

Addressing Others in *Gauchês*:  
Forms of Address in Traditional Gaucho Songs from Southern Brazil

by  
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### Abstract

The second person singular (2sg) address system of the *Gauchês* dialect, spoken in the southernmost region of Brazil, presents a hybrid form consisting of *tu* followed by third person singular verb morphology (T-V), in addition to *tu* (T-T), *você* (V-V), and *o senhor/a senhora* (S/M-V). Previous work suggests that the formality of the situation and the social distance between interlocutors (Menon, 2000), as well as their gender (Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002) and socioeconomic background (Amaral, 2003) determine the use of these variants. Expanding on these studies and on the analyses of lyrics to explore language variation (Moyna, 2015; Pontes & Brito, 2000), the present variationist study investigates the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that may explain variation in the use of 2sg forms of address in 115 traditional Gaucho songs spanning five decades. Results from a logistic regression analysis in R, using random forests and conditional inference trees, suggest that subject, music subgenre, song theme, rhyme, and decade of the recording predict variation in our corpus. The present study contributes to the existing body of work on 2sg forms of address in Brazil (e.g. da Costa, 2013; da Silva, 2019), and illustrates how linguistic variation and local identity are intertwined in music.

*Keywords:* second person address, social variation, Brazilian Portuguese, regional dialect, regional music

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Music is one of the pillars of a social group's culture, and as such, it is intertwined with that group's identities and attitudes. Musical productions, particularly regional music, offer insight into the customs, culture, ideologies, and social relations of a group (Morigi & Bonotto, 2004, p. 148), and they represent a valuable type of discourse for linguists to explore, particularly sociolinguists.

Early sociolinguistic studies using lyrical corpora focused on phonological variation, such as Trudgill's (1997) investigation of British pop and rock artists' use of American English features. Recent studies have also made use of lyrics to explore lexical, syntactical, and morphological variation. For instance, Werner (2012) focused on lexico-grammar variation in American and British pop songs, and Moyna (2015) analyzed the variation of second person singular forms of address over a period of 50 years in Uruguayan songs. In Brazil, Amaral (2010) has looked at phonological clitics in religious songs, Generoso (2014) has analyzed imperative forms in a variety of popular songs addressing women, and Pontes and Brito (2000) have studied the use of *você* (distant 'you' singular) with the clitic *te* (prescribed as a familiar 'you' singular clitic). Traditional Gaúcho music in particular has only been used to explore the artists' lexical choices (Santin, 2014; Santos, 2017; Santos et al., 2019). However, to date, no sociolinguistic work has employed Gaúcho music to investigate second person singular (2sg) forms of address in *Gaúchos*, the dialect spoken by the people from Rio Grande do Sul state (also known as Gaúchos).

Consideration of the 2sg in song lyrics is of interest because Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP) exhibits considerable variation in its address system. Brazilian Portuguese grammars present the 2sg forms of address as follows: *tu* ('you'), *você* ('you') and *o senhor/a senhora* ('sir'/'madam'). *Tu* is followed by 2sg verb morphology (Cook, 2013), but *você* and *o senhor/a senhora* are followed by 3sg verb morphology (Teyssier, 1982). *Você* (derived from the reverence form *Vossa Mercê*, or 'Your Mercy') has come to replace *tu* in most of Brazil, with the exception of a few dialects (Faraco, 2017), such as *Gaúchos*. The 2sg address system in *Gaúchos* is characterized not only by the presence of *tu* (T-T), *você* (V-V) and *o senhor/a senhora* (Loregian-Penkall, 2004) but also by a hybrid form in which *tu* is followed by 3sg verb morphology (T-V) (Loregian, 1996), in part similarly to neighboring Uruguayan Spanish (Moyna & Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2018). The coexistence of these 2sg forms creates a complex system of addressing a

singular interlocutor that is said to depend on formality and social distance (Bolivar, 2007, 2008; Menon, 2000).

