

***Che* and *bo*: Competing vocatives in Uruguayan Spanish**

Maria Irene Moyna

Texas A&M University, United States

This study is part of a broader analysis of address variation in Uruguayan Spanish (USp), whose complex system is well documented (Behares 1981, Bertolotti 2011, Elizaincín & Díaz 1981, Fontanella de Weinberg 1999, Moyna & Ceballos 2008, Mendoza 2005, Steffen 2010, Weyers 2009). This analysis focuses on vocatives, which have received less attention (Bertolotti 2011: 36, Moyna 2017) by contrasting familiarizers *che* and *bo* to ascertain their pragmatic and sociolinguistic value.

USp. shares the vocative *che* ‘hey’ – likely Guaraní in origin – with a *Sprachbund* that includes Argentina, Paraguay, and southern Brazil (Bertolotti 2010). In addition, it exhibits an innovation, *bo* (~*vo*), etymologically linked to the informal 2s pronoun *vos* (Moyna 2017). Evidence for their vocative status includes peripheral position, intonational contour, and lack of either thematic role or number features.

A survey of Montevideo showed that *che* and *bo* were more likely in impolite than neutral contexts (Moyna 2017). However, the forms are not interchangeable: *che* is widely accepted, while *bo*-claiming is higher among young participants, between male speakers and addressees, and in impolite situations. However, it is unclear whether these trends are general in USp, and whether they are spreading from Montevideo. The current study analyzes *che/bo* variation in the whole country to answer these questions. The data came from a survey of reported address in which USp respondents selected vocatives for hypothetical situations (n=720). Two items were addressed to men and two to women, including a neutral attention-getter and an impolite rebuke (*Appendix*). Possible responses included *che*, *bo*, and formal *oiga*; participants could also write in an option. Responses were classified by sociolinguistic factors (speaker age, gender, regional provenance, educational level, type of schooling, and occupation, pragmatic context, and addressee gender) and analyzed in Rbrul.

A one-level multivariate analysis found that age, speaker and addressee gender, and pragmatic context were statistically significant. Vocatives were favored by young speakers and male speakers and addressees, and impolite contexts (rebuke). Social class, region, and occupation were not significant ($p < 0.001$). Another one-level multivariate analysis (*bo* vs. no-*bo*) confirmed for USp the same pattern found previously for Montevideo. *Bo* was three times more frequent in impolite than in neutral contexts (23.1% vs. 7.8%) and it also rose exponentially as speakers got younger, doubling between the oldest and the middle-aged group (5.3 vs. 12.7%), and between them and

the youngest respondents (23%). Gender was significant, with males twice as likely as women to use and receive *bo* (25% and 20.3% vs. 12.1% and 9.5%). Finally, Montevideo was confirmed as the origin of the change, since the southern area that includes the capital exhibited higher *bo*-claiming (18.7%) than the west (12.2%), center (10.1%), and east (9.6%).

Che/bo variation thus contrasts a traditional macroregional form of rural origin and general use with a local, urban, pragmatically marked appellative. *Bo* has covert prestige and is spreading from below, spearheaded by young Montevideo males, and is being gradually adopted by young women and speakers of other locations, a pattern described for familiarizers in other languages (Urichuk & Loureiro-Rodríguez 2019).

Appendix: Sample questionnaire items

A. Usted está con un grupo del trabajo esperando a un nuevo compañero en el restaurante. Cuando entra, ustedes lo ven, pero él no los ve a ustedes. Usted lo llama desde la mesa:

- a. ¡Che, Diego, estamos acá!
- b. ¡Bo, Diego, estamos acá!
- c. ¡Oiga, Diego, estamos acá!
- d. Otra forma: _____

‘You are with a group from work waiting for a new [male] colleague at the restaurant. When he comes in, you see him but he doesn’t see you. You call him from the table: “Hey, Diego, we are here!”’

B. Usted está jugando a la baraja con su compañero de siempre pero él se distrae y muestra las cartas. Ya lo ha hecho otras veces y por su culpa han perdido varias manos. Usted se impacienta y le dice:

- a. ¡Che, idiota, otra vez estás mostrando las cartas!
- b. ¡Bo, idiota, otra vez estás mostrando las cartas!
- c. ¡Oiga, idiota, otra vez está mostrando las cartas!
- d. Otra forma: _____

‘You are playing cards with your usual [male] partner, but he gets distracted and shows his cards. He has done this before, and because of this, you have lost several hands. You grow impatient and tell him: “Hey, dummy, you are showing your cards again!”’

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Pronouns of address in job advertisements from different industries

Maria den Hartog, Sanne Bras, Gert-Jan Schoenmakers

Radboud University, the Netherlands

When using pronouns of address in their communication, companies operating in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France and Spain have to choose between formal (V) and informal (T) forms. A corpus study by den Hartog et al. (2022) found that in Belgian Dutch, Netherlandish Dutch and Spanish, multinational companies have a preference for using

T-forms when communicating with job seekers in generic recruitment advertisements. The same companies showed a clear preference for V-forms in French, but no strong preference for either form in German. These results make clear that different languages have different patterns of preference for formal and informal pronouns of address. Alongside the operating region, Vismans (2007) found that the economic industry type a company is associated with explains part of the variance in the choice for V or T in Belgian Dutch and Netherlandish Dutch. The goal of the current corpus study is to establish whether this finding can be replicated and extended to Spanish, French and German.

Using the corpus of job advertisements compiled by den Hartog et al. (2022) as a starting point, our research question is: to what extent is the choice for V or T that multinational companies make when addressing job seekers related to the type of industry? To answer this question, we annotated the companies in the corpus for industry type and extended the corpus to include companies from a more diverse range of industries. The corpus contains a total of 159 companies. Having excluded industries with fewer than five companies, a Fisher's exact test per language showed that industry type is associated with the choice for V or T made by multinational companies in German ($p < 0.001$) and French ($p = 0.005$), but not in Belgian Dutch, Netherlandish Dutch and Spanish ($ps > 0.05$). Visual inspection of the data for German (see Fig. 1) showed that, although there is much variation, two industries apply

T-forms more often than other industries in Germany: 15 out of 18 companies (83%) operating within the industry of distribution and retail (e.g. supermarkets like Lidl and ALDI, and fashion retailers like Snipes and H&M) and 5 out of 6 multinational catering companies (83%; e.g. KFC and McDonalds). In France, 5 out of 15 (30%) distribution and retail companies also use T-forms, while other industries use V almost exclusively (see Fig. 1).

