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**USTEDES INSTEAD OF VOSOTROS AND VOCÊS INSTEAD OF VÓS: AN
ANALYSIS THROUGH THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE IBERIAN
PENINSULA (ALPI)**

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Abstract

The use of *ustedes* instead of *vosotros*, in Spanish, and of *vocês* instead of *vós*, in Portuguese, is similar in both these languages. These phenomena have arisen due to the simplification of plural forms of address, which express both formality and informality. However, not all the agreements of these forms are governed by a syntactic pattern; that is why we can find elements formed on third person plurals linked to others in second person plural. The data from the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) show the situation of this process in both languages during the early part of the last century, and the factors that can influence it.

Keywords

Forms of address, agreement, hierarchy, pronouns, dialectology

**USTEDES POR VOSOTROS Y VOCÊS POR VÓS: UN ANÁLISIS A TRAVÉS DEL ATLAS
LINGÜÍSTICO DE LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (ALPI)**

Resumen

El uso de *ustedes* en lugar de *vosotros*, en español, y de *vocês* en lugar de *vós*, en portugués, guarda similitudes en ambas lenguas. Estos fenómenos han surgido por la simplificación en sus formas de tratamiento plurales, que expresan en un solo pronombre la formalidad y la informalidad. No obstante, no todas sus concordancias siguen un patrón sintáctico; por eso, podemos encontrar formas de tercera persona del plural concordadas con otras en segunda. Los datos del *Atlas lingüístico de la Península*

Ibérica (ALPI) muestran la situación de este proceso en los dos idiomas durante la primera mitad del siglo XX y los factores que pueden influir en dichos fenómenos

Palabras clave

Formas de tratamiento, concordancia, jerarquía, pronombres, dialectología

1. Introduction

Describing the use of *ustedes* instead of *vosotros* in Spanish and *vocês* in place of *vós* in Portuguese is not an easy task. Thus, for a better comprehension of this paper, I have tried to explain firstly the concepts of pronouns of power and solidarity (T and V) and to describe the existing forms of address in Spanish and Portuguese. Later, I have tracked the history of V pronouns in both languages and, then, I have reviewed the current use in the European varieties. In the next section, I have intended to describe the hypothesis to which I try to associate this phenomenon, as well as to introduce the corpus from which I have taken my data. The following section is dedicated to the maps of the phenomena and to their individual analysis. Finally, I have described the geographical, grammatical and pragmatic patterns involved in this phenomenon.

2. Pronouns of power and solidarity in European Spanish and Portuguese

I will take abbreviations T and V to refer to the two types of address I will talk about. As in Brown & Gilman (1960),¹ T refers to equal treatment or the one used by a superior towards an inferior; V is the pronoun chosen to express respect or reverence. It is also the form used by people of lower status towards people of higher status. It is, furthermore, the pronoun to be chosen for people of certain age, mostly elderly. To exemplify it, I will say that in a company, a boss says T to his/her workers but receives V; nevertheless, workers say V to their boss and receive T. In addition, they say T to each other, since they are in an equal social situation. A professor traditionally says T to pupils and receives V from them and the other way around.

¹ Brown & Gilman (1960) distinguish two kinds of forms address: T and V, which stem from the Latin initials of *tu* and *vos* respectively. As *tu* was the form of address for informality and *vos* for formality, T and V have acquired the meaning of their root.

Currently, the V pronouns are *usted(es)* in Spanish and *você(s) / o(s) senhor(es)* in Portuguese, whereas the T pronouns are *tú* and *vosotros* in Spanish and *tu* and *vós / vocês* in Portuguese.

In the following table, I present the agreements of the canonical pronouns of power and solidarity in both languages:

	Pronoun sg.	Pronoun pl.	Singular reflexive clitic	Plural reflexive clitic	Possessive sg.	Poss. pl.	Syntac- tic person sg.	Syntac- tic person pl.
Spanish V	usted	ustedes	se (refl.) lo / la (acc.) le (dat.)	se (refl.) los / las (acc.) les (dat.)	su	su	3rd	3 rd
Portuguese V	você / o senhor	vocês / os senhores	se (refl.) o / a (acc.) lhe (dat.)	se (refl.) os / as (acc.) lhes (dat.)	o seu	o seu	3rd	3rd
Spanish T	tú	vosotros	te	os	tu	vuestro	2nd	2 nd
Portuguese T	tu	vós	te	vos	o teu	o vosso	2nd	2nd

Table 1. Spanish and Portuguese pronouns of address

As shown from Table 1, both V pronouns in the two languages are conjugated with a third person morphology in singular and plural. They also share desinences with T pronouns (*te, sois...*), which are conjugated with second person morphology. If the question *Are you from France?* is posed to people who receive T, they would be asked:

(1a)

¿Eres /	sois	de	Francia? (Spanish)
Eres /	Sois	de	Francia
Be-PRS.2SG	BE-PRS.2PL	from	France

(1b)

És /	sois	da	França? (Portuguese)
És /	Sois	da	França
Be-PRS.2SG	BE-PRS.2PL	from	France.

However, if people who receive V are asked, the question would be:

(2a)

¿Es /	son	de	Francia? (Spanish)
Es /	son	de	Francia
Be-PRS.3SG	BE-PRS.3PL	from	France

(2b)

É /	são	da	França? (Portuguese)
É /	são	da	França
Be-PRS.3SG	BE-PRS.3PL	from	France

Third person, therefore, marks in both languages politeness or distance, whereas second person markers denote equality or intimacy.

I must also point out that standard European Portuguese prescribes other solutions, diverging from canonical use (see Table 2).

2.1. Usted and você -- their historical trajectory

2.1.1. Usted as V form of address in Spanish²

Nowadays, the general V forms of address in Spanish are the pronoun *usted*, *ustedes*, forms which have existed unchanged since the 18th century. Before that date, there were numerous resources to denote social deixis. Spanish inherited from Latin the pronoun *vós* as formal address. This pronoun in the Middle Ages had the same behaviour as the current French *vous*. Almost all its agreements (verb, clitics and possessive) belonged to a second person plural morphology and it was used to address

² Menéndez Pidal (2005).

either one addressee in a formal context (in this case, the adjective was the one element to agree in singular) or more than one in both formal and informal contexts.

Vós was also characterized by a strong syncretism which was not restricted to nominative forms only, but also to its unstressed pronouns. The polyvalence of the pronoun triggered, as well as other factors, the disappearance of *vós*. In the 13th century, the pronouns *nós otros* ‘we others’ and *vós otros* ‘you others’ first appeared.³ They arose as exclusive or contrastive pronouns, as well as to solve the mentioned syncretism in *vós*, and also in *nós*. Two centuries later, *nós otros* and *vós otros* lost their contrastive value and lexicalized as regular first and second person plural pronouns respectively.

At the same time, the unstressed pronoun *vos* lost phonological weight in enclisis until ending up as *os*, which was later spread to other syntactic positions. *Vós*, which was the form of address used by an inferior to a superior, was generalized to familiar contexts. Then it alternated with *tú* and, finally, in the 15th and 16th centuries, it reverted its use in such a way that *vós* was used by a superior towards their subordinate and even by someone who desired to offend.

At the same time, several forms of address arose,⁴ depending on the addressee, such as: *vuestra majestad* ‘your majesty’, *vuestra señoría* ‘your honor’, *vuestra excelencia* ‘your excellence’, and as a generic form, *vuestra merced* ‘your mercy’. This latter form corresponded to the earlier uses in *vós*. Menéndez Pidal (2005) explains the rise of *vuestra merced* as a polite form to address persons of upper class which was already witnessed in *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Furthermore, the original use of *vuestra merced*, despite the fact of being a nominal phrase, accepted verbal agreements in both second and third person.

It is in the early 16th century when the third person verb agreement for *vuestra merced* is generalized in all clauses and concordances.⁵ As time, *vuestra merced* widened its social scale among wealthy people who demanded that form. This way, in the 16th century we witness two linguistic changes: the pronoun *vosotros* had been lexicalized and spread to the second plural pronoun instead of *vós* for informal contexts; and the nominal phrase *vuestra merced* gradually developed to *vuesansted*, *vuesasted*, *vuesté* until it reached the form *usted*. Besides, *usted* was reanalyzed, since it was

³ See Spitzer (1947), Nowikow (1994), Lapesa (2000), Carrasco Santana (2002), Cano (2004), and Nieuwenhuijsen (2006a, 2006b).

⁴ Menéndez Pidal (2005).

⁵ Menéndez Pidal (2005).

extended to any formal communicative situation. Therefore, by the 18th century, *usted* and *ustedes* were the V pronouns in peninsular Spanish.