Building on the abovementioned work on forms of address in BP, and following the methodology and statistical model employed by Moyna (2019), the present study uses a corpus of 115 songs spanning six decades in order to determine what linguistic and extralinguistic factors may explain variation in the use of 2sg forms of address in traditional Gaucho music.

The rest of the study is organized as follows. [Chapter 2](#) discusses Gaucho identity and culture, and offers an overview of the origins and development of Gaucho music. [Chapter 3](#) describes the BP 2sg pronominal system, focusing on forms of address used in southern Brazil and, specifically, in the *Gauchês* dialect. Additionally, it reviews previous work that has employed lyrical corpora in order to investigate variation of 2sg forms of address. [Chapter 4](#) delineates the methodology used in this study, and also includes a short biography of each artist. [Chapter 5](#) presents the results of the distributional and statistical analyses. Results are discussed in [Chapter 6](#), followed by final conclusions and suggestions for further research.

## Chapter 2: Socio-Cultural Context

This chapter introduces the Gaucho origins, identity, and culture in order to contextualize the regional dialect investigated in this study. [Section 2.1.](#) describes the Gaucho identity and culture, followed by an introduction of Gaucho music in [Section 2.2.](#)

### 2.1. Gaucho Identity and Culture

The term Gaucho has its origins in the pastoral, cattle-ranching system of the Argentinian, Uruguayan, and southern Brazilian *pampas*, or grasslands. The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines Gaucho as “the nomadic and colourful horseman and cowhand (...), who flourished from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and has remained a folk hero”. Argentina, Uruguay, and Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state in Brazil (Map 1), have promoted the figure of the Gaucho to an icon for their national and regional identities (Bornholdt, 2010). This is particularly true in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, whose people are referred to as *Gaúchos*<sup>1</sup> and the variety of Brazilian Portuguese they speak as *Gauchês*.

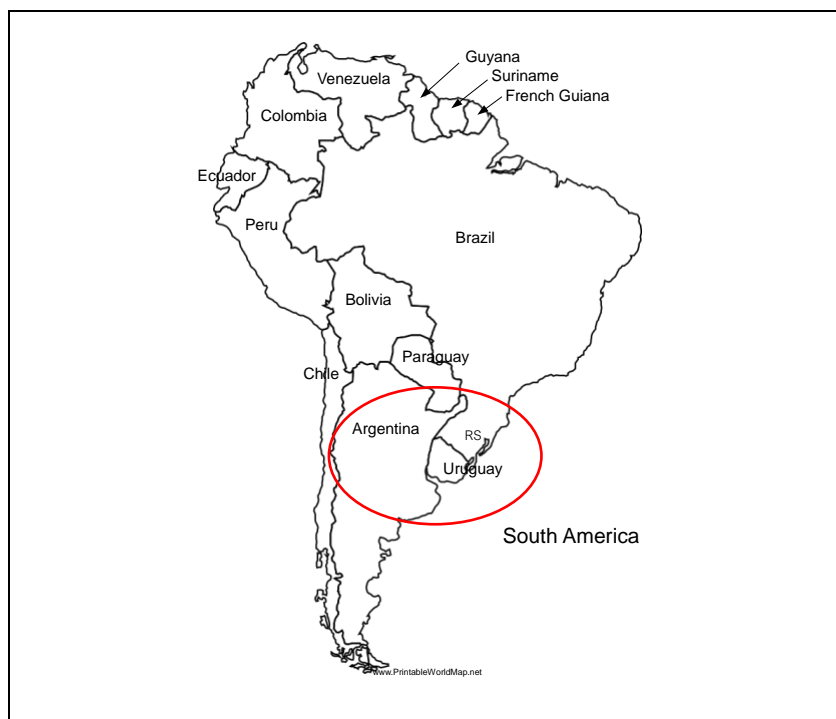
The identity and history of Argentina, Uruguay, and Rio Grande do Sul have been intertwined since colonization, when the Spanish and Portuguese empires fought for control over these territories (Lucas, 2000, p. 46) (Map 1). Originally inhabited by Indigenous peoples from the Charrua/Minuano, Guarani, and Kaingang tribes, the territory now known as Rio Grande do Sul was declared part of the Spanish Empire in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was incorporated to the Portuguese Empire in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘*Gaúcho*’ = Spanish and English term used to describe the South American cowboy.  
‘*Gaúcho*’ = Portuguese spelling.