These results show that in France and Germany, there is indeed an association between industry type and choice of pronoun of address.

A possible explanation for this finding is that the type of job seekers that distribution and retail companies seek to attract are generally younger than the job seekers recruited by other industries. Using T-forms to entice younger job seekers to apply for jobs has indeed been identified as a strategic choice for pronoun of address in France (Hidri Neys 2021). Given that the industry types which use T in France and Germany overlap, the same explanation may apply to our results for German.

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Figures

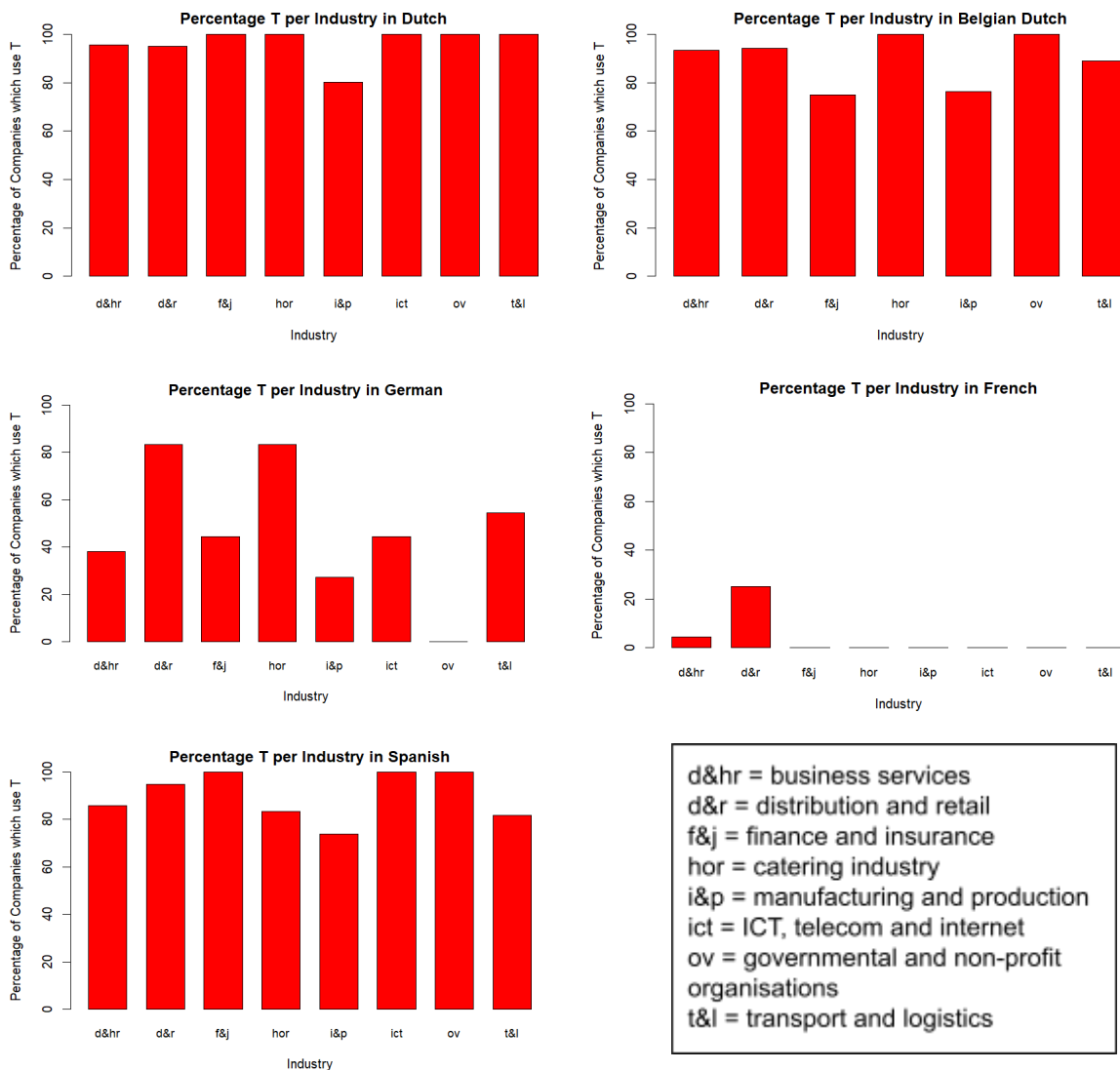


Fig. 1: Percentage of T-forms used by companies in each industry, per language

Reflexivity and Politeness

Osamu Ishiyama

Soka University of America, United States

Although reflexivity is typically not associated with politeness, there are languages in which reflexivity is exploited for politeness. Most commonly, this involves the use of reflexive pronouns as terms of address to indicate politeness or casualness. On a more limited scale, reflexive elements are also used in predicate honorifics. This study investigates why (i) reflexive-based terms of address are polite in some languages and casual in others, and (ii) reflexives function as predicate honorifics. Examinations show that reflexive elements lend themselves to politeness because of their pragmatic and syntactic functions.

Languages that use reflexive pronouns as terms of address are not uncommon. In some southern varieties of Basque, a very formal second person form *beroi* comes from the combination of *ber-* ‘self, same’ and the medial demonstrative *hori* (Trask 2003: 151).

Similarly, reflexives have become formal second person pronouns in many languages of India:

e.g. Hindi *ap* (Kachru 2006) and Kannada *taavu* (Sridhar 1990). On the other hand, in languages of East and South Asia, reflexive terms of address often carry a casual tone: e.g. Korean *dangsin*, *jagi* (Sohn 1994), Thai *tuà*, *ʔáadtamaá*, and Vietnamese *mình* (Cooke 1968). Other languages with formal reflexive terms of address include Bengali, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, and Imbabura Quechua, and those with casual reflexive terms of address Japanese and Mandarin. I argue that this seemingly opposite effect can be attributed to two core pragmatic characteristics of reflexives, namely high empathy and externalization/objectification of self. The former indicates that reflexives are somewhat akin to the first person and their use for the addressee leads to casual terms of address, and the latter results in a distant and detached view of the addressee, yielding formal terms of address.

