

Pragmatic Variation of Forms of Address in Golden Age Spanish

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Abstract

This diachronic study examines the variation in the distribution and pragmatic functions of Spanish vocatives and pronominal forms of address during the Spanish Golden Age. The objective is to determine whether the data supports Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory that forms of address evolved from being systems governed by the power semantic (i.e., social hierarchies) into systems that are regulated by the solidarity semantic (i.e., social proximity). The data was derived from Ana Caro's two existing Spanish comedies, *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653). The pronominal forms of address were analyzed based on a modified version of Fontanella's (1999) model, whereas the vocatives were classified according to a modified version of Leech's (1983) model in order to ascertain the expressed social distance and observe communicative behavior (Watts, 2003). The results from both analyses indicate a transition from the power semantic to the solidarity semantic towards the end of the Spanish Golden Age. The present study contributes a pragmatic analysis of two works of literature that have up until now not been included in the canon for studying Spanish Golden Age pragmatics. Moreover, the study presents two adapted models for the classification of pronouns and vocatives and proposes a theory in which the grammaticalization of vocatives is the product of an effort to accommodate the onset of the solidarity semantic during the Spanish Golden Age.

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to conduct a diachronic analysis of the distribution and pragmatic function of the Spanish pronominal forms of address (i.e., *vos*, *tú* – ‘you’ informal; *usted* – ‘you’ formal) and Spanish vocatives, or nominal forms of address (i.e., *Juan* ‘John’, *Señor* ‘Mr.’, *querida* ‘darling’) in the years c. 1630 and 1653 in order to determine how the pragmatic variation of these forms encodes the social changes that took place during the Spanish Golden Age. The data is derived from two theatrical works by Ana Caro, *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653), which straddle a time span of approximately twenty-three years. The cornerstone of this project is Brown and Gilman’s (1960) study, in which the authors postulate that forms of address are regulated either by power or solidarity semantics. The present study seeks to ascertain which of the two governed the use of the forms of address during this twenty-three-year window of the Spanish Golden Age.

As one of the main branches of linguistics, pragmatics concerns itself with the contextualized use of linguistic resources for communicative purposes. Of particular interest to pragmaticists is the phenomenon of pragmatic variation, defined as the speaker’s alternation in forms (i.e., *vos* ↔ *tú*) within a single communicative turn, which occurs frequently in the use of forms of address. Forms of address include both pronominal (i.e., *vos*, *tú*, *usted*) and nominal (henceforth “vocative”) (i.e., *Juan* ‘John’, *Señor* ‘Mr.’, *querida* ‘darling’) forms and constitute the foundation of social deixis, a subdivision of pragmatics dedicated to the study of the relationships of power, social distance, and solidarity between two interlocutors in a communicative event. Fontanella (1999) proposes a model for explaining the variation in Spanish pronominal forms of

address and their corresponding verbal forms, while the pioneering study by Leech (1983) propounds a graduated classification of vocatives. Given the little attention that has been paid to vocatives in Old Castilian, it is necessary to study these in tandem with pronominal forms by means of a diachronic study in order to understand their concurrent evolution as well as to parse the social relations of the age.

The present study is organized as follows. Section two describes previous studies as well as the theoretical framework related to this topic. The method of data collection and analysis is outlined in section three, followed by section four with the results and section five with a discussion of the findings.

2. Previous Studies and Theoretical Framework

This diachronic study of the forms of address in the years c. 1630 and 1653—the years of publication of the two theatrical works that will be examined in this study—is based on four frameworks of address research and politeness. This section presents the models that classify the pronominal forms of address (Fontanella, 1999), vocatives (Leech, 1983), the semantics of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1960) and politic behavior (Watts, 2003).

2.1. Pronominal forms of address

The Spanish Golden Age (c. 1500-1680) marks the turning point towards modernity in Spanish history. It was an age of considerable change and development in political, military, artistic, literary, and cultural spheres, in which the patchwork medieval society gave birth to a coherent and conscious nation. Social changes of this period are reflected in the transformation of the Spanish language, particularly in the vacillation and consolidation of the forms of address (Rózsavári, 2015, p. 263).

In the wake of sixteenth-century social restructuration and the rise of a middle class (Morales, 2003, p. 1330), the need emerged in the social circles of the upper and lower nobility to reinforce and retain social differences. As a result, pronominal forms of address and their respective verbal manifestations were reorganized to acquire new meanings. In Late Latin, which lasted up to the fourteenth century, the pronoun *vos* was used to address one or more persons in formal contexts (Félix-Brasdefer, 2018, p. 216), while *tú* (singular) was used exclusively in informal situations. During the Spanish Golden Age, this paradigm expanded to include up to five strategies by which to address an individual; these included *tú*, *vos*, the third person singular pronouns *él/ella*, *vuestra merced* (and its variations), as well as the use of null subjects, recognizable through their corresponding verbal inflectional morphemes, i.e., “(Ø) *hablas*; *me hablas* (Ø)” [(you) speak; (you) speak to me] (Anipa, 2001, p. 187). Little by little, this elaborate system was simplified, giving rise to the pronominal paradigm of modern Spanish (Fontanella, 1999, p. 1413).

Given the variation in the use and pragmatic function of pronouns in specific contexts, it is often difficult to gradate them, particularly due to the frequent conflation of *tú* and *vos* during this era. The grammar published by Gonzalo Correas in the year 1625 suggests the following organization:

“De merzed usamos llamar a las personas a quien rrespetamos, i debemos o queremos dar onrra, como son: xueces, cavalleros, eclesiasticos, damas, i xente de capa negra... Él usan los maiores con el que no quieren darle merzed, ni tratarle de vos, que es mas baxo, i mas propio de amos a criados, i la xente vulgar i de aldea... De vos tratamos a los criados i mozos grandes adonde no ai

gravedad, i a los labradores, i a personas semexantes; i entre amigos adonde no ai gravedad, ni cunplimiento se tratan de vos, i ansi en rrazonamientos delante de rreies i dirixidos a ellos se habla en vos con devido rrespeto i uso antiguo. De tu se trata a los muchachos i menores de la familia, i a los que se quisieron bien: i quando nos enoxamos i rreñimos con alguno le tratamos de él i de vos por desden.

[*Merced* we use to address those people who we respect and to whom we ought to or want to give honor, such as: judges, gentlemen, clergymen, ladies, and distinguished townsmen... *Él* is used by adults with those whom they do not want to address with *merzed* nor with *vos*, which is lesser and more fitting to masters with their servants, and with vulgar people and those from the village... We use *vos* to address servants and esteemed workers where there is no formality, and with laborers and similar persons; and between friends where there is no formality nor obligation, they address each other with *vos*, and likewise in discourse before and directed to kings one uses *vos* with due respect and archaic use. *Tú* is used with young people and minors in the family, and to those who one loves dearly: and when we become angry and quarrel with someone, we address them with *él* and with *vos* of disdain.]¹ (in Anipa, 2001, p. 204)

During the seventeenth century, *vos* was increasingly used with addressees with less power than the speaker, such as servants (Fontanella, 1999, p. 1412; Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 100), thus systematically losing its older reverential value. King (2010) observes that the most common use of *vos* was between lovers and concludes that, in general, “cuanto

¹ All translations from Spanish to English are my own.

más íntima es la relación entre los personajes, más se ve el tú” [the more intimate the relationship between the characters, the more one sees *tú*] (p. 539). One sees mutual *tuteo* (the use of *tú*) not only between individuals of the same social stratum—be it between relatives, nobles or servants—, but also between individuals belonging to distinct social strata (Herrero, 1999, p. 222; King, 2010, p. 537).