2.1.2. *Você* as V form of address in Portuguese

European Portuguese underwent an analogous development. Its medieval pronouns were the same as in Spanish, although the emergent forms *nós outros* ‘we others’ and *vós outros* ‘you others’ did not succeed. Since *vós* had the same polyvalence as in Old Spanish, the nominal phrase *a vossa mercê* ‘your mercy’ arose and its verbal and pronominal agreements mixed both second and third person desinences. Menon (2006) states that *a vossa mercê* could appear with verbs whose morphemes belonged to second person plural, imitating *vós*, until the third person was generalized.⁶ As in Spain, the beginning of the Modern Era encouraged the emergence of new forms according to social status, such as: *a vossa majestade* ‘your majesty’, *a vossa senhoria* ‘your lordship’, *a vossa excelência* ‘your excellence’ and *a vossa mercê* as the generic formal one.

The development of *a vossa mercê* can be compared to *vuestra merced*, since it was extended to any formal context for any addressee, it lost phonological weight and it was grammaticalized in *você*,⁷ after passing through the intermediate stages *vossemecê* or *vassuncê*.

2.2. Particularities in the T and V forms of address in current European Spanish and Portuguese

2.2.1. The case of West Andalusia

Standard peninsular Spanish relies on four different pronouns to denote social deixis, depending on the number of addressees and the formality of the context, that is: *tú*, *usted*, *vosotros* and *ustedes* (see Table 1). Nevertheless, West Andalusia has erased *vosotros* from its pronominal paradigm and uses exclusively *ustedes* as the form of address in plural for both formal and informal contexts. The exclusive use of *ustedes* is

⁶ Cintra (1972) disagrees and states the third person was extensive since the beginning.

⁷ See Hopper & Traugott (1993) for grammaticalization.

not always accompanied by the expected verbal and pronominal agreements. The verb is supposed to adopt a second person morpheme (Cano 2004, Lapesa 1981). However, the clitics are expected to behave differently. We have to take into account two factors: the geographical area and the syntactic constituent. And the combination of these two features shows us different kinds of concordance: semantic agreement or syntactic agreement. The former is constructed according to the semantic features of the element it must agree with. The latter obeys the syntactic rules of a language to be constructed. *Ustedes* is semantically a second person but syntactically must agree with third person morphemes. If semantically based agreement prevails, *ustedes* may show pronominal and verbal morphemes in second person plural, although *ustedes* syntactically would force third person plural desinences. If a syntactically based agreement prevails, *ustedes* agrees with third person morphemes.

Mondéjar (1994), Lapesa (1980), Penny (2004), Cano (2004) and Menéndez Pidal (2005) agree in limiting the area where *ustedes* is used both in informal and formal contexts to Huelva, Seville, Cádiz, Málaga and Córdoba, whereas it would not exist in Granada, Jaén and Almería. In order to distinguish this fact, I will call the “distinguishing area” the Andalusian zone with two plural second-person pronouns and “non-distinguishing area” the Andalusian zone where *ustedes* is the only second person plural for T and V pronouns.⁸

	Subject	Accusative	Dative	With preposition	Subject clitic	Possessive
Second sing.	tu (T) você (V) o senhor / a senhora (V)	te o / a o / a	te lhe lhe	ti Você Si	te Se Se	o teu o seu o seu
Second pl.	vocês (T / V) os senhores / as senhoras (V)	vos os / as	vos lhes	vocês / convosco vocês	se se	o vosso o seu

Table 2.⁹ Portuguese forms of address

⁸ There is no agreement in the literature on the extension of third person in pronoun agreement, since Alvar, Llorente & Salvador (1961-1965) reduce this phenomenon to the full pronoun only, whereas Cano (2004) or Penny (2004) state there are other pronouns with third person verbal agreement.

⁹ From Ferreira, Helder & Zagalo (1999).

2.2.2. The case of European Portuguese

Standard European Portuguese, unlike standard Spanish, has only one pronoun for any form of address for all second persons plural. Grammars of Portuguese claim that the disappearance of *vós* is only witnessed in the oral language.¹⁰ However, the standard does not accept *vós* as informal pronoun and uses *vocês* as the only form for addressing more than one addressee. However, this standard variety allows disagreements among the pronoun, the verb and its clitics, and the possessive.

2.2.3. Singular addressees

The European Portuguese has a three-way system to denote social deixis in singular. The informal pronoun is *tu*. However, if we deal with an addressee with whom we do not have any intimacy and whose social status is not different to ours, *você* is the selected pronoun. It is also the form used by a superior towards an inferior. Finally, *o senhor / a senhora* is the most appropriate nominal phrase for a higher degree in politeness: to address an unknown addressee of higher status, from a subordinate towards their superior or to show respect.

It is true that *você* and *o senhor* coexist with other forms restricted to consanguinity (*o pai* ‘the father’, *a mãe* ‘the mother’), or to academic qualification (*doutor* ‘doctor’). However, the most extended forms are *você* and *o senhor / a senhora*. There is also an archaic form *vossemecê* witnessed in areas where *você* represents a low degree of respect.

2.2.4. Plural addressees

In the plural, the Portuguese system is reduced to only two pronouns. *Vocês* combines the uses of *tu* and *você*; and *os senhores* and *as senhoras* work the same way as their singulars. The standard variety does not accept the pronoun *vós* (except in archaic zones in northern Portugal), unless *vós* acquires a rhetorical purpose.¹¹

¹⁰ See Vázquez & Mendes Da Luz (1971), Cunha & Cintra (1992), Castro (2006) and Brito, Duarte & Mira Mateus (2006).

¹¹ For a better comprehension, in Map 1, I show in advance the results obtained about the area where a single plural addressee is used.

Nevertheless, the vernacular use shows a clear distinction between two areas, as I show in this article.



Map 1. Portuguese and Spanish areas where there is a single plural addressee.

It must be stated that not even the standard variety follows a coherent behaviour, since, as seen in Table 2, the object clitics of *vocês* are featured by morphemes of second person, as well as its possessive. Instead, the verb for *vocês* is conjugated in third person plural. This lack of coherence also appears in *os senhores*, since in an oblique clause, *vocês* is the chosen pronoun.

3. Hypothesis and corpus

3.1. Corbett and the agreement hierarchy

As before mentioned, the use of *ustedes* as the only second person plural pronoun is characterized by syntactic agreement mismatches in its agreeing forms. Standard Portuguese does the same with second person clitics attached to pronouns such as *você*, which should be syntactically constructed in third person. It is logical to pose the following question: how far does Standard Portuguese use really extend? And how far

do the agreement mismatches in Andalusia extend? Or are we able to find areas with a complete syntactic agreement?

In this paper, I assume that such agreement mismatches are not arbitrary and follow a grammatical continuum that can be related to Corbett's agreement hierarchy. Corbett (2006) states that when one element triggers two agreements, the concordance will be assigned according to a series of factors.

3.1.1. The concepts of controller and target, and the continuum

For the continuum proposed by Corbett, the concepts of controller and target need to be taken into account. The former triggers the agreement and the latter adopts that agreement. The adoption of one kind of agreement depends on the position of the target versus its controller, and that position, at the same time, is governed by an implicative hierarchy called the agreement hierarchy:

(3)

Attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun (Corbett 2006: 207)

If we have a controller, whose agreement might be extensive in syntax, the target will tend to adopt it, not only on the basis of its position versus the controller, but also the nearer to the left part of the hierarchy it is. Thus, if the syntactic agreement is witnessed in the predicate, it will compulsorily be witnessed in attributives, but it may not appear yet in relative and personal pronouns. Only when the agreement is established in one level, it can pass the next level to the right. From this behaviour we conclude that the attributive is the most appropriate element to adopt syntactic agreement. The personal pronoun, on the contrary, tends to adopt semantic agreement.

Therefore, I expect that *ustedes* and *vocês* would trigger agreement of both second and third person targets, depending on this hierarchy, and that this hierarchy will explain the intermediate levels of the extension of their respective forms.

3.2. Corpus

The source I took the data from is the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (ALPI),¹² a linguistic atlas from the first half of the 20th century, conceived by Menéndez Pidal and carried out by his disciple Navarro Tomás and other new collaborating dialectologists, short before the Spanish Civil War. Devised as an atlas of the Romance languages in the Iberian Peninsula, 527 localities were surveyed with more than 800 questions divided in two questionnaires. The first questionnaire was designed to elicit phonological and morpho-syntactic data. The data analyzed in this study come from the following questions in this questionnaire: 313 *¿Cuándo salís de viaje?* ‘When are you going on a trip?’; 321 *Id aprisa* ‘Go quickly’; 323 *Cantad una jota* ‘Sing a jota (folk dance)’; 324 *Volved pronto* ‘Come back soon’; 325 *Decid lo que queráis* ‘Say whatever you want’; 336 *¿Sois parientes del alcalde?* ‘Are you related to the mayor?’; 341 *Os vais a caer* ‘You are going to fall down’; 342 *Os han engañado* ‘You have been deceived / They have deceived you’; 343 *¿Os queréis callar?* ‘Will you shut up?’; 344 *Arrodillaos* ‘Get on your knees’; 345 *Bebeos este vaso de aguardiente* ‘Drink this glass of liquor’; 364 *Siéntense ustedes* ‘Sit down (polite)’; 410 *¿Adónde camináis?* ‘Where are you going?’; and 411 *Lo queréis para vosotros* ‘You want it for yourselves’.