Reflexive-related elements are also observed in predicate honorifics. In Tetelcingo Nahuatl, the reflexive prefix *-mo* functions as one of the honorific prefixes: e.g. *ši-k-tlahto:liti* ‘read it’ vs. *šo-mo-tlahto:liti-li* ‘(honorific) read it’ (Pittman 1948: 237). When *-mo* is used as an honorific prefix, it replaces *-ki* which indicates a specified object, and a suffix *-li* which is usually a marker of an indirect object is used. In other words, transitivity is altered in this honorific sentence by replacing a direct object marker with a reflexive and by coding the erstwhile direct object as the indirect object. A similar transitivity phenomenon is observed in some avoidance languages of Australia such as Bunuba and Gurindji. In Bunuba, transitive verbs in everyday language are replaced by intransitive ones in its avoidance language by adding *mal* which means ‘be, become’ in everyday language. This also gives the indirect object/oblique status to the original direct object: cf. *julya ma* ‘he

squeezed it' (everyday) vs. *julya mal-ninha* 'he squeezed (with respect to) it' (avoidance) (Rumsey 1982: 166-167). In both Nahuatl and Bunuba, honorifics are created by 'intransitivization' brought about by reflexive-like elements.

Politeness effects of reflexivity on terms of address and predicate honorifics ultimately come from distance manipulation and transitivity change, respectively. It seems that distance manipulation is related to the common politeness strategy of displacement of semantic features such as the use of third person forms for second person referents (e.g.

German *Sie*) and transitivity change is part of more general phenomena of agent defocusing, including the use of passive-like elements in predicate honorifics (e.g. Indonesian *di-*, Japanese – (*r*)*are*) (Shibatani 2006).

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Formality, status & egophoricity in Kathmandu Newār

Shahani Singh Shrestha

Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain

Overview: Egophoricity is a grammatical category known to mark agency, volition and epistemic access between speaker (S) and addressee (A). In this talk I demonstrate that in Kathmandu Newār, formality of interaction and the status of S and A also play a role in the marking of egophoricity. I further show that the data shed light on current grammatical approaches towards the encoding of formality between S and A.

Egophoricity and Formality: It is known that egophoric marking is used when the seat of knowledge (SoK) is self-borne, where the self is S in declaratives and A in interrogatives (Hargreaves, 2018: 85) (see example 1). Conversely, non-egophoric marking is used when SoK does not coincide with the speech-act participants (see example 2). What has been overlooked thus far is the role of status and formality – a close examination of informal and semi-formal interactions in Kathmandu Newār indicate that when S and A are of equal status (S=A) or when S is higher in status than A (S>A), the canonical pattern of egophoric marking may not be observed (examples 3 and 5) and a non-egophoric marking is possible in interrogative contexts. In contrast, when S<A, the conventional egophoric marking must be used (example 4).

Crucially, the Kathmandu Newār data indicate that there may be mismatches in formality marking within a single sentence, that lead to various nuances in formality. For example, 2nd person pronouns can also encode a distinction in formality (*Cha* is informal and *Chi* is formal). In addition, verbs may differ in their formality status such that the verb *wan-* ('go') is informal while *jhā-* ('go') is formal. While in example 4, the formality in pronoun, verb, and egophoric marking all match, such is not the case in example 5. Here, the formal pronoun and verb co- occur with non-egophoric marking which reduces formality to give a semi-formal utterance.

Theoretical significance: Formality has long been viewed as a purely pragmatic phenomenon but has, in recent years, been argued to be part of grammatical representation with various analyses being proposed. In this talk I compare two such approaches: that of Portner et al. (2019) and that of Ritter & Wiltschko (2021). According to Portner et al., formality and status are represented as features in the topmost syntactic layer of a sentence (cP), which is dedicated to encoding contextual variables (see set 6). The formality of the interaction and the status of S and A are set in c and all elements within the sentence that are sensitive to such features have to agree. Since in Kathmandu Newār, mismatches are not only possible but allow for a nuanced marking of formality and status, we cannot analyse the data with a single feature setting for the entire utterance.

In contrast, Ritter & Wiltschko 2021 argue that formality can be intrinsic or derived. For example, Japanese pronouns intrinsically encode aspects such as status whereas formal pronouns of the German type are derived: a 3rd person plural pronoun is used as a formal 2nd person pronoun. I propose that non-egophoric marking in non-formal contexts in Kathmandu Newār can signal S=A or S>A. Specifically, by not marking A as the holder of SoK, S implies that they do not consider A superior. There is no general syntactic head that determines the formality and status of the utterance, and hence different elements within an utterance can encode different aspects of formality and status, yielding various nuanced levels of formality.

Table A. (Examples 1-5 & set 6)

1. Egophoric marking: (a) Decl: S = SoK; (b) Interrog: A = SoK	
(a) Ji mhigaḥ ana wan-ā 1.SG yesterday there.DEM go-PST.EGO 'I went there yesterday.'	(b) Cha mhigaḥ ana wan-ā lā? 2.SG yesterday there.DEM go-PST.EGO Q 'Did you go there yesterday?' (informal, S=A)
2. Non-egophoric marking: Decl: S ≠ SoK	
Wa mhigaḥ ana wan-a 3SG yesterday there go-PFV.NONEGO 'He/She went there yesterday.' (informal)	
3. Informal context, status: S = A (eg. Friends) or S > A (e.g. father to son) Cha mhigaḥana waṃ lā? 2.SG yesterday there.DEM go.IMPV.NONEGO Q 'Did you go there yesterday?' (more informal than 1b.)	
4. Formal context, status: S < A (eg. son to father)	
Chi mhigaḥ ana jhāyā lā? 2.SG.FRML yesterday there.DEM go.FRML.PST.EGO Q 'Did you go there yesterday?' (formal, respectful)	
5. Semi-formal context, status: S = A (eg. acquaintances) Chi mhigaḥana jhāḥ lā? 2SG.FRML yesterday there.DEM go.FRML.IMPV.NONEGO Q 'Did you go there yesterday?' (Semi-formal, polite)	
6. [cP c [formality], [status] [Sentence]]	