The pronouns used are categorized according to a tripartite model (*vos, tú, usted*) based on Fontanella’s Pronominal System III (1999, p. 1404). However, unlike Fontanella (1999), pronoun use is graded in the present study according to relative values of social distance (intimacy, neutrality, and formality). According to King (2010, p. 546), *tú* implied great intimacy, *V. M.* [*Vuestra Merced*] communicated a profound sense of respect, and the *vos* of the Spanish Golden Age was a neutral form of address that one used when one was unsure of the appropriate level of politeness with which to address the other person.

2.2 Verbal morphology of pronominal forms

As Félix-Brasdefer (2015) indicates, even if the explicit pronoun is absent in Spanish, the level of formality is manifested in the inflectional morphology of the verb (p. 207). In Spanish, however, certain pronouns share the same suffixation (i.e., *tú/vos hablabas*), thus making the discrimination of register quite complicated.

Voseo (the use of *vos*) is traditionally organized into three classes: *voseo completo* combines the pronoun *vos* with the corresponding verbal form (typically monophthongal, i.e., *vos sos*), *voseo verbal* combines *tú* with the verbal form for *vos* (i.e., *tú sos*), and *voseo pronominal* refers to the use of *vos* with the verbal form for *tú* (i.e., *vos eres*) (Uber, 2008, p. 54). In Ana Caro’s comedies, however, one frequently sees a hybrid

structure, christened by Granada (2003, p. 464) as the ‘archaic aristocratic *voseo*,’ formed by combining the pronoun *vos* with the diphthongal verbal form of the second person plural pronoun *vosotros* when addressing an *individual* (i.e., *vos sois*). In order to distinguish between the lower classes and the higher strata of society, the aristocratic caste made an effort to maintain the distinction between verbal forms (Granada, 2003, p. 457), creating mixed paradigms by preserving the desinential yotization—the unmistakable diphthongal inflections of the verb—from the Latin conjugation of the second person singular (Granada, 2003, p. 458). This phenomenon usually occurs in the most common verbs, as example [1] shows:

- [1] DON JUAN *Vos sois* discreta
 Y sabéis que adoraros
 Es fuerza, si al cristal queréis miraros
- DON JUAN* ‘*You are modest*
 and know that to adore you
 is certain, if in the mirror you have seen yourself
 (*Valor, agravio y mujer*: 1645-1647) (emphasis added)

In addition to this aristocratic paradigm, one must also contend with constant pragmatic variation, between both the different pronouns as well in the classes of *voseo*. In example [2] there is a fluctuation between the aristocratic and full *voseo* while example [3] shows the use of aristocratic *voseo* and *tuteo* within the same turn (T = informal *tú*; *voseo completo* = VosC; *voseo verbal* = VosV; *voseo pronominal* = VosP; *voseo aristocrático* = VosA; *usted* = V1; *Vuestra Merced* = V2)²:

- [2] ESTELA Don Leonardo, ¿no me habláis
 vos sin verme tantos días?
 ¡Oh, qué mal cumplís, qué mal,
 la ley de la cortesía...

² These abbreviations will be used to represent the Spanish second person singular pronouns in all following English translations of Spanish examples.

- ESTELA* *'Don Leonardo, do **you** (VosA) not speak to me after not seeing me for so many days? Oh, how badly **you** (VosC) abide, how badly, by the law of courtesy...'*
(Valor, agravio y mujer: 950-953) (emphasis added)
- [3] *DON JUAN* ***Oíd** un poco...
mas luego, mirando en **ti**
del sol luciente ensayos...
y **eres** sol con muchos rayos*
- DON JUAN* ***Listen** (VosA) a while...
A little later, seeing in **you** (T)
assays of the shining sun...
and **you** (T) are the sun with many rays'*
(Valor, agravio y mujer: 1701-1720) (emphasis added)

This distinction, born ironically of the need to avoid confusions (Rózsavári, 2015, p. 274), complicates the discourse and poses an ambiguity about whether the author is addressing one or multiple addressees (Fontanella, 1999, p. 1434). In the context of the present study, it is necessary to be aware of aristocratic *voseo* in order to determine its meaning and understand the linguistic changes of the era.

2.3 Nominal Forms of Address: Classification of Vocatives

A 'vocative' is defined as a nominal resource (i.e., first names, nicknames, terms of endearment, titles, etc.) used to directly address the interlocutor (Leech, 1983, p. 107). Various frameworks for the classification of vocatives have been proposed (See Brown and Ford, 1974; Rigatuso, 1994 [cited in Fontanella, 1999]; Carricaburo, 1997, 2015; Morales, 2002; Lara, 2009; Félix-Brasdefer, 2019). Common to all of these is the fact that categorization is regulated by notions of familiarity, respect, power, distance, proximity, and degrees of informality (Félix-Brasdefer, 2015, p. 234)—that is, by a combination of the power and solidarity semantics.

The present study uses a classification of vocatives based on the model propounded by Leech (1983), in which seven categories fall on a continuum from the most familiar to the most distant (p. 109). Félix-Brasdefer (2015) collapses these seven classes to only three: (1) terms of endearment and familiarizers, (2) family terms and (3) titles and honorifics (p. 209). Following this example, the present study condenses the model proposed by Leech (1983) to a tripartite classification according to intimacy, neutrality, and distance, thereby paralleling the scheme used for the pronominal forms.

2.4 The Semantics of power and solidarity

Brown and Gilman (1960) proposed that two possible semantics condition the covariation between the chosen pronoun and the relationship between the interlocutors. They maintain that the horizontal axis of solidarity, which describes the subjective relationships of social distance between interlocutors, has gained ground over the power semantic—the vertical axis—in which interpersonal discourse depends on the objective ranks of a social hierarchy (Brown and Gilman, 1960, p. 255-258). Since its publication, many studies have investigated the stylistic level of baroque discourse based on this model; some researchers (Anipa, 2003; Bentivoglio, 2003; Calderón Campos & Morales, 2010; Rózsavári, 2015), share the view that the shift from the semantic of power to that of solidarity “es en el caso del español... muy claro” [is in the case of Spanish... very clear] (Fontanella, 1999, p. 1415). King (2010) argues that during the Spanish Golden Age, the semantic of solidarity was already more popular than the semantic of power (p. 543). Conversely, other studies challenge King (2010) and postulate that forms of address are governed by social hierarchy (Morales, 2002 p. 1329). Still other scholars (Herrera, 1999; Carricaburo, 2015) insist that the two semantics operate in harmony and that the

various forms of address are compatible with both the power and solidarity semantics (Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 116).

However, Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory operates on a binary division of the forms of address (T [informal], V [formal]) and has been criticized for not acknowledging the tripartite system of address that exists in certain varieties of Spanish, such as are spoken in regions of Central and South America. Moreover, it does not accommodate for the multiplicity of meanings that pronouns can express (i.e., the intimate, neutral, reverent or angry *vos*) nor for other factors of the communicative event—such as gender, age, education—that influence the pragmatic variation of the forms of address (Félix-Brasdefer, 2015, p. 204). In order to counteract these limitations, this study will consider this theory in conjunction with Watts' (2003) theory of politeness behavior, which takes illocutionary force into account. 'Power' is defined here as the (a)symmetric relationship between interlocutors (= [equals], > [to addressee with less power] < [to addressee with more power]), calculated according to the hierarchical ranks of the characters (i.e., *conde(sa)* 'count(ess)', *criado* 'servant', etc.). 'Solidarity' is determined in relation to the degree of familiarity, neutrality, or distance expressed by the pronominal forms of address and vocatives.