However the time elapsed since the ALPI data were collected means that the data may be outdated compared to current use. Thus, the results presented here must be tied to realities of those years. Besides, ALPI’s methodology may raise certain doubts about the informants’ answers, since there may be a lack of spontaneity when obtaining them. Nevertheless, ALPI results in a basic tool to understand the phenomenon here analyzed.

4. Analysis

The data exposed hereinafter, are charted according to the answers from the ALPI. For their compilation and analysis, I took all questions for a second person plural (as

¹² See Navarro Tomás (1975) or Heap (2003): www.westernlinguistics.ca/alpi/.

listed above). On this basis, I have drawn a series of maps completely summing up the main aspects of the phenomenon.

These questions make it possible to analyze the data depending on certain factors: the nature of the addressee (elderly, child, friend, unknown), the mood of the verb (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), the modality (assertive, imperative, interrogative), as well as the different syntactic elements which must agreed (clitics, verb, subject pronoun and pronoun governed by preposition), and the position of clitics, as well as whether the form of address is specified or not.

Once each map is analyzed individually, I proceed to some general conclusions, describing the way geographical, grammatical and pragmatic factors influence this phenomenon, both in Spanish and Portuguese.

4.1. Question 315: *¿Cuándo salís de viaje?* ‘when are you going on a trip? (verbal agreement)

(4) Verbal agreement

<i>Cuándo</i>	<i>salís</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>viaje</i>
<i>When</i>	<i>go out-PRES.2PL</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>trip</i>



Map 2 (based on ALPI 315)

On Map 2, in the Andalusian area where *ustedes* is the sole second person plural pronoun, the verb of the question appears with second person plural morphology

(*saléis*),¹³ instead of the third person *ustedes* should trigger. However, in a small area located in the provinces of Huelva and Seville, the answer *se vais* is preferred. We can see that, although the verb *vais* is still in second person plural, the clitic corresponds to a third person, *se*. Thus, although *ustedes* has ousted the pronoun *vosotros* in West Andalusia, the verb still uses second person plural agreement in some areas, but reflexive clitic adopts third person morphology.

In the rest of Spain, we find second person plural verbal morphemes with a variety of forms (*saléis, salides*) I do not discuss in this paper, nor have I projected data from Catalanian and Basque Country provinces. In the first case, Catalan is not relevant for this phenomenon; in the second one, as well as the bilingual factor, ALPI does not always show data from Guipúzcoa and Biscay.

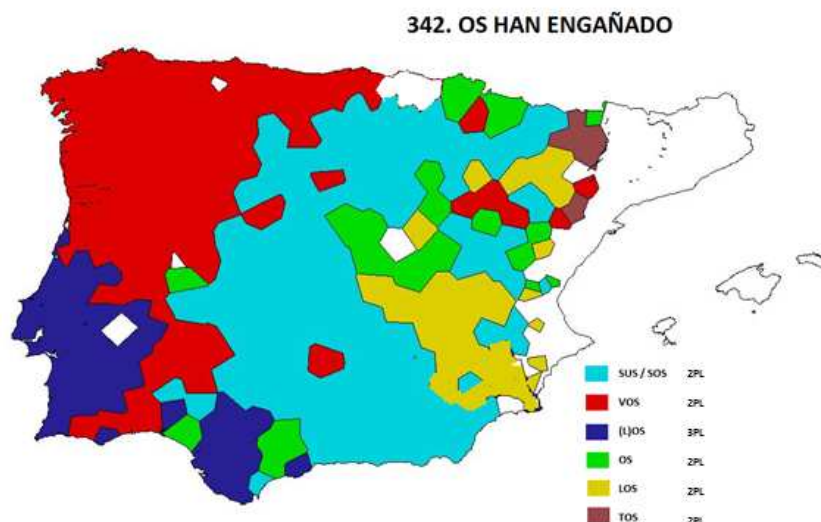
In Portugal, there exist two zones: the one distinguishing between *vós* and *vocês* and the non-distinguishing one. The answer *saiem* responds to a third person plural morphology and it is found in Algarve, Alentejo, the metropolitan area of Lisbon, Ribatejo, as well as Coimbra. However, the northern and central areas distinguishing *vós* and *vocês* select second person plural morphology, since it deals with an informal register; that is why we find the answers *saídes / saís* in these areas.

4.2. *Question 342: Os han engañado 'They (have) deceived you' / 'You have been deceived'*
(direct object clitic)

(5) Accusative agreement

<i>Os</i>	<i>han engañado.</i>
<i>You-ACC.2PL</i>	<i>3PL.PF-deceive.</i>

¹³ Mondéjar (1994) states *saléis* is an Andalusian form of the canonical second person plural *salís*.



Map 3 (based on ALPI 342) allows us to analyze the agreement in the object clitic *os*.

In Spanish, the extension of third person morphology is dramatically reduced when *os* appears as a direct object, if compared to *ustedes* in Map I. Purple areas with *los* show that syntactic agreement has reached even the object clitic and it is attested in the whole province of Cádiz and in Central-Southern Seville, as well as in coastal localities in Málaga and a few towns in Huelva, on the border with Seville. I have to point out that such an answer does not share the same features as the pronoun *los* appearing in yellow zones of centre-eastern Spain. This use of *los* instead of *os* is usual in the provinces of Albacete, Cuenca and Guadalajara,¹⁴ where the sole clitic in Spanish beginning with a vowel, *os*, is reinforced with the consonant //l/. It does not seem to be the case in Andalusia, where *sos*, *sus*, *vos* are preferred as variants of *os* in both the distinguishing and the non-distinguishing areas. In the zone where *ustedes* is the only second person plural pronoun, *los* may represent a third person plural and, as I said, with a different nature from the one in the yellow area, which corresponds to a second person plural morphology. The Andalusian dialect is characterized by following the pronominal system in Latin, where case also governed the selection of the clitic, that is why we cannot find *leísmo*, *laísmo* o *loísmo*,¹⁵ so *los* is only used as a masculine third person plural accusative pronoun.

¹⁴ See Enrique-Arias (2011).

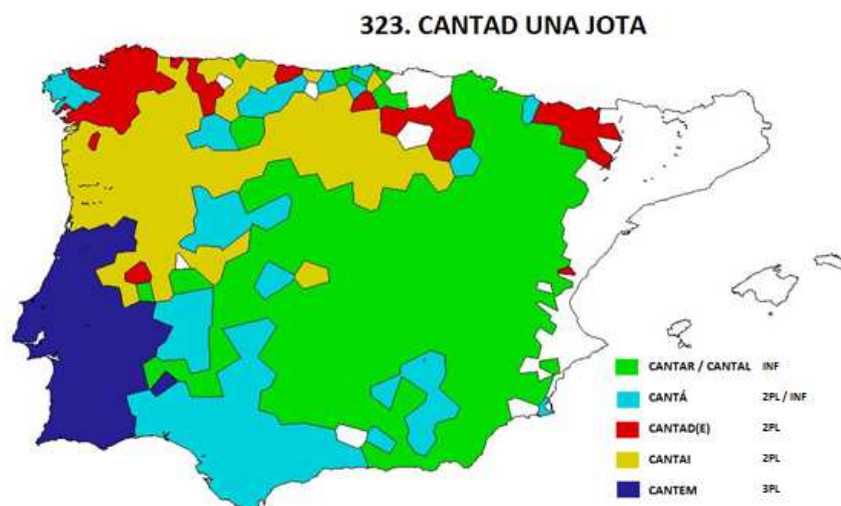
¹⁵ *Laísmo* is the use of the feminine accusative clitic for a dative case. *Leísmo* is the use of masculine dative clitic for an accusative case. *Loísmo* is the use of masculine accusative clitic for a dative case. See Fernández-Ordóñez (1999).