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When your pronominal marking matters during a pandemic: Shawi pronominals and COVID-19 interventions

Luis Miguel Rojas Berscia

Radboud University, the Netherlands

The COVID-19 pandemic has challenged all levels of society when it comes to effectively inform citizens about social-distancing and general prevention measures. Previous research has highlighted the significance of presentation styles when informing people (Sunstein & Thaler, 2003, p. 1182). The way ideas are framed can thus alter people's behaviour in predictable ways without properly modifying underlying intentions or incentives (Dorison et al., 2022; Sunstein & Thaler, 2003). In a recent macro-survey with a sample of over 89 countries, it has been observed that messages that promoted social distancing rooted in choice promotion and agency were more effective as regards long-term engagement with social-distancing than forceful or shaming messages (Psychological Science Accelerator Self-Determination Theory Collaboration, 2022). Although the sample was of considerable size, little is known about these same dynamics outside the realm of WEIRD (Western, European, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic) societies.

In this talk we focus on Shawi, a Kawapangan language of Peruvian Northwestern Amazonia. The COVID-19 pandemic took a heavy toll on Peruvian Indigenous population. A recent study showed that Indigenous people had 3.18 times the risk of infection and 0.4 times the mortality risk of the general population in Peru (Soto-Cabezas et al., 2022). Conversely, the Shawi have not been included among the most heavily affected (Salud con Lupa, 2021).

Even though the Shawi have been in uninterrupted contact with Western society since the XVI century, their society thrives following strong collectivist practices from the family-level to the more general community-level. This is also reflected in their language, where Shawi-related institutions are named using first-person inclusive pronouns (Rojas-Berscia & Ghavami Dicker, 2015): *kanpunan* (lit. our (yours and mine, not theirs) language), *kanpupiyapu* 'Shawi' (lit. our (yours and mine, not theirs) people), **Kanpuwanama* ' (lit. our lord) 'Cumpanamá (God). In this talk, we provide a descriptive and comparative account of Peruvian state posters and short radio ads whereby languages such as Shawi and other Peruvian indigenous languages (Awajun, Ashaninka, Quechua, Shipibo, etc.) have been used (See Ad 1). Shawi seems to be the only language of the sample where information has been framed using first person inclusive form,. This seems to have triggered improved engagement in the suggested practices and a wider protection against the spread of the virus in Shawi communities. Opinions from local stakeholders will also be discussed and taken into account. Although results only stem from a descriptive point of view, our ideas could be further used to improve health communication strategies in other indigenous contexts following interculturally informed linguistic strategies.

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Table 1. Subject and Object pronominal forms in Shawi (Rojas-Berscia, 2021). Inclusive forms in a circle.

Paradigm		
	Minimal	Augmented
1. EXCL	-awe	-ai
1. INCL	-eʷ	-ewaʷ
2	-an	-amaʷ
3	-in	-piʷ/-in-na

Paradigm		
	Minimal	Augmented
1. EXCL	-ku	-kui
1. INCL	-npu	-npuwaʷ
2	-ken/nke	-kenmaʷ/ nkemaʷ
3	-∅	-∅

Sample ad 1 (Ministerio de Salud del Perú, 2020). Inclusive forms in a circle.



Generic and vague uses of a second-person singular pronoun in reported speech in Japanese

Yoko Yonezawa

The University of Sydney, Australia

This study analyzes ‘generic’ and ‘vague’ uses of a second-person singular pronoun (2sg hereafter) in Japanese observed in reported speech. In typological studies, it has been said that languages with an open-class pronominal system, such as Japanese and Korean, do not allow generic uses of 2sg (Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990). This claim is based on the widely held assumption that all personal pronouns in these languages are semantically and pragmatically “too loaded” to be used impersonally (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 756). Indeed, many languages in Asia, including Japanese and Korean, commonly have elaborate pronominal paradigms and open-class alternative terms (Enfield & Comrie 2015: 8). The use of these terms is primarily determined by the social characteristics of the interlocutors, such as age, gender, social status, kin relations, and the social distance between them, as well as the level of formality in the conversational setting. In these languages, personal pronouns are regarded as inevitably involving social-indexicality. Therefore, they are assumed to be incapable of functioning as ‘mere person-deixis’. In other words, it has been considered impossible for these languages to have generic uses of any 2sg pronouns.

However, among various terms of address and reference in present-day Japanese, one 2sg pronoun, *anata* ‘you’, is found in a recent study to be unique (Yonezawa 2021): unlike all other 2sg pronouns in the Japanese language, *anata* is semantically simple and socially inert and thus, in fact, primarily functions as mere person-deixis. The discovery of the semantic simplicity of the 2sg pronoun *anata* in Japanese suggests the potential for it to function as a generic second. This study presents clear evidence for generic and vague uses of the 2sg pronoun *anata* in reported speech in Japanese.

The data for this study are drawn from Japanese parliamentary debates. In most cases in the data, *anata* in the reported speech environment does not refer to an identifiable individual but rather to people in general or to a vague referent who is low in specificity. This study proposes focal points related to the degree of specificity of these uses within the ‘continuum of reference of Japanese 2sg in reported speech’, inspired by, but different from, Kluge’s (2016) notion of a ‘continuum of reference of the 2sg’, which is based on European languages. The analysis shows that the generic and vague uses of 2sg *anata* are part of the art of speech utilised by politicians to evoke “the theme of generality or generalization” (Laberge & Sankoff 1979: 423).

In addition to the discovery of generic and vague uses of 2sg in an open-class person- reference system, another important contribution this study makes to typological research is in relation to the study of pronouns in reported speech. Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 131) state that the interpretation of pronouns and other deictics in reported speech demands specific knowledge of the grammar of the language. The current study shows that, in the case of languages with an open-class pronominal system, the interpretation of pronouns in reported speech further requires a thorough understanding of their core semantics, as well as their pragmatic usage. Drawing on the notion of ‘constructed dialogue’ (e.g., Tannen 1989), the study shows that generic and vague uses of *anata* are most often the quoting speaker’s ‘construction’ rather than ‘report’, reflecting the quoting speaker’s attitude in specifying the referent. In this sense, the study sheds light on “the different ways in which current speaker attitudes in quotatives may be encoded in the languages of the world” (Spronck 2012: 87).

