo* is determined by factors other than geographic location, such as social class, gender, and age, the impact of these variables will be addressed as well.

2.12. Latin origins of *voseo*

Vos was used in early and classical Latin as the second person plural form (Sihler 1995:373), but it began to be used as the singular form to address Roman emperors in the later Latin of the 4th century A.D. (Brown and Gilman 1972[1960]:254, Penny 2002:137). This was perhaps because at the time there were two emperors jointly administering the government and the use of the plural form to address one could by implication include the other; or it could have been a natural response to statements by individual emperors who referred to themselves with the plural *nos* ‘we’ to include not only both emperors but also all the subjects in the empire (Brown and Gilman

1972[1960]:254). In any event, with this shift from the plural to the singular, *vos* came into competition with the other singular form, *tu* (Micheau 1991:78). However, the two forms differed in formality. After being used exclusively with emperors, *vos* was adopted for use with others of superior status, serving as the second person singular of respect, whereas *tu* was employed in familiar address. Before Roman dominance of the Iberian Peninsula came to an end in 409 A.D., Roman soldiers and diplomats carried the singular use of respectful *vos* and familiar *tu* in Vulgar Latin to Spain. Both pronouns were maintained in early Spanish, originally with these same basic connotations (Micheau 1991:79).

2.13. History of *voseo* in Spain

After the fall of the western branch of the Roman Empire in the 5th century, there is a centuries-long gap in written records, and the first documentation of *vos* in Spanish appears in the *Glosas Emilianenses* of 950 A.D. (Micheau 1991:79). The use of *vos* can also be seen in the *Poema del Mio Cid* as the form of respect between nobles (Tiscornia 1930:219). Although singular usage of *vos* occurred in early Spanish, there was overlap with instances of plural use, as reflected in *Poema del Mio Cid*. Of the 375 uses of *vos* in the poem, 114, or nearly a third, are plural (Real Academia Española 1973:339).

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, *vos* was the dominant form of respect among nobles and its use was reciprocal and based on solidarity. Members of the lower classes were also expected to show their deference to members of this upper class by addressing them through a non-reciprocal usage of *vos*. *Tú*, in turn, was used non-reciprocally by members of the upper class when addressing inferiors, as well as

reciprocally by members of the lower class among themselves (Micheau 1991:79). However, no language system is completely stable, and the use of *vos* between upper-class equals eventually filtered down so that by the 15th century it became frequent among the lower classes also (Páez Urdaneta 1981:46). *Vos* eventually lost its connotation of respect and was used instead to imply familiarity between equals of any station and even a lack of respect when used by a noble with a non-noble (Micheau 1991:79-80). This was a reversal from earlier centuries when *vos* was still the upper-class form and was occasionally used to respectfully address a social inferior (Kany 1994[1945]:59).

The use of *vos* toward and among the lower class led to the creation of another respectful form during the Golden Age: *vuestra merced*, over time shortened to *usted* (Moreno 2002:17). Gradually, *usted* came to replace the once-respectful *vos*, which assumed an intermediate position between *tú* and *usted*. By the 16th century, *vos* became the dominant form of address between friends and fellow soldiers as well as peasants; it was used to denote familiarity but not intimacy, whereas *tú* was used between intimate equals (Lapesa 1959:356). However, some middle class addressees felt they deserved the more important *vuestra merced* and were offended at being addressed with *vos*. While the social status of people firmly in the lower or upper classes was not subject to change based on the politeness shown to them, aspiring members of the middle class were highly desirous of being seen, and addressed, as persons of importance and honor. Therefore, the possibility of offending someone by

using *vos* led many to avoid it (Moreno 2002:17, 41), something that may have hastened its demise.

Not only did people not want to be addressed with *voseo*, but those who used it began to be increasingly stigmatized during the 16th and 17th centuries. Miguel de Cervantes, through Don Quixote, wrote critically of those who used *vos* with equals and acquaintances. Describing a soldier in the novel, he stated that [...] *con una no vista arrogancia, llamaba de vos a sus iguales y los mismos que le conocían* “[...] with unheard-of arrogance, he used to address his equals, and even those who knew him, in terms used for social inferiors [*vos*]” (Cervantes Saavedra 1977[1601]:51, translation by Applebaum 1999:227). According to León (1998), this means that the form was reserved for situations where the desired effect was to show not intimacy or solidarity, but rather superiority, anger, disdain, or intimidation (136). For example, Don Quixote at times addresses Sancho Panza, his squire, using *vos*: [...] *porque, de cualquier manera que yo me enoje con vos ha de ser mal para el cántaro* “[...] because, in whatever fashion I may get angry with you the stone will always break the earthen pot when they collide” (Cervantes Saavedra 1977[1601]:20, translation by Applebaum 1999:145). This use of *voseo* directed at one deemed inferior, especially when speaking in anger, carried into the 18th century (Pla Cárceles 1923:247, Páez Urdaneta 1981:55). However, by then the problematic connotations of *vos* had essentially caused it to fall into disuse in Spain (León 1998:130, Fontanella de Weinberg 1993:152), because the form had come to be seen as pejorative and implying “overfamiliarity” (Micheau 1991:80).

A final condition that worked against *vos* was a new form of address that had come into use in Spain, the plural informal *vosotros*, derived from *vos*: *vos* + *otros* ‘others’. While isolated cases of *vosotros* began to come to light as early as the 13th century, it was not until the 15th century that it became generalized (Paéz Urdaneta 1981:48-49). The verbal forms of *vos* and *vosotros* were either identical or so similar that they constituted a complex system subject to internal change through simplification (c.f. 2.3), especially because subject pronouns can often be omitted in Spanish: (*vos/vosotros*) *vivís* ‘(you [singular]/you [plural]) live.’ Furthermore, by the late 16th and early 17th century, *tú* and *vos* were being used nearly interchangeably in Spain (Micheau 1981:80), adding to the already unstable situation. This competition among forms is an example of internal pressures leading to language change. (Recall 2.3., which addresses pronoun reduction in English.) In some dialects of Spanish, with the demise of the pronoun *vos* through this leveling process, the *tú* paradigm became generalized as the familiar singular form of address, increasing its semantic value until it assumed the space once occupied by *vos* (Lapesa 1970b:150-151).

2.14. Voseo in America

In the 15th and 16th centuries, long before *vos* ceased to be used in Spain, the Peninsular system of address was exported to the New World. As discussed in 2.9, this migration and its relaxing of social networks established the ideal environment for the emergence of different Spanish *koinés*. In the vast territories of the Spanish colonies in America, *tuteo* and *voseo* both survived, and the competition between the two forms led to different outcomes. While it has been estimated that nearly 50 percent of Latin

Americans either use or have contact with *voseo* and that geographically it is spread over approximately two thirds of Latin America (Páez Urdaneta 1981:75), its presence can differ greatly from one region to another. In some regions there was a loss of *voseo* with the generalization of *tuteo*, while others underwent the loss of *tuteo* while *voseo* was generalized. In some areas, *voseo* and *tuteo* became mixed, while in others, small pockets of one form were retained in regions dominated by the other. Away from the normative influences of Spain, and of the strongly *tuteante* regions of America, *voseo* evolved differently in the various regions where it was adopted. This led to different resulting pronominal and verbal paradigms, in contrast to the relative uniformity of *tuteo* and *ustedeo* (cf. 2.9-2.11).

2.15. Loss of *voseo*

The loss of *voseo* or *tuteo*, as well as the mixture of paradigms, in regions that originally featured both variants, demonstrates the effects of *koineization* and subsequent leveling (cf. 2.9). These outcomes will be discussed both diachronically and synchronically in the following sections.

A combination of reasons caused *voseo* loss in a given area, including people's social and economic backgrounds, but geography was perhaps the most important factor, since this determined the degree of contact with Spain. With the increased arrival of Spaniards, the use of *tuteo* as the sole form of familiar address in Spain spread throughout the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru (Lapesa 1970a:519; Cisneros Estupiñán 1996:37, 1998:90). This linguistic situation continues today: *voseo* is only found in the southernmost of Mexico's 31 states, Chiapas (c.f. 2.18), and

Peruvian Spanish speakers in urban areas such as Lima never use *voseo*, and may even deny its existence in the country (Lipski 1994:323).

Tuteo also became the norm in the maritime traffic areas of the Caribbean in contact with the mother country, such as the island of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Panama, as well as South American coastal destinations in countries such as modern-day Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, and Ecuador (Micheau 1991:81). The economic dependence of these locations on the metropolis also meant cultural and even literary contact (Lapesa 1980:577). The use of *tuteo* over *voseo* was favored by the cultured class, who imitated the speech of the upper class in Spain in an attempt to ensure linguistic purity (Kany 1994[1945]:62).

2.16. Loss of *tuteo*

It has been noted that the nature of the pre-classical Spanish language that reached America early in the colonization period was “somewhat provincial and rustic” (Micheau 1991:81) and therefore appears to have favored *voseo* as the familiar form. As a result, in areas that had little or no contact with Spain this form of address became set. *Tuteo* was lost and *voseo* retained in areas that during the 16th and 17th centuries were under less direct contact with Spain, such as rural areas in southern Mexico, Peru, and Central America (81-82), as well as many out-of-the-way and mountainous areas in general (Pierris 1977:243). This tendency for *voseo* to thrive in isolated areas continues today: the norm in the countries and regions of Latin America is that if *voseo* is a common urban phenomenon it will also be a rural one, whereas it can be rural and not urban (Siracusa 1972:384, Páez Urdaneta 1981:151).

Perhaps the most salient case of nearly universal *tuteo* loss is Argentina, where it has been marginalized almost completely by *voseo* over the last century due to changing external forces. The capital, Buenos Aires, manifested a *voseo/tuteo* coexistence from its very founding (Fontanella de Weinberg 1971). While the creation of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate in 1778 may have led to increased contact with Spain and thus to more *tuteo* usage, these new ties were short-lived, as Argentina gained its independence in 1810 (Sonneland 2001:4). Moreover, in the mid-1800s, Argentine presidents Rosas and Sarmiento sought cultural and linguistic distance from Spanish influence (Benavides 2003:619, Sonneland 2001:5). These efforts notwithstanding, *tuteo* use continued into the 20th century, though by then *voseo* was used more frequently (Moyna and Ceballos 2008:83). It is likely that the eventual dominance of *voseo* over *tuteo* in Argentina was aided by the millions of immigrants who arrived in the River Plate region in the 19th and 20th century, many from Italy and other parts of Europe (Benavides 2003:619). These immigrants encountered and in turn used *voseo*, causing it to prosper, without even realizing in most cases that it was in conflict with *tuteo* in other parts of Latin America where *vos* was now considered a vulgar form (Páez Urdaneta 1981:103). The leveling of *tuteo* in favor of *voseo* is now so complete that the latter is the accepted norm throughout the entire country, in all social classes, in rural areas as well as urban centers. There is no ambiguity in Argentines' use of this prestige form, not even as regards gender. *Voseo* is taught in the schools, where it is used freely in the classroom, and is even found in textbooks directed at children, as well as in Argentine television, radio, movie dubbing, government communications, and other public domains (Fontanella de Weinberg

1992b:68). In 1982, even the Academia Argentina de Letras, which had long resisted *voseo*, finally yielded to reality and formally recognized the legitimate use of this form of address (Sonneland 2001:4-5).

Similar to the case of Argentina is Nicaragua, with the difference that there is a lack of definitive historical data in the latter country. After the Spanish settled Central America, *tuteo* and *voseo* were in competition in this region; indeed, even today most Central American countries still feature both forms while favoring *voseo*. In Nicaragua, however, the pronoun *vos* and its corresponding verbal endings are the exclusive form of familiar address regardless of socioeconomic level or any other variable. Nicaraguans even use *vos* with casual acquaintances, giving them a reputation as *confianzudos* “overly familiar” (Lipski 1994:292). This pervasiveness of *voseo* is reflected in Nicaraguan official documents, and Lipski (1997) reports having personally received a stamp in his passport that says *Nicaragua espera por vos* ‘Nicaragua awaits you’ (73).

Geography was not the only determiner of *tuteo* loss and *voseo* maintenance. Social class appears to have also played a role. In this regard, it is important to note that the upper class that developed in Latin America was significantly different from its Peninsular counterpart. Rather than being limited to the landed gentry and other small groups of privileged individuals, the ruling class in some areas in America came to be comprised of more common folk, such as soldiers and perhaps even former criminals (Micheau 1991:82). Lipski (1994) states that both the upper and the lower classes were significantly underrepresented and that most settlers were middle class tradesmen and former small landowners (40). These individuals formed a new upper class, and if they

were *vos* users, their speech could have eventually influenced former *tuteo* speakers in the lower classes until *voseo* became the dominant form of address (Micheau 1991:84). In other words, even if *vos* was on its way to extinction in Spain, the social promotion of *voseo* speakers arriving in the New World guaranteed its survival (León 1998:134).

2.17. Voseo/tuteo mixing

The familiar pronoun *vos* and the intimate form *tú* were not originally interchangeable when they first arrived in America in the 15th and 16th centuries, but this soon changed as they came to have the same basic informal connotation (Micheau 1991:80). In areas where both pronouns continued to coexist, their use with either the *tuteo* or *voseo* verb ending became widespread, a situation that continues today and which is perhaps most prevalent throughout the Andean countries (Lapesa 1970a:522). The most common hybrid form in this region is that of the pronoun *vos*, with the verbal form corresponding to *tú*: *vos quieres* ‘you want.’ This is the case, for example, in parts of Peru outside of Lima (Kany 1994[1945]:100), as well as in Ecuador and Bolivia (Lapesa 1970a:522). In Colombia the mixing is freer, with either pronoun being joined to either set of verb endings (Lipski 1994:214).

Hybrid forms also exist in the Southern Cone. This is the case in Uruguayan Spanish, which features pronominal *tuteo* + verbal *voseo* (Bertolotti and Coll 2001:8-9) but not pronominal *voseo* + verbal *tuteo* (Elizaincín & Behares 1981:419). This may very well be due to the fact that the pronoun *tú* is taught in Uruguayan schools and is seen as the prestige form, whereas verbal *voseo* remains entrenched (Lipski 1994:341). This same situation of pronominal *tuteo* mixed with verbal *voseo* endings exists among

some educated speakers in Paraguay (Lipski 1994:310). As noted in 2.15, the use of *voseo* in Chile has gone from once being common, to declining in use, to resurging in recent years. However, the pronoun *vos* in Chile is still widely stigmatized (Stevenson 2007:3), something that leads to hybrid combinations of pronominal *tuteo* and verbal *voseo*, such as *tú tenís* ‘you have’ (Lipski 1994:202).

Although *voseo*, both pronominal and verbal, is the rule throughout Central America (Lipski 1994:224), some *voseo/tuteo* mixing is also found in most of the countries. In Costa Rica, mixing can take the form of either pronoun being joined to either set of verb endings (Chart 1943:22, Lipski 1994:224). It is possible to use both *tuteo* and *voseo* verb forms in the same sentence, such as in *Mira* [tuteo], *no hagás* [voseo] *eso* ‘Look, don’t do that’ (Kany 1994[1945]:111). In Guatemala, educated speakers at times use the hybrid pronominal *voseo* + verbal *tuteo* form often seen in Bolivia and Ecuador, such as in *vos comes* ‘you eat’ (Páez Urdaneta 1981:79). This mixing is perhaps the results of some instability in address forms related to the fact that in Guatemala there exists a tri-level *vos-tú-usted* pronoun system (Pinkerton 1986:694). This is also the case in Honduras, which exhibits not only all three forms of singular address, but at times the mixing of the two familiar pronouns in the same utterance: *Tú lo sabías, ¿no lo sabías vos?* ‘You knew it, didn’t you know it?’ (Kany (1994[1945]:114).

Finally, in El Salvador there exists the same hybrid pronominal *voseo* + verbal *tuteo* form as in Guatemala: *vos eres* (Kany 1994[1945]:114). The *vos-tú-usted* system present in Honduras and Guatemala also exists in El Salvador, with the same

implications of intimacy, familiarity, and formality. However, this tripartite system is not common to all Salvadorans, occurring mostly among educated urban speakers (Lipski 1994:259, 2000b:66).

2.18. Pockets of *voseo* and *tuteo*

In some regions of predominant *voseo* or *tuteo*, it is possible to find dialectal pockets of the opposite form. Beginning with *voseo*, this form of address can be found in Mexico's southernmost state of Chiapas (1994[1945]:117, Rona 1967:78, Páez Urdaneta 1981:76), where it assumes verb ending like those used in River Plate *voseo* (Lipski 1994:283). This exception to dominant Mexican *tuteo* is explained by Chiapas' historical links to the Captaincy General of Guatemala, which encompassed what is now a largely *voseante* Central American region.

In Panama, a largely *tuteante* country, there are pockets of *voseo*, despite the fact that it is strongly stigmatized as a "rustic" form (Lipski 1994:300) and is prescriptively corrected in the nation's schools (Quilis & Stanziola 1989:176). The *voseante* regions of Panama are clearly confined to rural areas west of Panama City. However, one finds certain discrepancies when trying to pinpoint the precise locations where this form is most used. Some researchers have identified *voseo* use in the central provinces but not in the far west (Kany 1994[1945]:109, Quilis & Stanziola 1989:176). In contrast, others either ascribe *voseo* only to rural western Panama, near Costa Rica (Rona 1967:68, Micheau 1991:85, Lipski 1994:300) or note its usage in both western and central provinces (Páez Urdaneta 1981:83).

In Peru, *tuteo* is the dominant form of address. However, a consistent *voseante* isogloss has been the area in and around the southern city of Arequipa (Chart 1943:21, Kany 1994[1945]:100, Rona 1967:66, Páez Urdaneta 1981:98, Micheau 1991:85, Lipski 1994:323, León 1998:134). In contrast, the *voseo* once found on the northern coast of Peru disappeared sometime in the last half century or so, perhaps due to an increase in media such as radio and television, along with greater access to education and literature, all phenomena originating in Lima (Arrizabalaga 2001:273). *Voseo* in the north claimed by others (Micheau 1991:85) is vestigial and restricted to the inland mountains among isolated indigenous groups (Arrizabalaga 2001:273).

Cuba is another country where *tuteo* became dominant but in which vestigial *voseo* remained, at least until recently. Writing early in the 20th century, Henríquez Ureña (1921) noted *voseo* use among *campesinos* in the eastern province of Camagüey. Even though only vestiges remained of this form of address, at one time its use had been much more common, though never a general linguistic feature on the island (390). A generation later, Kany (1994[1945]) also noted *voseo* usage in Camagüey, stating that it had never been heard outside of this very limited region (120). He also explained that one of the peculiar traits of this *voseo* was the use of etymological plural forms for inflectional and possessive pronouns: *os* and *vuestro* instead of the more customary *te* and *tu/tuyo* taken from *tuteo* (121). By 1994, however, Lipski could report that *voseo* use in Cuba was a thing of years past and that its disappearance marked the end of what “was the last vestige of *voseo* in the Antilles” (233).

Uruguay is a largely *voseante* country. However, outside of Montevideo there are isolated areas of nearly exclusive *tuteo*, such as in the northeastern department of Tacuarembó and the southeastern department of Rocha (Rona 1967:10, Navarro Gala 2000:557).

In the case of Chile, at the end of the 19th century *voseo* had come to be widespread, but then saw a sharp decline in its social desirability and subsequent use until *tuteo* became the dominant form (Lipski 1994:201), a shift perhaps motivated by pressure from above (cf. 2.7). It appears that this process may have begun to reverse itself once again. More than 35 years ago, Morales (1972-73) noted what he called a “slow but steady resurgence of *voseo*” (273), a trend witnessed more recently by others, such as Torrejón (1991:1075). Youth in the educated classes continue to use the pronoun *tú* but have begun to show a marked preference for verbal *voseo* over verbal *tuteo*. Lipski (1994) has likewise remarked on a shift toward *voseo* in Chile, noting that some verbal *voseo* forms heard mostly among the lower class in years past are beginning to appear in the speech of the middle class, especially among the young (202). This continuing trend is supported most recently by the research of Stevenson (2007:224).

2.19. Sociolinguistic variables of *voseo*

Whereas the discussion of *voseo* and *tuteo* in the previous sections has dealt with its geographic distribution, the following sections consider *voseo* use based on the sociolinguistic variables of class, gender, and age. Special focus will be placed on how El Salvador compares with other countries with regard to the sociolinguistics of *voseo* use.

2.20. *Voseo* and class

In some speech communities, *voseo* is not distributed uniformly among social classes. There are some general trends the distribution of this form. For instance, *voseo* is never heard significantly among the upper classes without being heard in the lower ones, though the opposite case can exist, where *voseo* is a lower-class form rejected by the upper classes (Páez Urdaneta 1981:151). This indicates that strongly *voseante* dialects have reached such a stage due to change from below, systematic change initiated at the vernacular level by the lower classes which then becomes general throughout the entire language community. In fact, one way to consider regional distribution of forms of address is to contrast areas where *voseo* is the norm among the lower classes but viewed negatively by others, and regions in which the upper class uses *tuteo* but other speakers find *tuteo* alien and instead use *voseo*.

Voseo exists as a lower-class phenomenon in many South American countries. In northern Peru, for instance, *voseo* is always limited to the lowest sociolinguistic levels (Arrizabalaga 2001:273, Lipski 1994:323). Similarly, in Ecuador *voseo* usage is common in the central and northern mountain regions, both in the countryside and the cities, including the capital, Quito, but this is particularly the case among the lower classes (Rona 1967:68). In Guayaquil, Ecuador's largest city, *voseo* is deeply rooted among the lower classes and shows few signs of receding, but for upper class speakers certain linguistic stigma it attached to this form (Lipski 1994:249-250). In Chile, *voseo* in general is also still widely considered mostly a lower class form (Pinkerton 1991:1071). Areas of Colombia such as the Pacific coast and the cities of Bogotá and

Cali, the use of *voseo* is often determined by class (Lipski 1994:214). Among the lower classes people use *voseo* not only with friends and family, but with peers of the same age, and it is not considered improper. However, many in the upper classes view *voseo* as improper Spanish indicative of a poor education (Simpson 2002:29).

Let us now turn to those varieties in which *tuteo* is the form deemed to be inappropriate. In Colombia, for example, the use of *tuteo* is at times judged negatively, as working class speakers often view this form as inappropriate, even “pedantic” (Simpson 2002:29). In Uruguay and Paraguay, *tuteo* is sometimes used by more educated speakers but viewed less favorably by the lower classes (Lipski 1994:310, 341). Throughout all of El Salvador, *voseo* is also the accepted norm, and the use of *tuteo* can even be viewed negatively, as a sign of ostentation (Micheau 1991:85). Nevertheless, some highly educated members of the upper class in the capital, San Salvador, use *tuteo* and avoid *voseo* (Kany 1994[1945]:114; Micheau 1991:85; Lipski 1994:259; C. A. Saz, personal communication, September 2, 2008). In general, however, Salvadorans do not view *voseo* as an incorrect form or as a sign that someone is uneducated or poor (Quintanilla Aguilar 2009:372). In fact, while *tuteo* is the second person familiar form taught in the schools (Lipski 1994:141), many Salvadorans would support the teaching of *voseo* also (Quintanilla Aguilar 2009:372).

2.21. *Voseo* and gender

The gender of speakers can be a determining factor in the form of address used (cf. 2.8). For instance, while verbal *voseo* is fairly common among lower classes and growing

more common in all classes, the pronoun *vos* in Chile is used by men at a much higher rate than women (Stevenson 2007:135).

Studies of *voseo* in the River Plate region allow us to look at this phenomenon both historically and at present. Moyna and Ceballos (2008), studying Uruguayan and Argentine Spanish through plays in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, determine that while *voseo* was the norm in the speech for both genders, it was slightly higher for men than women overall, 71.6 to 67.2 percent. Older women were the most *tuteante* of all the groups (73-74). However, heavier *voseo* use among men does not appear to always be the case. Considering again Argentina in modern times, *voseo* has since become so dominant among all the country's speakers that a study of 70 well-educated speakers from Buenos Aires found that the use of this form of address is not only nearly universal, but that there is basically no difference in its prevalence based on gender. For instance, the rates of *voseo* use in present indicative situations was 99.5 percent for men and 98.2 for women (Siracusa 1972:391-392).

While the previous examples focus on speakers, the gender of one's interlocutor can also be an important factor in forms of address. As mentioned in the last section, *tuteo* is often used in romantic relationships or as a way of flirting in many parts of Colombia, even among classes that widely accept *voseo* (Simpson 2002:29). This is one reason that many Colombian men do not use *tú* with other men, for fear of being viewed as homosexual (30). This same situation exists in Guatemala and in Costa Rica, where *tuteo* use among native-born male speakers can be an indication of effeminacy (Pinkerton 1986:691, Villegas 1963:613). In Guatemala, since *tuteo* is seen as the more

polite of the two forms, and since men are expected to be more polite with women than they are with other men, they are expected to use this form when addressing women, and women tend to also use *tuteo* with men (694). Women generally favor *tuteo* both among themselves and with men, since in using *voseo* they run the risk of being labeled “unfeminine” (692).

In El Salvador, *voseo* is the norm among and between genders. And, unlike Colombia, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, when there is *tuteo* use among men it does not tend to have homosexual connotations (Baumel-Schreffler 1994:114, Quintanilla Aguilar 2009:365, 372).

2.22. *Voseo* and age

Two of the same studies cited with regard to *voseo* and gender in the previous section also provide insight on *voseo* and age. Moyna & Ceballos (2008) show that while *voseo* was the norm among all characters in plays performed in River Plate Spanish, younger speakers used it more than the older contingent (73). Siracusa (1972) also found that in the present indicative, there was an inverse correlation between age and *voseo* use. The youngest group, aged 25-35, used this form of address 99.86 percent of the time. Those aged 35-54 underwent a slight decrease to 98.96 percent. Finally, those 55 and older used *voseo* at the lowest rate, a still very high 92.92 percent (390).