## Map 1

*Map of South America Showing the Borders of Argentina, Uruguay, and Rio Grande do Sul*



*Note.* Retrieved and adapted from Printable World Map. Copyright © 2009-2020 by Savetz Publishing, Inc. [https://www.printableworldmap.net/preview/southamerica\\_labeled\\_p](https://www.printableworldmap.net/preview/southamerica_labeled_p).

Despite being one of the most industrialized areas of Brazil, with a significant urban middle-class population, the pastoral, cattle-ranching system of the pampas, established in the 1800s, has historically provided Rio Grande do Sul its cultural distinctiveness and its marker of a regional culture within Brazilian society (Lucas, 2000, p. 46). With the Portuguese Empire's heavy taxation on the *charqueadas* (production of beef jerky), which constituted the main economic activity in Rio Grande do Sul, a separatist movement broke out in the region, developing into a ten-year-long war known as *Revolução Farroupilha* ('Ragamuffin War') (1835-1845) (Bueno, 2017). This war became the turning point for the development of the regional identity based on the Gaucho hero, with Gaucho farmers fighting for Rio Grande do Sul's independence from Brazil. Although separatists lost the war due to the lack of support throughout the state, the movement created the myth of Gauchos being "against" the rest of the country, which fed local pride and identity (Bueno, 2017), primordial factors for the expansion of Gaucho culture.

Around the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, social clubs were created to promote the history and rural traditions of Rio Grande do Sul, turning the Gaucho into a mythical hero and symbol of the state (Lucas 2000, pp. 46–47). September 20<sup>th</sup>, the day that marks the beginning of the *Revolução Farroupilha*, has become a regional holiday in which people celebrate the local culture, parade and wear the traditional Gaucho attire. Even the lyrics of the Rio Grande do Sul anthem celebrate Gauchos’ deeds during the war, reinforcing the Gaucho identity and regional pride (Porto Alegre City Hall Official Website). In addition to having their own local culture, Gauchos also have their own dialect, known as the “Gaucho accent” or *Gauchês*, for which dictionaries even exist (Image 1). One of the main characteristics of this dialect is its complex system of 2sg forms of address, which will be discussed in section 3.3.

## Image 1

### *Gauchês Dictionary*



*Note.* Dictionary cover photo. *Dicionário Gaúcho Brasileiro* by B. Bossle, Artes e Ofícios, 2003. Retrieved from [https://arteseoficios.websiteseuro.com/loja/obras\\_det.php?id=35](https://arteseoficios.websiteseuro.com/loja/obras_det.php?id=35)

All these elements that compose the Gaucho identity and pride – their history, culture, dialect – can be found in their regional Gaucho music, which will be discussed next.

## 2.2. Gaucho Music

Gaucho music is believed to have been established around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century with the *payadas* (improvised verses accompanied by a guitar) by semi nomads that lived in the Argentinian, Uruguayan, and Rio Grande do Sul’s *pampas*. Musically influenced by Argentina and Uruguay, in addition to Indigenous and African cultures, and the Italian, German and

Portuguese immigration, the first recordings of Gaucho music are believed to be from 1911, when two recording companies (*Casa Hartlieb* and *Casa A Eléctrica*) were established in Porto Alegre (Cougo Junior, 2012, pp. 3-5).

Regional songs are considered “narratives that express ways of thinking, feelings, collective values and traditions of a social group in a specific time and place”, and singers and songwriters are thought of “mediators in the process of group identity maintenance” (Morigi & Bonotto, 2004, p. 147). And Gaucho music is no exception. Gaucho pride was reinforced and officialised in the 1940s with the creation of the *MTG - Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho* (‘Gaucho Traditionalist Movement’), which has become a recognized movement conceived to fortify and disseminate the Gaucho culture (MTG Official Website). One of the main goals of the Traditionalist Movement was to strengthen regional culture and identity in order to resist assimilation into the national Brazilian identity (Bornholdt, 2010, pp. 32–33). In addition to this external “threat” and the fear of “massification”, Traditionalists were also concerned about the inadequate misrepresentation of the Gaucho figure and culture by “bad traditionalists” (Oliven, 1987, p. 111).