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Morphopragmatics of address terms in Turkish: A contrastive study of pet-, infant-, child- and adult-directed speech

F. Nihan Ketrez

Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey

In this study, we compare and contrast the morphopragmatic (Dressler & Marlini Barbaresi 1994) structure of address terms in pet-, infant-, child- and adult-directed speech. Following Mattiello et al. (2021) and Dressler et al. (2022), we hypothesize that pet-directed speech is asymmetrical because pets, in contrast to humans, are nonverbal, and this asymmetry results in different realization of morphology. We draw our data from Turkish, an agglutinating language, where address terms can bear diminutive (e.g., *Ali-cik* ‘Ali-DIM’), hypocoristic (e.g., *Ali-ş* ‘Ali- HYP’) as well as possessive markers (*Ali-m* ‘Ali-POSS&1sg’) and various combinations of them (e.g., *Ali-ş-cik* ‘Ali-HYP-DIM’, *Ali-ciğ-im* ‘Ali-DIM- POSS&1sg’’, *Ali-ş-im* ‘Ali-HYP- POSS&1sg’’, *Ali-ş-ciğ-im* ‘Ali-HYP-DIM-POSS&1sg’’), and are used along with morphologically bare forms (e.g., *Ali*) (Yıldırım 2022). So Turkish provides a good venue for the study of morphopragmatic density of address terms across various addressee groups.

Participants included 25 (7 male, 18 female) pet owners, 14 parents (3 male, 11 female) of non-verbal infants, ages ranging between three months to 11 months, 20 parents (6 male, 14 female) of verbal children ages between 14 months to 36 months and 15 adults, university students. Spontaneous speech of participants were recorded and transcribed following the CHAT conventions of CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000). Terms of address were targeted and coded for analysis in terms their morphological structures as bare Noun, Noun-DIM, Noun- HYP, Noun- POSS, Noun-DIM-POSS, Noun-HYP-POSS, Noun-HYP-DIM, Noun-HYP-DIM-POSS. In addition, they were coded according to their base forms as Proper Name (e.g., *Ali*), other name or noun (e.g., *kuzu* ‘lamb’ *aşk-ım* ‘love-POSS&1sg’) and kinship terms (e.g., *kız-ım* ‘daughter-POSS&1sg’ or inverse address forms where the speaker uses his or her role or kinship relation to the addressee, e.g., *anne-ciğ-im* ‘mother-DIM-POSS&1sg’ used by a mother, addressing a pet or a child/infant).

The results suggested that pet- and infant-directed speech had more address terms (Figure 1) and more morphopragmatic markers of endearment and affection (Figure 2) than child- and adult-directed speech. 14% and 9% of all word tokens were address terms in pet-and infant- directed speech. This contrasted with 2% and 1% of all tokens in child- and adult- directed speech. In both pet- and infant-directed speech 62% of address terms were morphologically complex vs. 45% in child-directed speech and 30% in adult-directed speech. In terms of the frequency of the DIM, HYP and POSS markers, pet-directed speech was similar to infant- directed speech and less similar to child- and adult-directed speech. Across all groups, in morphologically complex address terms, kinship terms were the most frequent base forms and POSS was the most frequent morphopragmatic marker.

These results were in line with Mattiello et al. (2021) and Dressler et al. (2022) that predicted that the asymmetrical speech situation in pet-directed speech would be similar to nonverbal infant-directed speech, where there was similar asymmetrical speech situations. Just as predicted, speech directed to verbal children and adults who actively participate in conversations, had different distribution of morphopragmatic markers. So asymmetry in communication was reflected on morphopragmatic density of address terms in Turkish, a morphologically rich language.

Figure 1 Address terms versus other words address terms

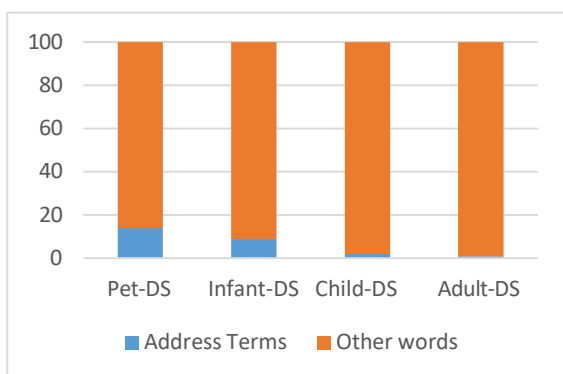
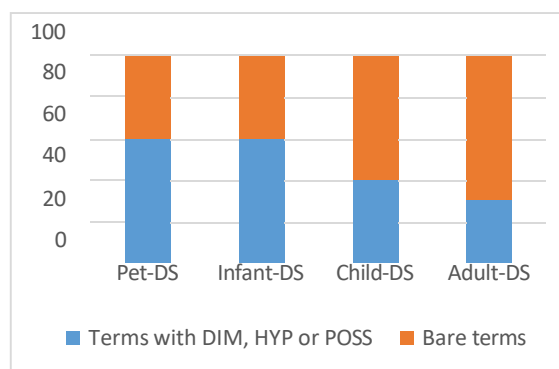


Figure 2 Morphologically complex versus bare address terms



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Can You Help Us? The Impact of Formal and Informal Second-Person Pronouns on Monetary Donations of Altruistic Consumers

Sebastian Sadowksi, Helen de Hoop

Radboud University, the Netherlands

Despite the clear willingness of consumers to donate money to charities (Bekkers et al., 2022), there are still ample opportunities to increase the amount of money that consumers want to share with good causes (Chapman et al., 2022). In this study we demonstrate that charities could benefit from tailoring their communication strategies towards specific groups of people more interested in helping (altruists, San Martín et al., 2016). More specifically, we investigate whether addressing more altruistic consumers in donation solicitations with informal (e.g., Dutch *jij*) rather than formal (e.g., Dutch *u*) forms of address boosts their donation behavior.