2.5 Politeness in the Golden Age

The theoretical framework emphasizes the idea that forms of address serve as indicators of (im)politeness, (un)familiarity, respect or disdain, etc., and contribute to the characterization of the characters and to the consideration that they deserve on the part of the audience (Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 116). However, as there is no pure dichotomy between politeness and impoliteness, this study will analyze the vocative and pronominal

forms of address using the tripartite model of politic behavior as propounded by Watts (2003), in which there exists a continuum of marked politeness, politic behavior (as dictated by sociocultural norms and expectations) and marked impoliteness. ‘Politic’ forms refer to frequent, unmarked, neutral forms. This model will serve as a starting point to calculate the degree of social distance between the interlocutors of the seventeenth century and, in turn, to identify potential tendencies toward a transition to solidarity.

Overall, the above-mentioned sources create a multifaceted impression of the production of forms of address during the Spanish Golden Age. From Gonzalo Correas’ seventeenth-century grammar to modern studies in pragmatics, the common thread is the analysis of pronominal and vocative tools with the goal of assigning objective functions to inherently subjective and variable forms of address. Therefore, the present study aims to conduct a diachronic analysis of the distribution and pragmatic function of Spanish pronominal forms of address and vocatives between the years c. 1630 and 1653 (the years of publication of the two literary works which are investigated in this study).

The present study investigated the following research questions:

1. What is the distribution and pragmatic function of the pronominal forms of address in *Valor, agravio y mujer* (published c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (published in 1653)?
2. What is the distribution and pragmatic function of vocatives in *Valor, agravio y mujer* (published c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (published in 1653)?

3. Method

3.1 Literary Corpus

The data of this diachronic study, spanning approximately 23 years, is derived from Ana Caro's two comedies, *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) y *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653), henceforth "Valor" and "Partinuplés." Dating from squarely within the Spanish Golden Age, Ana Caro's theatrical pieces provide a sample of popular literature of the period. These comedies were chosen in order to analyze the evolution of the distribution and pragmatic functions of Spanish forms of address within a single generation, rather than over multiple generations. By keeping the author consistent in both plays, the researcher can limit possible external factors that may account for apparent pragmatic change (i.e., different authors may simply prefer different forms). Moreover, the genre—the *comedia*—was strategically selected, as theatrical works provide a wealth of realistic dialogic interactions, including both polite and impolite situations. Skeptics, such as Kany (1945), speculate that "Golden-Age dramatists simply chose between forms to suit their syllabic lines" (cited in Anipa, 2001, p. 190), effectively distorting the faithful representation of social practices (Herrero, 1999, p. 221; Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 116). Most studies, however, have opted to analyze theatrical works (King, 2010; Pérez-Salazar, 2018; Herrero, 1999), arguing that *comedias* embed spoken language in a concrete context, thus subordinating it to a code of linguistic or behavioral norms (Luna, 1993, p. 25).

There is a relative balance in the number of characters, their status, and their interactions with one another between the two comedies. *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) follows the story of doña Leonor. Having been seduced and later abandoned by don Juan,

doña Leonor (assuming the masculine alias of *don Leonardo*) sets off to Flanders with her servant Ribete in pursuit of don Juan and his servant Tomillo.

In *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653), Rosaura, the Empress of Constantinople, uses the magic arts of her cousin Aldora to find a suitable husband. She falls in love with the Count Partinuplés, who, with his servant Gaulín, sets out to find her. The Count, however, is already engaged to Lisbella, who in turn travels to Constantinople to reclaim her fiancé. In both comedies, there is a balance of interactions between characters of equal status and between those of unequal status.

3.2 The Data

The 987 data points are organized according to their literary source as well as their respective form of address; pronominal forms were registered for every communicative turn (including shifts in pronoun selection), while vocatives were itemized per individual utterance. Table [1] presents the breakdown of the data according to the source and the class of form of address:

Table 1			
<i>Breakdown of the data according to the source and the class of form of address</i>			
<u>Source</u>	<u>Pronominal forms</u>	<u>Vocative forms</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Valor</i> (c. 1630)	349	164	513
<i>Partinuplés</i> (1653)	294	180	474
Total	643	344	987

3.2.1 Pronominal forms.

The 643 cases of pronoun use are catalogued according to Fontanella's (1999) Pronominal System III (p. 1405), which describes the uses of the three second person singular pronouns (*tú, vos, usted*) and acknowledges the pattern *VOS* + verb in 2nd person plural as a legitimate class of *voseo*. Power relations (asymmetric >< equal =), gender

(W-W, W-M, M-W, M-M), as well as the degree of social distance in accordance with Watts' (2003) theory of politic behavior—which distinguishes between marked intimate, unmarked politic, and marked distant behavior—are included in the analysis. Table [2] presents the modified version of Fontanella's (1999) model, while table [3] shows a typical entry for the analysis of a pronominal form of address (see the following page).

3.2.2 Vocatives.

Information recorded for each of the 344 vocatives include the lines in which they are found, the participants involved, the vocative, its classification, the context for use (i.e., with family, lover, inferior, etc.), as well as gender, power relations, and social distance of the interlocuters. The vocatives are classified according to a modified version of the seven-class model proposed by Leech (1983). In order to mirror the gradation of social distance that will be used in the pronominal analysis, the vocatives will be grouped in a tripartite system. The most intimate category (orange in Table [4]) consists of terms of endearment, family terms, familiarizers, and first names with an adjective. The distant vocatives (blue in Table [4]) include titles and honorifics. As regular first names and occupations are not marked linguistically for intimacy or distance, they fall into the category of politic neutrality (green in Table [4]). Table [4] illustrates the adapted classification of the model proposed by Leech (1983), and table [5] shows a sample data entry for the analysis of vocatives:

Table 2											
<i>Modified model based on Fontanella (1999)</i>											
	Marked Intimacy (- less distance)				Politic Neutrality			Formality (+ more distance)		Impolite	
Pronoun	<i>tú</i>				<i>vos</i>			<i>usted</i>		<i>tú, vos</i>	
Use	Lovers	Family	To superior (master-servant)	Equals	Children, inferiors, strangers	<i>vos</i> between lovers (nobles)	Stranger, inferior	Equals (nobles)	To superior (antiquated)	To superior	Anger

Table 3						
<i>Sample data entry for the analysis of pronominal forms of address</i>						
<u>Line</u>	<u>Characters</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Context of use</u>	<u>Power</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Behavior</u>
1475	Partinuplés to Rosaura	<i>tú</i>	to superior	<	M-W	intimate

Table 4									
<i>Modified model based on Leech (1983)</i>									
Marked Intimacy (- less distance)				Politic Neutrality			Formality (+ more distance)		Impolite
Endearment	Family term	Familiarizer	First name		Occupation /Rank	Title		Honorific	Pejorative
			(with adjective)	(without adjective)		Equals, acquaintance, with <i>tuteo</i>	To Superior		
<i>amor</i>	<i>prima</i>	<i>amigo</i>	<i>Lisarda bella</i>	<i>Celia</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>Don Juan, Señor(a)</i>		<i>Conde</i>	<i>ingrato</i>