Age is also discussed in the literature on *voseo* in terms of its use between generations, with a focus on the speaker-listener dyad. For example, in Argentina *voseo* use tends to be reciprocal between parents and children, and even grandparents and grandchildren (Chart 1943:20, Páez Urdaneta 1981:105). An exception might be a

parent's use of *usted* with a child as a form of endearment (Castro 2000:68) or, on the opposite end of the emotional spectrum, to express anger or rebuke (63). Reciprocity within families in the use of *voseo* has also been reported in Uruguay (Chart 1943:20). Regarding Paraguay, it has been reported that in the past parents used the informal *voseo* with their children while receiving the formal *usted* in response (Chart 1943:20). But this is contradicted by more recent evidence, which shows that the norm between children and parents in Paraguay is indeed a "reciprocal *vos*" (Páez Urdaneta 1981:107). Parents and children use *voseo* reciprocally in Nicaragua (Ortiz 2000:54) and El Salvador (Kany 1994[1945]:114). This also tends to be the case in indigenous families in Guatemala, whereas the basic rule for non-indigenous families is for parents to use non-reciprocal *voseo* with their children, expecting *usted* in return (Páez Urdaneta 1981:79).

Venezuela and Costa Rica present a unique and curious case in that both favor *ustedeo* instead of *voseo* among family members. Let us consider, for instance, the *voseante* area in western Venezuela, which includes the Andean states from the border with Colombia to near the Caribbean coast (Kany 1994[1945]:107, Rona 1967:80, 104, Páez Urdaneta 1981:91, 94, Lipski 1994:351). In this region *tuteo* is not widely utilized and speakers reserve the use of *voseo* for social inferiors and the children of others. The remaining single form of second person address, *ustedeo*, is the rule for speaking with close friends and family members. *Ustedeo* is also often used in Costa Rica among friends and family (Lipski 1994:224, 351).

2.23. Salvadoran *voseo* in contact with other dialects in the United States

Central America, including El Salvador, has been cited as the least studied of all the Spanish language dialect zones (Lipski 2008:143), and studies on Salvadoran speech in the United States, including Salvadoran *voseo* in contact with other dialects in the United States, are also scarce. Lipski (1988, 2000, 2008) touches on this issue briefly regarding Central Americans in contact with Mexicans in places such as Houston. Baumel-Schreffler (1994) and Hernández (2002) delve into the topic more specifically with studies on contact between speakers of Salvadoran Spanish and Mexican Spanish, also in Houston. All of these authors address this dialect contact in the context of accommodation (cf. 2.10).

Lipski notes significant contact between Salvadorans and Mexicans in Houston (1988:99) and states that while there are many illegal laborers in the United States from both Mexico and other countries like El Salvador, Salvadorans and other Central Americans are more likely to attract the attention of US immigration officials than Mexican workers (2000:196, 2008:160). As a result, Salvadorans often successfully attempt to blend in with Mexicans in hopes of going unnoticed. The most common strategy employed by Salvadorans to conceal their origins is the avoidance of the most conspicuous aspects of Salvadoran Spanish: *voseo* and certain obvious regional words and expressions. However, the opposite may occur, as some Salvadorans may consciously and aggressively maintain *voseo* as a symbol of their cultural identity and individuality (Lipski 2008:160). In other words, different speakers with different motivations may either engage in “convergence” or “divergence” (Giles 1973:90-93).

Lipski (2000) has also noted that even if Salvadorans do accommodate from *voseo* to *tuteo*, few of them are able, or even attempt, to change other features of their speech such as accent (197). And Mexicans in general have no compelling reason to accommodate to any feature of Salvadoran speech, including *voseo*. In fact, while most if not all Salvadorans already recognize *tuteo* before leaving their home country, Mexicans are often exposed to *voseo* for the first time upon encountering Central Americans in the United States and are likely to find it amusing, strange, or even offensive (Lipski 1989:105, 2008:145).

Baumel-Schreffler (1994) considers *voseo* to *tuteo* accommodation focusing on 50 Salvadorans living in the Houston area. Comparing her findings against those of previous literature on *voseo* in El Salvador (Canfield 1960, Páez Urdaneta 1981), she concludes that Salvadorans in Houston use *voseo* less and *tuteo* more, especially outside the family context, something she attributes to contact with Mexicans. She then extrapolates these findings to other areas outside of Houston:

Thus, it may be concluded that although El Salvador is still considered a country of nationwide *voseo*, the individuals who travel outside their native land and have contact with populations of *tuteo* users tend to employ *tú* with greater frequency than *vos* (116).

Given that Baumel-Schreffler links *tuteo* use among this population in large measure to the influence of Mexican Spanish, one would expect the degree of any *voseo* to *tuteo* shift among Salvadorans to vary from one place to another based on the density of the Salvadoran population relative to other groups.

Hernández (2002) states that when they come into close contact with Mexicans in the United States, Salvadorans may feel compelled to change certain features of their

speech, such as *voseo*, due to a realization that Mexicans might stigmatize them. He states that Mexicans may attempt to imitate the use of *voseo* and mock it (100), something confirmed by other linguists (Bauckus 2008). Hernández compares the speech of 13 Salvadorans in Houston with that of two compatriots back in El Salvador. Hernández, who is Mexican, conducted the interviews in both countries, and while the informants in El Salvador maintained their use of *voseo* for the most part when speaking with him, their counterparts in Houston used *tuteo* almost categorically (Hernández 2002:108). This he attributes to the frequent contact between Salvadorans and Mexicans.

It must be noted that both Baumel-Schreffler and Hernández's studies deal with pronominal forms only and do not account for verbal forms. This can be problematic in at least two ways when it comes to judging the true extent of *voseo* use. First, Spanish, unlike English, is a language that allows pronoun dropping. Therefore, a study only accounting for pronouns is prone to missing cases of *voseo* in usages such as *Miguel, Ø tenés que ayudarme* 'Miguel, you have to help me. Or, a speaker may display a mixed form of pronominal *tuteo* + verbal *voseo*, as seen in places such as Chile (cf. 2.17). In the sentence *Tú no entendés lo que pasa* 'You don't understand what's going on,' a focus solely on the pronoun *tú* would overlook the *voseo* conjugation of the verb.

2.24. Voseo paradigms

The following sections address the main paradigmatic outcomes of *voseo/tuteo* competition in America (Tables 2.1-2.8), starting with the pronominal paradigms. *Ustedeo* is included in these tables, in part for a comparison between the familiar and

formal modes of address, but mostly due to the tripartite system of intimacy-familiarity-formality (*voseo-tuteo-ustedeo*) which exists in certain countries. The *tuteo* and *voseo* verbal paradigms are then given, exemplifying the three regular conjugation classes.

2.25. Pronoun paradigms

Table 2.1 shows the second person singular subject, inflectional, and possessive pronouns used in Spain and in non-*voseante* Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and most of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile (Micheau 1991: 85; Fontanella de Weinberg 1977:232-234, 1999:1402-1403).

Table 2.1. Singular subject, inflectional, and possessive pronouns in non-*voseante* regions.

Mode of address	Subject	Object	Reflexive	Prepositional	Possessive
Familiarity	tú	te	te	ti/contigo	tu/s ~ tuyo/a/os/as
Formality	usted	lo/la/le	se	usted	su/s ~ suyo/a/os/as

Table 2.2 displays the pronouns used in the River Plate region (including Argentina and large parts of Uruguay), in much of Paraguay and Central America, and in parts of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile (Micheau 1991: 85, Fontanella de Weinberg Fontanella de Weinberg 1977:232-234, 1999:1404). This is a mixed paradigm since not all of the forms are etymologically second person plural.

Table 2.2. Singular subject, inflectional, and possessive pronouns in *voseante* regions.

Mode of address	Subject	Object	Reflexive	Prepositional	Possessive
Familiarity	vos	te	te	vos	tu/s ~ tuyo/a/os/as
Formality	usted	lo/la/le	se	usted	su/s ~ suyo/a/os/as

As discussed earlier in 2.17, in parts of Uruguay (Fontanella de Weinberg 1999:1404), Guatemala (Pinkerton 1986:694), Honduras (Castro 2000:26), and El Salvador (Lipski 1994:259, 2000b:66) there is a three-level system in which, for many speakers, *voseo* and *tuteo* combine with *usted* in a continuum that, depending on degrees of closeness between interlocutors, begins with formality (*usted*), moves to trust or familiarity (*tú*), and culminates in intimacy (*vos*). Table 2.3 contains the pronouns for this system.

Table 2.3. Tripartite system of singular subject, inflectional, and possessive pronouns in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.

Mode of address	Subject	Object	Reflexive	Prepositional	Possessive
Intimacy	vos	te	te	vos	tu/s ~ tuyo/a/os/as
Familiarity	tú			ti/contigo	
Formality	usted	lo/la/le	se	usted	su/s ~ suyo/a/os/as

2.26. Verb paradigms

Table 2.4 contains the *tuteo* verb forms used throughout the Spanish-speaking world, including the non-*voseante* regions of Latin America (Pinkerton 1991:1069, Fontanella de Weinberg 1999:1409).

Table 2.4. *Tuteo* verb forms.

	Conjugation classes		
Tense/mood	hablar	comer	vivir
Present indicative	hablas	comes	vives
Future	hablarás	comerás	vivirás
Imperative	habla	come	vive
Present subjunctive	hables	comas	vivas
Present perfect	has hablado	has comido	has vivido

Since *voseo* verb forms are less stable and homogeneous than their *tuteo* counterparts, they are broken down here into four separate subparadigms, in Tables 2.5-2.8, identified by the main region where they are used: River Plate, Chilean, Andean, and Central American. Note that the preterite and the imperfect forms have been left out of this and subsequent tables because there is no variability in the *voseo* paradigms and no difference between them and the *tuteo* forms.

Table 2.5 contains the verb forms most widely seen in the River Plate countries of Argentina and Uruguay, and to a large extent neighboring Paraguay (Páez Urdaneta 1981:107, Fontanella de Weinberg 1999:1409-1410). Unlike the case with *tuteo*, which only has one subjunctive form, with the stress on the penultimate syllable (*hables*), River Plate *voseo* has two different forms. The first assumes the *tuteo* form (*hables*) and can be used in any context. The other, *voseante* in form with an accented final syllable, is reserved for the negative imperative (*¡No hablés!*) (Fontanella de Weinberg 1979b:77).

Table 2.5. River Plate *voseo* verb forms.

	Conjugation classes		
Tense/mood	hablar	comer	vivir
Present indicative	hablás	comés	vivís
Future	hablarás	comerás	vivirás
Imperative	hablá	comé	viví
Negative imperative (subjunctive)	(no) hablés	(no) comás	(no) vivás
Present subjunctive	hables	comas	vivas
Present perfect	has hablado	has comido	has vivido

Chilean *voseo* forms (Table 2.6) differ from those in the rest of the Southern Cone (Kany 1994[1945]). For instance, present indicative first conjugations are diphthongized (Lipski 1994:201) and second and third conjugations both end in *–ís* (Rona 1967:78, Torrejón 1991:1069). Imperative conjugations are normally *tuteante*, with possible exceptions in “quasi-fixed” forms such as *mirá* ‘look’ or *vení* ‘come’ (Lipski 1994:202).

Table 2.6. Chilean *voseo* verb forms.

	Conjugation classes		
Tense/mood	hablar	comer	vivir
Present indicative	habláí(s)	comís	vivís
Future	hablarís	comerís	vivirís
Imperative	habla	come	vive
Present subjunctive	hablís	comái(s)	vivái(s)
Present perfect	has/habís hablado	has/habís comido	has/habís vivido

Table 2.7 shows the main forms used by *voseo* speakers in the Andean countries of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama. Andean *voseo* resembles the River Plate variety (Kany 1994[1945]:104, 107), but there can also be considerable differences (Lipski 1994:190, 249-250, 300; Páez Urdaneta 1981:83, 91; Rona 1967:78-79, 102; Kany 1994[1945]:104, 107). For example, the present indicative, the future, and the present perfect may be rendered as in Argentina, or they may assume forms seen in other places such as Chile (*habláis*, *hablarís*, *habís*).

Table 2.7. Andean *voseo* verb forms (Panama also included).

	Conjugation classes		
Tense/mood	hablar	comer	vivir
Present indicative	hablás/habláis	comés/coméis/ comís	vivís
Future	hablarás/hablarés/ hablarís	comerás/comerés/ comerís	vivirás/vivirés/ vivirís
Imperative	hablá	comé	viví
Present subjunctive	hables/hablés	comas/comás	vivas/vivás
Present perfect	has/habís/habéis hablado	has/habís/habéis comido	has/habís/habéis vivido

Table 2.8 contains the *voseo* verb forms for the most of Central America, including Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Many of these forms follow the pattern of River Plate *voseo*, though exceptions include the future tense and the present perfect. Regarding the future, all the countries display both the *–ás* ending and, less commonly, *–és* (Páez Urdaneta 1981:79-81). In the case of the present perfect, all countries also feature *has*, along with at least one variant. *Habís* is seen in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador (Kany 1994[1945]:110-116), and *habés* can be found in Costa Rica (Rona 1967:104) and Honduras (Páez Urdaneta 1981:80). Studies regarding Central American subjunctive are scarce, but research done by Ortiz (2000) and Hernández (2007) indicates that there is a distinction between the present subjunctive and the negative imperative. However, unlike River Plate Spanish, *tuteo* is the common form to express the negative imperative subjunctive (Hernández 2007:713), while *voseo* forms, with the accent on the final syllable, are the norm for the present subjunctive (Ortiz 2000:85). While the subjunctive forms in Table 2.8 express

this dichotomy, both studies make clear that there is considerable flexibility in which form is used, and this may also be the case in the other Central American countries.

Table 2.8. Central American *voseo* verb forms (Panama not included).

	Conjugation classes		
Tense/mood	hablar	comer	vivir
Present indicative	hablás	comés	vivís
Future	hablarás/hablarés	comerás/comerés	vivirás/vivirés
Imperative	hablá	comé	viví
Negative imperative (subjunctive)	(no) hables/ hablés	(no) comas/ comás	(no) vivas/ vivás
Present subjunctive	hables/hablés	comas/comás	vivas/vivás
Present perfect	has/habís/ habés hablado	has/habís/ habés comido	has/habís/ habés vivido

2.27. Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the theoretical underpinnings of language variation and change, both in general and with regard to specific examples. It has considered some of the causes of this change, including relevant social factors. It has addressed language change as a result of dialect contact, including the formation of *koinés* and the process of accommodation. It has provided examples of these types of language change, taken from English and from Spanish, and these notions have been linked to the Salvadoran dialect and *voseo* in particular. While accommodation from *voseo* to *tuteo* may not fit the description of a *koiné* in all aspects, it does fit into a model where the changes currently underway have every potential of passing from a short-term to long-term, and

even permanent, accommodation. Much as with Zentella's study on New Yorker Spanish (cf. 2.10), this study measures change in progress, as the participants in both Washington, D.C., and Houston, almost without exception, are first-generation newcomers to the United States who have only started to pass on their language to subsequent generations. The discussion of variables in language contact and change such as class, gender, and age will aid in determining how these factors influence the choice of address forms of the Salvadorans in this study.

The following chapter contains the methodology used to gather the data in Washington, D.C., and Houston to test the hypothesis of *voseo* to *tuteo* accommodation. It explains how the sample sizes were determined and how the participants were selected, as well as providing demographic information on the study subjects themselves. It offers a discussion of the three protocols used in the study and an explanation of the statistical methodology used to analyze the resulting data.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Chapter overview

The present chapter discusses the methodology used to gather the necessary data in Washington, D.C., and Houston. It includes a description of the three protocols. Briefly, Protocol 1 is a questionnaire containing queries both on respondents' demographic information and on their use of second person singular forms of address. Protocol 2 draws on a smaller group of Protocol 1 participants to carry out verbal activities in matched pairs. The participants in Protocol 3, mostly married couples, were in turn selected from those of the second protocol, in order to be observed in spontaneous speech in their homes. There is also a discussion of the tools used for the statistical analysis of the data results provided in Chapters IV and V. Finally, the chapter explains how the sample sizes were determined and how the participants were recruited, providing a detailed breakdown of the demographic composition of the Salvadoran populations from whom these data were collected.

3.2. Methodology of Protocol 1

The methodology for data-gathering in the present study consists of three protocols (cf. Appendix A), whose purpose is to gather data from a representative sampling of Salvadorans in the two cities in question in order to compare the effects of geographic location on their language use. Protocol 1 is an 11-page questionnaire and is the study's largest source of data. As this section aims to discuss both the content of this protocol

and the methods used to tabulate the resulting data, a brief overview of the questionnaire is given first, followed by a more in-depth discussion of specific questions.

The questionnaire begins by asking respondents' basic demographic information, including gender, age, marital status, education, self-assessed language skills, employment, birthplace, age upon arrival in the United States, and years since arrival (questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7a., and 7b.). This information has been used to compare the make-up of the Protocol 1 respondents in each city, and to consider the dependent variable of *voseo* and *tuteo* claiming against these independent variables. The remainder of the questionnaire asks respondents to claim specific forms of address, with the exception of one open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire on respondents' reasons for using *voseo* and/or *tuteo*. Form of address is manifested in different guises depending on the question. Some of the questions contain only pronominal forms, while others deal exclusively with verbal forms, and still others feature both forms together. Each of these three categories of question will be discussed in this order, as well as the reason for their placement in the questionnaire.

Questions 8-16 feature only pronouns and allow respondents to select not only *vos* or *tú* but also *usted*. To give an example of how these questions are posed, question 13 is reproduced here:

**Cuando hablo español con amigos
de otros países de mi edad o
menos, les trato de:**

Usted ____

Vos ____

Tú ____

As with all other questions, the responses of the few who chose both *voseo* and *tuteo* were not tabulated. However, if a respondent chose both *voseo* and *usted*, or *tuteo* and *usted*, these responses were counted, though only the familiar form was tabulated. None of the remaining questions offer any *ustedeo* forms as options.

Questions 18 and 21 feature only *voseo* and *tuteo* verb forms (five of each). They are identically worded, with the difference that question 18 directs respondents to imagine they are speaking with a Salvadoran child with whom they are well acquainted, while question 20 asks them to imagine a Mexican child who they know well. For this reason, these questions were not placed together but in different parts of the questionnaire. This was done in an attempt to ensure that respondents would not simply answer the same way due to the similarity of the questions, but rather focus on the nationality of the hypothetical interlocutor. The following is an example of one of the questions:

¿Qué (tienes/tenés) en la mochila?

Question 19 is comprised of 15 different choices between *voseo* and *tuteo* subjunctive forms. As with questions 18 and 20, only verb forms are featured. Ten of these forms are contained in subordinate clauses, are triggered by a preceding verb or conjunction, while the other five are negative imperative forms. To ensure an overt difference between the *voseo* and the *tuteo* forms, verbs are used that undergo a stem change in the latter but not the former. The following two questions are examples of each type:

Juan debería de estar estudiando, pero sólo quiere jugar.

Juan, quiero que...

- a. ...empecés a estudiar.** _____
- b. ...empieces a estudiar.** _____

Juan acaba de contar un chiste que contiene malas palabras.

Juan, ¿no...

- a. ...cuentes ese chiste!** _____
- b. ...contés ese chiste!** _____

Questions 17 and 21 are identical with the exception of a Mexican friend as interlocutor in one and a Salvadoran friend in the other. These questions are separated to prevent one from influencing the other. Both questions contain 14 options, 12 regarding the indicative and two the imperative. The 12 indicative options are divided among three phrases four possible renderings for each phrase: pronominal and verbal *voseo*; pronominal and verbal *tuteo*; pronominal *voseo* and verbal *tuteo*; or pronominal *tuteo* and verbal *voseo*. The other two *voseo/tuteo* options only involve imperative verb forms. If a participant selected more than one option in each case, the response was not counted. Both types of questions can be seen in the following examples:

Al hablar con un amigo salvadoreño de su misma edad o menos, ¿cuál es la frase que le parece más normal?

- 1. Vos nunca pensás.** _____
- 2. Vos nunca piensas.** _____
- 3. Tú nunca pensás.** _____
- 4. Tú nunca piensas.** _____

- 1. Vení acá.** _____
- 2. Ven acá.** _____

3.3. Methodology of Protocol 2

The second protocol investigated language use. There are four main activities in Protocol 2 aimed at eliciting spontaneous speech. In the first, participants were told to study each other's clothing and then, moving their chairs so as to be seated back-to-back, they were instructed to take turns telling one another what they were wearing. This led to second person singular address and revealed participants' preferred form for that interlocutor.

The second activity was aimed at eliciting direct questions between the partners by providing them with a general list of things about which to query one another, including short-, medium-, and long-term plans in a variety of areas.

The third activity aimed at eliciting second person address, but this time in the imperative. One partner in each pair was given a simple diagram and was instructed to tell the other, who could not see it, how to draw and color it. When they finished with the first diagram, they switched roles and did the same with a different diagram. The participants were told, and reminded if necessary, that their instructions should take the form of commands.

The fourth activity is the only one that did not seek for participants to produce forms of second person singular address, but rather asked their opinion and experience regarding *voseo* use as well as questions on matters of Salvadoran culture. On this latter issue, pair was asked if they continue to eat Salvadoran food and/or visit establishments that serve it; if they return or would like to return to El Salvador from time to time; and if they miss their country of birth. Each participant's response or non-response to these

questions was used to determine if, in general, the person in question had maintained his or her Salvadoran culture despite residing in the United States.

All the activities of Protocol 2 were tape recorded and transcribed. A subsequent analysis of these data revealed which participants used what address forms. The data of those who used only the formal *ustedeo* were not considered further. The pronominal and verbal tokens of those who did use *tuteo* and/or *voseo* were counted for each participant. With a much smaller number of informal address tokens in both cities vis-à-vis Protocol 1, separate formal analyses of some linguistic features were not feasible. The exception were the imperative and indicative verb forms, which were the most numerous and have been tabulated to show which variant, *voseo* or *tuteo*, was the dominant overall, as well as by city.

The total number of all informal second personal singular tokens have been tabulated overall by city, and these numbers in turn have been broken down by social variables such as speaker gender, educational attainment, age upon arrival in the United States, and years since arrival. Participants' responses on their opinions on *voseo* and cultural maintenance have been compared to their *voseo* usage to determine the possible effects of these sentiments on participants' linguistic behavior (cf. Appendix A, Protocol 2, part d).

3.4. Methodology of Protocol 3

Finally, during the Protocol 3 home visits, the researcher observed the participants' interaction for 30 minutes to one hour. The pertinent data were the second person singular address forms found in the tape recordings made as these participants engaged

in spontaneous speech. Only nine people participated in this third protocol, four in Washington, D.C., and five in Houston. Therefore, the discussion of the results in Chapter V is qualitative rather than quantitative. However, even this qualitative portion was of a necessity based on the total times the different forms of address were used.

3.5. Protocol testing

A full pilot study was not conducted prior to the current research project. However, to ensure the effectiveness of the first and second protocols, they were tested with a pair of subjects whose results are not included in those of the main study. A 25-year-old Salvadoran female living near Houston filled out the Protocol 1 questionnaire and experienced no difficulties. Then she, along with a non-Salvadoran Spanish speaking female of the same approximate age, engaged in all the activities of Protocol 2. Once again, no difficulties were experienced and no changes were made to the protocol.

3.6. Statistical analysis of results

As will be discussed in more detail in 3.7, Protocol 1 has over 100 respondents in each city. And, since each respondent can claim up to 42 pronominal and verbal tokens, the number of data is large enough to perform tests of statistical significance, based on a p-value of 0.05. This was done with an online tool developed to detect differences between two populations (Preacher 2001).

The results of the third protocol are only discussed qualitatively in Chapter V. The modest number of data collected, due chiefly to the limited number of Protocol 3 respondents (cf. 3.11), does not lend itself to quantitative analysis.

3.7. Determining sample size

It was hypothesized that the Salvadoran subjects in both cities would continue to utilize *voseo* to a significant degree. However, it was also hypothesized that a greater percentage of Salvadorans in Houston would display a shift from *voseo* to *tuteo* than their compatriots in Washington, D.C. Therefore, while the null hypothesis to be disproved by the study was the generalized use of *tuteo*, such a result was expected to differ by degree depending on geographic location.

It was estimated that 100 participants in each city would suffice for the largest portion of the study, the Protocol 1 questionnaire. A statistical tool for determining sample sizes in two different populations – *Proportion Difference Power/Sample Size Calculation* (Pezzullo 2008) – was employed to test the validity of this estimate. The tool uses a standard significance level of 0.05, meaning there is only a 5 percent chance of committing a Type 1 Error (i.e. rejecting a true null hypothesis). It also uses the standard 80 percent power, representing the odds of not making a Type II Error (80 percent chance of rejecting a false null hypothesis). Finally, it allows the researcher to estimate the percentage of subjects in each group whose performance will go against the false null hypothesis. One drawback of this method is that the researcher must try to determine in advance of gathering the data, something that can only be known more fully after the data being sought are analyzed. This is especially the case with completely or relatively new research. In the case of the current study, given the paucity of detailed research on Salvadoran Spanish in the United States, particularly in Washington, D.C., these estimates were based on two assumptions. First, that subjects

in Washington, D.C., would employ more *voseo* than their Houston counterparts.

Second, that older Salvadorans in both cities would use this form more than the younger ones, especially if many of this latter contingent were born in the United States.

In Washington, D.C., it was estimated that 75 percent of subjects would respond in ways that would reject the false null hypothesis (that is, that they would continue to use *voseo* over *tuteo*). This 75 percent is an average of the estimates made regarding those aged 18-30 (*voseo* retention estimated at 60 percent) and those 31 and older (estimated at 90 percent) if both groups were roughly equal numerically. In Houston, it was estimated that 55 percent of those surveyed would provide responses that would lead to a rejection of the false null hypothesis, this being an average of the *voseo* use estimates for those aged 18-30 (*voseo* retention estimated at 40 percent) and those 31 and over (estimated at 70 percent). The resulting recommended sample size was 98 respondents for each city, a figure under the proposed sample size of 100. The hypothesis that the younger contingent would use less *voseo* was based both on the tendency of younger speakers to drive linguistic change, such as a shift from *voseo* to *tuteo* (cf. 2.6), and on the belief that many of the younger group would have been born in the United States to immigrant parents and thus exposed to more *tuteo* from a young age.