A large body of literature supports the notion that altruism is connected to closeness and perceived social distance between people (Long & Krause, 2017). People are for instance more likely to be altruistic towards family members rather than strangers and towards closer relatives rather than distant relatives (Barber, 1994; Hames, 1987). Building on sociolinguistic theories (e.g. Brown and Gilman, 1960) we expect that closeness can be also implied through informal communication, for instance in the form of informal forms of address (Stephan et al., 2010). The literature demonstrates that the usage of informal language helps to reduce the perceived psychological distance between people and has further consequences for how people behave, work together, and collaborate (Kraut et al., 2023). As a result, we expect and demonstrate that using informal forms of address in charitable appeals will be particularly valued by people high in altruism. As a consequence, they will be more likely to donate money to charities employing this form of communication.

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Contextualising creature comforts: Afrikaans forms of address from a contextual perspective

Carla Ellis

University of the Free State, South Africa

Humans are creatures of habit. Although *creature comforts* refer to material amenities, it can also be used in a language context to refer to our use of specific, "comfortable" forms of address (such as honorifics or even terms of endearment) when we find ourselves in uncertain situations. Social conventions and norms within a specific language community determine which forms of address are (un)acceptable in a given situation: when these are used incorrectly, it could possibly lead to an uncomfortable interaction between interlocutors (see Wybenga 1981; Coulmas 2013; Carstens 2018; and Trudgill 2000). The use of specific forms of address – or lack thereof – is subject to a number of variables, which usually indicates something about the addressee, the speaker, the formality of the situation, and the type of social interaction between interlocutors (Combrink 1982).

The conclusions presented in this paper result from the research conducted for the purposes of a comprehensive PhD-study on Afrikaans forms of address, Afrikaans being one of the 11 official languages of South Africa. Variables such as sex, age and occupational status, as well as race and social background (sensitive topics in South Africa) were taken into account. For this research, data were obtained by means of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, in order to establish **when** and in **which** situations Afrikaans speakers use different forms of address, e.g., *title, first name, no-naming*. This paper specifically focuses on the data in terms of everyday formal and informal situations, where interlocutors are considered to have different (social) statuses, such as grocery store clerks, medical doctors, and beggars. The data indicate that Afrikaans speakers generally use a range of different forms of address towards people with different social statuses, as the (social) situation determines the degree of formality towards the addressee (Ellis, 2022).

The ultimate goal of this paper therefore is to describe the type of relation that exists between (formal and informal) Afrikaans forms of address and specific social situations. By considering the abovementioned variables, the research has represented a new contribution to existing research on Afrikaans forms of address, partly because Afrikaans is a minority language within the current linguistic landscape of South Africa, which is dominated by English as major form of communication.

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Forms of address in European, Caribbean, and Surinamese Dutch

Gert-Jan Schoenmakers¹, Helen de Hoop¹, Roel Vismans²

¹*Radboud University, the Netherlands*

²*University of Sheffield, United Kingdom*

Dutch is spoken in the Netherlands' former West Indian colonies: Suriname and six Caribbean islands. The status of the language varies. Dutch is established as official language in Suriname (e.g. in formal functions and education) and proficiency levels are higher than on the Caribbean islands, where the use of Dutch in education, government, and the judiciary is criticized and challenged.

In this paper, we investigate how address in Surinamese and Caribbean Dutch differs from that in European Dutch, both in form and social function. We report on an online survey conducted in 2019 with questions about the use of pronouns of address (T, V, mixed) and nominal address forms with a range of different interlocutors. Participants indicated not only which forms they would use in the interactions, but also which form the interlocutors would use to address them.

We applied Fisher's exact tests with Cramér's *V* to establish associations between address form preferences and age or location. The results show distinct patterns in different communicational contexts. Further, the 'mixed' response option was chosen rather often, permitting analysis that goes beyond the traditional binary distinction between T and V. Participants made qualitative comments about the interactions as well, which considerably enrich our data with information about address strategies.

The format we use replicates to a large extent a study on pronouns of address carried out in the Netherlands (Vismans 2013, 2018), allowing for a rough comparison between the three variants of Dutch (Netherlands, Suriname, Caribbean). The data show that the use of address pronouns in Surinamese Dutch and Caribbean Dutch aligns to that in the Netherlands to some extent, but that there seems to be greater use of the V-pronoun *u*. Furthermore, a range of nominal address forms exists which originate in contact languages spoken locally.

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Baba Dae and Kaka Dae: Address Forms and Decolonial Linguistic Construction of Social Classes and Gender in Post-Colonial and Post-Reformation Societies of Bima

Kamaludin Yusra, Yuni Budi Lestari

University of Mataram, Indonesia

Feudal and colonial practices in the Bima society of Indonesia have been well written in various kingly records of the Bima sultans. While those written in the Bima scripts and language by the kings of Bima since its establishment up to the seventh century have been lost to the palace fire during a coup in 1626, the records written in Arabic scripts but in Malaya or Bima languages after Islam and the sultanate came to power since 1640 to 1958 have been well preserved at the Samparaja Museum of the Bima Sultanate. Two types of records are found: *Boo Sangajikai* (The Book of the Sultan, the Public Law) and *Boo Bicarakai* (The Book of the Prime Minister, the government regulations). Unlike the latter that specifies only rules of conducts for government officials in public services, the former dictates laws in general public relation including religions, ethnicities, social classes, and gender. This book has also specified social classes and linguistic forms for addressing them: (a) Ruma, the high noble (“ama ka’u” (for the king) “ina ka’u” (for the queen) “ruma” (for the princes and the princesses), “muma” (for the kings’ children “teta” (for the off-springs of the kings’ off-springs), (b) Rato, the noble (“dae” for older male and female off-springs of the noble men), (c) Dari, the technicians (“uba” for adult male and “ma’ for adult female off-springs of the technicians, “baba” for young male and “kaka” for young female), and (d) Ela, the commoners (“ama” for adult male and “ina” for adult female of the commoners). In feudal and colonial Bima society, these address forms were strictly maintained. However, in the post-colonial Bima society, these address forms merged into two forms. The Ruma and the Rato males and females have been addressed in “Dae” while the Dari and the Ela have resorted to “Baba” and “Kaka”. In the post-reformation Bima society, where feudalism and colonialism have been replaced with capitalism, democracy and equal human rights, the address forms have currently been merged into “Baba Dae” (for male) and “Kaka Dae” (for female) indicating the total loss of social classes but maintenance of gender. Evidences for these social class-related and gender-related forms will be collected from the two historical records above and the proofs of the losses will be identified in the recordings of face to face and online interactions of contemporary speakers of the Bima language. In addition to explicating socio-cultural changes represented in the use of address forms, the study will also display that the understudied historical archives are essential resources for discovering changes throughout the history of a society including their continual redefinition of feudalism and colonialism as shown in the current study.