The Portuguese behaviour seems analogous to the Spanish one. In the same area where *vocês* is the sole second person plural pronoun, there exist two choices. The area where the clitic has adopted third person morphology is quite limited in comparison with the one where the clitic still keeps a second person plural morphology. In the Central-Southern area and some points in Algarve, *os* is used instead of *vos*.¹⁶ In Ribatejo area, in northern Lisbon, *os* is the final solution due to the fronting of the full pronoun (*a vocês os enganaram*), whereas in areas where *vocês* is the sole second person plural pronoun and where *vos* still exists as clitic, the answer in surveys is *Engaram-vos*. Maybe, as I will point out later, the clitic position is related to the kind of agreement. In the purple area (Map 3) the preferred solution is *Enganaram-nos*,¹⁷ despite the fact there is no tonic pronoun.

4.3. Question 323: *Cantad una jota* ‘Sing a jota’ (imperative agreement)

(6) Imperative agreement

Cantad *una* *jota*.
 Sing-IMP.2PL *a* *jota**(folk dance)



Map 4 (based on ALPI 323) poses an iterative problem in questions containing an imperative: its pronunciation in Spanish.

¹⁶ *Os / as* is the third person unstressed pronoun for accusative.

¹⁷ The form *nos* does not represent a first person plural morpheme, although in this case it is syncretic. Portuguese forces a supporting consonant /n/ before a clitic beginning with a vowel, if in enclisis it is found after a nasal consonant or diphthong. So, in this case, it still is a third person plural morpheme *os*.

As Map 4 shows, the most of Spain uses an infinitive, instead of an imperative constructed in a second person plural morphology. This is perhaps due to their phonological proximity. The *-d* of the imperative undergoes rhotacism and becomes *-r*, like the *-r* infinitive morpheme. This way, we find a vast area preferring *cantar*, either ending in *-r*, *cantar*, or ending in the neutralized *-l*, *cantal*, and the hegemonic Andalusian answer, above all in the West, losing the the final consonant, *cantá*.¹⁸ The problem posed by this last response is to guess which consonant has been deleted by speakers: a */d/* or a */r/*. The problem turns more complex, since one of the features of the West Andalusian dialect is the loss of final */s/*, */z/*, */d/*, */r/* without phonetic consequences for the previous vowel, unlike in East Andalusia, where the vowel is long to compensate that loss.¹⁹ The fact that *cantá* is situated within the area of *cantar* / *cantal* and behaves as other words ending with *-r* assures us that the subjacent choice stems from the infinitive.²⁰

It seems clear that the verb has not adopted then a third person plural morphology in the area of *ustedes*. Nor does it maintain the second person plural imperative, since the infinitive is witnessed in the Centre and South of the peninsula, also associated with *vosotros*. However, I must assume another origin for the northern and western *cantá*, coexisting or in contact with *cantad(e)* and *cantai*. In these zones, it represents a form of the plural imperative with a loss of the final *-d*.²¹

There is not the same problem in the interpretation of Portuguese, whose third person plural morphology, *cantem*, is witnessed on the verb in the same area where *vocês* is the sole second person plural pronoun. It is only in central-northern zones where a verb in second person plural is preferred: *cantai*.

4.4. Question 343: *¿Os queréis callar?* ‘Will you shut up? (reflexive clitic)’

(6)

<i>Os</i>	<i>queréis</i>	<i>callar</i>
<i>You-REFL.2PL</i>	<i>want-PRS.2PL</i>	<i>shut up-INF</i>

¹⁸ In many peninsular zones, infinitive */r/* is neutralized with a *//*.

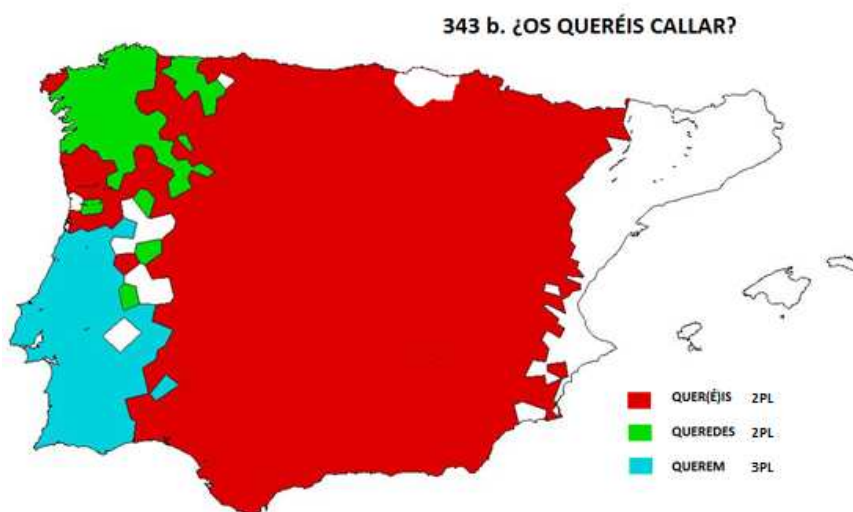
¹⁹ See Jiménez Fernández (1999).

²⁰ Diego Catalán (1971) compares the loss of sounds */s/* and */θ/* at the end of a word to the loss of phonemes */r/* and *//* in the same syntactic context. The ALPI data show that both processes are analogous and are documented in the same areas (western Andalusia, part of western Badajoz and he south-east Cáceres).

²¹ See Fernández-Ordóñez (2011).



Map 5a (based on ALPI 343)



Map 5b (based on ALPI 343)

In Spanish, Maps 5a and 5b show the behaviour of the reflexive clitic and the following verb. The main answer throughout Spain adopts second person plural desinences (*queréis, querís, queredes*, etc.) which clearly disagree with the subject pronoun *ustedes* in Western Andalusia. All of the province of Cádiz, most of Huelva except for its border with Portugal, Seville and some areas in Córdoba and Málaga, use a verb in the second person plural, but they choose the third person clitic, *se*, which agrees syntactically with the underlying subject pronoun in that area: *ustedes*. To

summarize, the reflexive clitic does also agree with the third person, but this agreement does not extend to the whole area where *ustedes* is the sole second person plural pronoun and *vosotros* does not exist. So the third person in the stressed subject pronoun has a wider extension than the reflexive clitic.

The case in Portuguese is substantially different. In all points where a third person plural verb, *querem*, is preferred, there is also a third person clitic, *se*, which means that the agreement triggered by the subject pronoun is extended both in the verb and the reflexive clitic.