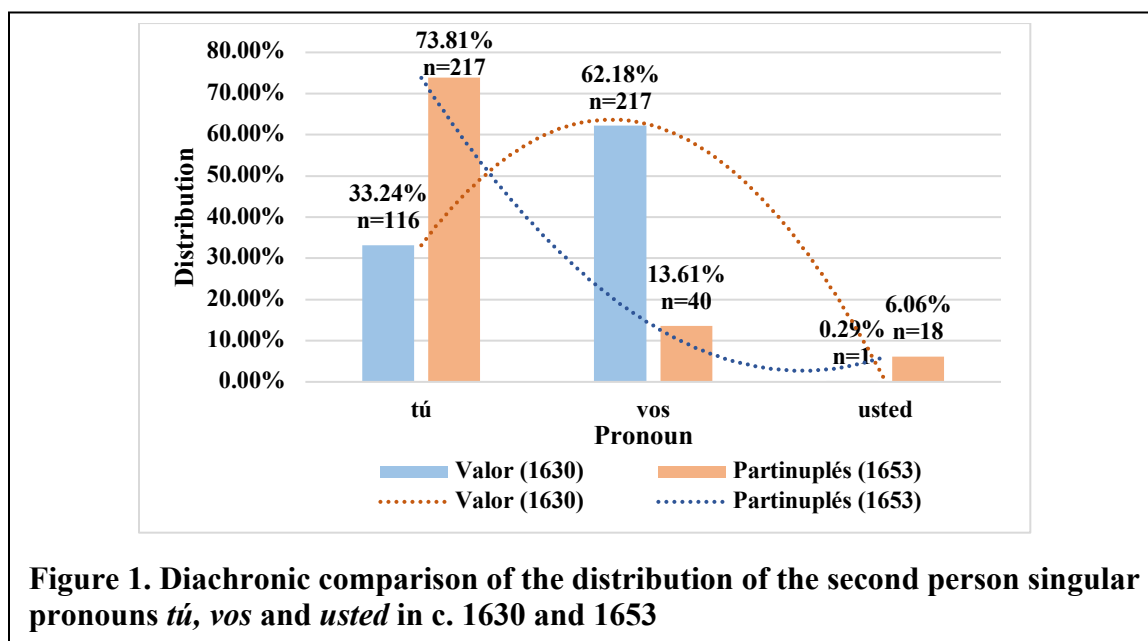
Table 5							
<i>Sample data entry for the analysis of vocatives</i>							
<u>Line</u>	<u>Characters</u>	<u>Vocative</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Context of use</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Power</u>	<u>Behavior</u>
890	Estela to Lisarda	Estela	forename	with family	W-W	>	politic/neutral

4. Results

4.1 Research Question #1: Pronominal Forms of Address

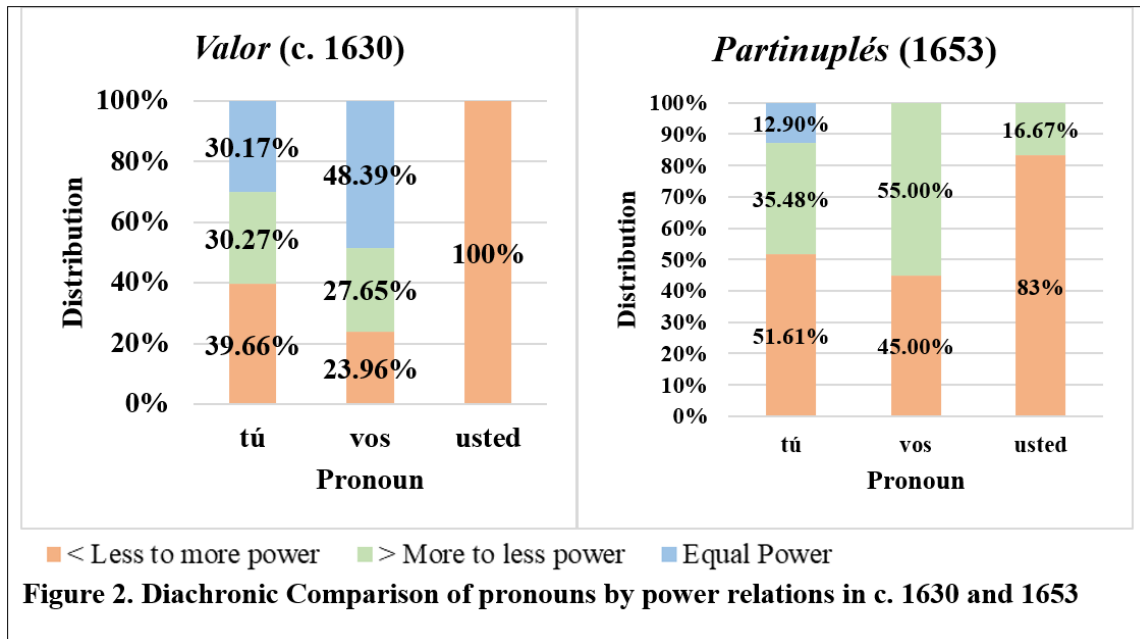
4.1.1 Distribution and Pragmatic Function of Pronouns.

This section presents the distribution and the pragmatic functions of the pronominal forms of address in *Valor* (c. 1630) and *Partinuplés* (1653). Figure [1] presents a diachronic comparison of the distribution of the second person singular pronouns *tú*, *vos* and *usted*:



Valor (c. 1630) reveals a dominance of the ambiguous pronoun *vos* (62.18%), indicating neutrality and a tendency to avoid the expression of both marked intimacy as well as unmistakable formality. In contrast, one sees a greater preference in *Partinuplés* (1653) for the intimate form *tú*; the percentage increases by more than double, shooting from 33.24% (116/349) in c. 1630 to 73.81% (217/294) in 1653. The displacement of data tendencies from *vos* to *tú* coincides with the historical phenomenon in which *vos* abated in favor of *tú* (King, 2010, p. 542), with a difference margin of 60.20%.

With respect to the effect of power relations, Figure [2] shows the distribution of the pronouns in both comedies in terms of the hierarchical rank of the interlocutors (addresser with less power to an addressee with more power (<); addresser with more power to an addressee with less power (>); interlocutors of equal power (=)):



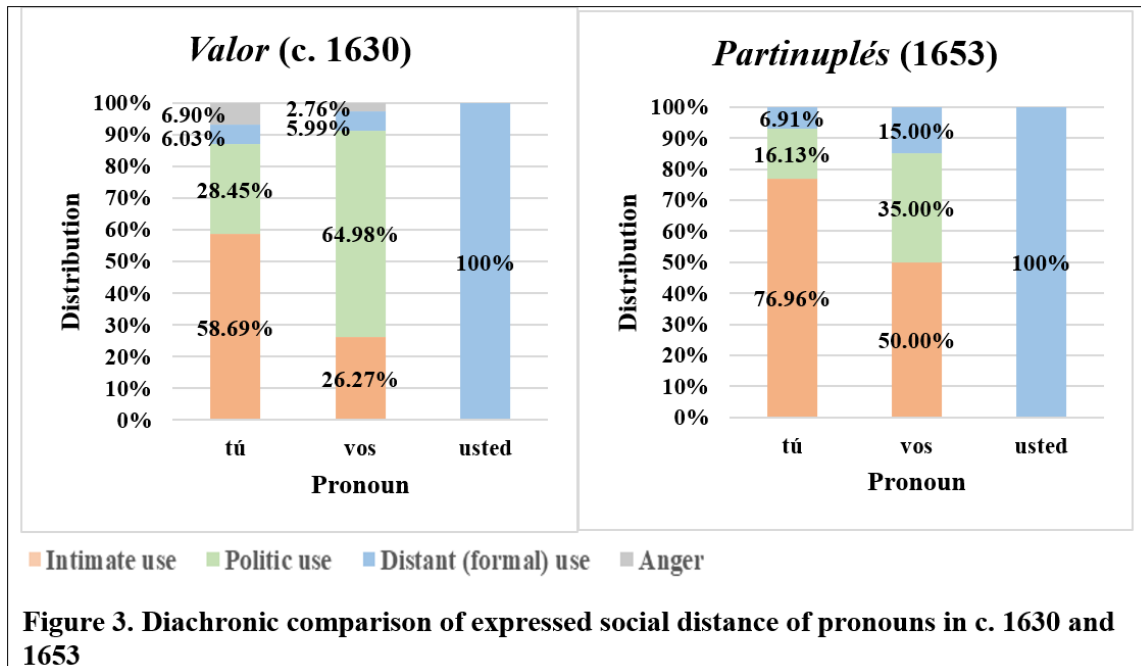
In c. 1630 (*Valor*), the politic (neutral, unmarked) form *vos* is chiefly used between interlocutors of *different* social strata (orange and green bars combined: 51.61%, 112/217), though, it also functions as the preferred form of address in interactions of participants in close relationships, as can be observed in example [4]:

[4] LEONOR *¿Sois mi amigo?*
LEONOR *'Are (VosA) you my friend'*
(Valor, agravio y mujer: 1118) (emphasis added)

Strikingly, there is a significant increase between c. 1630 and 1653 in the use of the *tú* of *solidarity* in exchanges in which there exists an *asymmetrical* power relation. That is, one sees the use of the intimate *tú* in asymmetrical interactions, in which one would expect to

see the use of the distant pronominal form *usted*, the antiquated courtly *vos* of respect, or the *vos* of disdain (with inferiors).