The following section describes how the Protocol questionnaire respondents were recruited in both cities. As was touched on in 3.1, the participants in Protocols 2 and 3 were largely drawn from this population, as will be seen in greater detail in 3.10 and 3.11 regarding the composition of these groups.

3.8. Recruitment of study participants

Given the characteristics of the population, it was determined that the best course of action would be to establish contacts with certain organizations, such as social services groups and churches of different denominations, and to use those contacts to locate Salvadorans, as well as any other such centers in the area. The comparison between Salvadorans in both cities was enhanced by seeking out subjects in Houston in much the same way and in much the same types of places as in Washington, D.C.

For Washington, D.C., some initial, pre-visit contacts were made with a church in northern Virginia and with the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN) in the District. CARECEN provided additional contacts, including another church, a social service organization, and a resource center for mothers, all in the District neighborhood of Columbia Heights. The Salvadoran Consulate, located in another part of the city, was also used to tap informants. It serves Salvadorans in the city itself, as well as from suburban Virginia and Maryland. The respondents were found among the clients in the waiting room, who had free time and found the situation non-threatening. They were clearly informed that the study was independent from, but had the full backing of, the consul. They were under no obligation to participate, and indeed many of them did not.

Additional data were also collected at a downtown convenience store near CARECEN; a fitness club and spa that employs several Salvadorans in the dining room; a restaurant in Herndon, Virginia; an English language school in Manassas, Virginia; and assorted other locations. In every case, the key was to work with a contact who had the trust of the Salvadorans in a given establishment.

The methods used to gather data in Houston were very much like those utilized in Washington, D.C. Initial contacts were made with churches, the Houston chapter of CARECEN and a related organization called CRECEN, and the Salvadoran Consulate. After that, a wide, random, and representative sample of Salvadorans was garnered from these pre-established contacts.

3.9. Composition of Protocol 1 populations

Tables 3.1–3.9 illustrate the make-up of the Protocol 1 participants in Washington, D.C., and Houston. They take into account such variables as gender, age, marital status, education, self-assessed language skills, employment, birthplace, age upon arrival in the United States, and years since arrival. A comparison between the cities indicates a high degree of demographic similarity between the two populations.

Table 3.1. Protocol 1 respondents by gender and age.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Males		
18-30	28 (22.8 %)	25 (21.2 %)
31+	35 (28.4 %)	31 (26.3 %)
Females		
18-30	31 (25.2 %)	36 (30.5 %)
31+	29 (23.6 %)	26 (22.0 %)
All ages by gender		
Total males	63 (51.2 %)	56 (47.5 %)
Total females	60 (48.8 %)	62 (52.5 %)
Total respondents	123 (100 %)	118 (100 %)

Table 3.1 shows the overall number of participants in both cities, along with the figures related to gender and age. The goal of at least 100 respondents has been reached in each city and the ratio between males and females is roughly equivalent. The subjects

are also distributed evenly between cities by gender and age in four groups of males and females aged 18-30 and 31 and above.

Table 3.2. Protocol 1 respondents by marital status.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Single	57 (46.3 %)	64 (54.2 %)
Married	66 (53.7 %)	54 (45.8 %)
Total	123 (100%)	118 (100 %)

Table 3.3. Protocol 1 respondents by educational attainment.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Grade school	23 (19.7 %)	20 (17.1 %)
High school	48 (41.0 %)	57 (48.7 %)
Post-secondary	46 (39.3 %)	40 (34.2 %)
Total	117* (100 %)	117* (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question

Table 3.4. Protocol 1 respondents by language self-assessment.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Only Spanish	29 (23.6 %)	19 (16.2 %)
Spanish and some English	68 (55.3 %)	61 (52.1 %)
English and Spanish equal	26 (21.1 %)	35 (30.0 %)
More English than Spanish	0 (0 %)	2 (1.7 %)
Total	123 (100 %)	117* (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question

Table 3.5. Protocol 1 respondents by employment.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Job outside home	103 (84.4 %)	98 (83.1 %)
No job outside home	19 (15.6 %)	20 (16.9 %)
Total	122* (100 %)	118 (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question

Just as the gender breakdown of the overall study population is roughly 50 percent in both cities, the figures in Table 3.2 for marital status are also nearly half and half. The educational attainment of the subjects shown in Table 3.3 is used as an indicator of socioeconomic status. Once again, Salvadorans in the two cities show

considerable similarities, as most respondents have only a high school education. The results of a language self-assessment by the respondents as displayed in Table 3.4 reveals that a majority in both cities consider themselves to have stronger abilities in Spanish, with some basic English skills. Very few of the respondents assessed their English abilities as high or higher than their Spanish abilities. Table 3.5 shows nearly identical situations regarding employment, as more than 80 percent of respondents in both cities work outside the home.

Table 3.6. Protocol 1 respondents by place of birth.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
El Salvador	123 (100 %)	114 (96.6 %)
United States	0 (0 %)	4 (3.4 %)
Total	123 (100 %)	118

Table 3.6 shows that El Salvador was the birthplace of nearly all respondents. This was the case categorically in Washington, D.C., and in Houston only four subjects of 118 were born in the United States to Salvadoran parents. This is in contrast to the expectation that many of the younger respondents, aged 18-31, would have been born in the United States (cf. 3.3).

Table 3.7. Protocol 1 respondents by place of birth in El Salvador (locations are departments, not cities).

Washington, D.C.		Houston	
San Miguel	30 (28.3 %)	La Unión	22 (21.8 %)
San Salvador	24 (22.6 %)	San Salvador	18 (17.8 %)
La Unión	21 (19.8 %)	San Miguel	17 (16.8 %)
La Libertad	7 (6.6 %)	Usulután	14 (13.8 %)
Usulután	6 (5.7 %)	Santa Ana	12 (11.8 %)
La Paz	5 (4.8 %)	Morazán	5 (5.0 %)
Morazán	4 (3.8 %)	Sonsonete	3 (3.0 %)
Sonsonete	3 (2.9 %)	La Paz	3 (3.0 %)
Santa Ana	2 (1.9 %)	La Libertad	3 (3.0 %)
Cabañas	1 (0.9 %)	Ahuachapán	3 (3.0 %)
Chalatenango	1 (0.9 %)	Chalatenango	1 (1.0 %)
Cuscatlán	1 (0.9 %)	Cuscatlán	0 (0 %)
San Vicente	1 (0.9 %)	San Vicente	0 (0 %)
Ahuachapán	0 (0 %)	Cabañas	0 (0 %)
Total	106* (100 %)	Total	101* (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question and four Houston respondents were born in the United States

For those born in El Salvador, Table 3.7 indicates where in the country they were born. This measure once again shows considerable parity between the respondents. Though in slightly different order, the same three departments top the list in both Washington, D.C., and Houston: San Salvador, San Miguel, and La Unión (cf. map of in Chapter I, 1.10). In both cities these three departments represent over half of all respondents: 71 percent in Washington, D.C., and 56 percent in Houston. Also, most departments are represented in both cities: 13 of 14 in Washington, D.C., and 11 of 14 in Houston. These similarities in birthplace, along with other variables such as education, support Cordova's (2005) view (see Chapter I, 1.11) that immigrants to Washington, D.C., and Houston are of similar background (76-78).

Table 3.8. Protocol 1 respondents by age upon arrival in the United States.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
Before age 15	15 (13.6 %)	25 (23.4 %)
After age 15	95 (86.4 %)	82 (76.6 %)
Total	110* (100 %)	107* (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question

Table 3.9. Protocol 1 respondents by years spent in the United States since arrival.

	Washington, D.C.	Houston
0-2	14 (12.4 %)	9 (8.2 %)
3-5	36 (31.9 %)	24 (21.8 %)
6-10	31 (27.4 %)	25 (22.7 %)
11+	32 (28.3 %)	52 (47.3 %)
Total	113* (%)	110* (100 %)

* This number does not equal all respondents as one or more respondents failed to answer this question

Tables 3.8 and 3.9 once more reveal similarities between respondents in the two cities, in this case with regard to the years they have spent in the United States since arriving here. A clear majority of respondents – more than three quarters in both cities – came to the United States after the age of 15. Also, in both cities there are more subjects who have been in the country six years or longer than five years or less. However, Washington, D.C., immigration seems to be more recent overall. There is a higher percentage of people in the 0-2 and 3-5 age range (44.3 percent, compared to 30 percent in Houston) and fewer in the 11+ range (28.2 percent versus 47.3 percent in Houston). And while in both cities those with more than six years in the country exceed 50 percent, the number is lower in Washington, D.C., (55.7 percent) than in Houston (70 percent).

3.10. Composition of Protocol 2 populations

The majority of those taking part in Protocol 2 were drawn from the larger pool of Protocol 1 participants. In Washington, D.C., 14 of the 20 participants in Protocol 2 were drawn from the questionnaire respondents. In Houston, 16 of the 118 who took

part in Protocol 1 were among the 20 participants in Protocol 2. The Protocol 2 respondents in both cities who did not fill out the questionnaire either declined to do so or agreed to complete it at a more convenient time and return it to the researcher but then did not follow through.

For comparison purposes, the pairs in this second protocol were selected in such a way that each city would reflect the other regarding the gender and the relationship of the participants. Since the gender breakdown of the 20 participants in Washington, D.C., turned out to be 12 women and eight men, this same ratio was matched in Houston. Also, in both cities there are four married couples, two pairs of female friends, one pair of male friends, one pair of male acquaintances, one pair of female acquaintances, and one pair of sisters. These participants are also similar with regard to demographic variables such as age, marital status, and educational attainment. As for their place of birth, all participants in Washington, D.C., and most in Houston were born in El Salvador (100 percent and 90 percent, respectively). The vast majority arrived in the United States after the age of 15 (92 percent and 80 percent, respectively). Finally, most have been in the United States six years or more (54 percent and 79 percent, respectively).

3.11. Composition of Protocol 3 populations

The participants in these home visits were two married couples in each city, chosen from among the Protocol 2 participants, with the addition of a fifth person in Houston who was the son of one of the couples. Since he was born in El Salvador and over the age of 18, he met the overall study criteria and was therefore not excluded. Also present were

two of his children, grandchildren of the original couple, who entered and exited the room intermittently. Any comment directed at these children by their father or grandparents was included, though nothing the children said was considered. Likewise, there was an infant son present with one of the couples in Washington, D.C., to whom the father directed comments. Furthermore, with the less restrictive format of this protocol, if a participant received a phone call from another Spanish speaker, his or her conversation was taken into account.

All but one Protocol 3 participant in each city filled out a Protocol 1 questionnaire. The demographics of these home visit participants are similar in both cities. For example, all of the couples are above the age of 31, most have a high school education, they all came to the United States after the age of 15, and all of them have lived here for 11 years or more.

3.12. Chapter summary

This chapter has detailed the methodology used to gather the demographic and linguistic data among Salvadoran speakers for this study in Washington, D.C., and Houston. This methodology is comprised of three protocols: 1) a questionnaire that includes queries on demographics and *voseo/tuteo* claiming, 2) verbal activities in pairs, whose objective is to elicit second person informal pronouns and verbs, and 3) home visits to observe spontaneous language use among family members. It has also discussed the statistical tools used to analyze the data. Furthermore, it has also presented the composition of the Salvadoran populations in these two cities from whom these data were collected. These populations are broken down according to several variables besides geographic location,

such as gender, age, marital status, education, self-assessed language skills, employment situation, birthplace, age of arrival in the United States, and years since arrival. This information demonstrates the similarity of the participants in both cities in nearly every category considered.

The next two chapters provide the results obtained from the implementation of the protocols among the Salvadoran populations described. Chapter IV discusses and analyzes the data derived from Protocol 1. Chapter V does the same with the results of Protocols 2 and 3.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF PROTOCOL 1

4.1. Chapter overview

This chapter contains an analysis and discussion of the data obtained from the Protocol 1 questionnaire on *voseo* claiming. The main independent variable is city location, since the principal objective of this study is to gauge the effect of geographic location on speech. The results are also broken down by social variables (i.e. gender, age, education, age upon arrival in the United States, years since arrival, and the relationship and nationality of one's interlocutor), as well as linguistic ones (i.e. indicative, imperative, and subjunctive forms and *voseo/tuteo* pronoun and verb mixing). The effects of respondents' attitude regarding *voseo* and *tuteo* on the selection of these forms of address are also explored. The following section begins with the results themselves. Then, starting in 4.5, there is an in-depth discussion of this data.

4.2. Overall results for *voseo* claiming

Considering all the questions on the questionnaire in which respondents can select *voseo*, an initial way to calculate the choice of this form is to consider the number of those who claimed any *voseo* against those who claimed none, as seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Any *voseo* claiming vs. no *voseo* claiming.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	No <i>Voseo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.	88.6 (109)	11.4 (14)	(123)
Houston	81.4 (96)	18.6 (22)	(118)
Totals	(205)	(36)	(241)

$\chi^2(1)=2.5$, $p=0.11$

Table 4.1 shows that a large majority of respondents in both cities chose a form of *voseo* at least once, though the rate was 7.2 percent higher in Washington, D.C., than in Houston. Nevertheless, as the standard $p < 0.05$ threshold will be used in all calculations, this difference is not statistically significant. In any event, a more telling comparison is that of frequency based on the number of *voseo* forms claimed out of the total number of possible answers. These totals are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Overall *voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming.

	Overall <i>voseo</i> (n)	Overall <i>tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.	28.9 (1051)	71.1 (2584)	(3635)
Houston	30.0 (1074)	70.0 (2510)	(3584)
Totals	(2125)	(5094)	(7219)

$\chi^2(1) = 0.96$, $p = 0.326$

The difference in the results for all participants in both cities is once again not significant. A notable distinction is that while Table 4.1 showed that a large majority of respondents claimed at least some *voseo*, Table 4.2 shows that both in Washington, D.C., and in Houston the frequency of *voseo* claiming is less than one-third. The majority of forms claimed, then, are *tuteante* (approximately 70 percent in both cities).

4.3. Results for *voseo* claiming by social variables

Tables 4.3-4.15 contain the *voseo* claiming results broken down by social variables. The results will then be considered by linguistic variable in the tables of 4.4.

Table 4.3. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by gender across cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Males			
Washington, D.C.	33.2 (628)	66.8 (1262)	(1890)
Houston	35.8 (589)	64.2 (1055)	(1644)
Totals	(1217)	(2317)	(3534)
$\chi^2(1)=2.63$, $p=0.105$			
Females			
Washington, D.C.	24.2 (423)	75.8 (1322)	(1745)
Houston	25.0 (485)	75.0 (1455)	(1940)
Totals	(908)	(2777)	(3685)
$\chi^2(1)=0.29$, $p=0.593$			

Table 4.4. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by gender in same city.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
Males	33.2 (628)	66.8 (1262)	(1890)
Females	24.2 (423)	75.8 (1322)	(1745)
Totals	(1051)	(2584)	(3635)
$\chi^2(1)=35.65$, $p<0.01$			
Houston			
Males	35.8 (589)	64.2 (1055)	(1644)
Females	25.0 (485)	75.0 (1455)	(1940)
Totals	(1074)	(2510)	(3584)
$\chi^2(1)= 49.71$, $p<0.01$			

In Table 4.3, *voseo* claiming by gender is very similar in the two cities for both males and females; there is no statistically significant difference. While males in both locations chose *voseo* forms approximately one-third of the time, females in each city have claimed *voseo* at a lower but similar rate of approximately 25 percent. In Table 4.4, the comparison is between the sexes in the same city, where the approximately 10 percent higher rate of *voseo* claiming for men in each locale yields a statistically significant difference ($p<0.01$ in both cases).

Table 4.5. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by age in each city.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
18-30	30.4 (540)	69.6 (1238)	(1778)
31+	27.5 (511)	72.5 (1346)	(1857)
Totals	(1051)	(2584)	(3635)
$\chi^2(1)=3.59, p=0.05$			
Houston			
18-30	27.1 (510)	72.9 (1372)	(1882)
31+	33.1 (564)	66.9 (1138)	(1702)
Totals	(1074)	(2510)	(3584)
$\chi^2(1)=15.52, p<0.01$			

Table 4.6. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by age across cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
18-30			
Washington, D.C.	30.4 (540)	69.6 (1238)	(1778)
Houston	27.1 (510)	72.9 (1372)	(1882)
Totals	(1050)	(2610)	(3660)
$\chi^2(1)=4.79, p=0.028$			
31+			
Washington, D.C.	27.5 (511)	72.5 (1346)	(1857)
Houston	33.1 (564)	66.9 (1138)	(1702)
Totals	(1075)	(2484)	(3559)
$\chi^2(1)=13.31, p<0.01$			

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 consider the effects of age on *voseo* claiming. Table 4.5 compares all respondents in the same city based on age, which is divided into two groups, 18-30, and 31 and above. In Washington, D.C., the younger contingent claimed more *voseo*, by a statistically significant but small margin of nearly 3 percent. In Houston, it is the older respondents who opted for *voseo* more often, once again at a statistically significant rate of 6 percent. Table 4.6 compares each of the two age groups across cities, yielding significant results in each case. For those 18-30, *voseo* claiming was 3.3 percent higher in Washington, D.C., than in Houston, whereas the opposite is

true for those 31 and older, among whom *voseo* claiming was 5.6 percent greater in Houston than in Washington, D.C.

Table 4.7. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by gender and age.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Males 18-30			
Washington, D.C.	30.6 (266)	69.4 (603)	(869)
Houston	30.8 (239)	69.2 (537)	(776)
Totals	(505)	(1140)	(1645)
$\chi^2(1)=0.01, p=0.933$			
Males 31+			
Washington, D.C.	36.0 (371)	64.0 (659)	(1030)
Houston	39.0 (352)	61.0 (550)	(902)
Totals	(723)	(1209)	(1932)
$\chi^2(1)=1.85, p=0.173$			
Females 18-30			
Washington, D.C.	30.1 (274)	69.9 (635)	(909)
Houston	24.5 (271)	75.5 (835)	(1106)
Totals	(545)	(1470)	(2015)
$\chi^2(1)=8.04, p<0.01$			
Females 31+			
Washington, D.C.	16.9 (140)	83.1 (687)	(827)
Houston	26.5 (212)	73.5 (588)	(800)
Totals	(352)	(1275)	(1627)
$\chi^2(1)=21.97, p<0.01$			

When gender and age are considered together in Table 4.7, all the male groups in both cities show *voseo* claiming at a rate of at least 30 percent, with the highest rate among males in Houston aged 31 or older, at 39 percent. At 36 percent, older men in Washington, D.C., also claimed *voseo* at a rate more than 5 percent higher than the younger males. In contrast, only females aged 18-30 in Washington, D.C., claimed *voseo* at a rate of at least 30 percent, which was more than 5 percent higher than their counterparts in Houston, a significant difference. The lowest *voseo* claiming of any

cohort was among Washington, D.C., females 31 and older, at 16.9 percent. This is a significant difference compared to a nearly 10 percent higher rate for women of this age group in Houston. When the female groups are compared in the same city, the difference between the older and younger women in Houston is a modest 2 percent (26.5 and 24.5 percent, respectively). In contrast, the same comparison in Washington, D.C., yields a much larger difference of 13.3 percent more *voseo* claiming in favor of the older female respondents (30.1 to 16.9 percent).

Table 4.8. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by educational attainment in each city.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
Grade school	22.5 (140)	77.5 (483)	(623)
High school	31.3 (433)	68.7 (952)	(1385)
Post-secondary	30.0 (431)	70.0 (1004)	(1435)
Totals	(1004)	(2439)	(3443)
Houston			
Grade school	25.9 (142)	74.1 (407)	(549)
High school	26.5 (474)	73.5 (1318)	(1792)
Post-secondary	36.5 (442)	63.5 (768)	(1210)
Totals	(1058)	(2493)	(3551)

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to provide this information

Table 4.8 considers the effects of education on *voseo* claiming, comparing all respondents in each city based on their level of educational attainment. In each city all levels of education yield *voseo* claiming percentages in the 20s and 30s. In both cities, those with only a grade school education chose *voseo* at a lower rate than those with high school and post-secondary educations. Since there are three levels of attainment, it is not possible to perform chi-square or p-value tests on all these data at once, as such tests can only be done with two independent variables. However, tests can be run

comparing each level to each of the other levels one at a time to ascertain any possible statistically significant difference. In Washington, D.C., for example, a test on the nearly 9 percent higher *voseo* claiming rate of those with a high school education compared to those with only a grade school education yields the following result: $\chi^2(1)=16.28$, $p<0.01$. Likewise, the 7.5 percent *voseo* advantage among those at the post-secondary level compared to those with a grade school education is also significant ($\chi^2(1)=12.39$, $p<0.01$). There is no statistical significance in the 1.3 percent higher *voseo* claiming among those at the high school level compared to those with a post-secondary education. In Houston, while there is no statistical significance between the *voseo* claiming rate of those with a high school education (25.9 percent) compared to those with only a grade school education (26.5 percent), such a difference does exist between those at the grade school level and those with higher *voseo* claiming at the post-secondary level (36.5 percent): $\chi^2(1)=19.36$, $p<0.01$. Likewise, there is a significant difference between those at the high school level and those with a post-secondary education who claimed *voseo* at a 10 percent higher rate ($\chi^2(1)=34.6$, $p<0.01$).

Table 4.9. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by educational attainment across cities.*

	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	Totals
Grade school			
Washington, D.C.	22.5 (140)	77.5 (483)	623
Houston	25.9 (142)	74.1 (407)	549
Totals	(282)	(890)	(1172)
$\chi^2(1)=1.84$, $p=0.175$			
High school			
Washington, D.C.	31.3 (433)	68.7 (952)	1385
Houston	26.5 (474)	73.5 (1318)	1792
Totals	(907)	(2270)	(3177)
$\chi^2(1)=8.87$, $p<0.01$			
Post-secondary			
Washington, D.C.	30.0 (431)	70.0 (1004)	1435
Houston	36.5 (442)	63.5 (768)	1210
Totals	(714)	(1409)	(2123)
$\chi^2(1)=12.52$, $p<0.01$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to provide this information

In Table 4.9, each level of education attainment is contrasted across cities. At the grade school level, Houston respondents claimed 3.4 percent more *voseo* than those in Washington, D.C., but this difference is not significant. For respondents with a high school education, those in Washington, D.C., claimed nearly 5 percent more *voseo*, a significant difference. At the post-secondary level, it was the Houston contingent who claimed more *voseo*, and the 6.5 percent advantage was significant.

Table 4.10. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by age upon arrival in the United States.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Before age 15			
Washington, D.C.	29.5 (134)	70.5 (320)	(454)
Houston	23.8 (197)	76.2 (632)	(829)
Totals	(331)	(952)	(1283)
$\chi^2(1)=5.07$, $p=0.024$			
After age 15			
Washington, D.C.	29.5 (837)	70.5 (2000)	(2837)
Houston	31.0 (770)	69.0 (1713)	(2483)
Totals	(1607)	(3713)	(5320)
$\chi^2(1)=1.42$, $p=0.232$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

Table 4.10 shows that those in Washington, D.C., who arrived in the United States before the age of 15 claimed *voseo* at a significantly higher rate than their counterparts in Houston. Respondents in Washington, D.C., who arrived after the age of 15 claimed *voseo* at the rate of 29.5 percent (the same rate as those in the same city who had arrive when younger). In Houston, *voseo* claiming for this contingent was a slightly higher 31 percent, which was 7.2 percent greater than those who arrived in the same city at a younger age.

Table 4.11. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by years spent in the United States since arrival.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
0-2 years			
Washington, D.C.	28.7 (121)	71.3 (301)	(422)
Houston	56.3 (166)	43.7 (129)	(295)
Totals	(287)	(430)	(717)
$\chi^2(1)=55.08, p<0.01$			
3-5			
Washington, D.C.	32.1 (338)	67.9 (716)	(1054)
Houston	31.9 (223)	68.1 (475)	(698)
Totals	(561)	(1191)	(1752)
$\chi^2(1)=0.003, p=0.956$			
6-10 years			
Washington, D.C.	31.7 (293)	68.3 (631)	(924)
Houston	17.7 (144)	82.3 (671)	(815)
Totals	(437)	(1302)	(1739)
$\chi^2(1)=45.37, p<0.01$			
11+ years			
Washington, D.C.	26.2 (247)	73.8 (697)	(944)
Houston	29.5 (456)	70.5 (1089)	(1545)
Totals	(703)	(1786)	(2489)
$\chi^2(1)=3.24, p=0.071$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

As shown in Table 4.11, *voseo* claiming in Washington, D.C., shows little variation, ranging from 26.2 to 32.1 percent, regardless of how many years the respondent has been in the United States. In Houston, however, the difference is at times much greater. For those with 0-2 years in the United States claimed *voseo* at a rate of 56.3 percent. This is not only a significantly higher rate than among the same group in Washington, D.C., but is the only contingent in this table to claim *voseo* at a higher rate than *tuteo*. There is also a significant difference between the two cities in the group with 6-10 years in the United States. However, in this case it is Washington, D.C., that has

the advantage, 31.7 to 17.7 percent. There is no significant difference between the two cities when considering those who have been here 3-5 years or 11 years or more.

Table 4.12. Pronominal *voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by interlocutor.*

	<i>Vos</i> (n)	<i>Tú</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Family members same age/younger			
Washington, D.C.	50 (40)	50 (40)	(80)
Houston	38.6 (39)	61.4 (62)	(101)
Totals	(79)	(102)	(181)
$\chi^2(1)=2.35, p=0.125$			
Salvadoran friends same age/younger			
Washington, D.C.	48.7 (37)	51.3 (39)	(76)
Houston	51.4 (56)	48.6 (53)	(109)
Totals	(93)	(92)	(185)
$\chi^2(1)=0.13, p=0.718$			
Foreign friends same age/younger			
Washington, D.C.	36.4 (28)	63.6 (49)	(77)
Houston	26.5 (27)	73.5 (75)	(102)
Totals	(55)	(124)	(179)
$\chi^2(1)=2.01, p=0.155$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

There were nine questions on pronoun use based on the respondents' relationship with certain interlocutors. This is the only portion of the questionnaire where all three second person singular forms were available (*vos*, *tú*, *usted*). Since *usted* is the default form of address in El Salvador to show respect to older family members, as well as distance from unknown persons regardless of age, especially from other countries, this formal pronoun was the nearly universal answer for the following hypothetical interlocutors: parents, older aunts and uncles, grandparents, unknown Salvadorans the same age or younger, unknown Central Americans the same age or younger, and

unknown Mexicans the same age or younger. Therefore, these six categories of interlocutors will not be further analyzed.