4.5. Question 364: *Siéntense ustedes* 'Please sit down' (polite forms of address)

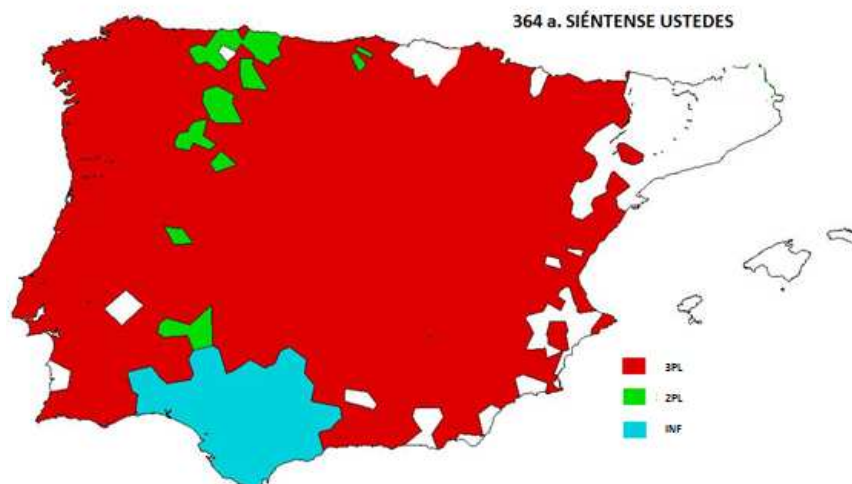
(8) Polite agreement

Sienten-se

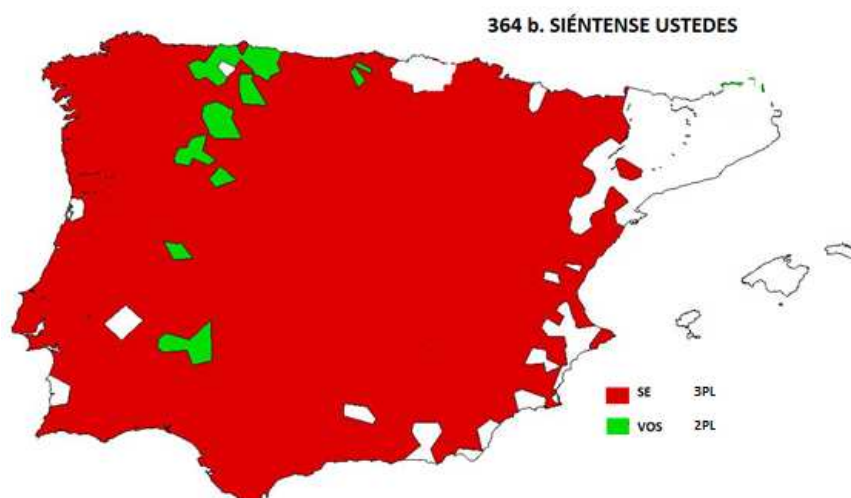
ustedes

Sit down-IMP.3PL-REFL

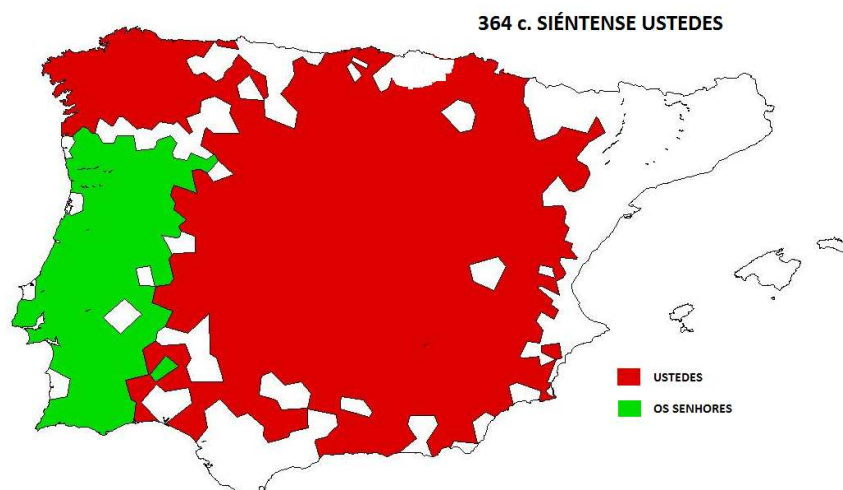
You-PL.POLITE



Map 6a (based on ALPI 364)



Map 6b (based on ALPI 364)



Map 6c (based on ALPI 364)

Since question 364 deals with a polite situation, it shows us that the preferred forms of address in the Spanish-speaking area is unanimously *ustedes*.²² In nearly all the Spanish area, the use of the reflexive clitic *se* dominates; since the verb agrees syntactically with *ustedes*, it must be in the third person. The problem arises in its conjugation. Most of the Castilian area prefers the third person, *sienten*, and the combination of the three maps gives the answer *siéntense ustedes*. However, nearly all

²² It should be pointed out that data are restricted to Spanish and Portuguese and that no other peninsular language is included in the analysis.

West Andalusia and some points of East Andalusia, the imperative has been turned into an infinitive, despite the polite register. There are zones which do not specify the form of address, and their final choice is *sentarse*; and zones where it has been specified and that has not triggered syntactic agreement in the verb, with the solution *sentarse ustedes*, instead of *siéntense ustedes*.

The most plausible explanation for these data is that second person plural morphology in the imperative may be reanalyzed as an infinitive and, therefore, it is generalized for all imperatives to be taken as second person plural, both formal and informal. Actually, the same happens in informal address on Map 4 *Cantad una jota*. This would explain that the pronoun *se* is in the third person, since the infinitive is a non-finite form of the verb and it demands a default agreement, that is, the third person. It is interesting to point out that the answer *sentarse* is found in distinguishing localities of Eastern Andalusia, revealing a generalization of the infinitive form for polite cases too.

I have to point out as well, that in the Leonese zone, the preference is the pronoun *vos* conjugated with a verb in second person plural: *sentaivos (vos)*. Undoubtedly, this is an archaic use of pronoun *vos*, used also for formal address in this case.²³

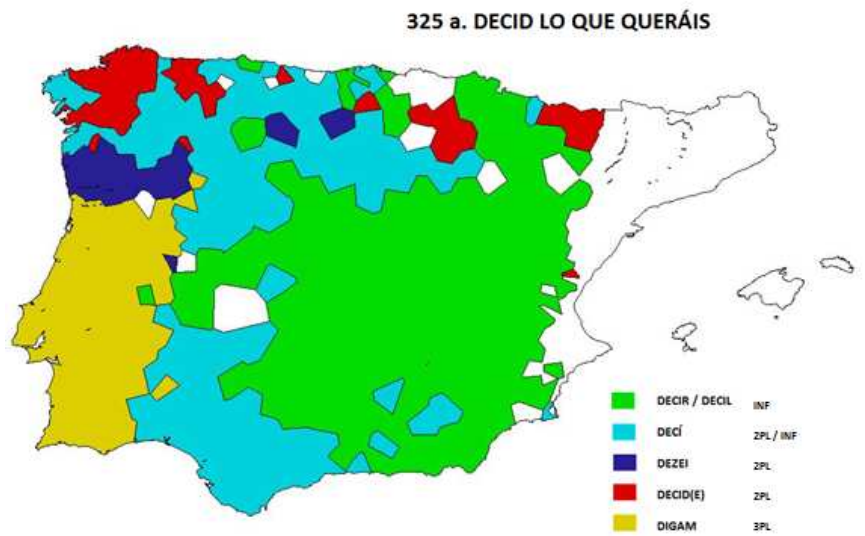
Portuguese keeps faithful to the rule governing the form of address *os senhores* for cases requiring a high degree in politeness. Furthermore, its agreement elements (verb and clitic) are systematically constructed in third person plural, *sentem-se*. All this demonstrates that both the distinguishing and the non-distinguishing areas adopt a third person plural morphology and the form of address *os senhores* for situations with a high level of deference. The non-distinguishing area, on the other hand, must mark the social deixis only with the addressee: *sentem-se os senhores*, since the verb always require the third person both in informal and formal address.

²³ Leonese localities with a preference for *vos* are: Valverde del Resno and Eljas (Cáceres); Tudanca (Cantabria); Lucillo (León) and San Ciprián de Sanabria and Villarino tras la Sierra (Zamora).

4.6. *Question 325: Decid lo que queráis 'Say what you want' (agreement with subordinate clause)*

(9) Agreement in subordinate

<i>Decid</i>	<i>lo que</i>	<i>queráis</i>
<i>Say-IMP.2PL</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>Want-PRS.SBJV.2PL</i>



Map 7a (based on ALPI 325)



Map 7b (based on ALPI 325)

In Spanish, Map 7 shows us a further step in the extension of the third person agreement in this phenomenon. Whereas in the Spanish-speaking area, the answer *queráis* is chosen for the subordinate clause, nearly all the province of Cádiz and zones in Seville adapt the verb to the third person plural, *quieran*. Contrary to what is expected, it is in the subordinate sentence where the innovation in the verb is witnessed, although it is remarkable that the verb in the main sentence is an infinitive used as an imperative.²⁴ As the infinitive indicates neutralization of person and demands pronominal third person morphology in this area, it is not strange to see that the subordinate verb agrees in third person. What is surprising is the fact that the agreement in third person does not arise, instead, in interrogative sentences analyzed earlier. That may mean that the imperative modality first encourages the extension of the third person agreement.

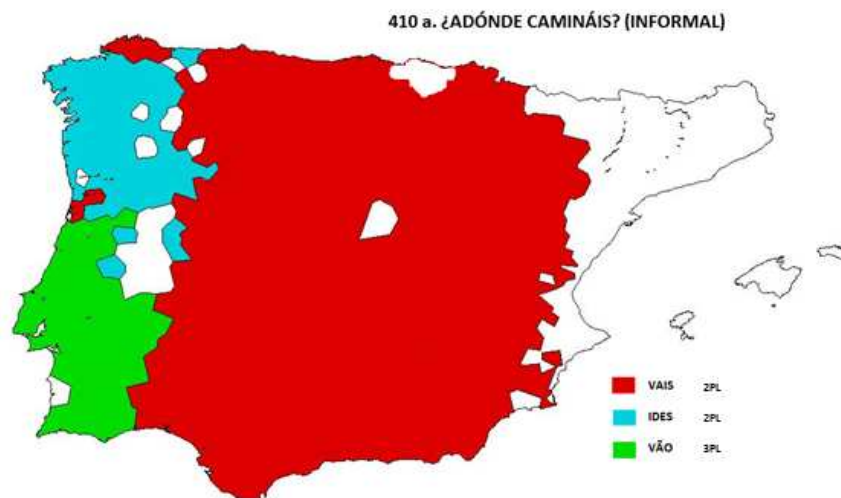
In Portuguese, we find an incongruence in the data, if they are compared to other analogous questions, since the non-distinguishing area increases northwards. The reason for that increase is not evident: where there is a verb conjugated in third person plural in the main sentence, *digam*, the person is repeated in the subordinate, *quiserem*. Perhaps, as in Spanish, the modality is a factor triggering the extension of the third person in the verb. Nevertheless, we are not aware of how this question was posed to informants and what form of address underlies the use of the third person plural in the distinguishing area: *vós*, *vocês* or *os senhores*.