Figure [3] exhibits the transition of the neutral *vos* in c. 1630 to cede its politic (neutral) meaning in 1653. By definition, intimate relationships (orange) include interactions between lovers, family, and between masters and their servants; politic address (green) is employed among equals or with children, inferiors, or strangers; and the distancing function (blue) is used with superiors (see Figure [3]):



In *Valor* (c. 1630), the form *vos* is used as a means of expressing neutrality (64.98%, 141/217) and formality (5.99%, 13/217). On the other hand, *vos* is seen in *Partinuplés* (1653) mainly as an intimate form of address between lovers (50%, 20/40). Between c. 1630 and 1653, the form *tú* is increasingly used in intimate or close-knit relationships (58.59% to 76.96%), which include interactions among lovers, family members and between master and servant. This last category is of great interest, as the proximity of the

relationship between master and servant seems to nullify power norms. In *Valor*, this phenomenon is exemplified in the exchanges between don Juan and his servant Tomillo, as well as between doña Leonor and her lackey Ribete, as example [5] demonstrates:

- [5] LEONOR *Has* dicho muy bien; no en vano

 te he elegido por mi amigo,
 no por criado
- RIBETE *contigo*
 va Ribete el sevillano
- LEONOR ‘*You* (T) have said well; not in vain
 have I chosen *you* (T) for my friend,
 not my servant
- RIBETE *with you* (T)
 goes Ribete the Sevillian’
(*Valor, agravio y mujer*: 537-540) (emphasis added)

The phenomenon of the mutual *tuteo* between master and servant likewise occurs in *Partinuplés*, although, in contrast to the first comedy, it extends not only to servants and masters that are very close, such as Gaulín and the Count, but also to the relationships between minor servants and their masters (i.e., Celia and Rosaura).

4.1.2 Pragmatic Variation of Pronominal Forms of Address.

The selection of pronominal forms of address varies according to the function that they perform in a communicative event. In this excerpt from *Valor*, for instance, it is noteworthy how Estela, in professing her ardent love for don Leonardo (who in reality is Ludovico masquerading as Leonardo), explicitly marks the shift in status from that of being neutral acquaintances (*vos*) to intimate lovers (*tú*):

- [6] ESTELA Escuchad.
 (...) siendo *tu* vista imán
 de mi sentido, escogí
 lo que más hermoso vi,

pues aunque la rosa admiro,
eres el jazmín, y miro
más fragante gala en **tí**.

ESTELA

'Listen (VosA),

(...) **your** (T) *sight being a magnet
of my senses, I chose
that which I saw to be more beautiful,
as although I admire the rose,
you (T) are the jasmine, and I see
a more fragrant elegance in **you** (T).'*

(*Valor, agravio y mujer*: 1724-1745) (emphasis added)

This pragmatic variation in *Valor* (c. 1630) also operates in the *opposite* direction; in example [7], Leonor (disguised as Estela) changes from the informal *tú* to the angry *vos* when blaming don Juan for having deceived another woman:

[7] LEONOR **Tú** ... ¿Ves cómo sin ver el sol
(*finge ser Estela*) aborreciste la estrella?
(...) Perdonad, yo **os** he dicho lo que siento;
volv**ed**, volv**ed** a España,
que no es honrosa hazaña
burlar una mujer ilustre y noble.

LEONOR
(*as Estela*)

'You (T)... ¿Do **you** (T) *see how without seeing the sun
you (T) forsook the star?
(...) Forgive me, I have told **you** (VosA) what I feel;
Return, return (VosA) to Spain,
for it is no honorable deed
to cheat a distinguished and noble woman.'*

(*Valor, agravio y mujer*: 1762-1763, 1797-1800) (emphasis added)

Pronominal pragmatic variation within a communicative turn is also manifested in *Partinuplés*. The most prevalent contexts of pragmatic variation in the service of managing face are the exchanges between interlocutors who are in a romantic relationship. Although Rosaura and the Count of Partinuplés use the form *vos* throughout the first half of the *comedia*, example [8] exhibits the first occasion on which they use the mutual *tuteo*, effectively affirming their intimate connection:

- [8] CONDE ¿Queréisme bien?
 ROSAURA **Os** adoro.
 CONDE Pues, ¿qué teméis?
 ROSAURA A **vos** mismo. (...)
 (...) he satisfecho mil veces
 con decir**te** que soy **tuya**
 y que presto podr**ás** verme
- CONDE ‘Do **you** (VosA) love me well?
 ROSAURA I adore **you** (VosA),
 CONDE Well then, what do **you** (VosA) fear?
 ROSAURA **You** yourself (VosA) (...)
 (...) I have gratified **you** (T) a thousand times
 by telling **you** (T) that I am **yours** (T)
 and that **you** (T) will soon be able to see me’
 (El Conde Partinuplés: 1015-1016, 1397-1399) (emphasis added)

It is also worth mentioning that, although the pronominal forms of address spoken in asides (*apartes*) are excluded from the quantitative analysis (as asides are more monologic than dialogic), they clearly illustrate a type of pragmatic variation that is motivated specifically by the psychological state of the speaker. Anipa (2001) points out that “if the speaker were talking to the interlocutor in his or her own mind (or engaged in a soliloquy, say), the addressee would have received a *tú* form” (p. 202) instead of *vos*. A clear-cut instance of this phenomenon can be observed in example [9], in which Leonor reveals her bad opinion of don Juan by shifting from the politic *vos* to the *tú* of anger:

- [9] LEONOR ¡Ah, ingrato, mal caballero!
 ¡Bien corresponde **tu** estilo
 a quien **eres!** **Vuestras** penas,
 señor don Juan, **habéis** dicho
 (...) y así, don Juan, imagino
 que nada hago por **vos**.
- LEONOR ‘Oh you ingrate, you vile gentleman!
 Your (T) style corresponds well
 with who **you** (T) are! **Your** (VosA) sorrows,
 sir don Juan, **you** (VosA) have laid out
 (...) and so, don Juan, I believe
 that I will do nothing for **you** (VosA).’