Table 4.12, then, considers the informal address (*vos* and *tú*) claimed by users of these pronouns in conjunction with the three interlocutor categories among which these forms of address did feature prominently: family members the same age or younger, Salvadoran friends, the same age or younger, and foreign friends the same age or younger. None of the across-city comparisons are statistically significant, due surely in part to the relatively low number of responses resulting from the fact that only three questions are considered. Nevertheless, certain trends can be discerned. In Washington, D.C., there was a 50-50 split between *vos* and *tú* claiming among respondents in the category of family members the same age or younger, compared to 38.6 percent *vos* claiming in Houston. There was near parity between the two pronouns claimed in both cities for the category of Salvadoran friends the same age or younger (48.7 percent in *vos* and 51.3 percent *tú* in Washington, D.C., compared to 51.4 and 48.6 percent, respectively, in Houston). The lowest rates of *vos* claiming in both cities came in the category of foreign friends the same age or younger, though the percentage in Washington, D.C., (36.4) was nearly 10 percent higher than in Houston (26.5).

Table 4.13. Verbal *voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by interlocutor.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Salvadoran child			
Washington, D.C.	32.9 (143)	67.1 (291)	(434)
Houston	39.2 (158)	60.8 (245)	(403)
Totals	(301)	(536)	(837)
$\chi^2(1)=3.55$, $p=0.059$			
Mexican child			
Washington, D.C.	26.7 (113)	73.3 (310)	(423)
Houston	20.7 (88)	79.3 (338)	(426)
Totals	(201)	(648)	(849)
$\chi^2(1)=4.30$, $p=0.037$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

As pronouns can often be dropped in Spanish, the data in Table 4.13 is based on questions allowing respondents to choose indicative *voseo* or *tuteo* verb forms only. These questions were asked twice, once with the instruction to imagine a Salvadoran child as the interlocutor and the second time switching to a Mexican child. The results show that *voseo* was chosen at a higher rate in both cities when the interlocutor was Salvadoran. The 6.3 percent *voseo* advantage in Houston is not statistically significant. With a Mexican interlocutor, the difference between the cities is significant, but this time the *voseo* advantage belongs to Washington, D.C.

Table 4.14. Pronominal and verbal *voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by interlocutor.*

	VV (n)	TT (n)	VT (n)	TV (n)	Totals (n)
Salvadoran friend same age/younger					
Washington, D.C.	33.9 (108)	52.0 (166)	4.7 (15)	9.4 (30)	(319)
Houston	31.0 (102)	53.2 (175)	6.4 (21)	9.4 (31)	(329)
Totals	(210)	(341)	(36)	(61)	(648)
$\chi^2(1)=1.27, p=0.736$					
Mexican friend same age/younger					
Washington, D.C.	15.4 (50)	69.2 (225)	4.9 (16)	10.5 (34)	(325)
Houston	8.1 (26)	82.0 (264)	2.2 (7)	7.7 (25)	(322)
Totals	(76)	(489)	(23)	(59)	(647)
$\chi^2(1)=15.57, p<0.01$					

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

VV = pronominal *voseo* + verbal *voseo*, TT = pronominal *tuteo* + verbal *tuteo*, VT = pronominal *voseo* + verbal *tuteo*, TV = pronominal *tuteo* + verbal *voseo*

Table 4.14 is based on questions allowing respondents to choose indicative phrases composed of both pronouns and verbs, including straight *voseo*, straight *tuteo*, and *voseo* and *tuteo* mixing. Once again the questions are repeated with an hypothetical interlocutor who is Salvadoran and then Mexican. In both cities and with both interlocutors, the most commonly claimed form was TT, though the rate was considerably higher when the imagined interlocutor was Mexican. This was especially the case in Houston, with 82 percent. The second highest rates of claiming in both cities occurred with VV forms when the imagined interlocutor was Salvadoran, but the highest rate occurred in Washington, D.C., at 33.9 percent, compared to 31 percent in Houston. Regarding mixed forms, the TV combination was chosen at a higher rate in both cities and in conjunction with both interlocutors than the VT option. When this difference is considered in isolation it is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=20.78, p<0.01$).

Table 4.15. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* imperative claiming by interlocutor.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Salvadoran friend same age/younger			
Washington, D.C.	36.8 (39)	63.2 (67)	(106)
Houston	40.9 (47)	59.1 (68)	(115)
Totals	(86)	(135)	(221)
$\chi^2(1)=0.38, p=0.534$			
Mexican friend same age/younger			
Washington, D.C.	21.9 (25)	78.1 (89)	(114)
Houston	14.4 (16)	85.6 (95)	(111)
Totals	(41)	(184)	(225)
$\chi^2(1)=2.13, p=0.144$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

Table 4.15 considers imperative use based on the same interlocutors as Table 4.14. In both cities and with both interlocutors, the *tuteo* command form was selected at a much higher rate than *voseo*. This is particularly the case with a Mexican interlocutor, and even more so in Houston, though the difference is not statistically significant. This is likely due to the low numbers of responses as only one question was asked, repeated with the change of interlocutors. The highest rates of *voseo* imperative are seen with the Salvadoran interlocutor and are similar in both cities, with 36.8 percent in Washington, D.C., and 40.9 percent in Houston. The figure for Washington, D.C., is somewhat lower and the one for Houston is slightly higher than the rates of indicative *voseo* claiming with a Salvadoran interlocutor seen in Table 4.14. In that table, when the verbal *voseo* of VV and TV are combined, Washington, D.C., has a rate of 43.3 percent, compared to 40.4 percent in Houston.

4.4. Results for *voseo* claiming by linguistic variables

Whereas the tables of the previous section considered *voseo* and claiming by social variables (age, gender, etc.), Tables 4.16-4.18 address linguistic variables. Table 4.16 contains overall verb form claiming in each city, contrasting the imperative, present indicative, and present subjunctive. Tables 4.17 and 4.18 then deal with the subjunctive forms alone, breaking down the forms claimed by type and conjugation ending, respectively.

Table 4.16. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by verbal mood in both cities.

	Imperative (n)		Present indicative (n)		Present Subjunctive (n)		Totals
	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>tuteo</i>	<i>voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	<i>voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	
Wash., D.C	29.1 (64)	70.9 (156)	31.9 (478)	68.1 (1023)	26.2 (476)	73.8 (1340)	(3537)
Houston	27.9 (63)	72.1 (163)	29.1 (430)	70.9 (1050)	30.5 (530)	69.5 (1208)	(3444)
Totals	(127)	(319)	(908)	(2073)	(1006)	(2548)	(6981)

Imperative: $\chi^2(1)=0.08$, $p= p<0.775$

Pres. indic: $\chi^2(1)=2.74$, $p= p<0.09$

Pres. subj: $\chi^2(1)=8.02$, $p= p<0.01$

Table 4.16 shows that *voseo* claiming was very similar for all three moods in both cities, with percentages in the mid- and high 20s to low 30s. Respondents in Washington, D.C., chose more *voseo* than their Houston counterparts in two of the three categories, the imperative and the present indicative. However, the advantage, 1.2 and 2.8 percent, respectively, is not statistically significant in either case. With regard to the present subjunctive, it is the Houston respondents who claimed more *voseo* than those in Washington, D.C., and this 4.3 percent difference is statistically significant.

Table 4.17. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* claiming by subjunctive type.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
Subordinate context	26.2 (317)	73.8 (892)	(1209)
Negative imperative	26.2 (159)	73.8 (448)	(607)
Totals	(680)	(1690)	(2370)
$\chi^2(1)=0.00, p=1.0$			
Houston			
Subordinate context	31.3 (363)	68.7 (798)	(1161)
Negative imperative	28.9 (167)	71.1 (410)	(577)
Totals	(326)	(858)	(1184)
$\chi^2(1)=0.98, p=0.321$			

* These figures do not represent all respondents as one or more failed to answer all questions

There are two basic semantic values of present subjunctive, subordinate and negative imperative (Chapter III, 3.7). However, when comparing the two different subjunctive forms by meaning in each city, the difference is negligible. In fact, in Washington, D.C., the percentage of *voseo* in subordinate context and negative imperative subjunctive forms is exactly the same. Similarly, there is no statistically significant difference between the two subjunctive forms chosen in Houston.

Table 4.18. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* subjunctive claiming by conjugation class.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
First conj.	29.5 (286)	70.5 (682)	(968)
Sec./third conj.	22.4 (190)	77.6 (658)	(848)
Totals	(476)	(1340)	(1816)
$\chi^2(1)=11.91, p<0.01$			
Houston			
First conj.	33.8 (313)	66.2 (613)	(926)
Sec./third conj.	26.7 (217)	73.3 (595)	(812)
Totals	(530)	(1208)	(1738)
$X^2(1)=10.22, p<0.01$			

The subjunctive forms considered are based on 15 verbs in the questionnaire, eight of which belong to the first conjugation (originally *-ar* and conjugated in the subjunctive as *-és* for *voseo* and *-es* for *tuteo*) and seven are second/third conjugation (*-er/-ir* > *-ás* and *-as*). Table 4.18 shows that in both cities first conjugation verbs were more likely to be conjugated in the *voseo* form than second/third conjugation verbs. In each city the *voseo* advantage is 7.1 percent and is statistically significant.

Table 4.19. General attitude regarding *voseo* and *tuteo* use.*

	Pref. for <i>voseo</i> (n)	Pref. for <i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Neutral (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.	9.8 (9)	30.4 (28)	59.8 (55)	(92)
Houston	7.6 (6)	48.1 (38)	44.3 (35)	(79)
Totals	(15)	(66)	(90)	(171)

* These figures do not represent all respondents as some failed to answer the question

$\chi^2(1)=5.60$, $p=0.06$

Table 4.19 shows the results of the final question posed to Protocol 1 respondents, who were asked to give an open-ended answer regarding their possible reasons, if any, for choosing to use *tuteo* in place of *voseo*. Some of the common answers were that *tuteo* is more refined, more indicative of a good education, more respectful, and a way of expressing middle ground between the formality of *ustedeo* and the intimacy of *voseo*. Others explained that they avoid *voseo* because it can sound too strong or even harsh and offensive, or to avoid having to explain its use to those of other nationalities, who they also fear might even criticize or make fun of their use of *voseo*. Others expressed a clear preference for *voseo*, often as form of Salvadoran national pride and the most apt form to express emotions such as friendship and solidarity. Yet others stated that it is acceptable to use both *voseo* and *tuteo*, depending on things such as their

interlocutor's own use of these forms of address as well as age, nationality, education level, and degree of trust or intimacy. Such answers have been categorized as "neutral." In Washington, D.C, approximately 10 percent of respondents expressed a clear preference for *voseo*, compared to 7.6 percent in Houston. In both cities these were the lowest figures in the three categories. In Washington, D.C., nearly 60 percent of the responses were "neutral," compared to just over 44 percent in Houston. In Houston, the largest number of responses indicated a *tuteo* preference, whereas in Washington, D.C., the number was lower at approximately 30 percent.

4.5. Discussion of *voseo* claiming results

The following sections analyze and discuss the results of the Protocol 1 questionnaire. They offer an overall discussion of *voseo* and *tuteo* claiming, as well as a more detailed look at the impact of different independent variables on these forms of address. These include social variables such as gender, age, education, age upon arrival in the United States, years since arrival, and the relationship and nationality of one's interlocutor. They also include linguistic variables such as indicative, imperative, and subjunctive forms and *voseo/tuteo* pronoun and verb mixing.

4.6. Discussion: overall *voseo* claiming

As explained in the latter part of 1.1 of the introductory chapter, it was hypothesized that Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., where they are the largest Hispanic group, would maintain a high degree of *voseo*. In Houston, on the other hand, where Salvadorans are the second largest group but considerably less numerous than the majority Mexican population, it was predicted that there would be significant movement toward *tuteo*. But

even in Houston it was calculated that *voseo* on average would continue to enjoy more usage than *tuteo* among the study participants (cf. Chapter III, 3.7). This was based on strong agreement in the literature that El Salvador is an overwhelmingly *voseante* country (cf. 2.20). In fact, speaking of all Central America except for Panama, and including El Salvador, Lipski has been so emphatic as to state that *voseo* is the “baseline” and “all-pervasive” form used “nearly exclusively” over *tuteo* (1994:141, 2008:144). Nevertheless, as far as claiming is concerned, *tuteo* and not *voseo* was the dominant form of address among respondents in both cities.

While it is true that more Protocol 1 participants claimed *voseo* in Washington, D.C., than Houston, the 88.6 to 81.4 percent advantage is not statistically significant. When the frequency of this form is considered (number of times claimed out total possible times), the percentage of *voseo* claiming is only a modest 30 and 28.9 percent, respectively. Therefore, if one accepts that *voseo* is the default form of Salvadorans in El Salvador, it can only be concluded that their prolonged residence in the United States, in cities like Washington, D.C., and Houston, has caused many to alter their forms of address, or at least to claim, on average, that they would use considerably more *tuteo* than *voseo*. It is unlikely that such a high incidence of *tuteo* was common among these speakers in El Salvador. As was seen in the discussion of the literature in Chapter II, 2.20, *tuteo* use in El Salvador is restricted to the upper class, a group not represented among either Salvadorans in the United States or those in the two cities studied.

4.7. Discussion: *voseo* claiming by gender

Also addressed in 1.1 was the hypothesis that *voseo* maintenance would be stronger among males in both cities, something confirmed by the Protocol 1 results. *Voseo* claiming in both cities was shown to be significantly higher for males, by a rate of approximately 10 percent. Just as with the low overall *voseo* claiming rates addressed in the last section, this gender difference also appears to be something caused by Salvadorans' presence in the United States. As explained in the literature considered in 2.21, both males and females in El Salvador use *voseo* as the dominant form. This is in contrast to countries such as Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Colombia, where women tend to use more *tuteo* since *voseo* can be viewed as overly masculine, and where men tend to use more *voseo* because *tuteo* can be seen as effeminate. Therefore, if Salvadoran males and females ostensibly arrived in the United States with the same preference for *voseo*, the fact that females claim more *tuteo* than males in both Washington, D.C., and Houston indicates that the women have been more greatly affected by the presence of *tuteante* dialects in the United States. Possibly, linguistic insecurity is strongest with women, who tend to accommodate to prestige forms more than men, who resist the change (cf. 2.8). In other words, by a significant margin, Salvadoran female respondents in Protocol 1 are influenced by the overt prestige form among the different Spanish dialects in the United States, *tuteo*, whereas men maintain more the covertly prestigious *voseo* form. It must be remembered, however, that this is the overall result by gender alone. A more nuanced analysis can be made when age is added. In Washington, D.C., females aged 18-30 appear to feel less compulsion to move to *tuteo* than the other groups

of women. They were the only female cohort to choose *voseo* at a rate above 30 percent, nearly equaling Washington, D.C., men of the same age group.

4.8. Discussion: *voseo* claiming by age, age of U.S. arrival, and years since arrival

This section discusses the questionnaire results according to three distinct variables that are nonetheless related as they all have to do with the passage of time and its effect on language. These variable are *voseo* claiming by respondents' age at the time of the study, by the age at which they arrived in the United States from El Salvador, and by the number of years they have been in the country since their arrival.

Regarding *voseo* claiming by age, it was hypothesized in Chapter III, 3.7, that in both Washington, D.C., and Houston the younger participants, aged 18-30, would use less *voseo* and more *tuteo* than the 31 and older contingent. This prediction was based partly on the fact that younger speakers tend to drive linguistic change, such as a shift from *voseo* to *tuteo*, while older speakers are more conservative (cf. 2.6). It was also based on a calculation that many of the younger group would have been born in the United States to immigrant parents (cf. 3.3). It was hypothesized that these younger speakers would have been exposed to more *tuteo* from a young age than older speakers who had been born in El Salvador and been exposed to more *voseo* during their formative years. As it turns out, all Washington, D.C., respondents were born in El Salvador, as were all but four, or 96.6 percent, of the respondents in Houston (cf. 3.5). Perhaps consequently, the hypothesis of less *voseo* among the 18-30 contingent was only confirmed in Houston, where the older group claimed *voseo* at a significantly higher rate than the younger respondents. In Washington, D.C., the difference between the age

groups was also significant, but this time it was the younger group that claimed more *voseo*. A clue to the results in both cities can be found in Table 4.12 on pronominal use by interlocutor. When asked about their use of address forms with family members their age or younger, Houston respondents chose *vos* at a rate of 38.6 percent and *tú* at 61.4 percent. This indicates that parents in Houston are not using *vos* as much with the younger generation as parents in Washington, D.C., where respondents claimed *vos* and *tú* at the equal rate of 50 percent.

Among those aged 18-30, the Washington, D.C., respondents claimed *voseo* at a rate significantly higher than their peers in Houston, while the opposite was the case for those 31 and older. Age can also be considered together with gender, as seen in Table 4.7. In Houston, the younger and older men both have *voseo* claiming percentages in the 30s and both groups of women in the 20s. In Washington, D.C., however, while the rate of *voseo* claiming is also similar among the younger and older males (30.6 and 36 percent, respectively), there is a wide discrepancy between the females. Women aged 18-30 chose *voseo* at a rate of 30.1 percent, whereas those 31 and older did so at scarcely half this rate, 16.9 percent.

Regarding respondents' age upon arrival in the United States and its role in forms of address, the greatest effect seems to have been wrought among those who arrived in Houston while still young. Those who arrived in Washington, D.C., both before and after the age of 15, and those who arrived in Houston after age 15, all claimed *voseo* at a rate of approximately 30 percent. However, those who arrived in Houston before age 15 claimed *voseo* at a significantly lower rate of 23.8 percent. These speakers were not

only exposed to *voseo* in El Salvador for fewer years than those who arrived at a more mature age, but arriving in Houston meant being introduced into a community where Salvadorans were now the minority among other groups, especially *tuteante* Mexicans.

When considering the number of years respondents have spent in the United States since their arrival, the effect is more noticeable in one city than the other. In Washington, D.C., the picture is largely stable. In contrast, respondents in Houston who have spent the least time in the United States have retained *voseo* the most, with rates subsequently dropping as the number of years spent in the country increase. Those with less than two years in the country were the only contingent in either city to claim *voseo* more than half the time (56.3 percent). This figure drops to 31.9 percent for those with 3-5 years in the country, and again to 17.7 percent for those having spent 6-10 years in the United States. For those in Houston with 11 or more years in the country, the rate of *voseo* claiming does rise again, but not to the point of returning to the rates seen in the first two groups.

4.9. Discussion: *voseo* claiming by education

Educational attainment appears to have a clear and largely consistent influence on *voseo/tuteo* claiming in both cities. In both Washington, D.C., and Houston those with only a grade school education have the lowest rates of *voseo* claiming. And, the only group with rates 30 percent or higher in both cities is the post-secondary contingent, though respondents in Washington, D.C., with a high school education also reach this threshold. Both of these results are the opposite of what would be expected of Salvadorans in El Salvador and thus must be viewed in light not only of education but of

the influence of the respondents' relocation to the United States. The lower *voseo* claiming among the least educated contingents can be hypothesized to be related to linguistic insecurity. Those with only a grade school education in both cities are trying to imitate the upper class or prestigious model of informal address that they see in the Spanish of the United States, *tuteo*. This reinforces school instruction they may have received in El Salvador to use *tuteo* even as they used and heard *voseo* at home. Once in the United States, they may feel compelled to begin to use it more in an attempt to conform to prestigious local norms. These factors lead them to engage in hypercorrection, or to claim more *tuteo* than they actually use.

In opposite fashion, the very people who might tend to favor *tuteo* in El Salvador to demonstrate their status could very well feel compelled to maintain *voseo* once in the United States. While respondents' legal status was not asked on the questionnaire, it may be the case that many who have attained a post-secondary level of education came here through regular channels, either to study or to work. Such individuals would not need to hide their *voseo* in an attempt to avoid detection. Additionally, as greater educational attainment is related to higher levels of linguistic security, hesitation between *voseo* and *tuteo* may be lessened. Furthermore, in this position of strength, such Salvadorans may consciously retain a somewhat higher level of *voseo* as a symbol of their cultural identity and individuality (Lipski 2008:160).

4.10. Discussion: *voseo* claiming by interlocutor

Some of the clearest results from the questionnaire are those dealing with the effect of interlocutors on the choice of address form. In almost all cases, the less intimate the

relationship is with interlocutors, the more the *voseo* claiming rate decreases. In Washington, D.C, the rate of claiming of the pronoun *vos* with a family member interlocutor of the same age or younger is 50 percent. When the interlocutor is a Salvadoran friend the same age or younger, the rate drops, albeit slightly, to 48.7 percent. When the interlocutor is a foreign friend the same age or younger, the rate falls to 36.4 percent. Therefore, in Washington, D.C., a more important factor than the difference between family and friends for respondents seems to be difference between Salvadorans and foreigners. The picture in Houston is similar in some respects. The rate of *vos* claiming with family members, 38.6 percent, is higher than with foreign friends, 26.5 percent. However, the highest rate of *vos* is seen in conjunction with Salvadoran friends, 51.4 percent. As discussed in 4.8 on address form claiming and age, such a result indicates a greater maintenance and transmission of *voseo* within Salvadoran families in Washington, D.C., than in Houston.

Voseo claiming rates in both cities are higher with the Salvadoran than the Mexican interlocutor. This was expected, based both on the results for adult interlocutors just discussed and on literature regarding the limited use of *voseo* by Salvadorans with foreigners, even when in El Salvador (cf. Chapter II, 2.20). The difference in Washington, D.C., is 6.2 percent, and in Houston the discrepancy is an even greater 18.5 percent. A comparison of *voseo* claiming with the Mexican interlocutor between cities shows that significant advantage for this form in Washington, D.C., compared to Houston. This indicates that Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., where

they are the largest Hispanic group, do not feel as much pressure to accommodate to *tuteante* speakers as those in Houston, which is dominated by Mexican speakers.

Table 4.14 features the same young Salvadoran and Mexican interlocutors but considers both pronominal and verbal forms. Once again, in both cities VV forms were chosen at higher rates with the Salvadoran interlocutor than the Mexican. Conversely, the TT rates were much higher in connection with the Mexican interlocutor over the Salvadoran. This was particularly the case in Houston, where respondents chose TT at a rate of 82 percent. This shows a strong inclination for Salvadorans in Houston to accommodate to *tuteo*. In contrast, Houston respondents chose VV at a rate of 8.1 percent, TV at 7.7 percent, and VT at 2.2 percent.

Finally, Table 4.15, on *voseo* vs. *tuteo* imperative claiming, contains results consistent with the others discussed in this section. It is based again on a young Salvadoran or Mexican friend as interlocutor and shows once more that in both cities the nationality of these interlocutors is crucial. In both cities, *voseo* imperative forms were claimed more than one-third of the time with the Salvadoran interlocutor and less than one quarter of the time with the Mexican interlocutor.

4.11. Discussion: *voseo* claiming by linguistic variables

Voseo and *tuteo* claiming by verb form does not differ widely by city when broken down by linguistic variables such as the imperative, present indicative, and present subjunctive. The only statistically significant difference is the advantage in Houston of higher present subjunctive *voseo* claiming rates. When the subjunctive is considered by

semantic value, there is no significant difference in either city between subjunctive forms contained in subordinate clauses and negative imperative forms.

4.12. Discussion: attitudes toward *voseo*

A large majority in both cities expressed either no preference for either form or a preference for *tuteo*. In Washington, D.C., more respondents expressed a greater preference for *voseo* than in Houston. However, this did not translate into more *voseo* claiming in Washington, D.C. Nevertheless, the following chapter contains a discussion of discrepancies that can occur between what respondents claim and the forms they actually use. Therefore, the attitudes regarding *voseo* in Table 4.19 will be revisited in Chapter V as a possible predictor of actual *voseo* use in Protocols 2 and 3.

4.13. Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the results of the Protocol 1 questionnaire on *voseo* claiming and analyzed and discussed this data. In addition to the main independent variable of geographical location, the results are also considered by both social and linguistic variables. The main result seen in this chapter is that the rate of *voseo* claiming in Washington, D.C., and Houston was both lower than predicted and statistically similar in both cities.

The following chapter addresses the results of the second and third protocols.

The Protocol 2 participants consist of 10 pairs in each city, drawn mostly from the Protocol 1 respondents, to engage in structured verbal activities. Likewise, the Protocol 3 sample is comprised of two married couples in each city, drawn from the Protocol 2 participants, along with the son of one of these couples in Houston. The third protocol

data are based on conversation in these couples' homes designed to represent natural and spontaneous speech. The principal aim of both of these protocols is to address differences in forms of singular familiar addresses between participants in the two cities, and between the two protocols, as well as discrepancies between Protocol 2 and 3 usage and the forms claimed in Protocol 1. For instance, just as a discrepancy has been seen in the present chapter between Protocol 1 respondents' attitudes toward *voseo* and *tuteo* and their claiming of these forms of address, the following chapter will analyze any difference between this claiming and the actual usage in Protocols 2 and 3.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF PROTOCOLS 2 AND 3

5.1. Chapter overview

This chapter discusses and analyzes the results of the second and third protocols. These two protocols are grouped because the data on *voseo* and *tuteo* for both are based on actual speech of the study participants. This is in contrast to Protocol 1, in which respondents were limited to claiming forms of address.

The sample for Protocol 2 consists of 20 individuals in each city, grouped into 10 pairs for structured verbal activities. Subjects were mostly drawn from the larger pool of Protocol 1 respondents. The majority of these participants (14 of 20 in Washington, D.C., and 16 of 20 in Houston) were drawn from the pool of Protocol 1 questionnaire respondents (cf. Chapter III, 3.9). This was done intentionally: one of the objectives of the protocols was to compare the *voseo* claiming and *voseo* use of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., and Houston.