The foundation of the first *CTG – Centro de Tradições Gaúchas* (‘Centre of Gaucho Traditions’) is considered another landmark for the Traditionalist Movement. Founded in the capital city of Porto Alegre in 1948 (MTG Official Website), the first Centre was created by students from the countryside who wanted to preserve their culture away from home. They proposed a strict system of rules and norms to determine the hierarchy of the *Centros*, based on ranch structures, and to define local dress codes and practices related to cuisine, dance, and music. Oliven points out that (1987, p. 111), “the traditionalist discourse revolves around the defense of “authentic” cultural values of Rio Grande do Sul. For the traditionalists it is essential to try to establish the “real” *gaúcho* values, hence the need of erecting themselves into the bastions of Rio Grande do Sul’s tradition”. Today, over 2,000 of these centres can be found around Brazil (1,500 of them in Rio Grande do Sul), and many others abroad in countries such as the USA, Japan, Portugal, Paraguay and Bolivia (Lucas, 2000, pp. 47–48). Among other cultural activities, they provide workshops on rural practices and traditional Gaucho dances (Lucas, 2000, pp. 47–48). Two of the founders of the original *Centro*, Barbosa Lessa and Paixão Côrtes, went on to become the main figures of the Traditionalist Movement.

As the precursors in the studies of Gaucho music and traditions, Traditionalist founders Paixão Côrtes and Barbosa Lessa assumed a role of mediators, delineating guidelines to maintain Gaucho music and dances authentic (Cougo Junior, 2012, p. 6). The cultural significance of Paixão Côrtes, whose music is explored in this thesis, was such that in 1958 he served as a model for The Lassoer statue in Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul (Image 2).

## Image 2

*1980 – Paixão Côrtes Posing in Front of The Lassoer Statue*



*Note.* Paixão Côrtes and The Lassoer. Retrieved from GZH, 2018.

<https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/cultura-e-lazer/artes/noticia/2018/08/tendo-paixao-cortes-como-modelo-estatua-do-lacador-foi-inaugurada-em-1958-cjlcldab604rw01qklparkih8.html>

Despite their efforts, however, Gaucho music has evolved in unpredictable ways. In the 1970s, Paixão Côrtes and Barbosa Lessa attempted to classify the diverse Gaucho musical productions in three subgenres, namely, traditionalism, nativism, and regionalism. Traditionalist music follows the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement’s guidelines and is considered to have a richer and more complex harmony (Cougo Junior, 2012, p. 9). Nativist music develops as a “newer” version of the traditionalist music, expanding the themes and sonorities of the songs and reaching out to a larger audience through the Gaucho music festivals (Alberti, 2008, p. 24). These festivals have now become a cultural movement of their own, witnessing thousands of people coming together, including the white urban middle-class population of the interior towns of Rio Grande do Sul, in order to celebrate Gaucho culture (Lucas, 2000). The regionalist subgenre was originally

perceived as less sophisticated, more suburban, and overall, not as faithful to the Gaucho culture as the other two subgenres. However, it became increasingly popular in the late 50s with the sudden success of a much criticized artist named Teixeira (Cougo Junior, 2012, p. 9), who sold over 2 million albums in Brazil and became one of the highest paid artists in the country. He disseminated Gaucho music nationwide and, alongside other musicians like Gildo de Freitas and José Mendes, created a boom for this music. In the early 70's, nearly every recording company in Brazil had a contract with a Gaucho music artist. This, alongside the increasing commercial success of regionalist music, did nothing but reinforce the rejection of Traditionalists, who found regionalist music tasteless and considered it an affront to the true Gaucho image (Cougo Junior, 2012, pp. 8–9). In response to the success of regionalist music, the highly popular music festival *Califórnia da Canção Nativa* ('California of the Native Song') was created as an attempt to renew the Gaucho music by moving it away from the regionalist style and establishing a more refined musical aesthetic.