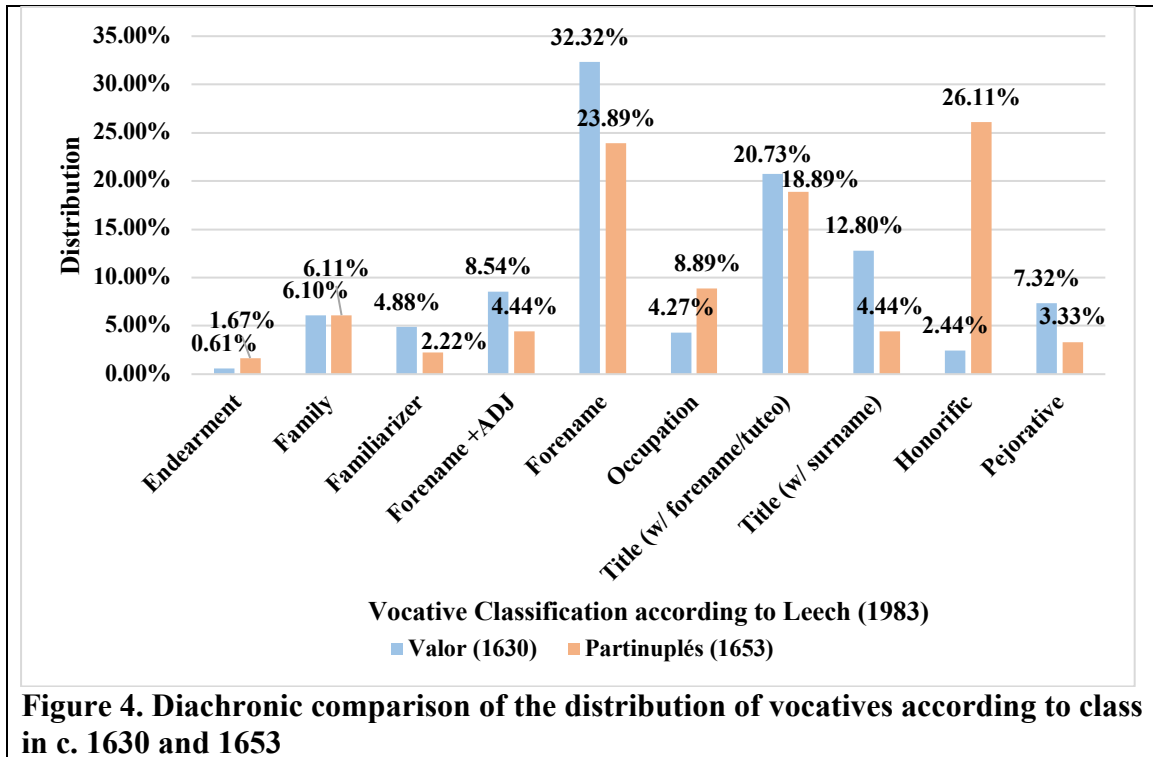
(*Valor, agravio y mujer*: 2148-2178) (emphasis added; aside in italics)

In the comedy from 1653, however, the characters do not shift from using one pronominal form of address to another, opting rather to sustain the same form throughout the communicative turn—regardless of whether the interlocutor can hear them or not.

4.2 Research Question #2: Vocatives

4.2.1 Distribution and Pragmatic Function of Vocatives.

This section presents the results from the analysis of the distribution and pragmatic functions of vocatives over the course of approximately two decades during the Spanish Golden Age (c. 1630-1653). Figure [4] displays the distribution of vocatives from both comedies across the ten typological classes, as based on our modified version of Leech’s (1983) model, which are arranged from the most intimate to the most distant:



The most frequently occurring vocatives in *Valor* (c. 1630) are forenames (32.32%, 53/164), employed during this historical era in a variety of contexts, both among equals

as well as in asymmetrical relationships. With a frequency of 20.73% (34/164), titles used in conjunction with forenames and/or explicit *tuteo* are the second most common vocative employed in *Valor* (c. 1630). Preference for this vocative is observed particularly among men, who typically address one another as *don* (i.e., “don Fernando”) in both private and public exchanges. Conversely, the most common vocatives in *Partinuplés* (1653) are honorifics (26.11%, 47/180), with forenames taking second place (23.89%, 43/180). Also great importance is that the use of an explicitly *formal* title occurs in tandem with the softening *tuteo* (18.89%, 34/180), as in Example [10]:

[10] GAULÍN **Señor**, que te echas a pique
 haciéndole al juicio quiebra.

GAULÍN ‘*Sir, you (T) are ruining yourself*
 and sabotaging your sanity.’
 (*El Conde Partinuplés*: 779-780) (emphasis added)

With respect to the degree of social distance expressed by the vocatives (intimate/politic/distant), the analysis in Figure [5] reveals an *inverse* trajectory to that generated by the analysis of pronominal forms of address:

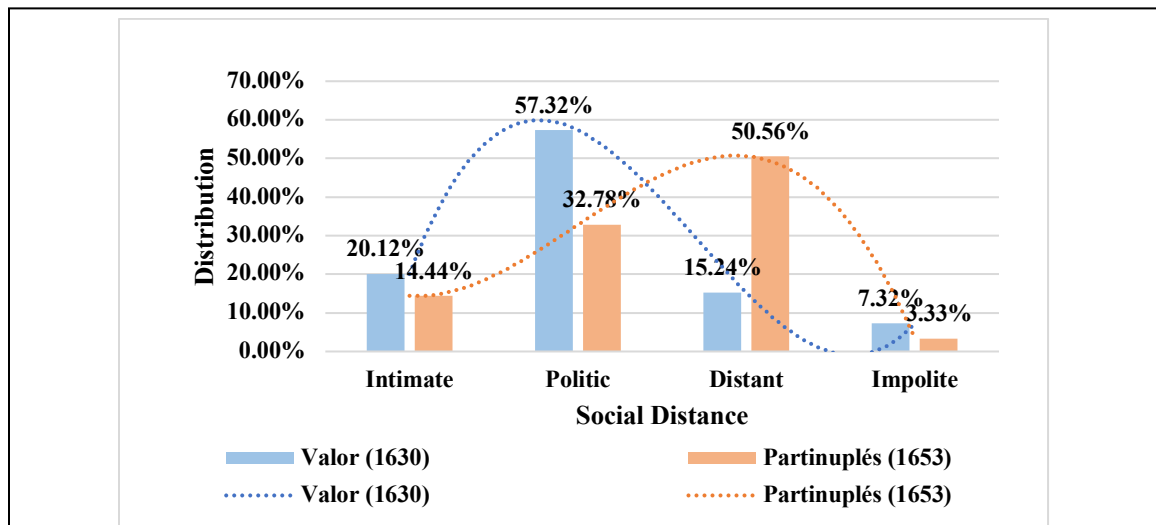
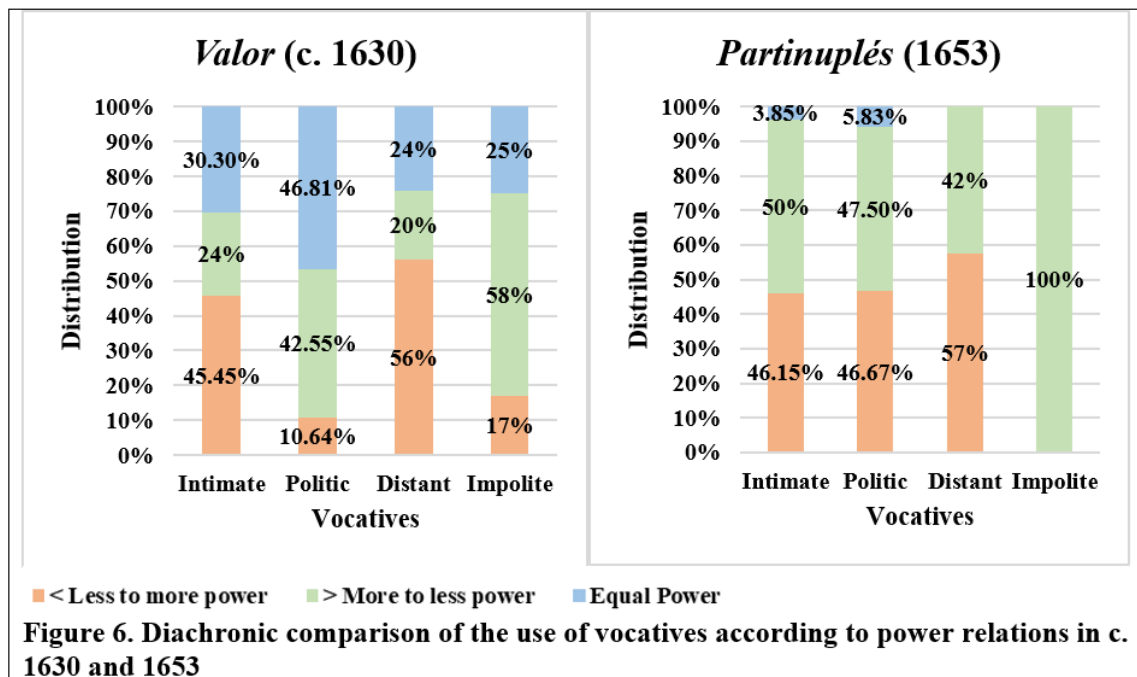