The married couples in each city who comprise the Protocol 3 sample were drawn from the Protocol 2 participants. The third protocol data were collected in a way designed to allow natural and spontaneous speech, with no structured activities. The aim of both the second and third protocols is to reveal differences in forms of familiar address between participants in Washington, D.C., and Houston, as well as discrepancies between these forms and those claimed in the Protocol 1 questionnaire for each location. Therefore, in the discussion sections, the results in this chapter will at times be discussed in relation to the results from the previous chapter.

5.2. Protocol 2 results on *voseo* usage

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are qualitative since they simply show which participants used what forms of address. Placing this information in graphic form also shows that the types of relationships captured in each city for this protocol are the same.

Table 5.1. Use of *voseo*, *tuteo*, or *ustedeo* (all Washington, D.C., respondents).*

	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	<i>Ustedeo</i>
DC1MSP		√	
DC2FSP	√	√	
DC3MSP			√
DC4FSP		√	√
DC5MSP			√
DC6FSP			√
DC7MSP	√		
DC8FSP		√	
DC9FFR			√
DC10FFR			√
DC11FFR	√	√	
DC12FFR		√	
DC13MFR	√		
DC14MFR	√	√	
DC15MAC			√
DC16MAC			√
DC17FAC			√
DC18FAC		√	√
DC19FSI		√	
DC20FSI		√	
Totals	5	10	10

* Totals equal more than 20 as some participants used more than one form of address

DC = Washington, D.C., MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend,

MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sister

Table 5.2. Use of *voseo*, *tuteo*, or *ustedeo* (all Houston respondents).*

	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	<i>Ustedeo</i>
H1MSP			√
H2FSP		√	
H3MSP	√	√	
H4FSP	√	√	
H5MSP	√	√	
H6FSP	√	√	
H7MSP	√	√	
H8FSP		√	
H9FFR	√		
H10FFR	√	√	
H11FFR	√	√	
H12FFR		√	
H13MFR		√	√
H14MFR		√	√
H15MAC		√	
H16MAC			√
H17FAC			√
H18FAC			√
H19FSI	√	√	
H20FSI	√	√	
Totals	10	15	6

* Totals equal more than 20 as some participants used more than one form of address

H = Houston, MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate at a glance which of the speakers interviewed used *voseo*, *tuteo*, and *ustedeo* in their interactions. In Washington, D.C., eight people employed only formal *ustedeo* forms, whereas four did so in Houston. As only *voseo* and *tuteo* forms are being compared, those who used *ustedeo* exclusively will not be considered in any of the remaining tables, leaving 12 familiar form users in Washington, D.C., and 16 in Houston. Of these participants, in Washington, D.C., two used both *tuteo* and *voseo*, two used only *voseo*, and five used only *tuteo*. In Houston, nine used both *tuteo* and *voseo*, one used *voseo* exclusively, and four used *tuteo* exclusively.

Respondents in Washington, D.C., used 132 *voseo* and *tuteo* tokens (both pronominal and verbal), compared to 158 in Houston. All homomorphic forms were excluded from consideration due to the impossibility of determining *voseo* or *tuteo* intent on the part of the speakers. These include the reflexive and object pronoun *te*, the possessive pronoun *tu*, certain one-syllable and irregular verbs in the present tense such as *ver*, *dar* y *estar* (*ves*, *das* y *estás*), and past tense conjugations (*comías*, *comiste*, *comieras*, etc.). The subject and prepositional object pronouns for both *voseo* and *tuteo*, *vos* and *ti*, respectively, were counted among the total number of tokens. Table 5.3 compares only the more numerous imperative and present indicative verb forms by city, whereas all 132 and 158 tokens, respectively, have been used in Tables 5.4-5.7 to tabulate the frequencies of Protocol 2 *voseo/tuteo* use in both cities,. Spanish allows pronoun-dropping, and the majority of the verbs appeared without pronouns. The pronouns that were used, combined with the also numerically minimal subjunctive verb forms, totaled only 15 in Washington, D.C., and 24 in Houston.

Table 5.3. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by verbal mood in both cities.

	Imperative (n)		Present indicative (n)		Totals (n)
	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	
Wash., D.C	43.1% (22)	56.9% (29)	25.8% (17)	74.2% (49)	(117)
Houston	31.9% (23)	68.1% (49)	17.7% (11)	82.3% (51)	(134)
Totals (n)	(45)	(78)	(28)	(100)	(251)

Imperative: $\chi^2(1)=1.61$, $p= p<0.204$

Pres. indic: $\chi^2(1)=1.20$, $p= p<0.272$

Table 5.3 shows that Washington, D.C., participants used higher rates of *voseo* with both the imperative and present indicative verb forms than their counterparts in Houston. The trend is clear, but with a relatively small number of tokens it is not statistically significant. The table also shows that in both cities *voseo* usage rates are much higher with the imperative than the present indicative form. The data in Table 5.4 is based on all of the tokens singular familiar forms used in both cities, both verbs and pronouns.

Table 5.4. Overall *voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by city.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.	32.6 (43)	67.4 (89)	(132)
Houston	25.3 (40)	74.7 (118)	(158)
Totals	(83)	(207)	(290)
$\chi^2(1)=1.85, p=0.173$			

Table 5.4 shows that the 12 familiar form users in Washington, D.C., utilized *voseo* forms nearly one-third of the time overall, while their 16 counterparts in Houston did so less often, approximately one-fourth of the time. This difference, however, is only indicative due to a combination of factors: the small difference between the values and a small sample size. What is significant, however, is the overall difference in *voseo* use between male and female participants. Table 5.5 shows the results by in both cities of informal address usage among Salvadorans.

Table 5.5. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by gender in both cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Male	42.5 (51)	57.5 (69)	(120)
Female	18.8 (32)	81.2 (138)	(170)
Totals	(83)	(207)	(290)
$\chi^2(1)=19.30, p<0.01$			

Table 5.5 shows a significant difference in the use of *voseo* and *tuteo* between the sexes among all 28 familiar form users in both cities. For the men, nearly half of the tokens of second person informal usage were *voseante*, while for women more than four-fifths were *tuteante*.

When considering the effect of gender on the familiar form used across cities, Table 5.6 shows that by a large margin men in Washington, D.C., used more *voseo* than any other contingent. In fact, at 62 percent it is the only cohort to use a higher percentage of *voseo* than *tuteo* forms. Men in Houston used *voseo* at the significantly lower rate of just over 20 percent. Among females, the opposite is the case: *voseo* use was significantly higher in Houston (27.7 percent) than in Washington, D.C., (5.8 percent). In Table 5.7, where the genders are considered within the same city, Men in Washington, D.C., chose *voseo* almost 10 times more frequently than women (62 to 5.8 percent). In Houston, it was the women who chose more *voseo*, though the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 5.6. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by gender across cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Males			
Washington, D.C.	62.0 (39)	38.0 (24)	(63)
Houston	21.1 (12)	78.9 (45)	(57)
Totals	(51)	(69)	(115)
$\chi^2(1)=20.43, p<0.01$			
Females			
Washington, D.C.	5.8 (4)	94.2 (65)	(69)
Houston	27.7 (28)	72.3 (73)	(101)
Totals	(32)	(138)	(175)
$\chi^2(1)=12.89, p<0.01$			

Table 5.7. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by opposite gender in same city.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
Males	62.0 (39)	38.9 (24)	(63)
Females	5.8 (4)	94.2 (65)	(69)
Totals	(43)	(89)	(132)
$\chi^2(1)=47.20, p<0.01$			
Houston			
Males	21.1 (12)	78.9 (45)	(57)
Females	27.7 (28)	72.3 (73)	(101)
Totals	(40)	(118)	(158)
$\chi^2(1)=0.85, p=0.354$			

The Protocol 2 data will not be broken down by age, since only two subjects in Washington, D.C., and three in Houston were identified as being between the ages of 18 and 30. Regarding educational attainment, only two participants indicated a grade school education in Washington, D.C., and none did so in Houston. Therefore, only the familiar form use of those with a high school or post-secondary education is considered in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by educational attainment across cities.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
High school			
Washington, D.C.	40.0 (24)	60.0 (36)	(60)
Houston	11.8 (9)	88.2 (67)	(76)
Totals	(33)	(103)	(136)
$\chi^2(1)=14.46, p<0.01$			
Post-secondary			
Washington, D.C.	0.0 (0)	100 (10)	(10)
Houston	35.9 (14)	64.1 (26)	(40)
Totals	(14)	(36)	(49)
$\chi^2(1)=4.86, p=0.027$			

* These figures do not represent all familiar form users as this information is not available for some speakers.

Table 5.8 shows that for those with a high school education, *voseo* use is significantly higher among the Washington, D.C., participants. For those at the post-secondary level, the opposite is the case and the Houston contingent claimed *voseo* at a significantly higher rate, though the small size of the Washington, D.C., participants and tokens must be taken into consideration.

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 deal with *voseo/tuteo* usage based on different considerations of time. The former tabulates these forms of address with regard to respondents' age at the time they arrived in the United States, while the latter considers how many years they have been in the country since they arrived.

Table 5.9. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by age upon arrival in the United States.*

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Washington, D.C.			
Before age 15	0.0 (0)	100 (10)	(10)
After age 15	41.0 (27)	59.0 (39)	(66)
Totals	(27)	(49)	(76)
$\chi^2(1)=6.35, p=0.011$			
Houston			
Before age 15	5.9 (1)	94.1 (16)	(17)
After age 15	19.8 (17)	80.2 (69)	(86)
Totals	(18)	(85)	(103)
$\chi^2(1)=1.89, p=0.168$			

* These figures do not represent all familiar form users as not all filled out a questionnaire and some who did failed to answer this specific question

Table 5.9 shows that among the minority of participants in both cities who arrived in the United States before the age of 15, *tuteo* use was nearly categorical. For the larger contingent comprised of those who came after their fifteenth birthday, *tuteo* use was lower. The rate of *voseo* was significantly higher in Washington, D.C., (40 percent).

Table 5.10. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by years spent in the United States since arrival.*

6-10 years			
Washington, D.C.	18.8 (3)	81.2 (13)	(16)
Houston	0.0 (0)	100 (15)	(15)
Totals	(3)	(28)	(31)
$\chi^2(1)=3.11, p=0.077$			
11+ years			
Washington, D.C.	45.3 (24)	54.7 (29)	(53)
Houston	12.8 (10)	87.2 (74)	(84)
Totals	(34)	(103)	(137)
$\chi^2(1)=19.40, p<0.01$			

* These figures do not represent all familiar form users as not all filled out a questionnaire and some who did failed to answer this specific question

In table 5.10, *voseo/tuteo* usage is considered according to years of residence in the United States. Because there were no informants in Houston who had lived in the United States between 3-5 years, and none with two years or less in the country in Washington, D.C., these contingents are not included. Among the two contingents that are considered, the advantage for *voseo* use belongs to the Washington, D.C., participants in both cases, but this difference is only statistically significant for those who have been in the United States 11 years or more, whose *voseo* use rate of 45.3 percent is more than triple that of their Houston counterparts, with 12.8 percent.

Table 5.11 breaks down familiar form usage in accordance with participants' expressed feelings about *voseo* based on open-ended questions regarding this form of address (cf. Chapter III, 3.4 for details).

Table 5.11. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by attitudes toward this form of address.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Expressed pride in <i>voseo</i>			
Washington, D.C.	100 (30)	0.0 (0)	(30)
Houston	33.3 (22)	66.7 (44)	(66)
Totals	(52)	(44)	(96)
$\chi^2(1)=36.92, p<0.01$			
Did not express pride in <i>voseo</i>			
Washington, D.C.	7.8 (8)	92.2 (94)	(102)
Houston	19.6 (18)	80.4 (74)	(92)
Totals	(26)	(168)	(194)
$\chi^2(1)=5.72 p=0.016$			

Table 5.11 shows that of the 12 Washington, D.C., participants who used familiar forms, two expressed pride in *voseo* when queried on the subject as part of Protocol 2, and both used this form 100 percent of the time. This figure is statistically significant vis-à-vis the 33.3 percent *voseo* usage among the Houston participants who expressed pride in *voseo* (8 of the 16 familiar form users). In Washington, D.C., those who expressed no explicit pride in *voseo* chose this form only 7.8 percent of the time, significantly less than those in the same position in Houston (19.6 percent).

Table 5.12 considers familiar form use based on participants' expressions of maintenance of their Salvadoran culture in response to open-ended questions regarding such matters as food preferences and travel or desire to travel back to El Salvador (cf. Chapter III, 3.3).

Table 5.12. *Voseo* vs. *tuteo* use by expressed maintenance of Salvadoran culture.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
High cultural maintenance			
Washington, D.C.	40.0 (38)	60.0 (57)	(95)
Houston	27.4 (40)	72.6 (106)	(146)
Totals	(78)	(163)	(241)
$\chi^2(1)=4.17, p=0.041$			
Low cultural maintenance			
Washington, D.C.	0.0 (0)	100 (37)	(37)
Houston	0.0 (0)	100 (12)	(12) *
Totals	(0)	(49)	(49)
$\chi^2(1)=50.01, p<0.01$			

* Figure based on only one respondent

Table 5.12 shows that respondents in Washington, D.C., who expressed cultural maintenance used *voseo* form 40 percent of the time, a figure significantly higher than the 27.4 percent in Houston for speakers who also claimed to maintain their Salvadoran culture. Among the three participants in Washington, D.C. who did not express cultural maintenance and the one who fit this category in Houston, *tuteo* use was categorical.

5.3. Results: Overall Protocol 2 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming

In the following tables, the *voseo* use results of Protocol 2 are compared to those of *voseo* claiming in Protocol 1. Instead of focusing on the differences between the cities, the emphasis now is a comparison of the results for the same variables for each city but between protocols. In other words, the focus is to determine the similarities and differences of address form claiming and address form usage. This allows for a comparison of language perceptions and actual behavior among Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., and Houston. Table 5.13 begins by comparing the overall results of these two protocols.

Table 5.13. Overall Protocol 1 claiming vs. overall Protocol 2 use by city.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	28.9 (1051)	71.1 (2584)	(3635)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	32.6 (43)	67.4 (89)	(132)
$\chi^2(1)=0.83$, $p=0.362$			
P1 claiming Houston	30.0 (1074)	70.0 (2510)	(3584)
P2 use Houston	25.3 (40)	74.7 (118)	(158)
$\chi^2(1)=1.57$, $p=0.211$			

Tables 5.13 shows that the *voseo* claiming rates in Protocol 1 and those of *voseo* use in Protocol 2 are similar in both cities. However, in Washington, D.C., the *voseo* claiming rate was lower than the usage rate, while the opposite was the case in Houston, where *voseo* was claimed at a higher rate than it was used. However, in neither case was this difference statistically significant. Additionally, while the *voseo* advantage belonged to Houston respondents in the first protocol, in the second protocol it belongs to participants in Washington, D.C.

5.4. Results: Protocol 2 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming by gender

Table 5.14 compares *voseo* claiming and use by gender in both cities. This allows a general consideration of Salvadoran speakers in the United States. Table 5.15 then considers this phenomenon in each city.

Table 5.14. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 2 use by gender in both cites.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
P1 claiming Male	34.4 (1217)	65.6 (2317)	(3534)
P2 use Male	42.5 (51)	57.5 (69)	(120)
$\chi^2(1)=3.33, p=0.068$			
P1 claiming Female	24.6 (908)	75.4 (2777)	(3685)
P2 use Female	18.8 (32)	81.2 (138)	(170)
$\chi^2(1)=2.98, p=0.084$			

Table 5.14 shows that while women claimed *voseo* at a higher rate than they used it, men claimed it at a lower rate than they used it. However, in neither case is the discrepancy so large as to be statistically significant.

Table 5.15. Protocol 1 vs. Protocol 2 claiming vs. use by gender across cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Males			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	33.2 (628)	66.8 (1262)	(1890)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	62.0 (39)	38.0 (24)	(63)
$\chi^2(1)=22.30, p<0.01$			
P1 claiming Houston	35.8 (589)	64.2 (1055)	(1644)
P2 use Houston	21.1 (12)	78.9 (45)	(57)
$\chi^2(1)=5.26, p=0.021$			
Females			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	24.2 (423)	75.8 (1322)	(1745)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	5.8 (4)	94.2 (65)	(69)
$\chi^2(1)=12.55, p<0.01$			
P1 claiming Houston	25.0 (485)	75.0 (1455)	(1940)
P2 use Houston	27.7 (28)	72.3 (73)	(101)
$\chi^2(1)=0.38, p=0.247$			

Table 5.15 shows that *voseo* use for men in Washington, D.C., is nearly double what their claiming rate was, a significant difference. In Houston, in contrast, the rate drops more than 10 percent, which is also significant. Among the females, the rate of *voseo* claiming in Washington, D.C., drops to a significantly lower usage rate, whereas in Houston the figure is nearly unchanged.

5.5. Results: Protocol 2 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming by level of education

Table 5.16 contrasts the rate at which Protocol 1 questionnaire respondents claimed *voseante* forms of address and the frequency with which they used such forms in the paired activities of Protocol 2, by level of education in each city.

Table 5.16. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 2 use by educational attainment across cities.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
High School			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	31.3 (433)	68.7 (952)	1385
P2 use Washington, D.C.	40.0 (24)	60.0 (36)	(60)
$\chi^2(1)=2.03, p=0.154$			
P1 claiming Houston	26.5 (474)	73.5 (1318)	1792
P2 use Houston	11.8 (9)	88.2 (67)	(76)
$\chi^2(1)=8.11, p<0.01$			
Post-secondary			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	30.0 (431)	70.0 (1004)	1435
P2 use Washington, D.C.	0.0 (0)	100 (10)	(10)
$\chi^2(1)=4.28, p=0.038$			
P1 claiming Houston	36.5 (442)	63.5 (768)	1210
P2 use Houston	35.9 (14)	64.1 (26)	(40)
$\chi^2(1)=0.04, p=0.843$			

It can be seen in Table 5.16 that the only contingent who used more *voseo* than they claimed were those with a high school education in Washington, D.C., though the increase is not statistically significant. Those in Houston with city with a high school and those in Washington, D.C., with a post-secondary education used significantly less *voseo* than they claimed. There was also a decrease in *voseo* claiming to *voseo* use among those in Houston with a post-secondary education, but the difference was not significant.

5.6. Results: Protocol 2 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming by arrival age/years in US

Table 5.17 compares the rate of *voseo/tuteo* claiming in the first protocol to that of usage in the second protocol among two different groups: those who arrived in the United States before the age of 15 and those who came at an older age. Table 5.18 makes the same comparison among those with between 6-10 years in the country and 11 years or more.

Table 5.17. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 2 use by age upon arrival in the United States.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
Before age 15			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	29.5 (134)	70.5 (320)	(454)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	0.0 (0)	100 (10)	(10)
$\chi^2(1)=4.15, p=0.04$			
P1 claiming Houston	23.8 (197)	76.2 (632)	(829)
P2 use Houston	5.9 (1)	94.1 (16)	(17)
$\chi^2(1)=2.97, p=0.084$			
After age 15			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	29.5 (837)	70.5 (2000)	(2837)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	41.0 (27)	59.0 (39)	(66)
$\chi^2(1)=4.01, p=0.045$			
P1 claiming Houston	31.0 (770)	69.0 (1713)	(2483)
P2 use Houston	19.8 (17)	80.2 (69)	(86)
$\chi^2(1)=4.95, p=0.026$			

Table 5.17 shows that one group used more *voseo* than they claimed:

Washington, D.C., participants who arrived in the United States after the age of 15.

Their counterparts in Houston used significantly less *voseo* than they claimed, as did those in Washington, D.C., who arrived in the country before the age of 15. Those in Houston who came before the age of 15 also used less *voseo* than they claimed, but the difference was not significant.

Table 5.18. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 2 use by years spent in the United States since arrival.

	<i>Voseo</i> (n)	<i>Tuteo</i> (n)	Totals (n)
6-10 years			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	31.7 (293)	68.3 (631)	(924)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	18.8 (3)	81.2 (13)	(16)
$\chi^2(1)=1.22, p=0.268$			
P1 claiming Houston	17.7 (144)	82.3 (671)	(815)
P2 use Houston	0.0 (0)	100 (15)	(15)
$\chi^2(1)=3.21, p=0.073$			
11+ years			
P1 claiming Washington, D.C.	26.2 (247)	73.8 (697)	(944)
P2 use Washington, D.C.	45.3 (24)	54.7 (29)	(53)
$\chi^2(1)=9.26, p=0.002$			
P1 claiming Houston	29.5 (456)	70.5 (1089)	(1545)
P2 use Houston	12.8 (10)	87.2 (74)	(84)
$\chi^2(1)=12.09, p<0.01$			

Table 5.18 shows that one contingent, Washington, D.C., participants who have lived in the United States for 11 years or more, used a higher rate of *voseo* than they claimed. The same contingent in Houston used significantly less *voseo* than they claimed. Both the Washington, D.C., and Houston groups who have lived in the country between six and 10 years also used less *voseo* than they claimed, but the difference was not significant.

5.7. Results: Protocol 2 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming by individual

While the previous tables have compared Protocol 2 results to those of Protocol 1 according to different independent variables and by combining all responses, Table 5.19 compares the individual *voseo/tuteo* claiming and use of the seven respondents in Washington, D.C., and the 12 in Houston who both filled out a questionnaire and chose familiar forms of address in the paired activities.

Table 5.19. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 2 familiar form use.*

	Form(s) claimed (Protocol 1)	Form(s) used (Protocol 2)
Washington, D.C.		
DC1MSP	T	T
DC2FSP	V, T	V, T
DC7MSP	V, T	V
DC11FFR	V, T	V, T
DC12FFR	V, T	T
DC18FAC	V, T	T
DC19FSI	V, T	T
Houston		
H2FSP	V, T	T
H3MSP	V, T	V, T
H4FSP	V, T	V, T
H5MSP	V, T	V, T
H9FFR	V, T	V
H10FFR	V, T	V, T
H11FFR	V, T	V, T
H12FFR	V, T	T
H13MFR	T	T
H14MFR	V, T	T
H15MAC	V, T	T
H19FSI	V, T	V, T

* These figures do not represent all familiar form users as not all filled out a questionnaire

MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend,

MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters

T = *tuteo*, V = *voseo*

All informants in Table 5.19 included at least one of the forms they used among the forms they claimed. In Washington, D.C., three of the seven participants were wholly consistent in what they claimed and what they used. One claimed and used only *tuteo*, and two claimed and used both *tuteo* and *voseo*. In Houston, seven of the 12 participants were completely consistent in terms of claiming and use. One claimed and used *tuteo* only, while six claimed and used both *tuteo* and *voseo* forms. In Washington, D.C., one of the two men was wholly consistent between Protocols 1 and 2, and this was

the case for two of the five women. In Houston, three of five men chose and used the same forms, and four of seven women did the same. In both cities, all informants claimed to use *tuteo*, and all but one in each city claimed *voseo*. However, when use is considered, *voseo* rates drop considerably while *tuteo* remains strong. In Houston, only three of the seven participants used *voseo*, but six of the seven used *tuteo*. In Houston, seven of the 12 informants used *voseo*, while for *tuteo* the figure was 11 of 12.

5.8. Protocol 3 results on *voseo* usage

Table 5.20 shows the total number of identifiable second person singular address tokens used in the Protocol 3 home visits. Of the nine participants, eight used at least one form of address with the other person or persons present. The exception was a wife in Washington, D.C., who spoke only *about* things rather than speaking directly *to* her husband. The *ustedeo* tokens listed in the table are not considered hereafter. Due to the modest size of the data set, the tokens are not broken down between pronouns and verbs.

Table 5.20. Second person singular address use of Protocol 3 participants.

	<i>Voseo</i>	<i>Tuteo</i>	<i>Ustedeo</i>
Washington, D.C.	8	11	7
Houston	0	11	1

While the treatment of these few tokens will of necessity be qualitative, they are counted in Table 5.20 to show the main Protocol 3 result: that while *tuteante* forms were used in both cities, and some *voseante* forms were employed in Washington, D.C., there was no *voseo* use in Houston. The following breakdown shows which participants used what form(s) of address with whom by home visit:

Washington, D.C.

- Family 1 DC1MSP: used *tuteo* with wife
 DC2FSP: used *tuteo* and *voseo* with husband; used *tuteo* and *voseo* with
 daughter-in-law (by phone)
- Family 2 DC3MSP: used *ustedeo* with wife; used *voseo*, *tuteo*, and *ustedeo* with
 infant son; used *voseo* with co-worker (by phone)
 DC4FSP: used no forms of address

Houston

- Family 1 H1MSP: used *ustedeo* with wife
 H2FSP: used *tuteo* with husband
- Family 2 H3MSP: used *tuteo* with young granddaughter
 H4FSP: used *tuteo* with husband
 Son of H3MSP and H4FSP: used *tuteo* with young son and daughter

5.9. Results: Protocol 3 vs. Protocol 2 *voseo* use by individual

The forms of address used by informants in the Protocol 3 home visits can in some cases be compared to their speech in Protocol 2. Table 5.21 compares the four respondents in each city who participated in both protocols and who produced forms that allow for comparison.

Table 5.21. Protocol 2 use vs. Protocol 3 use.

	Form(s) used (Protocol 2)	Form(s) used (Protocol 3)
Washington, D.C.		
DC1MSP	T	H
DC2FSP	V, T	V, T
DC3MSP	U	U
DC4FSP	U, T	-
Houston		
H1MSP	U	U
H2FSP	T	T
H3MSP	V, T	-
H4FSP	V, T	T

MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse

V = *voseo*, T = *tuteo*, U = *ustedeo*, H = homomorphic familiar form

Table 5.21 shows that in Washington, D.C., two of the four respondents were wholly consistent in their behavior during both protocols. The first female spouse used both *voseo* and *tuteo* with her husband in the second and third protocols. It is not possible to say definitively or the husband in turn was consistent in his address to his wife. He addressed her directly only once, stating the following about his work schedule: *Sí, bueno, por eso te digo que estoy tratando de conseguir el 15 también* ‘Yes, well, that’s why I’m telling you that I’m trying to get the 15th off, too.’ It may be that this homomorphic pronominal use in Protocol 3 is consistent with his *tuteo* in Protocol 2, and with his *tuteo* only claiming in Protocol 1, but it is impossible to know for sure.