Keywords: address forms, linguistic construction, social classes, gender

Regional variation in German address: Methodological perspectives

Janel Zoske, Horst Simon

Freie Universität Berlin

Diatopic variation in the German-speaking countries has been subject to numerous studies in the fields of lexis, phonology and grammar, while pragmatic variation has mostly been neglected (Schneider & Barron 2008). In address research, there are various studies which contrast the address behavior in different languages (e.g. Norrby & Wide 2015; Clyne et al. 2009), but also language-internal variation has been investigated. There is an ever-growing body of literature comparing different varieties of languages such as English, Spanish, Swedish or Dutch (e.g. Norrby et al. 2019; Félix-Brasdefer & Yates 2019; Norrby et al. 2015; Wide et al. 2019; Vismans 2015). For German, however, language-internal variation has only recently become a topic of interest within address research. The work of the Melbourne Address Projects has yielded differences in pronominal and nominal addressing practices in the different varieties of German (e.g. Kretzenbacher 2011; Norrby & Kretzenbacher 2013; Schüpbach 2015). Clyne, Norrby and Warren have discovered variation in the use of the T- and V- pronouns in Germany and Austria. Their results also point towards variation within Germany, as the authors highlight the “special case of eastern Germany” (2009: 129). Research focusing on nominal forms of address (e.g. Ehlers 2004; Kretzenbacher et al. 2019) has also shown that the varieties differ significantly, particularly in the use of academic titles. The data collected for the “Atlas der Deutschen Alltagssprache” (AdA) (Elspaß & Möller 2003) confirms these findings and illustrates significant regional variation in the use of pronominal and nominal forms of address across the German-speaking countries. Furthermore, variation in greetings, which are often closely linked to certain forms of address (Kretzenbacher 2011: 72), has been observed for the German-speaking countries (e.g. Schüpbach 2015; Dürscheid & Simon 2019). However, all of these works are based on relatively small-scale data collections.

The tri-national project “Variational Pragmatics of German: Comparing Communicative Patterns” aims to further develop this line of research by conducting a large-scale study on, among others, forms of address and greeting formulas in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. While many macro- and micro-social variables, such as (relational) age, gender, power, style/register, etc. have proven to influence choice of address, this project will specifically explore the impact of the macro-social variable “region” and its interaction with other social variables. The project will not solely draw upon language production data but will also consider differences in the perception of forms of address and greeting formulas. In order to succeed with this endeavor, a sophisticated experimental setup is required. It is, therefore, the aim of this talk to first introduce our new research project that will investigate address in a variational pragmatic framework and then discuss the different empirical methods that will be applied to collect a large amount of data. In addition to

traditional written Discourse Completion Tasks, video-based Discourse Completion Tasks, in which oral data will be elicited, will be implemented. Moreover, adequacy judgments as well as field observations will be gathered. These different methods of data collection will, ultimately, allow us to draw empirically well-founded conclusions about regional variation in address in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

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The etiquette of third-person reference in the nineteenth century: a contrastive investigation

Annick Paternoster

University of Lugano, Switzerland

The third wave in (im)politeness studies represents a middle ground inbetween research into more stable meanings of politeness and emergent ones (Haugh and Culpeper 2018 on integrative pragmatics). One way of tapping into more stable meanings is to harvest politeness rules and formulae in etiquette books, where they tend to be presented within minimal contexts: they regard speech acts (e.g. how to formulate a request with servants) or person address (e.g. opening formulae in letter-writing). With Terkourafi (2011) I take the view that etiquette writers reproduce exemplary usage, which they prescribe authoritatively. Aided by their higher social standing, they perpetuate, even constrain existing usage.

Nineteenth-century etiquette books address a higher-middle class readership, enabling them to access aristocratic networks, which have a strict social hierarchy (Paternoster 2022). As a result, etiquette books focus heavily on precedence rules, be it non- verbal (say, for table settings) or verbal: the use of titles is treated at length for address, both in letter writing and conversations. The sources also provide detailed instructions for third- person reference (Dickey 1997). Whilst historical person reference has received some scholarly attention in written sources (e.g. Burt 2019; the work by M. Nevala), this proposal focuses on historical prescriptivism for spoken usage. Etiquette learners need guidance on third-person reference to navigate frequently recurring contexts: how to use kinship terms in inquiries about people’s health, when commanding servants; how to talk of acquaintances or family members during visits, how to introduce someone? My proposal investigates this body of rules from the point of view of its intricacy, which increases the risk for errors.

My self-built corpus of etiquette books from the long nineteenth century (1800-1920), totals 92 books, comprising 4,800,000 words. The corpus is available from Sketch Engine <https://app.sketchengine.eu/> as five subcorpora for US English, UK English, French, Italian, and Dutch. It consists of public-domain texts drawn down from digital libraries: Google Books, Internet Archive, Gallica.fr, British library, Project Gutenberg and Delpher.nl. I use close reading and a qualitative, manual analysis to make an inventory of rules and formulae for spoken third-person reference.

(In)correct person reference has social consequences for the speaker, as the addressee evaluates his/her relationship to the speaker in the context of social ratification. When it comes to errors, the person reference is usually not formal enough, but there are also examples of inflated titles. These are hypercorrections or “vulgar-genteel errors” (Dossena 2019: 35) of social ‘climbers’,

who refer to their kin by using titles that are overly formal. This blunder can be linked to a discourse on affectation (Dossena 2019: 36): ‘parvenus’ overdo it, out of fear of not doing enough. The talk aims to illustrate the extent of rules and formulae for third-person reference across the five corpora. This will allow to discuss crosscultural variation as regards both the linguistic forms and the metadiscourse surrounding it.

Using prescriptive texts (Beal 2009; Tiekens-Boon van Ostade 2019) and blunders (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2020) to reconstruct the language norms of the past, the proposal specifically wants to make the case for an enduring presence of a strict hierarchical model, based on precedence, even in sources from the 20th century.