Figure 2. Diachronic comparison of social distance expressed by vocatives in c. 1630 and 1653

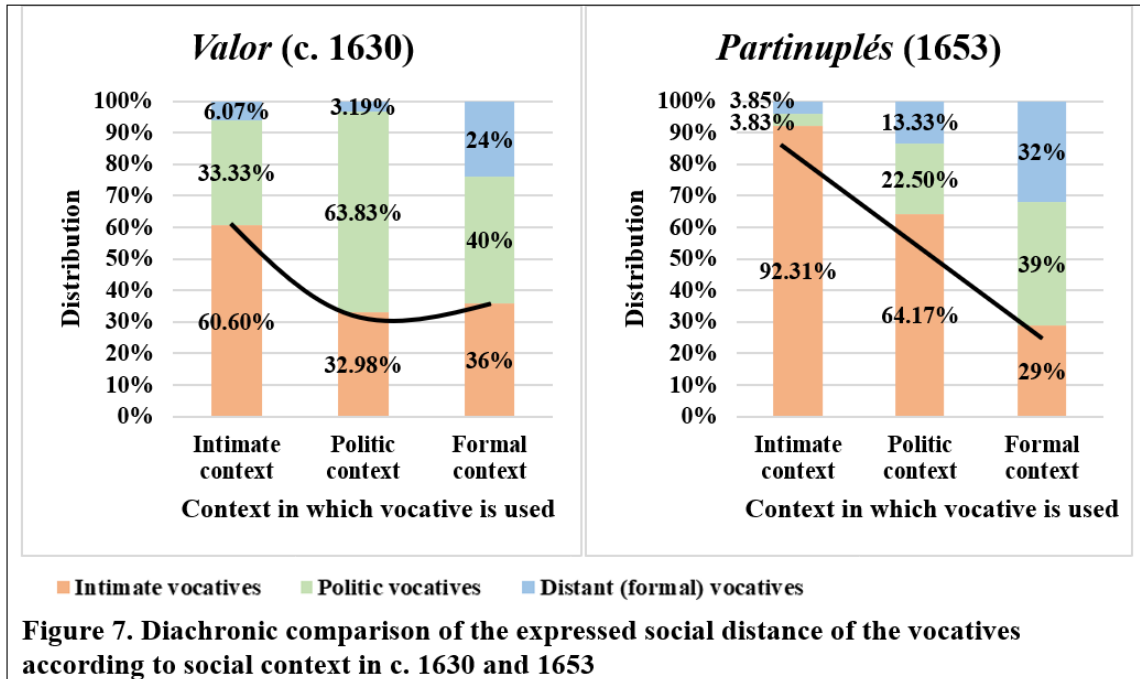
Specifically, social distance *increases* by 35.32% (from 15.24% to 50.56%) and social proximity *decreases* by 5.68% (from 20.12% to 14.44%) over two decades. When comparing the high ratio of *distant vocatives* in 1653 with the correspondingly high ratio of the *intimate tú* (see figure 1), one concludes that distant vocatives must be compatible with the intimate *tuteo*.

Regarding power relations, Figure [6] shows a preference in *Valor* (c. 1630) for equals to address one another with neutral vocatives (46.81%, 44/63)—that is, vocatives including forenames, occupation designators, etc. (see table 4):



The majority of the marked distant vocatives in c. 1630 are employed in exchanges between interlocutors of *different* social strata (> <, orange + green combined, 76.00%, 19/25), although sometimes observed among equals in conjunction with the neutral *voseo*. In *Partinuplés* (1653), it is striking that 96.15% of the conversations in which intimate vocatives are produced occur between speakers of *different* social classes:

When comparing the social contexts in which the vocatives occur, the curve straightens out in 1653 to a negative linear trajectory, as is seen in Figure [7]:



Intimate vocatives (orange) are used between lovers, family, and between masters and their servants; politic vocatives (green) are employed among equals or with children, inferiors, or strangers; and distancing vocatives (blue) are used with superiors. While the parabolic curve in *Valor* (c. 1630) shows a significant use of politic and distant vocatives in intimate contexts (green and blue combined, 39.4%), the linear trend in *Partinuplés* (1653) indicates a strong preference to use intimate vocatives in intimate situations (92.31%), even when speakers belong to different social strata.

4.2.2 Pragmatic Variation of Vocatives.

The results affirm that the pragmatic function of a given vocative varies in response to communicative context, the interlocutor, and changes in topic. Example [11] shows how Rosaura, in informing the Count of the invasion of France, transitions through

various vocatives, each expressing distinct degrees of social distance—i.e., *amigo*, *Partinuplés*, *Señor*—, to negotiate a relationship in which love competes with duty:

[11] ROSAURA *Conde, amigo, Señor, dueño,*
 (...) Ésta, *Conde*, es ocasión
 que dilación no consiente.
 Ve a favorecer tu patria,
 (...) pues siendo el gozarte y verte
 mi mayor dicha, procuro,
 Partinuplés, que me dejes,
 porque quiero más tu honor
 que los propios intereses
 de mi gusto. Esto es amarte.
 Al arma, pues, *héroe fuerte,*
 ea, *gallardo francés,*
 ea, *príncipe valiente...*

ROSAURA ‘*Count, friend, sir, master,*
 (...) *This, Count, is an occasion*
 which does not permit delay.
 Go to support your homeland,
 (...) *though to enjoy you and see you*
 is my greatest joy, I will ensure,
 Partinuplés, that you leave me,
 for I love your honor more
 than the interests
 of my own liking. This is loving you.
 To arms, then, strong hero,
 ea, handsome Frenchman,
 ea, valient prince...’

(*El Conde Partinuplés*: 1380-1453) (emphasis added)

In addition to changes related to external factors, pragmatic variation of vocatives also stems from changes in attitude toward the addressee (Bentivoglio, 2003, p. 188). The expression of anger, for instance, can regulate the selection of the vocative. In example [12], Ribete refers to the Empress Rosaura—whom he would normally address as *Señora*—with the following pejorative:

[12] GAULÍN (*Aparte*) *Brava maula*, vive Dios,
 que lo cogió al espartillo

GAULÍN (*Aside*) ‘*Nasty trickster, as God lives,
she took advantage of the occasion to confront him.*’
(*El Conde Partinuplés*: 1041-1042) (emphasis added)

5. Discussion

5.1 Research Question #1: Semantic Evolution in Pronominal Forms

The objective of the diachronic analysis of the distribution and pragmatic functions of the *pronominal* forms of address in Ana Caro’s two comedies has been to determine which semantic governed their use between the years c. 1630 and 1653 and to verify Brown and Gilman’s (1960) theory of a potential transition from the power semantic to the solidarity semantic. The results laid out in the diachronic comparison of *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653) indicate a clear transition from the power semantic to the solidarity semantic.