The second husband in Washington, D.C., used *voseo*, with a co-worker and with his son. The only interlocutor with which he spoke in both Protocols 2 and 3 was his wife, and he used only *ustedeo* with her in both cases. And it is not possible to say if she was consistent or not, since she did not use any address forms with him in Protocol 3.

In Houston, the husband and wife in the first couple were consistent between the two protocols, using only *ustedeo* and *tuteo*, respectively. The wife of the other couple was partially consistent, moving from using *voseo* and *tuteo* with her husband in the structured activities to employing only *tuteo* the two times that she addressed him in the free conversation. The husband, who had also used both *voseo* and *tuteo* in the second protocol, did not address his wife in the third protocol, so his behavior cannot be contrasted across the two protocols.

5.10. Results: Protocol 3 *voseo* use vs. Protocol 1 claiming by individual

This section compares behavior across protocols, this time between the forms of address claimed in Protocol 1 and those used in the free speech of Protocol 3. Table 5.22, then, includes all those who both filled out a questionnaire and took part in the third protocol.

Table 5.22. Protocol 1 claiming vs. Protocol 3 familiar form use.*

	Form(s) claimed (Protocol 1)	Form(s) used (Protocol 3)
Washington, D.C.		
DC1MSP	T	T
DC2FSP	V, T	V, T
DC3MSP	V, T	V, T
Houston		
H2FSP	V, T	T
H3MSP	V, T	T
H4FSP	V, T	T

* These figures do not represent all familiar form users as not all filled out a questionnaire

MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse

T = *tuteo*, V = *voseo*

Table 5.22 shows that all three Protocol 3 participants in Washington, D.C., were wholly consistent in the forms of address they claimed and the forms they used in the home visits. One claimed and used only *tuteo*, while two claimed and used both *voseo*

and *tuteo*. In Houston, all three participants in question were only partially consistent, claiming both *voseo* and *tuteo* but using only *tuteo* in Protocol 3. They were, however, consistent in the fact that the form they failed to use in each case was *voseo*.

5.11. Discussion of results for Protocol 2

The overall results of Protocol 2 do not vary greatly between Washington, D.C., and Houston. The two most salient results are the greater *voseo* usage rates in Washington, D.C., compared to Houston (Table 5.4), and the overall advantage of men in using this form of address when both cities are considered together (Table 5.5). The *voseo* advantage in Washington, D.C., is in contrast to the Protocol 1 advantage in Houston for this form of address. The *voseo* advantage among males, on the other hand, is the continuation of a trend from the first protocol. In fact, one of the most informative ways to consider the Protocol 2 data is comparing it to Protocol 1. For example, the *voseo* holds the advantage in Washington, D.C. However, this advantage is due to the fact that Protocol 2 *voseo* usage rates are higher than the Protocol 1 claiming rates in Washington, D.C., while the opposite is true in Houston. Furthermore, this trend of greater *voseo* use than claiming in Washington, D.C., is manifested consistently for all independent variables, such as gender, educational attainment, age upon arrival in the United States, and years spent in the country since arriving. In contrast, the trend in all of these tables is for Houston contingents to claim more *voseo* and use less.

The difference between *voseo* claiming and *voseo* usage in both cities was perhaps presaged by a Protocol 1 result. In answering an open-ended question about *voseo* and *tuteo*, more Washington, D.C., respondents expressed a greater preference for

voseo than those in Houston. It may also be a case of people thinking they do one thing while actually doing another, something not uncommon in the findings of sociolinguistic research (cf. Chapter II, 2.10)

5.12. Discussion: Protocol 2 *voseo* use by variables of linguistic attitude and culture

The *voseo* usage rate was higher in correlation with positive responses (i.e. pride in *voseo*, high cultural maintenance). Additionally, the advantage belonged to Washington, D.C. The following examples are answers from respondents in both cities to questions regarding possible Salvadoran pride related to *voseo* use and on Salvadoran culture.

Regarding sentiments on *voseo* use, Washington, D.C., informant DC7MSP stated: *Sí, es un orgullo decirle vos [a un amigo], porque uno ya lo tiene más cerca* ‘Yes, it makes you proud to say *vos* [to a friend], because it makes you feel closer to him’. He only used *voseo* during the Protocol 2 activities. In contrast, informant DC8FSP said: *No, para nosotros decir vos no es orgullo* ‘No, for us it’s not a matter of pride to say *vos*’. She only used *tuteo*. In Houston, informant H13MFR said that while Salvadorans often use *voseo* as a matter of national pride, in the United States Mexicans will often ridicule someone for using this form of address. Similarly, informant H14MFR said that *voseo* use among Salvadorans depends on who else might be nearby. Both of these informants only used *tuteo*.

As regards culture, Washington, D.C., informant DC2FSP said that she often goes to Salvadoran *pupuserías* and returns to El Salvador frequently. She used both *voseo* and *tuteo* in Protocol 2. In contrast, informant DC1MSP stated that while he continues to eat Salvadoran food, he quickly grew to like American food and does not

frequent Salvadoran restaurants such as *pupuserías*. He also has not returned to El Salvador in many years. He used only *tuteo* forms of address. In Houston, informants H5MSP and H6MSP own and operate a Salvadoran restaurant together. Both used *voseo* as well as *tuteo*.

The cases above indicate that the opinion of *voseo* and the level of cultural maintenance among Salvadorans in the United States tends to have an effect on the forms of address they use. Additionally, a pattern emerged among males respondents in both cities as they discussed their use of *voseo*. Informants DC4MSP, H1MSP, and H16MAC all said that often, when they use *voseo*, it is with a brother or a male friend.

5.13. Discussion of results for Protocol 3

The only respondents in both cities to use *voseo* in the Protocol 3 home visits were a woman in Washington, D.C., (DC2FSP) and a man from a different pair in the same city (DC3MSP). The woman used *voseo* and also *tuteo* with her husband, though not exclusively, as she also used *tuteo* forms with him. She also used both familiar forms with her daughter-in-law, who called on the phone during the visit. Interestingly, she did so even though her daughter-in-law is from Mexico, a *tuteante* country. What it is important to notice in this case are the verb forms in question. She said to her daughter-in-law: *¿Sabes qué, sabes qué? También quiero... mirá... cualquier cosa me llamas*. ‘You know what, you know what? I also want to.... Look... call me if you have any questions.’ Of the four verb forms used, only one assumed the imperative form: *mirá*. This was the only *voseante* form. The other three were indicative. It is likely that the form *mirá* is so common for this informant and other Salvadorans, that it is almost like a

set phrase resistant to change. In fact, Table 5.3 for all Protocol 2 participants in both cities shows considerably greater *voseo* use with imperative than with indicative forms.

The other *voseo* user in Washington, D.C., also employed this form of address when taking a call from a male Salvadoran co-worker. He stated: *¿Para vos? ¿Sabés qué es eso? ¿Sabés qué es eso? Es un two-by-four.* ‘For you? You know what that is? You know what that is? It’s a two-by-four.’ He not only uses a *voseante* indicative verb form, but the pronoun *vos*. And this is despite the fact that with his wife he used only *ustedeo*. (This also occurred with another couple (DC5MSP/DC6FSP), who said they decided always to use the formal *ustedeo* to show their respect for one another.) Speaking to his infant son, he used both *voseo* and *tuteo*, as well as *ustedeo* (cf. 5.14). The behavior of this man shows that a change in one’s interlocutor can also bring a change of address forms, and perhaps he favors *voseo* with intimates as long as they are not his wife.

The final discussion point for this section deals with the husband and wife in Houston whose Protocol 3 results are given in 5.9. They had both used *voseo* and with one another in the Protocol 2 activities, but in the third protocol she only used *tuteo* with him and he did not directly address her. However, he did speak to another person present, his granddaughter. He said the following to her: *Cierra la puerta, cierra la puerta* ‘Shut the door, shut the door.’ This verb, repeated, is *tuteante* in both cases. Both of these spouses also claimed to use *voseo* and *tuteo*, but in Protocol 3 they only used *tuteo*. This seems to indicate that both of them, born in El Salvador, still consider themselves to be speakers of a *voseante* dialect of Spanish, while also using some *tuteo*.

Nevertheless, when not being asked about their language use, and when not engaging in structured activities, they seem to revert to the form that has become most natural to them after many years in Houston, *tuteo*. Or, perhaps their *tuteo* use in the third protocol, can be explained in part not only by the presence of the granddaughter mentioned, but, more importantly, that of her father, the adult son of the couple in question. The son was born in El Salvador like his parents, but they moved to the United States when he was young and he may have accommodated to *tuteo* and brought it into the house. Indeed, this son also used *tuteo* not only with his daughter, but also with a young son who was also present.

5.14. Discussion: Mixing of forms of address in Protocols 2 and 3

This section addresses the mixing of second person forms of address by participants in the second and third protocols. This phenomenon can entail the mixing of pronominal and verbal forms of *voseo* and *tuteo*. It can also include the use of *voseo*, *tuteo*, and *ustedeo* by a single speaker with one and the same interlocutor. Protocol 2 offers two examples of the first type and Protocol 3 provides one example of the second type.

During the paired activities of Protocol 2, one of the Washington, D.C., informants stated: ...*como tú tenés problemas para los viernes...* ‘...since you have problems with Fridays...’ Similarly, but this time in Houston, an informant said: *Tú andás una camisa blanca...* ‘You are wearing a white shirt...’ This usage is consistent with these women’s claiming of both *voseo* and *tuteo* forms. Moreover, the particular combination they use conforms to the preference shown by questionnaire respondents as a whole.

In Washington, D.C., informant DC3MSP said the following in the same speech act:

¿Qué tenés [voseo], hijo? Las llaves. Tome [ustedeo]. No llores [tuteo], mi papá. Usted [ustedeo] es mi papá bonito. ‘What do you have, son? The keys. Take this [handing him another object]. Don’t cry, little daddy. You’re my cute little daddy.’

The norm for parents is to address their children with familiar forms, but they will at times address their children with the formal *ustedeo* to express tenderness or concern (cf. 2.22). Perhaps the father in this example uses *ustedeo* because his son is upset over the keys and he wants to console him. Whatever the exact intent may be, this case illustrates that forms of address are not rigid; speakers modulate them with different pragmatic purposes.

A final example of a participant who used both *voseo* and *tuteo* is seen here:

DC14MFR > DC13MFR: *[Name], tú tienes una camisa de color verde y el pantalón es un short azul y tienes zapatos blancos con, o zapatos “Nike” blancos con un color de negro también y calcetines blancos. ‘[Name], you have a green shirt on, and your shorts are blue, and you have white shoes with, or white “Nike” shoes which also have some black, and white socks.’*

DC13MFR > DC14MFR: *[Name], vos tenés una gorra puesta, camisa negra, una [inaudible] roja y blanca en el pecho, short en azul, calcetines blancos y zapatos café. ‘[Name], you have a ball cap on, a black shirt, a red [inaudible], blue shorts, white socks, and brown shoes.’*

DC14MFR > DC13MFR: *[Name], ¿qué piensas comer esta noche? ¿Qué pensás hacer mañana, en las actividades de mañana? ¿Y los planes que tenés para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Cuándo pensás tomar la próxima vacación? ¿Y las metas que tenés para los próximos cinco años? ‘[Name], what do you plan to eat tonight? What do you plan to do tomorrow, in your activities tomorrow? And what plans do you have for this coming weekend? When do plan to go on vacation next? And what goals do you have for the next five years?’*

It will be noted that in the first exchange DC14MFR addresses DC13MFR using *tuteo*. In the second exchange, DC13MFR uses the *voseo* conjugation of the same verb. In the third exchange, DC14MFR speaks once again and, as before, starts with *tuteo*. However, he then shifts to *voseo*, and he not only makes this change to *voseo* with the same verb he had just conjugated in *tuteo*, but he also goes on to also use *voseo* twice with the same verb he had conjugated earlier in the *tuteo* form.

The data also provide evidence of the “short-term accommodation” spoken of by Trudgill (1986), who contrasts it with “long-term accommodation” (3, 11). Building on this, Kerswill (2002) states that “long-term accommodation results from the cumulative effect of countless acts of short-term accommodation in particular conversational interactions” (680). While the accommodation considered in the main part of this study is viewed as potentially long-term, the example given above is at least one instance in the study where short-term accommodation can be observed in a single “conversational interaction.”

5.15. Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed and analyzed the results of the paired activities in Protocol 2 and those of the Protocol 3 home visits. The results of the second protocol have been discussed with regard to overall *voseo* usage differences between Washington, D.C., and Houston, and according to the variables of gender, age, educational attainment, age upon arrival in the United States, and the years spent in the country since arrival. These results have also been compared to the *voseo* claiming results of the Protocol 1

questionnaire, both generally and in the specific case of those who took part in both protocols.

The third protocol results have been discussed qualitatively due to the small number of participants. Despite this fact, the comparison between these subjects by city is relevant for various reasons. Most importantly, in each city three respondents took part in all three protocols. This has allowed for a comparison between their speech behavior in this third protocol and the second, as well as with regard to the forms they claimed in the first protocol. Additionally, the Protocol 3 data has provided insight into linguistic phenomena at the individual level that could not easily be done with the controlled techniques of Protocols 1 and 2. This includes changes of address forms due to a change of interlocutors, as well as due to the presence of speakers whose own preference may influence the forms chosen.

In both the second and third protocols, the rate of *voseo* was higher in Washington, D.C., than Houston. The comparisons with Protocol 1 also demonstrate that people may believe and claim to behave a certain way linguistically and yet perform at least somewhat differently in actual speech. For example, many in Protocol 1 claimed both *voseo* and *tuteo*, whereas in Protocols 2 and 3 they only used *tuteo*. Also in accordance with expectation was the fact that in Protocol 2 the overall gender advantage for the rate of *voseo* usage was held by men, which was a continuation of this same phenomenon from the claiming results of Protocol 1. This *voseo* advantage can be seen especially among men in Washington, D.C.

The following chapter is the conclusion. It summarizes the previous chapters and discusses the significance of the study. It provides an evaluation of the study itself in terms of what worked well and what could be improved. Finally, it recommends possible additional research stemming from the study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Chapter overview

This chapter brings together the principal elements of the present study on Salvadoran Spanish in Washington, D.C., and Houston. It briefly summarizes the previous chapters, with a focus on the main results of *voseo* claiming and use among the participants of the three protocols in relation to the hypothesis. It then offers a consideration of the broader significance of the study, including what it might say about the bigger picture of Spanish dialects in the United States and of language contact and change more generally.

Furthermore, it considers applications of the study results beyond the scope of variation and change, including possible social and pedagogical implications. It offers a critical appraisal of the study, including what worked well and what could be improved.

Finally, it provides recommendations for possible new strands of interesting research that could be drawn from the study.

6.2. Summary of previous chapters

Chapter I introduces the use and meaning of the familiar forms of second person singular address in Spanish, *voseo* and *tuteo*. It also touches on Accommodation Theory to hypothesize that Salvadorans in the United States will move from *voseo* to *tuteo* as a result of being in the United States and in contact with *tuteante* speakers from countries such as Mexico. The bulk of the chapter addresses the causes behind the large numbers of Salvadorans in the United States. This discussion begins with a brief history of El Salvador followed by an account of Salvadoran immigration to the United States from

the 19th century to the present. This includes a general timeline of the different waves of Salvadoran immigration and the circumstances that have spurred them. There is a discussion of Salvadoran immigrant communities in the United States and of their socioeconomic background.

Chapter II is divided in two basic parts. The first deals with language contact and change in general, including issues such as *koineization* and Accommodation Theory. Language change is linked to social variables such as age, gender, and class. The second part is a history of *voseo* and its main features in modern American Spanish, with a focus on Salvadorans both in El Salvador and the United States.

Chapter III discusses the recruitment of the study participants in Washington, D.C., and Houston, as well as the sociodemographic characteristics of these subjects. The chapter also describes the three study protocols, one based on language claiming and two on language use, and explains the methodology used to quantify the results from these protocols in subsequent chapters.

Chapter IV presents the results and discussion of Protocol 1, the questionnaire filled out by more than 100 respondents in each city. The results revealed that the rate of *voseo* claiming was nearly identical in both cities. The most salient finding was the fact that the level of *voseo* was rather low in both cities, despite the evidence of its robustness among Salvadoran speakers in El Salvador (Kany 1994[1945]:114; Micheau 1991:85; Lipski 1994:141, 2008:144; personal communication, September 2, 2008). Also significant in the Protocol 1 results for both cities was the higher rate of *voseo* among men compared women. This does not seem to be a simple case of continuing an already

tuteante trend among females in El Salvador, as there is no evidence to indicate that women consider *voseo* to be less prestigious or use it less than men, though this is at times the case in other *voseante* countries such as Colombia (Simpson 2002:30), Guatemala (Pinkerton 1986:691), Costa Rica (Villegas 1963:613), and Chile (Stevenson 2007:135). It appears that *tuteo* acquires (overt) prestige for Salvadoran women once they arrive in the United States and hear it used by other Spanish speakers from *tuteante* countries (cf. Chapter IV, 4.7). Therefore, the gender distribution of *voseo* and *tuteo* in the Protocol 1 results agrees with the notion that *voseo* is a mark of “covert prestige” for men (Trudgill 1983:177). However, while Salvadoran women may indeed move from *voseo* to *tuteo* in the United States more than men due to matters of prestige, female *voseo* claiming is by no means uniform; it varies considerably depending on certain social variables. For example, when gender and age are considered along with location, younger women in Washington, D.C., claim *voseo* at rates similar to all their male counterparts of all ages. This contrasts with the older female respondents in the same city, whose *voseo* rate is much lower. Between these higher and lower rates are those of the female respondents of both age groups in Houston (cf. Chapter IV, Table 4.7).

Chapter IV also considered the variable of years spent in the United States since arrival. It was found that while the rate of *voseo* is more or less consistent among Washington, D.C., respondents regardless of the number of years spent in the country, in Houston an initially high rate of *voseo* for those newly arrived drops as the number of years since arrival increases (cf. Chapter IV, Table 4.11).

Chapter V contains the results and discussion of Protocols 2 and 3, whose 20 participants were drawn mostly from the Protocol 1 respondent pool. Of those who used familiar forms of address, the rate of *tuteo* use was higher in Washington, D.C., than Houston, but the difference was not statistically significant. These numbers are a continuation of the low overall rates of *voseo* in both cities. Something that remains constant from Protocol 1 to Protocol 2 is the overall significant *voseo* advantage among men. The most important finding among the Protocol 3 home visit results is that while participants in Washington, D.C., used *voseante* forms, the five subjects in Houston used only *tuteo* forms. This is the case despite the fact that two of these five did use *voseo* in Protocol 2.

6.3. Evaluation of the study

The information from the previous section provides answers to questions about whether or not the study data support the main hypothesis regarding overall *voseo* maintenance or loss, as well as the secondary hypothesis of different linguistic behavior based on gender. The answers will be discussed in this section, along with the general strengths and weaknesses of the study.

The current study's main hypothesis is that the status of Salvadorans as the largest Hispanic group in Washington, D.C., would cause participants there to retain more *voseo* than their compatriots in Houston. Salvadorans are significantly fewer in number compared to Mexicans in this latter city and thus thought more likely to accommodate to *tuteo*. The results in this regard were not as clear as hypothesized. In none of the three protocols was there a statistically significant difference in rates of

voseo. There was slightly higher Protocol 1 *voseo* claiming in Houston, while in Protocols 2 and 3 the trend favored *voseo* in Washington, D.C.

It must also be noted that the levels of *tuteo* usage have been shown to be so high in both cities, approximately 70 percent, that they constitute a finding that was *not* expected. This would not have been as surprising had it been the case only in Houston, following a pattern seen by researchers in which “demographically minority (i.e. sociolinguistically marked) variants” are often the ones to be lost or at least weakened (Trudgill et al. 2000:308). Houston seems to fit this description, since the *voseante* Salvadoran population is far outnumbered by the *tuteante* Mexican community. Nevertheless, it is possible that the dominance, especially linguistic, of Salvadorans in Washington, D.C., was overestimated. It is true that they are the largest immigrant group in the city, not only among Hispanics but all nationalities. It is also true that in the 1990s, when most Salvadorans arrived in the city, they made up 10.5 percent of all new immigrants, compared to only 2.9 percent for Peruvians, the next largest Hispanic group. However, when Peruvians are added to those from other nations considered *tuteante* (Bolivia, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic), the percentage reaches 7.5 percent, bringing them closer to parity with the Salvadorans (Table 1.5). This considerable presence of *tuteo* speakers, combined with an already existing uncertainty among many regarding the appropriateness of *voseo* when outside of El Salvador (Lipski 1994:141), appears to have led to accommodation toward *voseo* much the same way in Washington, D.C., as in Houston. This is not to say that study subjects in the two cities behaved equally in all regards. This is particularly the case when gender is considered.

While the *voseo* to *tuteo* accommodation demonstrated in both cities has been shown to be greater among women than men, there is, as has been mentioned, considerable variation in *voseo* rates among both genders, but particularly the women, depending on different variables. A particularly salient example is the *voseo/tuteo* use among Washington, D.C., females in Protocol 2. The overall *voseo* use rates by gender when both cities are considered are 42.5 percent for men and 18.8 percent for women. However, in Washington, D.C., while the *voseo* rate for males increased somewhat, to 62 percent, that of women dropped dramatically, to 5.8 percent. (There was much greater parity in Houston, as both genders used *voseo* at percentages in the low- to upper-20s.) While it is not known why Washington, D.C., females used so little *voseo*, particularly after claiming it at higher rates, it may be linked to the high rates among the men, who had claimed *voseo* at a somewhat lower rate. If the women had already begun to accommodate to *tuteo* as a result of being in the United States, the continued high *voseo* use among men in Washington, D.C., may have caused them to exaggerate their shift away from *voseo* as part of a desire, conscious or otherwise, to differentiate themselves and their behavior based on gender identity.

Regarding the strengths of the study, the Protocol 1 questionnaire was large enough to test the difference of *voseo* and *tuteo* claiming for statistical significance with regard to several independent variables such as age, gender, and class between Washington, D.C., and Houston. There were over 100 respondents in each city, compared with other studies that have considered Salvadoran *voseo* in Houston but using considerably smaller samples (Baumel-Schreffler 1994; Hernández 2002). Also unique

is that in the second and third protocols, the participants engaged in speech that could then be compared to these claimed forms of address.

Another strength of the study is the two-city approach. As noted, Salvadoran *voseo* has been studied in Houston, but until now it has never been contrasted with another US city to determine the possible effects of differing demographics on this form of address. This advantage has been reflected in novel findings such as fact that respondents in Houston claim higher rates of *voseo* with Salvadoran friends than with their own family members, in contrast with Washington, D.C. This indicates a greater maintenance and transmission of *voseo* within Salvadoran families in Washington, D.C., than in Houston. (cf. Chapter IV, 4.10). Finally, a unique feature of the present research is the fact that all three protocols of the present study took into account not only the pronoun *vos*, but both pronominal and verbal *voseo*, allowing for a more complete picture of address forms among Salvadorans in both cities.

A limiting factor of Protocols 2 and 3 is their reduced number of participants. The Protocol 2 sample, with its 20 participants in each city, was not so small as to preclude statistically significant results, particularly regarding *voseo* use by gender in support of the Protocol 1 results. However, the fact that eight subjects in Washington, D.C., and four in Houston did not use any familiar forms of address effectively reduced the pool of participants. This had an effect on the statistical significance of overall *voseo* usage. For example, the *voseo* rate in Washington, D.C., was 7.3 percent higher than in Houston for Protocol 2. This supports the hypothesis of the study, but it falls short of being significant.

The number of informants in Protocol 3 is even smaller. For this reason, it was always anticipated that the results of these home visits would be treated qualitatively, since at best they would only involve the participation of four or five subjects in each city. Nevertheless, the results of this protocol support the hypothesis of less *voseo* use in Houston, and the trends and methodologies involved could serve as a model for a larger study capable of yielding statistically significant results.

6.4. Implications of the present study

While the current study deals with accommodation from one feature of one dialect to another, a number of its results can be extrapolated to language contact and change in general. Some of these points are not new but rather serve to bolster previous findings from other studies. One example is the effect of gender on language change. Women in both Washington, D.C., and Houston were more prone in general to accommodate from *voseo*, which they may not have considered to lack prestige in El Salvador, to *tuteo*, which they arguably now did see as being more overtly prestigious due to the presence of many *tuteante* speakers from other countries. Also involved in this accommodation is the long-recognized fact that women tend to drive language change more than men (Labov 2001:294). These are general, non-language specific concepts that should be expected in any socially stratified group.

Regarding new findings that may be more specific to Salvadorans in the United States, it appears, for instance, that the effect of education on *voseo* may depend on one's location. In El Salvador, the use of *tuteo* is normally limited to educated members of the upper class. However, the highest rates of *tuteo* claiming in both Washington,

D.C., and Houston were among those with only a grade school education. This indicates hypercorrection among this group due to linguistic insecurity, or an exaggerated adoption of the *tuteo* which they now hear more frequently among Hispanics from other countries who have also migrated to the United States (Chapter IV, 4.9).

6.5. Recommendations for further study

One possibility for further research is to increase the numbers of Protocol 2 and 3 participants. Since Protocols 1 and 2 both yielded statistically significant results for several variables, the number of participants in each could serve as a guideline for use with the second and third protocols. In other words, the Protocol 2 paired activities could be carried out with 100 informants in each city and the Protocol 3 home visits with 20 participants. This would be a large project requiring additional manpower and funding.