4.7. Question 410: *¿Adónde camináis?* ‘Where are you walking to? (interrogatives; formal and informal addressees)

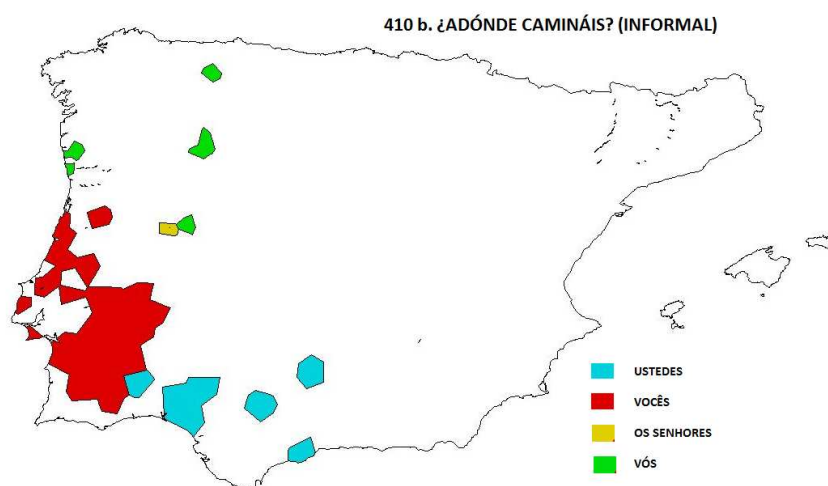
(10) Addressees

<i>Adónde</i>	<i>camináis</i>
<i>Where</i>	<i>walk-PRS.2PL</i>

²⁴ Infinitive *decí*, in West Andalusia, must be separated from imperative *decí* found in the North and West, in contact with *decid(e)*, *dezei*. Cf. Map *Cantad una jota*.



Map 8a (based on ALPI 410)



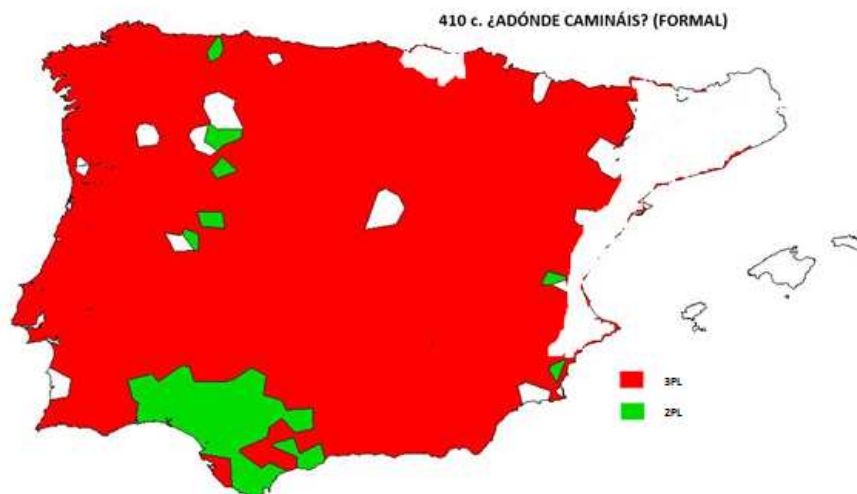
Map 8b (based on ALPI 410)

The type of addressees (children and friends) explains that in the Spanish-speaking zone, the answer is *vais*, although in points in Huelva and Seville, as well as in Cádiz, this choice alternates with *van* (third person plural).²⁵ It is interesting to note that *van* is only witnessed where *ustedes* is used as the sole second person plural pronoun. I have to remark as well that when the form of address has been expressed (still referring to West Andalusia), *ustedes* has been also chosen. That confirms the fact that *ustedes* as

²⁵ Localities alternating *vais* and *van* are Almonte, Fuentes de Andalucía and Tarifa.

a subject pronoun has definitely ousted *vosotros* even in an informal register: *ustedes vais*.

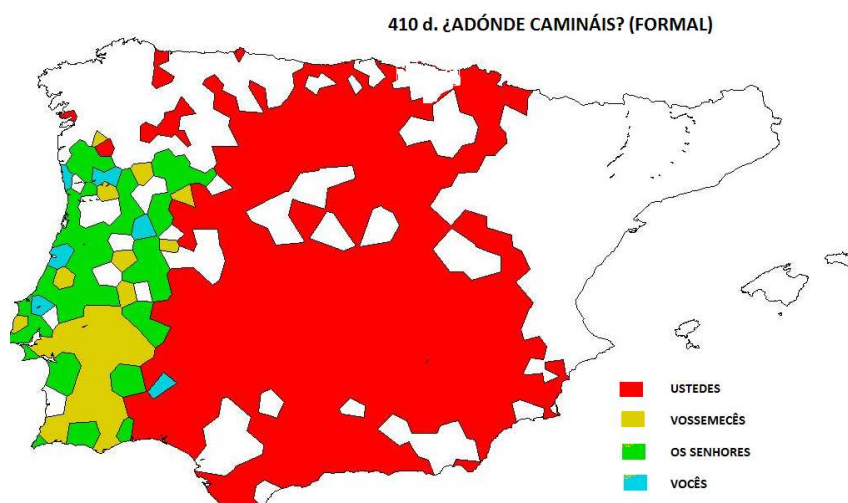
The maps 8a and 8b repeat areas before seen in Portuguese: the Centre-South rejects the second person plural, favouring the third person plural, *vão*, meanwhile the Centre-North, when dealing with familiar addressees, chooses second person plural desinences *vades / ides*. It is in the non-distinguishing zone where the independent pronoun²⁶ is mostly expressed for the informal treatment: *vocês* is widely documented in the Centre-South, whereas *vós* is hardly documented in the Centre-North. It is also interesting to observe that in the non-distinguishing area, there are several points in Santarém (Cartaxo and Coruche) where an intermediate solution, *voceses*²⁷ is conserved.



Map 9a (based on ALPI 410)

²⁶ Siewierska (2004) proposes two sorts of person markers: dependent and independent. Here, independent is synonymous with full pronoun, since in Spanish and Portuguese, full pronouns and independent person markers coincide. Independent means a pronoun has its own stress, and that its morphological constitution is not altered when appearing in another position within a phrase.

²⁷ It is undoubtedly a previous phase in the evolution of *a vossa mercê* to *você*.



Map 9b (based on ALPI 410).

Before addressees to whom we must show respect, politeness is expressed throughout the Iberian Peninsula with a verb conjugated in third person plural: *van*. However, in most of Western Andalusia, the distinction in the verb is lost, since the second person plural *vais* is used as in the informal treatment. It is true that there are localities in the non-distinguishing area starting to hesitate, by choosing either *vais* or *van*. But, since that hesitation exists in informal address too, we must not take it as a distinction mark in the verb, but on the contrary.²⁸ Regarding the forms of address, the vast majority prefers *ustedes*, even in zones where *vais* is the only form.

In Portuguese, the formal communicative situation only gives the option of a third person in the verb: *vão*. It is when selecting the form of address, when we check the coexistence of multiple forms: *você*s, *vossemecês* and *os senhores*. Among them, the form *vossemecês* is dominant in the Centre-South²⁹ and *os senhores* in the Centre-North. It is interesting to point out that *você*s as a formal address exists only in the Centre-North or in marginal areas on the border with Spain. That may be related to the fact that in the Centre-South *você*s is definitely the universal informal addressee.

²⁸ Localities where answers hesitate between second and third person morphemes are Almonte, Alonso and Villablanca (Huelva), Peñarubia (Málaga) and Fuentes de Andalucía (Seville).

²⁹ We recall that this form corresponds to an archaic form of address, coinciding with a previous phase in the evolution of *a vossa mercê* to *você*.