The contrast in the distribution of the second person singular pronouns supports the observation by Rózsavári (2015) that during the Golden Age and the eighteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula, *tú* was generalized in its use, displacing from the system the pronoun *vos* (p. 268), although its growth did not exhibit a complete abandon of social distinctions (Lapesa, 2016, p. 531). The analysis of the communicative contexts in which the pronouns are uttered affirms Brown and Gilman’s (1960) theory that “once solidarity has been established as the single dimensión distinguishing *T* from *V* the province of *T* begins to expand” (p. 261). Over the course of 23 years between the premieres of *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653), the *tú* form annexed many of the contexts in which *vos* had predominated, most prominently observed in the *tuteo* between master and servant, confirming the idea that the more

intimate the relationship between the characters is, the more one sees the use of the pronoun *tú* (King, 2010, p. 539).

5.2 Research Question #2: Semantic Evolution in Vocatives

The results of the diachronic analysis of the distribution and pragmatic functions of the vocatives employed in Ana Caro's two comedies seem not only to contradict the conclusion of a clear transition toward the solidarity semantic reached by the analysis of the pronominal forms, but rather seems to present an unequivocal tendency in the opposite direction, that is, a reinforcement of the power semantic between the years c. 1630 and 1653. There are various possible explanations for the increased preference for honorifics in 1653. The overuse of honorific vocatives and formal titles may be a reaction of the noble caste to the advancing informality of the solidarity semantic. In that case, it could be considered to be the nominal version of the morphological phenomenon of the pronouns, in which the aristocratic minorities maintained the diphthongized variant of *voseo* in the most common verbs in order to distinguish between and maintain social differences (Lapesa, 2016, p. 526). Conversely, it is possible that the phenomenon is simply a product of the literary genre of *El Conde Partinuplés*, the plot of which draws on the themes found in medieval stories of *caballerías*.

However, there is another, more satisfying explanation that corresponds with the conclusions reached in the analysis of pronominal forms of address. The results of the analysis of vocatives show a clear dissonance between social class and interpersonal proximity, particularly among lovers and between masters and servants. The coexistence of *distancing* honorifics, such as *Señor*, with *intimate* relationships can be attributed to a process of grammaticalization similar to that which the title *don* was subjected to.

Historically a title of formality, *don* has evolved into a politic title that can express respect as well as an almost familiar intimacy (Lara, 2009, p. 59). The title *don* is now “una fórmula muy extendida, desprovista ya de su índole de título de privilegio” [a widespread form, now devoid of its nature as a title of privilege] (Morales, 2002, p. 1335). The results of this study support the observation of previous studies that the vocative *señor* is compatible with *tuteo* if there exists familiarity between the speakers, and with *voseo* if the relationship is a distant one, facilitating a relationship of solidarity between master and servant while simultaneously refuting the limitation of the honorific as a gesture solely of reverence and respect from an inferior to his superior (Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 106). The honorific *Señor* undergoes, therefore, a process of grammaticalization during the Spanish Golden Age in which its deferential value combines with the *tuteo* of familiarity to ultimately become compatible with social solidarity. In the same way, many other honorifics and titles acquire a flexibility during the Golden Age, regulated by the *voseo* of distance and the *tuteo* of proximity (Pérez-Salazar, 2018, p. 108). In fact, the linguistic dissonance which can be observed between the years c. 1630 and 1653 does not signal the intensification of the power semantic, but rather the adaptation to the solidarity semantic, by which the grammaticalization of honorifics enables them to express solidarity.

5.3 Pragmatic Variation in Forms of Address

5.3.1 Pronominal Forms of Address.

The present analysis of the pragmatic variation of pronominal forms of address supports the conclusion of Engelbert (1970), who—in contrast to other historians who speculate that the dramaturgs of the Spanish Golden Age used *tú* y *vos* indiscriminately—

maintains that the interchange is not an oversight on the part of the writer, but rather a true pragmatic variation motivated by discursive and contextual factors (cited in Anipa, 2001, p. 220). The character's psychological state plays a key role in explaining pragmatic variation. Anipa (2001) differentiates between *Address Mixing*, variations of address that occur within a brief interval and are motivated by the subconsciousness, and *Address Switching*, in which pragmatic variation of forms of address occurs consciously and intentionally over a longer period (pp. 210-226). In the earlier comedy (c. 1630), *Address Mixing* and *Switching* occur more frequently than in the latter, given that earlier social conventions of the aristocracy prescribed appropriate forms of address which veiled the true attitudes of the speaker, while in 1653 the universalization of *tú* dispensed with the need to switch between "accepted" and "unaccepted" forms of address.

Pragmatic variation in pronominal forms of address in *Valor, agravio y mujer* shows the linguistic instability characteristic of the peak of social development in c. 1630, while the levelling and stabilization in *El Conde Partinuplés* from 1653 bears witness to the birth of a more stable system of forms of address.

5.3.2 Vocatives.

One sees the pragmatic variation of vocatives clearly in the conscious and intentional *Address Switching*, in which the speaker negotiates their relationships by rotating through clearly marked (im)polite (i.e., terms of endearment [*amor*], pejoratives [*necio*]) with the firm intention to increase or decrease social distance. Pragmatic variation of vocatives reflects the effect of the semantic transition on the Spanish language between c. 1630 and 1653, albeit on a smaller scale than the analysis of pronominal forms of address as, in accord with Brown and Gilman (1960), there remains

a residual of the power semantic that is clearly visible in the production of vocatives (p. 261).

The effectiveness of the present diachronic study is limited in the first place by the fact that *Valor, agravio y mujer* and *El Conde Partinuplés* are the only two existing comedies authored by Ana Caro, thus limiting the literary corpus. Moreover, the relatively short time interval between their publication dates implies a tight restriction on the analyzable time frame (roughly 12% of the Spanish Golden Age). In order to obtain a representative view of the pragmatic changes in the forms of address during this era, future studies should investigate the Golden Age from start to finish (1492-1681). Furthermore, given that Ana Caro inverts the traditional social hierarchy by creating female protagonists, the forms of address in her comedies may not be characteristic of the era. A future line of investigation, therefore, would be to explore the role of gender on the distribution and pragmatic functions of forms of address during the Spanish Golden Age.

6. Conclusion

This diachronic study investigated the pronominal and nominal forms of address in Ana Caro's two comedies, *Valor, agravio y mujer* (c. 1630) and *El Conde Partinuplés* (1653). The goal was to determine if deictic codification in forms of address of Golden Age Spanish reflects the theory of Brown and Gilman (1960) of a transition away from a linguistic system governed by the feudal power semantic towards a system regulated by solidarity. The pronominal forms of address were analyzed based on a modified version of Fontanella's (1999) model, whereas the vocatives were classified according to a modified version of Leech's (1983) model in order to ascertain the expressed social distance and observe communicative behavior (Watts, 2003). The analysis of the

pronominal forms of address indicate a transition toward the solidarity semantic between c. 1630 and 1653, reinforced by the phenomenon of the grammaticalization of vocatives to accommodate the onset of the solidarity semantic during the Spanish Golden Age.

By studying the pronominal and nominal forms of address in conjunction with one another, this diachronic study presents a balanced view of the semantic evolution of the forms of address between the years c. 1630 and 1653, deriving the data from a linguistic corpus, i.e., theatrical works, that is closest to the authentic oral and dialogic register of the Spanish Golden Age. The present study also contributes a pragmatic analysis of two works of literature that have up until now not been included in the canon for studying Spanish Golden Age pragmatics. Moreover, the study presents two adapted models for the classification of pronouns and vocatives and proposes a theory in which the verbal yotization of *vos* (i.e., *vos buscáis*) is a parallel process to the grammaticalization of vocatives—both of which are products of the social reaction to the advent of the solidarity semantic during the Spanish Golden Age.

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