Additionally, due to the unexpectedly high rates of *tuteo* in both Washington, D.C., and Houston, it may be advisable to repeat the present study in El Salvador. This would serve a dual purpose. The first would be that of acquiring more knowledge of the forms of address used in El Salvador based on larger samples and more extensive protocols than have been utilized heretofore. The second, related purpose would be to determine if the low *voseo* use among the Salvadorans studied in the United States is more the result of accommodation or if it is, at least in part, the continuation of a trend toward more *tuteo* already present in their home country.

The results of the present study also point to other, related strands of research that could be pursued. The first possibility entails repeating the present study with other

voseante speakers, such as Argentines. This could perhaps even be done in a single city with a dominant Mexican population instead of in two. This would be particularly appropriate if the focus were simply to discover whether speakers as reportedly secure in their *voseo* use as Argentines (Lipski 1994:141) would retain this form of address more than a group that experiences more linguistic insecurity, such as Salvadorans. This would also allow for a comparison of the Salvadoran accommodation or “convergence” toward *tuteo* demonstrated in the present study with the lack of *tuteo* accommodation or even “divergence” (Giles 1973:90-93) that one might expect from Argentines due to the national pride associated with their use of *voseo* (Lipski 1994:141). The Los Angeles area would be a logical choice for this research with its dominant Mexican community and a smaller but appreciable Argentine contingent.

Another possible topic of research regards a feature of Salvadoran Spanish that appears in the data of the present study. The feature in question is the use of *andar* as a transitive verb. In most Spanish speaking countries, *andar* is intransitive, meaning ‘to walk’ or ‘to go,’ among other things. Used with the preposition *con* ‘with,’ it can mean ‘to wear,’ something also expressed by the transitive verbs *llevar*, *vestir*, *traer*, etc. However, in El Salvador, it is extremely common to use *andar* without *con* as a transitive verb meaning ‘to carry’ or ‘to wear’ (Lipski 1994:260). The following transcription gives an example in each city of this verb use as encountered Protocol 2:

Washington, D.C.:

DC9FFR > DC10FFR: *Rosa, usted anda una camisa negra.* ‘Rosa, you are wearing a black shirt.’

Houston:

H19FSI > H20FSI: *Tú andás una camisa blanca, unos jeans y andás descalza.* ‘You are wearing a white shirt, jeans, and you are barefoot.’

Even though this verb is not used this way in other countries such as Mexico, it appears to be an aspect of Salvadoran speech that is resistant to change even when Salvadorans come into contact with speakers of other dialects in the United States. As found by Hernández (2002). Just as he finds that those in El Salvador maintained their use of *voseo* for the most part when speaking with him but their counterparts in Houston used *tuteo* almost categorically, he also finds that the frequency of verbs like *traer* to replace *andar* increases in Houston. Nevertheless, this move away from *andar* is not as great as the shift from *voseo* to *tuteo*. He attributes this to a lack of awareness among Salvadorans regarding their unique use of *andar* (Hernández 2002:108). A more extensive and systematic study of *andar*, especially in an additional city such as Washington, D.C., could determine more definitively if and under what circumstances Salvadorans outside their home continue to use *andar* transitively despite hearing it used intransitively by people from other countries, or if over time they will tend to either add *con* or use an entirely different verb or verb phrase like *traer*, *llevar* or *tener puesto*. The methodology for such a study could include activities to prompt the “spontaneous” use of *andar* or its equivalent, such as those in Protocol 2 that triggered the responses above,

and/or a questionnaire with options like and unlike typical Salvadoran usages of this verb.

The purpose of this study has been to fill in some of the gaps regarding the sociolinguistic behavior of Salvadorans outside of El Salvador. Its contribution includes evidence of considerable accommodation from *voseo* to *tuteo* among Salvadorans after moving to American cities. In addition to the differences between Washington, D.C., and Houston, second person singular familiar forms of address have been shown to be affected by other variables such as speaker age, gender, and education. Some of the findings are similar to those of other studies dealing not only with Spanish but other languages, such as prestige form use by gender in English (Trudgill 1983, Labov 1990). Some are new and at present can only be said to pertain to the Salvadoran informants studies in the two cities in question.

Beyond the implications mentioned above, the results of this study could have practical applications for those who work with Salvadorans and other Hispanics. Teachers of Spanish to the growing population of heritage learners will be reminded that their Hispanic students are not all alike. They come from various countries, regions, and social classes. They not only display dialectal variation, but these differences are always evolving due to drivers of language change such as dialectal contact.

Other professionals such as social workers and policy makers can also gain by being aware that Spanish speakers in the United States are not simply one homogenous group. Salvadorans, Mexicans, Venezuelans, and Argentines can be as different as English speaking Americans, Canadians, Britons, and Australians, and the differences

are subject to fluctuation and change. This should be taken into account in decisions regarding social services, immigration policy, and international relations. These decisions can range from who receives visas, to who is allowed to remain in the United States, to who policy makers respond to events in foreign countries or involving foreigners in this country.

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APPENDIX A

PROTOCOLS

Protocol 1: Questionnaire

Cuestionario

(Por favor, sólo llene este formulario si habla español desde la infancia.)

Nombre (sólo primer nombre y primera inicial del apellido – ej: Miguel O.) _____

Marque con X la respuesta que mejor corresponda a su situación o preferencias:

1. Soy: Hombre _____
 Mujer _____

2. Tengo: 18-30 años _____
 31-40 años _____
 41-50 años _____
 51 años o más _____

3. Soy: Soltero(a) _____
 Casado(a) _____

a. Si Ud. es casado(a), ¿de dónde es su esposo(a)?

El Salvador _____

Estados Unidos _____

Otro país (¿cuál?) _____

4. Mi nivel de formación académica (marque todos los niveles adquiridos):

	Número de años	¿Dónde? (ciudad, país)
Escuela primaria		
Escuela secundaria		
Universidad		
Otra escuela (técnica, de arte, etc.) Especifique: _____		

5. Yo hablo: Sólo español _____
 Español y un poco de inglés _____
 Español e inglés igual _____
 Inglés mejor que español _____

6. ¿Ud. trabaja fuera de casa?

Sí _____
 No _____

7. Yo nací: En El Salvador (¿qué pueblo, ciudad o región?) _____
 En Estados Unidos _____
 En otro país (¿cuál?) _____

a. Si Ud. nació fuera de Estados Unidos,
 ¿a qué edad vino a este país?

Antes de los 15 años _____
 Después de los 15 años _____

b. Y, si nació fuera de Estados
 Unidos, ¿cuántos años lleva aquí?

0-2 años _____
 3-5 años _____
 6-10 años _____
 11-20 años _____

8. Cuando hablo español con
 familiares de mi edad o menos,
 les trato de:

Usted _____
 Vos _____
 Tú _____

9. Cuando hablo español con
 amigos salvadoreños de mi
 edad o menos, les trato de:

Usted _____
 Vos _____
 Tú _____

10. Al hablar español con
 mis padres, les trato (o les
 trataba, si han fallecido) de:

Usted _____
 Vos _____
 Tú _____

17. Al hablar con un amigo de familia mexicana de su misma edad o menos, ¿cuál es la frase que le parece más normal?

- a. 1. Vos nunca pensás. _____
 2. Vos nunca piensas. _____
 3. Tú nunca pensás. _____
 4. Tú nunca piensas. _____
- b. 1. ¿Lo querés hacer tú? _____
 2. ¿Lo quieres hacer tú? _____
 3. ¿Lo quieres hacer vos? _____
 4. ¿Lo querés hacer vos? _____
- c. 1. Vos eres muy inteligente. _____
 2. Vos sos muy inteligente. _____
 3. Tú eres muy inteligente. _____
 4. Tú sos muy inteligente. _____
- d. 1. Vení acá. _____
 2. Ven acá. _____

18. Imagínese que usted le habla a un niño salvadoreño que conoce muy bien. Subraye una de las dos palabras entre paréntesis en los cinco casos.

¿Qué te gusta hacer? Si (querés/quieres), podemos jugar fútbol. ¿Qué (tienes/tenés) en la mochila? ¿Cada cuánto (vienes/venís) aquí al parque? ¿En la escuela (escribís/escribes) mucho o (prefieres/preferís) leer?

19. Lea las siguientes 15 situaciones sobre Juan, un niño de ocho años que Ud. debe de imaginarse como miembro de su familia. Cuando llegue a la letra negrilla, escoja la terminación que le parezca mejor:

a. Juan debería de estar estudiando, pero sólo quiere jugar.

Juan, quiero que...

- a. ...empecés a estudiar. _____
- b. ...empieces a estudiar. _____

b. Juan acaba de contar un chiste que contiene malas palabras.

Juan, ¡no...

- a. ...cuentes ese chiste! _____
- b. ...contés ese chiste! _____

c. Juan no quiere ir a la cama aunque ya es muy de noche.

Juan, necesito que...

a. ...te acostés. _____

b. ...te acuestes. _____

d. Aunque Ud. no quiere, Juan insiste en comer de pie.

Juan, te digo por última vez que...

a. ...te sientes a la mesa. _____

b. ...te sentés a la mesa. _____

e. Juan está jugando con un jarrón precioso.

Juan, ¡no...

a. ...no jugués con eso! _____

b. ...no juegues con eso! _____

f. Juan ha vuelto muy tarde de la escuela tres días seguidos.

Juan, esta tarde espero que...

a. ...vuelvas temprano. _____

b. ...volvás temprano. _____

g. Juan tiene un examen de ortografía mañana en la escuela.

Juan, te voy a ayudar a estudiar para que...

a. ...puedas sacar una buena nota. _____

b. ...podás sacar una buena nota. _____

h. Juan desea jugar béisbol pero ha perdido su guante.

Juan, podemos ir a jugar cuando...

a. ...encontrés tu guante. _____

b. ...encuentres tu guante. _____

- i. Juan dice que no tiene tarea pero Ud. no lo cree.

Juan, ¿no...

- a. ...me mintás! _____
b. ...me mientas! _____

- j. Juan por fin entiende cómo hacer su tarea de matemática.

Juan, me alegro de que...

- a. ...ya entiendas tu tarea. _____
b. ...ya entendás tu tarea. _____

- k. Juan acaba de volver de la escuela y tiene hambre.

Juan, antes de comer tu sándwich, te pido que...

- a. ...cierres la puerta del refrigerador. _____
b. ...cerrés la puerta del refrigerador. _____

- l. Juan tiene examen de historia mañana pero no quiere que Ud le ayude.

Juan, si no te ayudo a estudiar dudo que...

- a. ...recuerdes el material para mañana. _____
b. ...recordés el material para mañana. _____

- m. Juan se está durmiendo pero Ud. quiere que se quede despierto.

Juan, ¿no...

- a. ...te duermas! _____
b. ...te durmáis! _____

- n. Juan está leyendo, pero es tarde y ya se oscurece.

Juan, no vas a poder seguir leyendo a menos que...

- a. ...enciendas la luz. _____
b. ...encendás la luz. _____

o. Juan tiene la costumbre de perder las cosas.

Juan, ¿no...

- a. ...pierdas tu mochila otra vez!** _____
b. ...perdás tu mochila otra vez! _____

20. Imagínese que habla con un niño mexicano que conoce muy bien.

¿Cómo diría las palabras que están entre paréntesis?

¿Qué te gusta hacer? Si (querés/quieres), podemos jugar fútbol. ¿Qué (tienes/tenés) en la mochila? ¿Cada cuánto (vienes/venís) aquí al parque? ¿En la escuela (escribís/escribes) mucho o (prefieres/preferís) leer?

21. Al hablar con un amigo salvadoreño de su misma edad o menos, ¿cuál es la frase que le parece más normal?

- a. 1. Vos nunca pensás. _____
 2. Vos nunca piensas. _____
 3. Tú nunca pensás. _____
 4. Tú nunca piensas. _____
- b. 1. ¿Lo querés hacer tú? _____
 2. ¿Lo quieres hacer tú? _____
 3. ¿Lo quieres hacer vos? _____
 4. ¿Lo querés hacer vos? _____
- c. 1. Vos eres muy inteligente. _____
 2. Vos sos muy inteligente. _____
 3. Tú eres muy inteligente. _____
 4. Tú sos muy inteligente. _____
- d. 1. Vení acá. _____
 2. Ven acá. _____

22. En general, si usted opta en algunas circunstancias por usar “tú” en vez de “vos”, explique aquí algunas de las razones:

[illegible]

Protocol 2: Verbal activities in pairs

The pairs will be instructed to carry out four activities, namely:

- a. The participants will be told to notice each other's clothing and then, after being seated back-to-back, will each be asked to tell the other person directly what he or she is wearing.
- b. Each person will be instructed to ask the other specific questions (but instructions will only deal with general content, not *voseo* or *tuteo* pronoun and verb usage). They will be given a copy of the following information to guide them:

Pregúntele a la otra persona sobre sus planes o preferencias en las siguientes áreas:

- la comida de esta noche
 - las actividades de mañana
 - los planes para el fin de semana que viene
 - las próximas vacaciones
 - las metas para los próximos cinco años
-

- c. This activity will induce the participants to use the imperative form of second-person address. This will be done by having the individuals in each pair take turns giving verbal directions in the following manner:
 - The first person will be given one of the two diagrams below and then be instructed to tell the other person how to draw it with the pad and pencil given to him or her. They will be told to try to use various verbs such as “dibujar”, “escribir”, “poner”, “pintar”, etc.
 - The pair will then switch roles, the second person using the other diagram.

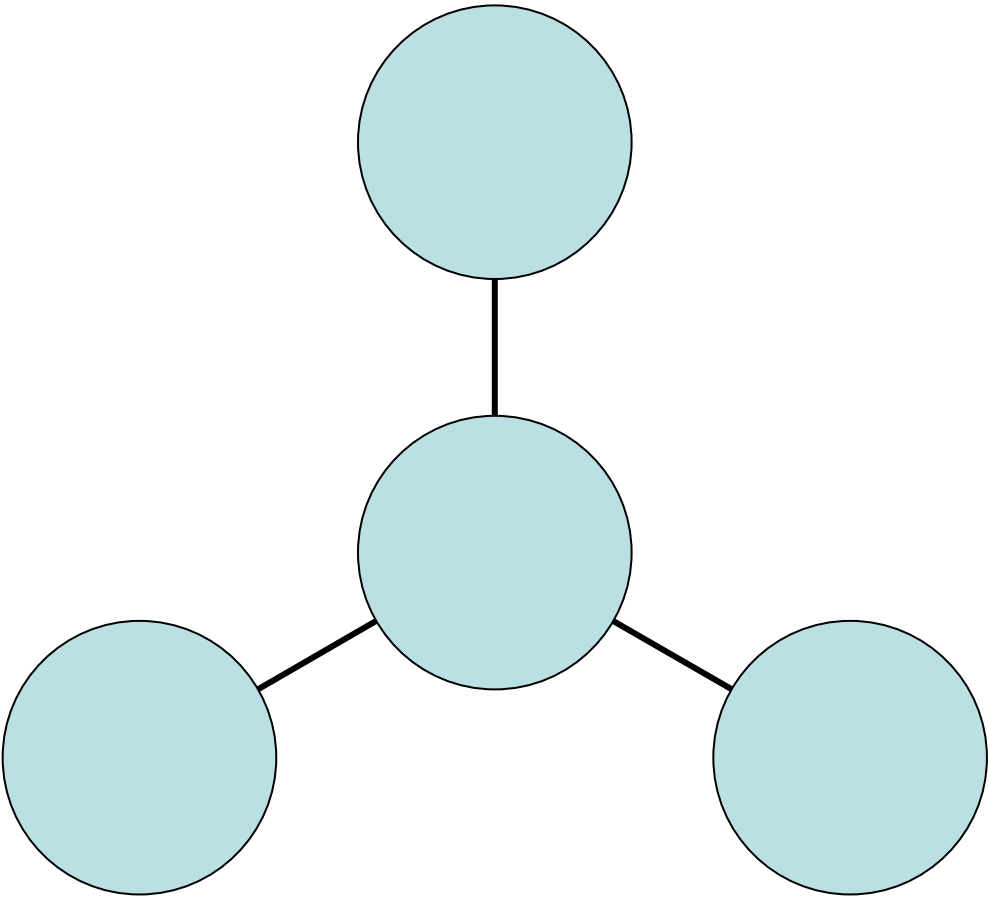


Figure A-1

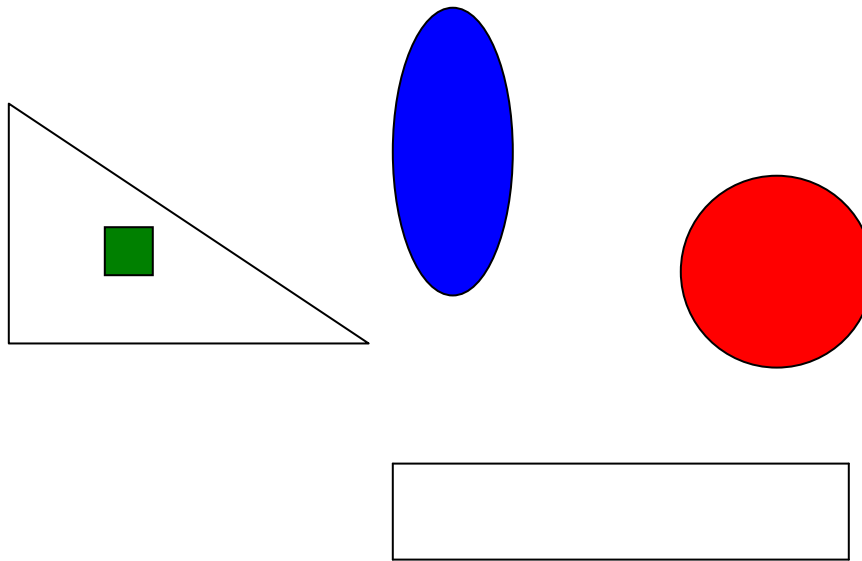


Figure A-2

d. The participants will be asked some of the following open-ended questions:

¿Uds. han experimentado malos entendidos al usar *voseo*? ¿Otras personas les han manifestado desaprobación ante el uso de *voseo*? ¿Están orgullosos del uso de *vos*? ¿Comen comida salvadoreña? ¿Van a pupuserías? ¿Regresan a El Salvador a veces? ¿Lo echan de menos?

Protocol 3: Home visits

Both in Washington, D.C., and Houston, the researcher will ask two married couples for permission to spend time with them in their homes while they engage in a common activity such as dinner or casual conversation in the living room so that he can record their use of second person singular address.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF PROTOCOLS 2 AND 3

Protocol 2, Washington, D.C.

DC = Washington, D.C., MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters

Spouses

DC1MSP	Married to Salvadoran, high school
DC2FSP	Married to Salvadoran, high school

a.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: Tú tienes una camisa blanca, un short gris, calcetines negros y tenis.

DC1MSP > DC2FSP: Tú tienes una blusa beige y una falda verde.

b.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: ¿Qué piensas comer esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tienes mañana? ¿Qué planes para el fin de semana tienes? ¿Cuáles son las próximas vacaciones? Las metas para los próximos cinco años, ¿cuáles son las tuyas?

DC1MSP > DC2FSP: ¿Qué piensas comer esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tienes mañana? ¿Qué planes tienes para el fin de semana? ¿Cuándo son las próximas vacaciones? ¿Cuáles son tus metas en los próximos cinco años?

c.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: Con el lápiz puedes hacer como un triángulo; tú puedes poner un cuadrado. Tenés que hacerlo con el color verde. Dibuja con tu lápiz un triángulo largo; dibuja un rectángulo, largo, largo, largo.

DC1MSP > DC2FSP: [Nombre], dibuja un círculo. Dibuja un círculo con el lápiz, y lo pintas adentro con el color que tienes. Traza una raya hacia abajo, dependiendo del círculo. De ahí, dibuja otro círculo con el lápiz; lo pintas también con el color que tienes. De ahí, dependiendo del círculo, saca otra raya no muy larga para el lado derecho, y al final de la raya dibuja otro círculo con el lápiz y después lo pintas. Saca una raya para el lado izquierdo con el lápiz y dibuja otro círculo con lápiz, y después lo pintas con el color que tienes.

Spouses

DC3MSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school

DC4FSP

Married to Salvadoran, little schooling

a.

DC4FSP > DC3MSP: Tú tienes una camisa blanca puesta. Vicente, tú tienes un pantalón azul buen puesto y tú tienes [inaudible].

DC3MSP > DC4FSP: [Nombre], usted tiene una camisa celeste puesta, un pantalón rosado, le llamamos pink, con unas sandalias negritas y las [inaudible] verdes. Y usted no se ha bañado hoy; el pelo lo tiene bien feo. No se ha puesto [inaudible].

b.

DC4FSP > DC3MSP: ¿Qué va a comer esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tiene para mañana? ¿Qué planes tienes para este fin de semana? ¿Qué piensa hacer para los próximos días que vienen? ¿Qué piensa para sus... los próximos cinco años?

DC3MSP > DC4FSP: Cariño, y hoy en la noche ¿qué me va a dar de comer? Y usted mañana, qué va a hacer? Y para el fin de semana, ¿qué tiene planeado? ¿Ha pensado usted en algunas vacaciones? ¿Adónde le gustaría ir? ¿Qué le gustaría hacer si fuéramos de vacaciones? Y sus planes para los próximos cinco años, ¿cuáles son? ¿Qué tiene en mente usted planeado?

c.

DC3MSP > DC4FSP: [Nombre], quiero que por favor me haga un triángulo, con un pedacito de queso cuadrado adentro. Y lo pinta de verde, ese cuadrito. Quiero que me dibuje como un platillo volador. Hágalo, píntelo de azul. Quiero que me dibuje un círculo rojo con una media luna. Quiero que me haga una barra también.

DC4FSP > DC3MSP: Quiero que por favor me haga un círculo. Haga un círculo. Conecte otro círculo más. Ahora píntelo. Unas rayitas. Quiero otra raya más.

Spouses

DC7MSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school

DC8FSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school likely

a.

DC8FSP > DC7MSP: [Nombre], tú estás vistiendo una camiseta blanca, con puntitos negros, y tiene un dibujo de un caballo. Tienes un short gris con bolsos enfrente, [inaudible] atrás. Tienes lentes puestos.

DC7MSP > María: Vos traés un pantalón café con una blusa negra y flores un poquito rosado y blanco. Y traés el pelo suelto, y bueno los zapatos no me fijé si lo traés puestos todavía o no.

b.

DC8FSP > DC7MSP: ¿Qué quieres comer esta noche? Durante la mañana, ¿qué actividades piensas realizar? En tus planes para el fin de semana que viene, ¿qué piensas hacer? Y en tus próximas vacaciones, ¿qué planeas hacer? Las metas que tienes para los próximos cinco años, ¿qué serán?

DC7MSP > DC8FSP: No sé qué pensás hacer por la tarde. Y el fin de semana, no sé si tenés planeada alguna cosa; no me has dicho. Casi nosotros no hacemos vacaciones pero, ¿vos estás planeando alguna vacación? No sé si tenés planeado algo o pensás decirme de qué querés hacer. Y vos, ¿qué pensás hacer por ejemplo [inaudible] durante este tiempo en términos de unos cinco años, que pensás hacer?

c.

DC7MSP > DC8FSP: Para empezar, hacete un triángulo; para abajo que vaya la punta del triángulo. Bueno, dentro del triángulo hacelo un cuadrado. Pintalo todo de verde. Ahora hacete un círculo, no círculo [inaudible] hacete como uno en forma de huevo pero que sea largo y, pero en forma de huevo. Está bien, pero quería más delgado y más largo. Pintate todo. Ese dibujo que hiciste, ponle celeste si tenés. Afuera de ese dibujo que has hecho, a su derecha, hacete una raya de, de aquí de en medio. Bueno [inaudible] un círculo pero bien redondito y pintátelo de rojo. Para terminar, hacete un, bueno, ¿qué te podría decir? Es un, no es cuadro, rectángulo, pero bastante largo así como estar en un reglón en una, como que está en un renglón, pues, y que en medio vas a poner un subtítulo o título que sea adentro.

DC8FSP > DC7MSP: Dibuja tres círculos, cuatro círculos, en forma de agujas de reloj, en forma de agujas de reloj, tres hacia abajo en dirección [inaudible] y una recta. Dos en medio y una a cada lado, una hacia arriba y una a cada lado con bajada, las últimas dos a

Female friends

DC11FFR Single, elementary school

DC12FFR Single, elementary school

a.

DC12FFR > DC11FFR: Tú tienes como una camisa verde con blanco, y tienes un pantalón azul corto y tienes sandalias verdes y tienes otros colores. Tienes tu pelo como una cola y tienes un gancho puesto. Tienes un collar azul y negro.

b.

DC12FFR > DC11FFR: ¿Qué vas a hacer para la cena de hoy? ¿Qué piensas hacer mañana? ¿Cuáles planes tienes para el fin de semana? ¿Qué planes tienes para las vacaciones? ¿Qué planes tienes para los próximos cinco años?

DC11FFR > DC12FFR: ¿Qué vas a preparar hoy en la cena? ¿Qué es lo que vas a hacer mañana? ¿Qué planes tienes para el fin de semana? ¿Qué planes tienes para las vacaciones? ¿Qué metas tienes para estos próximos cinco años?

c.

DC11FFR > DC12FFR: Hacé un rectángulo. Hacé un globo. Poné verde en el círculo.

DC12FFR > DC11FFR: Tienes que hacer una raya abajo.

Male friends

DC13MFR

Marital status unknown, high school likely

DC14MFR

Marital status unknown, high school likely

a.

DC14MFR > DC13MFR: [Nombre], tú tienes una camisa de color verde y el pantalón es un short azul y tienes zapatos blancos con, o zapatos “Nike” blancos con un color de negro también y calcetines blancos.

DC13MFR > DC14MFR: [Nombre], vos tenés una gorra puesta, camisa negra, una [inaudible] roja y blanca en el pecho, short en azul[e], calcetines blancos y zapatos café.

b.

DC14MFR > DC13MFR: [Nombre], ¿qué piensas comer esta noche? ¿Qué pensás hacer mañana, en las actividades de mañana? ¿Y los planes que tenés para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Cuándo pensás tomar la próxima vacación? ¿Y las metas que tenés para los próximos cinco años?

c.