This tripartite categorization has been a source of disagreements and disputes among Gaucho musicians (Cougo Junior, 2012, p. 4), leading to the use of the umbrella term *música regional gaúcha* ('regional Gaucho music') by some artists. Nonetheless, traditionalism, nativism, and regionalism are still considered the main subgenres of Gaucho music, and many artists make use of these terms to define their own work, including those whose lyrics constitute the analysis of the present study. It is important to notice, however, that the terms nativist and regionalist are often used interchangeably by some artists and the media, since they refer to Gaucho music as "native" to this region, or regional (as the umbrella term).

This chapter has discussed key concepts about Gaucho identity, culture, and music in order to introduce the context where *Gauchês* is spoken. The next chapter describes the 2sg forms of address in BP and *Gauchês*, and reviews relevant literature on the matter.

### Chapter 3: Literature Review

In order to understand variation in the use of 2sg forms of address in *Gauchês*, this chapter first presents a historical overview of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) 2sg forms of address ([Section 3.1.](#)). [Section 3.2.](#) presents the current regional distribution of these forms and a review of previous sociolinguistic studies on 2sg forms of address in the dialects spoken in the southern region of Brazil. [Section 3.3.](#) discusses sociolinguistic studies that focus on these forms in *Gauchês* and [Section 3.4.](#) reviews previous studies on 2sg address variation in songs.

#### 3.1. Second-person Singular Forms of Address in Brazilian Portuguese: An Overview

In addition to several formal titles for addressing a singular addressee, the Portuguese language brought to Brazil in the 16<sup>th</sup> century also made use of two second person pronominal forms of address: *tu* ('you' singular) and *vós* ('you' plural). *Tu* was used to express familiarity and proximity, but also social power (when a speaker addressed someone considered inferior). Besides indicating plurality, *vós* was also used as a 2sg address form to denote politeness, reverence, and inferiority (when a speaker addressed someone considered superior to them) (Table 1). Each pronoun was followed by its own verbal inflection, as seen in examples 1-3 (adapted from Cook, 2013, p. 269).

**Table 1**

*Portuguese Second-Person Subject Distribution in the 16th Century*

The use of the Pronouns TU and VÓS during the Sixteenth Century in Portugal					
TU	<b>Proximity</b> (used with persons of the same social level)	<b>Intimacy</b> (used by lovers, but not married couples)	<b>Family</b> (used to show affection between mother and children)	<b>Superiority</b> (used by a superior in addressing an inferior)	<b>Insults</b> (used to devalue the person spoken to)
VÓS	<b>Plurality</b> (used to address more than one person)	<b>Intimacy</b> (used by married couples as a sign of social change)	<b>Politeness</b> (used to mark the superior status of another or to ask a favor to another)	<b>Inferiority</b> (used by an inferior while addressing a superior)	<b>Reverence</b> (used to address God or a saint)

*Note.* Retrieved from "Sociolinguistic aspects of forms of address in Portugal and Brasil: TU or VOCÊ", by A. C. Thomé-Williams, 2004, *Intercultural Communication Studies XIII*, 3(2004), 86.

- (1) *Tu*                    *falas*  
 you.NOM.2SG    speak-2SG.IND.PRS  
 ‘You (singular) speak.’
- (2) *Vós*                    *falais*  
 you.NOM.2PL    speak-2PL.IND.PRS  
 ‘You (plural) speak.’
- (3) *Vós*                    *falais*                    *com*    *sabedoria*  
 you.NOM.2SG    speak-2SG.IND.PRS    with    wisdom  
 ‘You (singular) speak wisely.’ (e.g. addressing the king)