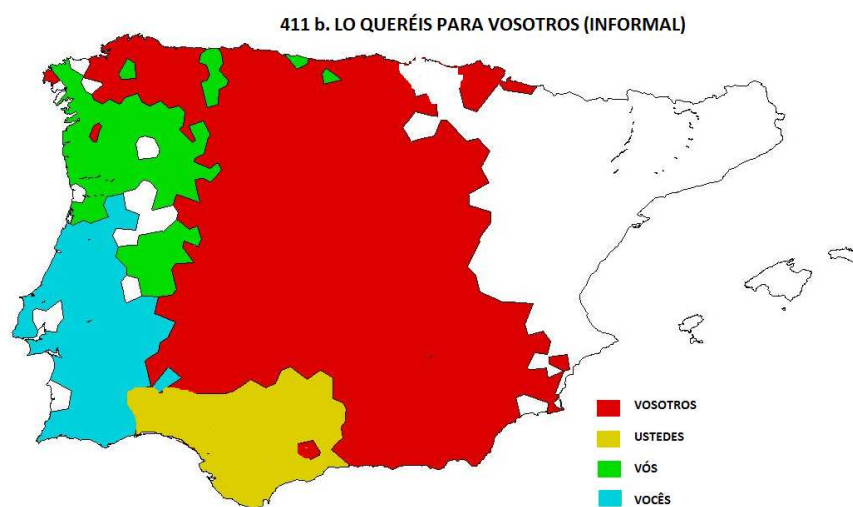
4.8. Question 411: *Lo queréis para vosotros* 'You want it for yourselves' (assertive; formal and informal addressees)

(11)

<i>Lo</i>	<i>queréis</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>vosotros</i>
ACC.3SG	want-PRS.2PL	for	you-NOM.2PL



Map 10a (based on ALPI 411).



Map 10b (based on ALPI 411).

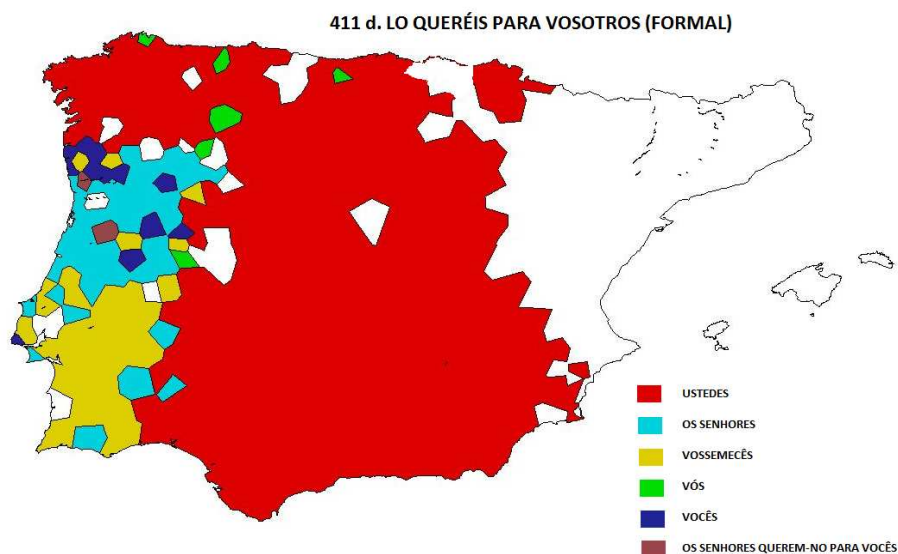
Maps 10a and 10b allow us to observe the same variation produced because of the class of addressees, as well as the full pronoun, appearing in an oblique phrase. Furthermore, we can compare the behaviour in the verb in assertive modality.

The situation of the Spanish-speaking area repeats the preference for the second person plural morphology in the verb in an informal context, *queréis*. However, there still exists the usual difference in forms of address: *vosotros* is general excepting the non-distinguishing Andalusian zone, where *ustedes* is chosen. Therefore, in most of Spain *Lo queréis para vosotros* is the regular answer, whereas in West Andalusia, it is *Lo queréis para ustedes*, although there are localities (El Bosque, in Cádiz and Almonte, in Huelva) which hesitate in the verb: *queréis* (second person) / *quieren* (third person). It is interesting to point out that this hesitation in the verb favouring the third person, acquires its greatest geographical extension in the imperative, followed by interrogative and assertive ones in formal contexts.

Portuguese is divided again in two linguistic areas: the non-distinguishing area in the Centre-South, with the answer *querem-no para vocês*, and the Centre-North, which distinguishes the form of address, and in informality, it chooses the answer *quereis para vós*.



Map 11a (based on ALPI 411).



Map 11b (based on ALPI 411)

The same question for formal addressees triggers the Spanish-speaking zone to choose the answer *Lo quieren para ustedes*. Only all of West Andalusia,³⁰ in spite of using the pronoun *ustedes* in a polite register, still produces a verb with a second person plural morphology: *queréis*; *lo queréis para ustedes*. There are again hesitating points in the South, some of them in contact with the area using *quieren*, but others in Huelva attached to the zone with *queréis*. This last datum may be interpreted as an extension of the third person in the verb within the non-distinguishing area.³¹ The conservation of *vós* in the North as a form of address for formality and informality is remarkable, a vestige of the form in old Ibero-Romance.

Portuguese unanimously chooses *querem* for the verb, as it is a polite context, but we again see the coexistence of quite diverse forms of address. The main answer in the South is *vossemecês* and in the North *os senhores*. It is remarkable that there are points in the bordering zone, in the Centre, with the answer *Os senhores querem-no para vocês*. This choice decreases the scale of politeness in the oblique phrase, which is consistent with the standard usage.³² This example seems to indicate that the new agreement triggered by the independent pronoun is generated in subject position and it

³⁰ See geographic extension in the global analysis.

³¹ Localities with hesitating answers are El Bosque (Cádiz), Cortegana and Almonte (Huelva), Peñarrubia and Frigiliana (Málaga) and Saucejo (Seville).

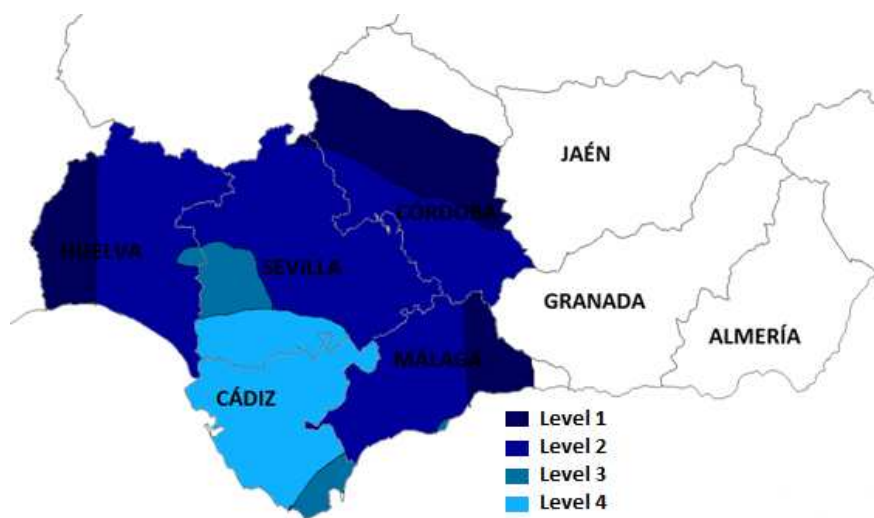
³² We recall that the standard variety (Table 2) prescribed pronoun *vocês* in oblique phrases agreeing with a subject *os senhores*, moving lower the politeness scale.

is later extended to the position governed by the preposition. Nevertheless, both in the distinguishing and the non-distinguishing zones in Spain and Portugal, the use of a different form of address for the subject position and an oblique phrase is very rare. That is, the controlled pronoun in the oblique phrase, found far from their controller in the subject, has not adopted a semantic agreement in the informal cases.

5. Global analysis

5.1. Geographical extension

5.1.1. Spanish



Map 12 (extension of the phenomenon)

The exposition of the data results in the geographical pattern is shown in Map 12. The lack of the phenomenon is obvious in Eastern Andalusia (Almería, Jaén and Granada), as well as in the far East of Málaga and the North of Córdoba. In the rest of the region, the sole second plural pronoun is *ustedes* with a few factors to take into account.

Map 12 follows a chromatic evolution in blue indicating the different areas, which represent different phases of this grammatical phenomenon. For a better understanding, I assign numbers to levels according to the colour of the area: the darkest zone, that is, the far West of Huelva, the far East of Málaga and Central-northern Córdoba corresponds to Level 1; the main area, with a brighter shade is Level 2; the small area found in some localities in Huelva, South-eastern Cádiz and a small part of Western Seville represents Level 3, meanwhile Level 4 is assigned to the brightest shade of blue, widely extended throughout Cádiz and southern Seville.