DC13MFR > DC14MFR: Hacé alguna, rápido, luna, rápido. Ponéle allí a la puerta para que meta el cartero la carta. Poné algún espejo en la pared. Hacé triángulo del diablo en el suelo. Pintá alguno de rojo, el azul el espejo en la pared y de verde el triángulo.

DC14MFR > DC13MFR: Ok, [nombre], hacé dos círculos. Hacé uno al lado del otro. Ahora, hacé otro, pero no debajo del otro, sino que, pero, como así a la par. Y otro al otro de ese, al otro lado del círculo, de los dos que hiciste primero y segundo pero un poquito para abajo. Ok, ahora pintálos, estos cuatro círculos de color azul. Uní los círculos así con una línea, los cuatro así por ejemplo.

Female acquaintances

DC17FAC Single, college

DC18FAC Single, high school

a.

DC17FAC > DC18FAC: [Nombre], Ud. lleva una camiseta azul con letras blancas, un jean, zapatos negros y unos calcetines blancos que dicen USA.

DC18FAC > DC17FAC: [Nombre], Ud. anda puesta una camisa, ¿será ocre?, un jean azul.

b.

DC17FAC > DC18FAC: ¿Qué ha pensado preparar para la comida de esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tiene Ud. planificadas para mañana? ¿Qué planes tiene para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Para las próximas vacaciones tiene pensado algo para hacer? ¿Qué metas tiene para los próximos cinco años?

DC18FAC > DC17FAC: ¿Qué piensa hacer de comida esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tiene para mañana? ¿Qué planes tiene para el fin de semana? ¿Qué va a hacer para estas próximas vacaciones? ¿Las metas que tiene para los próximos cinco años?

c.

DC18FAC > DC17FAC: Puede poner un círculo. Ponga un círculo. Ponle color rojo. Haz un cuadrado. Haz un óvalo; ponle color azul. Haz un cuadrado. Haz como una “V”, pero grande. Haz un triángulo.

DC17FAC > DC18FAC: Haga un círculo en la parte de arriba de la página. Dibuje una línea vertical debajo del círculo. Ahora, saque como patitas, otras líneas verticales, y dibuje un círculo a cada lado. Por favor, píntelos color azul.

Sisters

DC19SIS

Single, college

DC20SIS

Single, college

a.

DC20FSI > DC19FSI: [Nombre], tú tienes un vestido verde con flores blancas, zapatos color verde. Tienes el cabello suelto, y no sé.

DC19FSI > DC20FSI: [Nombre], tú estás vistiendo una falda color café con una camiseta color azul y no tienes zapatos puestos; vas descalza.

b.

DC19FSI > DC20FSI: ¿Qué estás planeando comer esta noche? ¿Qué actividades piensas hacer el día de mañana? ¿Qué planes tienes para este nuevo fin de semana? ¿Cuáles serán tus próximas vacaciones? Y, ¿cuáles son tus metas en los próximos cinco años?

DC20FSI > DC19FSI: ¿Cuál es la comida de esta noche? ¿Qué actividades harás mañana? ¿Cuáles son tus planes para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Cuándo serán tus próximas vacaciones? ¿Cuáles son tus metas para los próximos cinco años?

c.

DC20FSI > DC19FSI: Dibuja un triángulo. Y ahora dibuja un óvalo. Dibuja un círculo y un cuadrado. En el triángulo pon color verde y en el óvalo azul [inaudible] el círculo rojo.

DC19FSI > DC20FSI: Haz un círculo. Traza una línea. Haz otro círculo. Traza una línea lateral de lado, hacia un lado, bien a la derecha y a la izquierda [inaudible] y haz un círculo allí. Luego traza otra línea al otro lado lateral, del segundo círculo, otra línea lateral y otro círculo. Ahora que los tres...cuatro círculos sean color azul.

Protocol 2, Houston

H = Houston, MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters

Spouses

H1MSP	Married to Salvadoran, high school
H2FSP	Married to Salvadoran, high school likely

a.

H2FSP > H1MSP: [Nombre], tú tienes un pantalón azul, una camisa azul con gris, rayas azules, rayas pues celestes. ¿Qué más? Traes tenis puestos.

H1MSP > H2FSP: [Nombre], [inaudible] un pantalón así negro [inaudible] unos tenis negros.

b.

H1MSP > H2FSP: ¿Qué [inaudible] preparar mañana en la mañana de desayuno? ¿Cuáles serán sus actividades que tiene planeadas para el día de mañana? ¿Cuáles son los planes que tiene para este fin de semana? ¿Cuáles serán los planes que tiene para este año que [inaudible] ir de vacaciones, dónde? ¿Cuáles serían sus metas, o qué quiere cumplir en los próximos cinco años?

H2FSP > H1MSP: ¿Qué piensas hacer para la cena de esta noche? ¿Qué actividades has planeado para el día de mañana? ¿Cuáles son los planes para este fin de semana que tendríamos para este fin de semana? ¿Qué estás planeando para las próximas vacaciones? ¿Cuáles son las metas para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H2FSP > H1MSP: Quiero que colorea, colorea un óvalo con color azul, como una forma de un huevo. Coloréalo, lo pintas de azul. ¡Bien hecho! Colorea un círculo y lo haces, lo colorea por dentro de rojo. Colorea un círculo de color rojo.... Haz la figura de un rectángulo. Haz un triángulo. En medio pon un cuadrado; coloréalo de azul.

H1MSP > H2FSP: Escribe cuatro círculos. Todos están unidos. Y los pinta azul. Haga un círculo y lo pinta azul, como del tamaño de una moneda. Raye para abajo y hace un círculo, y lo pinta azul. Y de allá hace unas rayas a, como a la derecha [inaudible]. Hace otro círculo como para la izquierda [inaudible] y forman cuatro círculos.

Spouses

H3MSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school likely

H4FSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school likely

a.

H4FSP > H3MSP: [Nombre], tú andas vestido con un blue jean azul y una camisa azul, zapatos café, calcetines negros y dentro andas camisa blanca.

H3MSP > H4FSP: Vos andás, [nombre], una camisa gris [inaudible] y el pelo amarrado con una cola.

b.

H4FSP > H3MSP: ¿Qué comida vas a hacer ahorita? Y ¿qué vas a hacer para mañana? Y ¿qué vas a hacer para la otra semana... el otro fin de semana qué vas a hacer? Y ¿para dónde te vas a ir vos para las próximas vacaciones? Y las metas para los próximos cinco años, ¿qué son?

H4FSP > H3MS: ¿Qué vas a comer esta noche? ¿Las actividades de mañana... [inaudible]? ¿Qué planes tienes para el otro fin de semana? Y ¿adónde querés ir a las próximas vacaciones? ¿Las metas para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H4FSP > H3MSP: Forma un triángulo, y dentro del triángulo forma un cuadrado pequeño. En la siguiente forma me vas a dibujar un óvalo largo, ¿ok? Haz, hágame un círculo. Después me haces un cuadrado largo. Exacto, así mismo. Pinta ahora de color rojo, no de color azul el óvalo, todo completo. Ahora tienes que pintar de color rojo el círculo. Y el cuadrado largo me lo vas a dejar tal como está.

H3MSP > H4FSP: Haceme un círculo. Haceme una raya y otro círculo abajo, abajo del círculo hacé una raya y después otro círculo, una raya hacia abajo. Una raya del círculo para acá y hay otro círculo pegado como que conecta el círculo uno al círculo dos. Hacé, haz otro círculo con otra raya a un lado derecho y otro círculo con otra raya a un lado izquierdo. Ahora tienes que pintarlo color azul todos los círculos.

Spouses

H5MSP

Married to Salvadoran, grade school

H6FSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school

a.

H5MSP > H6FSP: [Nombre], tú llevas una camisa de color con el emblema de El Salvador. Y llevas un pantalón como short, color café. Te has recogido el cabello. Tienes los ojos verdes.

H6FSP > H5MSP: [Nombre], tú tienes una camiseta color gris y el pantalón color caqui.

b.

H6FSP > H5MSP: [Nombre], ¿qué piensas comer esta noche? ¿Las actividades para mañana? José ¿qué te gustar planear para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Qué piensas de algunas vacaciones? ¿Qué metas tienes para los próximos cinco años?

H5MSP > H6FSP: [Nombre] ¿qué comida te gustaría esta noche de cena? ¿Y las actividades que tienes pensado para mañana, algo que haigas pensado diferente de la vida diaria? Para fin de semana ¿qué te gustaría [inaudible]? Y en la próximas vacaciones ¿qué te gustaría [inaudible]? Pero la vacaciones perfectas para ti, ¿dónde te gustaría que fueran? Y las metas para los próximos cinco años, ¿cuáles son? ¿Qué te gustaría hacer? ¿Dónde te gustaría estar?

c.

H5MSP > H6FSP: Por favor, quiero que traces una línea vertical. Haz una línea vertical, como para abajo. Y necesito que hagas otra [inaudible], como triángulo, y un cuadro arriba, un cuadro arribita, por dentro, por dentro, un cuadro por dentro ahí. Luego, necesito que hagas, haz una forma como huevo pero más largo que el huevo. Haz una forma larga así como huevo pero más largo. Ahora haz un círculo redondo. Ahora haz un cuadrado pero largo. Pinta verde el cuadro que hiciste primero. Pinta el huevo largo en azul. Pinta el óvalo redondo en rojo. El otro me lo dejás en blanco.

H6FSP > H5MSP: [Inaudible] una ruedita. Hací otra ruedita casi a la par. Ponele palito en medio como que lo está uniendo. A un lado de abajo hacele una como que le hiciera, a cada lado como que van a unas patitas, pero [inaudible] una ruedita. Son como cuatro pelotas pero unidas. Ahora píntala en azul, el celeste, o azul.

Spouses

H7MSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school

H8FSP

Married to Salvadoran, high school

a.

H7MSP > H8FSP: Mi amor, tienes una blusa azul y una falda negra y tienes puestos unos lentes.

H8FSP > H7MSP: Tiene un pantalón negro, una camisa blanca con una corbata amarilla.

b.

H7MSP > H8FSP: ¿Qué vas a cocinar esta noche? ¿Vas a tener alguna actividad mañana? ¿Qué planes tenés para este fin de semana? ¿Cuándo vas a tener las próximas vacaciones? Y, ¿cuáles son tus metas para los próximos cinco años?

H8FSP > H7MSP: ¿Qué vas a hacer de comer esta noche? ¿Qué actividades tienes para mañana? ¿Qué planes tienes para este fin de semana que viene? [Skipped vacation question] ¿Qué metas tienes para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H7MSP > H8FSP: Dibujá por favor un triángulo. Dentro del triángulo dibujá un cuadrito chiquito. Ahora me vas a hacer una “O” redonda tipo moneda, aparte. Ahora me vas a hacer otra, pero más pequeña, un círculo. Ahora dibujame medio círculo. Ahora por favor vas a dibujar como en forma de un DVD, de la pantalla de un DVD o una casetera, así a lo largo. No hagás eso, no hagás eso. En el triángulo, el cuadrito dibujalo de color verde. En lo que dibujaste tipo moneda ponelo color azul. Y el otro, color rojo.

H8FSP > H7MSP: Te ordeno que hagas un círculo como una moneda, en medio. Ahora, te ordeno que le hagas unas rayas. Ahora haz en medio otro círculo. Ahora haz una rayita. Hazme un círculo con una rayita larga. Y ahora píntalo de color azul.

Female friends

H9FFR

Married, college

H10FFR

Single, high school likely

a.

H10FFR > H9FFR: [Nombre], tú llevas una cola blanca, una blusa rosada, un pantalón celeste claro, [inaudible] un collar [inaudible]. ¿Sus zapatos son de vestir? No, son zapatillas [inaudible].

H9FFR > H10FFR: [Nombre], vos estás vestida con camisa rosada, pantalón azul, zapatos negros y vas con una cola agarrada.

b.

H9FFR > H10FFR: Estela ¿qué vas a preparar de comida esta noche? ¿Qué planes tenés para el día de mañana? Y ¿qué pensás hacer para el fin de semana? Y cuando tengas tus próximas vacaciones ¿qué vas a hacer? ¿Adónde vas a estar? ¿Cuáles son las metas que tenés para los próximos cinco años?

H10FFR > H9FFR: ¿Qué piensas hacer de comida de esta noche, Beatriz? Y ¿cuáles son las actividades para del día de mañana? Y ¿cuáles son tus planes para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Qué piensas hacer en tus próximas vacaciones? Y ¿cuáles son tus metas para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H10FFR > H9FFR: [Nombre], dibujame el triángulo para abajo, al revés, con un cuadro en el centro, un cuadrado en el centro. Pintas el cuadro color verde. Haceme un círculo ovalado largo, largo, a la par. Ahora quiero que lo pintes color azul. El círculo, el redondo lo vas a pintar rojo. Me vas a hacer un cuadro largo.

H9FFR > H10FFR: Haceme un círculo con una recta hacia abajo, luego otro círculo, luego me vas a hacer dos rectas una a cada lado y en cada recta un círculo. Los vas a pintar de azul. Solamente los círculos.

Female friends

H11FFR

Married to Guatemalan, college

H12FFR

Single, high school

a.

H11FFR > H12FFR: Llevas puesta una camisa negra, una chupa negra, falda negra, bueno perdón, es falda blanca con diseños negros, creo que son flores, no se. ¿Qué? Oh, hojas, y, es de, también zapatos negros bajos, y es de, tienes el pelo recogido, unos lentes, creo que son, negros. Nada más.

H12FFR > H11FFR: Tienes puesta una camisa blanca, una falda como verde, medio verde, unas sandalias, unos zapatos, no sandalias, sandalias café, que tienen como unas flores y tienes una medalla de las Mujeres Jóvenes.

b.

H12FFR > H11FFR: ¿Qué va a ser la comida de esta noche? ¿Las actividades tienes preparadas para el día de mañana? Y ¿qué planes tienes para el próximo fin de semana que viene? ¿Qué van a ser las próximas vacaciones? Y, ¿qué piensas de las metas que tienes preparadas para los próximos cinco años?

H11FFR > H12FFR: ¿Qué vas a hacer de comida en la noche? ¿Qué vas a hacer mañana? ¿A qué hora sales? ¿Qué vas a hacer este fin de semana? ¿Cuándo vas a tomar tus vacaciones? ¿Tenés vacaciones? ¿Qué piensas hacer dentro de estos próximos cinco años?

c.

H11FFR > H12FFR: Dibuja un rectángulo tal vez, es de casi, es de, un rectángulo tal vez cuatro veces más largo que lo alto. Ahora, con la crayola roja vas a dibujar, dibuja, es de, como una pulgada arriba del rectángulo a mano derecha un círculo. Haz un círculo. Rellena este círculo con el color rojo, pero bien relleno. Después, después, es de, es de, es de, a mano izquierda, arriba del rectángulo, como... de ese rectángulo como a la pulgada y media.... pulgada y media, a mano izquierda, vas a dibujar un círculo ovalado con el color azul. Pulgada y media, y círculo ovalado. ¿Qué es pulgada? Rellénalo con el azul. Y después, con el lapicero, a mano izquierda, dibuja un triángulo, es de, con la punta para abajo. El mismo tamaño, con la punta para abajo. Y, dentro de ese triángulo, dibuja un cuadro pequeño y ése rellénalo con el verde.

H12FFR > H11FFR: Ahora vas a hacer arriba, en la división que se hizo, más o menos un dedo, vas a hacer lo que es un círculo... de la raya que se trazó vas a [inaudible] la medida de un dedo y después haces un círculo, con el lapicero. Dibújalo. Apúrate. Y ahora, píntalo del color este que te dio. Y ahora, coge el lapicero y pasa una línea en lo

que está en medio... no, no, no en medio, sino que... Está el círculo, ¿verdad? En la parte inferior del círculo vas a hacer lo que es una línea de más o menos dos dedos. Del círculo que hiciste, vas a medir en la parte inferior dos dedos más o menos y vas a trazar una línea... traza lo que es una línea como conectando el otro círculo que vas a hacer ahí abajo. Y ahora, en esa raya que hiciste bajo el círculo vas a hacer otro círculo parecido al que hiciste anterior. Ahora píntalo. A tu mano izquierda vas a hacer, tienes que hacer una, vas a trazar una línea como diagonal, como que estás escribiendo con tu mano izquierda [inaudible]. Vas a hacer un círculo. Píntalo.

Male friends

H13MFR Married to Salvadoran, high school

H14MFR Married to Salvadoran, high school

a.

H13MFR > H14MFR: [Nombre], estás vistiendo una camisa azul y un pantalón caqui, mangas cortas para la camisa, y estás, se ve muy elegante.

H14MFR > H13MFR: Ok, [nombre], usted también viene bien sport. Tiene como una camiseta sin cuello, un short también beige, unos zapatos Adidas, tenis. Viene también sport.

b.

H14MFR > H13MFR: ¿Qué piensas de la comida de esta noche? Las actividades de mañana ¿cómo ve usted? ¿Los planes para el siguiente fin de semana? ¿Las próximas vacaciones tuyas? ¿Las metas tuyas para los próximos cinco años?

H13MFR > H14MFR: [Nombre] ¿qué piensa usted acerca de la comida de esta noche? Acerca de las actividades de mañana, ¿qué tenemos? ¿Qué tenemos para el próximo fin de semana? ¿Acerca de sus vacaciones, las siguientes vacaciones? ¿Y las metas respecto a los próximos cinco años?

c.

H13MFR > H14MFR: A tu derecha, su derecha, [nombre], quiero que me dibuje un triángulo. En ese triángulo, en medio, dibújeme un cuadrado y píntalo de verde.... [inaudible] un cuadrado pequeño, píntalo de verde. Ahora quiero que me dibuje un círculo ovalado y píntalo de celeste. Y hágame una línea, una sombra imaginaria al lado del círculo, no más la mitad, por afuera, con el mismo celeste. Ahora dibújeme un círculo anaranjado, o rojo. Ahora un rectángulo, y déjelo en blanco pintándolo.

H14MFR > H13MFR: Hazme un círculo no tan grande porque van a ser cuatro. Hazme uno, a su parte norte [inaudible] arriba [inaudible] unas dos pulgadas. Arriba un guión, para arriba, y haz otro círculo arriba. Todos van conectados. Hágame otro a su derecha, apuntando a un tercio desde el centro. El otro círculo está apuntado también un tercio del izquierdo. [Inaudible] me los pinta en azul los cuatro.

Male acquaintances

H15MAC

Married to Salvadoran, high school

H16MAC

Single, college

a.

H16MAC > H15MAC: Te pude observar que andabas [inaudible] con una camisa azul con el logo de CRECEN. Se ve bien elegante esa camisa; siempre me han gustado esas camisas que llevan ese mensaje. Y la combinación que está muy buena, con pantalón blanco y esos zapatos negros. Yo creo que has hecho una buena combinación para este día. ¿Qué me cuentas tú? ¿Cómo has estado?

H15MAC > H16MAC: Muy bien, gracias. Y es también un gusto verlo, como siempre vestido decoroso y elegante con su corbática azul y su camisa formal [inaudible], pantalones negros, zapatos como color café.

b.

H15MAC > H16MAC: [Nombre], ¿Qué hay en el menú esta noche? ¿Qué piensa hacer el día de mañana? Este fin de semana ya casi se acerca. ¿Qué planes tiene? ¿Cuál será el destino para las próximas vacaciones? Y, ¿qué metas o propósitos tiene para los próximos cinco años?

H16MAC > H15MAC: Vamos a comenzar con la primera pregunta de lo que tienes planificado para la comida de esta noche? ¿Qué tienes planificado para las actividades de mañana? ¿Qué tienes preparado para los planes del fin de semana que viene? Y ¿qué tienes planificado para las próximas vacaciones? ¿Cuáles son las metas para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H16MAC > H15MAC: Vamos a comenzar ahorita a trazar un rectángulo con lapicero o crayola. Y vamos a hacer ahorita un círculo. Quiero que hagas un triángulo. Y ahora vas a hacer un óvalo. Tienes que pintar el círculo. Píntalo de rojo. El óvalo píntalo color azul. En el triángulo dibuja un cuadrilátero en el centro. El rectángulo déjalo así.

H15MAC > H16MAC: En la parte de arriba de la página dibuje un círculo. De la parte de abajo del círculo haga una línea hacia abajo, no muy larga. Dibuje otro círculo. Hacia la derecha y izquierda de ese círculo de abajo una línea pero no muy larga, y dibuje un círculo donde termina cada línea. Pinte cada círculo de color verde.

Sisters

H19FSI

Single, college

H20FSI

Single, high school

a.

H19FSI > H20FSI: Tú andás una camisa blanca, unos jeans y andás descalza.

H20FSI > H19FSI: Tú andas una camisa negra unos jeans y unas sandalias.

b.

H20FSI > H19FSI: ¿Qué vas a preparar para comer esta noche? ¿Y las actividades que vas a hacer mañana? Y, ¿qué planes tenés para el fin de semana que viene? Y, ¿dónde serán las próximas vacaciones? Y, ¿cuáles son tus metas en los próximos cinco años?

J H19FSI > H20FSI: ¿Cuáles son tus planes para la comida de esta noche? ¿Qué piensas hacer para las actividades de mañana? ¿Cuáles son los planes que tienes para el fin de semana que viene? ¿Qué vas a hacer para las próximas vacaciones? ¿Qué metas tienes para los próximos cinco años?

c.

H19FSI > H20FSI: A la izquierda dibujá un triángulo, y adentro del triángulo dibujá un cuadrado. Y el cuadrado va a ser verde. Y al lado del triángulo va a haber un óvalo azul. Al lado del óvalo dibujame un círculo rojo. Y a la derecha del óvalo azul va a estar un círculo rojo. Ok, dibujame un círculo rojo al lado del triángulo, no, del óvalo, que es la derecha. Y abajo del óvalo y del círculo rojo dibujame un rectángulo, abajo del óvalo y del círculo.

H20FSI > H19FSI: Dibujá un círculo, en medio de la página. Dibujame un círculo mediano. Abajo del círculo un otro círculo y al lado izquierdo del círculo, el segundo, al lado pero abajo, no al lado izquierdo, no, ah ya, al lado izquierdo pero un poquito abajo del segundo círculo hacé otro círculo. Ok, lo mismo a la derecha, del segundo círculo. El primero círculo lo vas a pintar rojo, el segundo lo vas a pintar morado... celeste. Entre el primer y el segundo círculo, una línea derecha, para abajo, y entre los dos otros... no, no entre los dos, como del segundo al de la izquierda y del segundo al de la derecha, para abajo.

Protocol 3, Washington, D.C.

DC = Washington, D.C., MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters

Spouses
DC1MSP
DC2FSP

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: Ojalá que, como tú tenés problemas para los viernes, que no podemos irnos muchos días de vacaciones, espero que tú puedas agarrar esos días. Y también quiero decirte que preparemos casi todo con tiempo para poder irnos temprano y disfrutar de las vacaciones.

DC1MSP > DC2FSP: Bueno, yo estoy tratando eso, procurado conseguir el viernes 18, para que podamos irnos temprano. Hablaré con la *manager* para ver; explicaré las razones y posiblemente lo consigamos.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: No te quieren dar el viernes y nosotros tenemos que estar en Busch Gardens allí todavía.

DC1MSP > DC2FSP: Sí, bueno, por eso te digo que estoy tratando de conseguir el 15 también.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: Y también tienes a la mamá de Moisés que le dé permiso para ir con nosotros. No ves que todo el tiempo que está en la casa. Pero ¿sabes que? Hay que entenderlo porque es muchacho.

DC2FSP > DC1MSP: Espero que te guste el Día del Padre, y como ves tenemos que trabajar ese día. Espero que te guste; espero que pasés un buen tiempo. También quería decirte de tu mamá, que tú no le has hablado a tu mamá, que ella se va el viernes para Canadá al casamiento de tu sobrino, y decile que es lo que, tú no has dicho nada. Ah, tú me dijiste, me dijiste, ¿verdad?

DC2FSP > Mexican daughter-in-law [by phone]: ¿Sabes qué, sabes qué? También quiero... mirá... cualquier cosa me llamas.

Spouses
DC3MSP
DC4FSP

DC3MSP > Elda: ¿Una tortilla? Calientela pues. ¿Usted no va a comer también? Usted tiene que comer; yo tengo que comer.

DC3MSP > infant son: ¿Qué tenés hijo? Las llaves. Tome. No llores mi papa. Usted es mi papá bonito.

DC3MSP > Salvadoran co-worker [by phone]: ¿Para vos? ¿Sabés qué es eso? ¿Sabés qué es eso? Es un *two-by-four*.

Protocol 3, Houston

H = Houston, MSP = male spouse, FSP = female spouse, FFR = female friend, MFR = male friend, MAC = male acquaintance, FAC = female acquaintance, FSI = female sisters, SON = son

Spouses

H1MSP

H2FSP

H2FSP > H1MSP: Haz los boletos. ¿Cómo se dice? Ordena los boletos lo más pronto posible.

H2FSP > H1MSP: Yo te estoy haciendo preguntas, tú sólo tienes que escuchar y pensarlo.

H2FSP > H1MSP: ¿De dónde vas a sacar el dinero para de aquí a un mes ir de vacaciones? [Inaudible] no me llevas. ¿De dónde vas a sacar el dinero?

H1MSP > H2FSP.: ¿Por qué quiere conocer Utah?

Spouses and son

H3MSP

H4FSP

H21SON

H4FSP > H3MSP: ¿Quieres pupusas?

H4FSP > H3MSP: Échale seguro arriba.

H3MSP > granddaughter: Cierra la puerta, cierra la puerta.

H21SON > daughter: Ven.

H21SON > son: ¿Quieres comer? Tienes que comer.

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Conference
Presentations: “Voseo to Tuteo Shift among Two Salvadoran Communities in
the United States,” 38th Conference of the Linguistic Association
of the Southwest (LASSO), Provo, UT, September 2009.

“El alza continuada de periódicos de lengua española en Estados
Unidos como reflejo de la población hispana,” 35th Conference of
the Linguistic Association of the Southwest (LASSO), Laredo,
TX, September 2006.