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Metalinguistic commentary on forms of address in an autobiographical novel series

Hanna Lappalainen¹, Maija Saviniemi²

¹*University of Eastern Finland, Finland*

²*University of Oulu, Finland*

One of the traditional objects of address research has been fiction (e.g. Nischik 1997). Previous studies have focused, for example, on how forms of address have been translated from one language to another (e.g. Ethelb 2015; Kluge 2019). In addition to the dialogues in fiction, which provide an opportunity to examine the use of forms of address in the narrative world, novels sometimes include comments on addressing and its norms. In this way, it is possible to show how address practices are perceived and valued by the narrator or other characters in the novel.

In this paper, we examine metalinguistic comments on address practices in a large autobiographical novel series. The object of study is the 26-volume Iijoki series by the Finnish author Kalle Päätalo (1919–2000). The series, published between 1971 and 1998, has been a popular and best-selling success, while critics have been quite critical of it. The series (comprising ca. 17 000 pages) describes in detail the life of the protagonist, Kalle, from early childhood to his retirement years, and his social rise from a poor country boy to becoming a building contractor and later a successful author. Central to the story is the tension between Kalle's home region, the northern countryside, and his later place of residence, a city (Tampere) in southern Finland.

The Iijoki series is a particularly suitable subject for examining the metalinguistic commentary on the address practices, since they are commented on in one way or another throughout the whole series. Moreover, previous research has shown that Päätalo was a precise descriptor of language use, for example in terms of dialectal differences (Keskimaa 2014; Mantila et al. 2022). The electronic corpus of the whole series has made the systematic analysis of the extensive data possible. The analysis is based on corpus searches by keywords such as *sinuttelu* ('the use of T forms'), *puhuttelu* ('addressing') and *etunimi* ('first name'). We have examined comments on both pronominal and nominal address. The comments have been analysed qualitatively by detailing the way in which they have been linguistically formulated. The study is anchored in previous sociopragmatic research on address.

Our analysis shows that the comments make visible the norms of Finnish speech culture, especially from 1920s to 1950s, which is the focus of the series. The rules and principles of address that emerge are not new per se, but they are plausible in the light of previous research (e.g. Yli-Vakkuri 2005; Paunonen 2010; Lappalainen 2015). The commentaries also provide insights

into contexts on which there is no previous research (e.g. the addressing culture in construction sites). Above all, they offer new depth into how the choice of forms of address can reflect social relations and the changes that take place within them. In this way, we aim to show how research on the language of fiction can contribute to complementing both research on address practices in authentic situations and data such as that obtained through survey methods.

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Choice of address form and the issue of gender binary: The case of Basque

Benat Muguruza, Garbiñe Bereziartua

University of the Basque Country, Spain

The Basque language has two main address forms, based on two different second-person singular personal pronouns: the most common address form, which is used in most contexts by most Basque speakers, is *zuka* (from the personal pronoun “*zu*”); meanwhile, the use of the familiar or informal address form *hika* is nowadays limited to certain geographic areas. What is more, this decrease has been unequal in terms of gender. Mostly men use it to address other men, and the use of *hika* for the rest of the combinations has become marginal. From a linguistic point of view, one of the most striking features of the Basque informal form of address is that the gender of the addressee is encoded in the verb. Thus, *hika* has female and male forms, for which only the gender of the addressee is considered.

We are witnessing a number of initiatives to promote the use of *hika* of late, many of which focus on the female forms of *hika*, or they may be directly addressed to women. As a matter of fact, a part of the feminist movement is advocating for the use of *hika* among women, considering it a tool to empower them and to strengthen/create sisterhood relationships.

Nevertheless, these initiatives in favour of gender equity may face a paradox: the form of address *zuka* -which is the only variety used by the vast majority of Basque speakers- is gender-neutral, whereas the informal address form *hika* marks the gender of the addressee, either man or woman. Moreover, male forms of *hika* seem to be increasingly used as neutral both to address women and mixed audiences. Therefore, in these times in which various languages are exploring more gender-inclusive approaches, efforts to revitalise *hika* forms may be considered to go against the tide.

Here we seek to delve into the current situation regarding gender-inclusive language and the promotion of the Basque informal address form. We describe different issues including the perspectives of different authors, the emergence of new gender-neutral *hika* forms or the recommendations suggested in various guides for a non-sexist use of Basque. We also conducted three interviews with three key individuals who provided specific information on this issue.

It is not easy to draw clear conclusions from such a dynamic phenomenon, and it appears that ongoing research will be needed to capture new discourses in the framework of revitalisation initiatives in favour of *hika* that discuss gender issues.

IKEA and ‘you’ - a decade later

Doris Schüpbach¹, Heinz L. Kretzenbacher¹, Catrin Norrby², John Hajek¹

¹*The University of Melbourne, Australia* ²*Stockholm University, Sweden*

IKEA is well-known for its T-policy, i.e. for using the T-form of address “as a form of branding” (House & Kádár 2020: 2), reflecting and exporting its ‘Swedishness’. Over ten years ago, Norrby and Hajek (2011) examined IKEA’s language policy and actual address use on its websites, focusing on European languages. They found that while the company policy was straightforward, the reality on the ground was more complex, with inconsistencies across linguacultures and some “discrepancy between prescribed behaviour and practical reality” (p. 255). House and Kádár (2020) drew similar conclusions in their investigation of translational choices made for pronominal address in IKEA catalogues published in selected Asian and European countries.

During the last decade, IKEA has expanded into many more countries, within and beyond Europe. At the end of 2022, the company was present in 60 countries (vs 39 countries in 2010) and had websites in 37 languages (vs 27 languages in 2010). In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that in many languages a quite rapid shift towards more informal address is taking place, particularly in marketing and advertising - German being a case in point. Furthermore, social media platforms have expanded their reach and are now frequently used for interaction between companies and (potential) customers. Lastly, it seems that these days IKEA places less focus on ‘Swedishness’ in its communications.

These recent developments make it worthwhile to re-visit pronoun use by IKEA. In this presentation, we provide a brief overview of the company’s online pronoun use by country, language and medium/platform and compare it with the 2011 results where applicable. We discuss any changes and take an in-depth look at selected countries with an online presence in several languages and at (pluricentric) languages present on multiple country-based platforms, including interactional data where possible.

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