By interpreting the picture, we observe that the diffusion pattern follows the wave model, also called the epidemic model.³³ This model states that a linguistic change arises in a specific geographic point, which also acts as the diffuser of the phenomenon and the innovations occurring in it. These innovations will be extended to its periphery and, over time, the periphery will extend them to its surrounding areas, in the same way it became contagious. Thus, in a hypothetical linguistic phenomenon, there are four phases, the first of all (1) is born in the focus or epicenter. Over time, the focus manages to ‘infect’ its periphery, which adopts that phase 1. Later, once focus and periphery share level 1, a further step in the innovation arises in the epicenter (level 2), only witnessed in that area and not yet in the periphery, which is featured uniquely with level 1. Then the area surrounding the periphery adopts level 1, and the periphery gets infected with level 2, found earlier in focus. The focus, at the same time, will have passed to a third level (3) within the linguistic change and so on. To sum up, when in focus and levels 1, 2 and 3 are witnessed, the periphery shows levels 1 and 2, but not yet 3; and the periphery’s surrounding shows level 1, but not yet 2 and 3. Therefore, the results shown in this kind of pattern are similar to a succession of waves which are progressively extended, from a focus where all of them are generated. The pattern leads to the conclusion that the further from the focus, the more conservative the responses are; and the nearer from it, the more innovative the phenomenon is.

If we analyze Map 12, phase 1 represents answers where *ustedes* is the sole pronoun for second person plural as a subject and independent person marker (*¿adónde vais **ustedes**? / lo queréis para **ustedes***), whereas the rest of agreeing

³³ See Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2003) and Chambers & Trudgill (1980).

elements do it semantically, that is, verb and clitics use second person plural morphology: *[a ustedes] os han engañado / ¿[ustedes] os queréis callar? / Decir lo que queráis*. Level 2, however, has already extended the third person plural agreement to the subject pronoun, that is, the answers are *¿adónde vais ustedes? / lo queréis para ustedes* and *¿[ustedes] se queréis callar?* Nevertheless, this area still prefers *[a ustedes] os han engañado / Decir lo que queráis*. Level 3 has already adopted the syntactic agreement with the subject pronoun *ustedes*, as well as its object markers: *¿adónde vais ustedes? / lo queréis para ustedes, ¿[ustedes] se queréis callar?* and *[a ustedes] los han engañado*, but it maintains the second person in the verb *Decir lo que queráis*. Lastly, phase 4 has developed and accepts third person morphology in the verb of the subordinate clause, at least, after an infinitive: *Deci[r] lo que quieran* (as well as *¿adónde vais ustedes? / lo queréis para ustedes, ¿[ustedes] se queréis callar?* and *[a ustedes] los han engañado*). There are only a few localities in this area where there exists a hesitation when choosing the person, above all, in formal contexts: *¿adónde van ustedes?* and *lo quieren para ustedes*.

What I mentioned earlier assumes that the extension of syntactic agreement is more advanced in level 4, which means that it is the focus or epicenter of the phenomenon. Besides, this pattern suggests that when the area of phase 1 admits the grammatical behavior of phase 2, this latter area will already have adopted the features of area 3. And when the area of level 3 acquires all features of zone 4, this one will already have proposed a new innovation within the phenomenon, surely generalizing the third person plural in the verb, as happens in the Canary Islands, centre-southern Portugal and America. Furthermore, this map shows that the behaviour in pronouns is not the same, since the reflexive pronoun adopts the third person more easily than the object pronoun.

5.1.2. Portuguese



Map 13 (Portuguese extension)

The Portuguese case is harder to diagnose. Its diffusion pattern is not so clear, as there are only two phases within the phenomenon: small areas in darker blue, where the object pronoun is still constructed with a second person plural morphology represents level 1; the main area is level 2, where the extension of syntactic agreement is attested in stressed (independent) and unstressed pronouns and the verb. As in Spanish, coastal zones seem to be more likely to adopt the phenomenon. It is interesting that the epicenter in Spain is found in the area in contact with America and, in Portugal, in the coastal zone. This might suggest that the diffusion may be somewhat related to the linguistic connection between both sides of the Atlantic.

As observed in Map 13 the distinguishing zone between *vós* and *vocês / os senhores* is formed by the provinces of Guarda, Vila Real, Viana, Aveiro, Viseu, Oporto, Bragança, Braga and Castelo Branco. In the rest of the country, the only second person plural pronoun is *vocês* (or other variants of the same noun phrase), always conjugated with a third person plural: *aonde vão vocês? Enganaram-nos, querem-se calar?, vocês querem-no para vocês*, excepting some localities in Faro (Santa Justa, Odeleite and Alte), Beja (Barrancos) and North Coimbra (Montemor-o-velho and

Arganil), and Portalegre (Montalvo and Belver de Gavino), where the object pronoun is still formed with second person plural morphology: *enganaram-vos*.

5.2. Grammatical behaviour

5.2.1. Spanish

The extension of agreement in grammar is not arbitrary. Thanks to Map 12 we can see that the phenomenon follows a series of implicational steps:

(12)

Verb > object pronoun > reflexive pronoun > subject pronoun

The interpretation of the hierarchy indicates that the phenomenon arose in the most right phase and it has extended leftwards level by level until it completes the scale. Thus, the area in which there is a syntactic concordance with *ustedes* in the object pronoun, it also has a syntactic agreement with *ustedes* in the subject pronoun, but not yet in the verb. Although it is not identical, this scale reminds us of Corbett's agreement hierarchy with a controller triggering that agreement in a series of successive targets.

5.2.2. Portuguese

European Portuguese proposes a slight change in its diffusion pattern:

(13)

Object clitic > verb / reflexive pronoun / subject pronoun

On the one hand, I cannot posit as many intermediate steps as in Spanish. On the other hand, there is a significant difference between Andalusian and Portuguese data. Whereas in Andalusia the verb is the last element to adopt the third person, in Portugal it is the object pronoun. I cannot explain the reason for this, although it may have to do with the different structural position of pronouns in both languages, as well as the categorical difference between them. Some data allow us to consider this possibility. In

Ribatejo, in northern Lisbon, the answer *os* (third person) may be due to the fronting of the full pronoun (*a vocês os enganaram*). On the contrary, the answer *vos* (second person) in zones where *vocês* is also the sole pronoun always shows the enclitic position *enganaram-vos*. This seems to indicate that the syntactic configuration of the unstressed pronoun, placed before or after the verb, may have to do with the agreement adopted, second or third person.

Corbett's hierarchy cannot be strictly applied to this phenomenon, due to the lack of data in intermediate levels. However, the overall panorama is not distinct from the Andalusian one. The agreement arose in the stressed personal pronoun *vocês / ustedes* and seems to have been extended in syntax, from the subject to the predicate.

According to this hierarchy, I observe that the third person plural has extended to the predicate, and that this extension has been scalar: verb > object pronoun > reflexive pronoun in Spanish; and object pronoun > reflexive pronoun / verb in Portuguese.³⁴ The fact that the reflexive clitic (*se*) adopts agreement first in both languages may be due to the fact that it projects the features of the subject (*ustedes / vocês*) and, therefore, it directly reflects the behaviour of the independent pronoun.

It is not strange that in Andalusia and the Centre-south Portugal there is a mixture of second and third persons. If we analyze the behaviour of *voseo* in America,³⁵ we find that the plural form *vos* alternates with the second person singular clitic *te*, and verbal paradigms changing between second person singular and plural, depending on verbal tense and geographical area.

5.3. Pragmatics

In Spanish, the type of addressee does not seem to affect Andalusian speakers when choosing the form of address or the verb. Nevertheless, there are a few points where formal contexts favour the choice of a third person plural desinence.

This is not so clear in Portuguese. Portugal is divided into the distinguishing area and the non-distinguishing area. The former prefers *vós* conjugated with second person plural morphemes for familiar and intimate contexts, whereas formality is expressed by third person plural and a nominal phrase as *os senhores*, rejecting *vocês*.

³⁴ Unfortunately, we do not have data on attributives.

³⁵ See Kany (1969), Fontanella de Weinberg (1992) and Lipski (1996).

The non-distinguishing area consolidates in third person plural both formality and informality, but it chooses two variants in the form of address, which have the same origin. The main choice for familiarity is *você*s. *Vossemecês* is the pronoun of deference. This one reflects an intermediate level of the evolution from *a vossa mercê* to *você*. Thus, the Centre-south of Portugal, despite sharing the same phenomenon as in Andalusia, does distinguish the degree of politeness with the form of address, but not in unstressed pronouns and the verb.

6. Final

As a final reflection, *ustedes* and *você*s must be studied more deeply, with current data exemplifying the evolution of their agreements. It is also necessary to reconstruct the history of the forms of address and to explain what factors were influential in each era, so that the agreement changed. Furthermore, it is still to be answered why this phenomenon arose in Seville and Cádiz (in Spanish) and in Centre-south Portugal, or whether American varieties had something to do with their developments in both languages.

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