Titles for polite and respectful address originated around the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Some examples include *Vossa Graça* (‘Your Grace’), *Vossa Excelência* (‘Your Honor’), and *Vossa Mercê* (‘Your Mercy’). Being noun phrases, these forms were followed by third person singular verb morphology (3sg). Over time, phonetic erosion and semantic bleaching changed the form and formality of *Vossa Mercê* into the informal and familiar *você* (Teyssier, 1982, p. 60), although the noun phrase in its original form can still be found nowadays in highly formal written documents in BP. But the informal and familiar use of *você* in Brazil does not emerge until the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lopes, 2008, pp. 1–2). Up until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *você* was a prestige form used only by the elite to address each other in Brazil, while in Portugal *você* carried a negative connotation and was used mainly in asymmetrical relationships when “superiors” addressed “inferiors” (Lopes, 2008, pp. 1–2). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although the informal and familiar *você* was already in use in Brazil, *tu* was still the preferred familiar 2sg address form; however, throughout the 1920s and 1930s *você* replaced *tu* as the informal and familiar form in many Brazilian regions (Lopes, 2008, pp. 1–2). In Portugal, however, *você* continues to be used to show distance with addressees of the same or lower social status as the speaker (Cook, 2013).

Nowadays, there is still some debate on whether to call *você* a pronoun or a nominal address form. Some traditional prescriptive BP grammars, in addition to titles and reverence forms (e.g. *Vossa Mercê*), describe the second-person address forms as having two personal pronouns

(*tu*, *vós*) and what they refer to nominal address forms (*você*, *vocês*) (Table 2). However, in oral BP, while *você* and *tu* share their familiar and informal semanticity, *vocês* has come to substitute *vós* as the second person plural form (that is, *vocês* is the plural equivalent for both *você* and *tu*) (Cook, 2013). Since *você* and *tu* are both used for informal/familiar address, the forms *o senhor* (sir/gentleman) and *a senhora* (madam/ma'am/lady) are used for formal/distant interactions (cf. examples 4 and 5 adapted from Cook, 2013, p. 271).

**Table 2**

*Traditional Grammar Second-Person Personal Pronouns and Nominal Address Forms*

Personal Pronouns	Nominal Address Forms
<i>tu</i> (you sg.)	<i>você</i> (you sg.)
<i>vós</i> (you pl.)	<i>vocês</i> (you pl.)
	<i>o senhor/a senhora</i> (sir/madam sg.)
	<i>os senhores/as senhoras</i> (sir/madam pl.)

*Note.* Adapted from *Moderna Gramática Portuguesa*, by E. Bechara, 2009, pp. 139-140, Nova Fronteira.

- (4) *O senhor fala Inglês?*  
 The sir speak-3SG.IND.PRS English  
 ‘Do you speak English, sir?’ or ‘Does the gentleman speak English?’

- (5) *Os senhores falam Inglês?*  
 The sirs speak-3PL.IND.PRS English  
 ‘Do you (plural) speak English, sirs?’ or ‘Do the gentlemen speak English?’

However, the use of these singular informal forms is not homogeneous throughout Brazil. While *você* has become the most common informal form of address throughout the country, *tu* is

still retained in some regional dialects in southern and northern Brazil (Faraco, 2017; Teyssier, 1982) and in certain areas of Rio de Janeiro and the coastal area of São Paulo (Cook, 2013, p. 280).

In order to account for the current use of BP forms of address, newer BP grammars have started classifying *você* as a pronoun (e.g. Castilho, 2016). Also, a distinction has been proposed between “*Formal*” BP forms, used in written and/or formal contexts, and “*Informal*” BP forms, used in spoken and/or informal contexts (Castilho, 2016). This distribution, displayed in Table 3, suggests that *tu* and *você* may be used interchangeably. However, research shows that this is not the case. As mentioned above, although *você* is considered the most standard form and entails proximity (Lopes et al., 2016), *tu* dialects reserve this pronoun, rather than *você*, for informal/familiar addressees. This creates a more complex address system in which *você* is used for neutrality. Thus, used when there is a certain distance between speaker and addressee (higher distance than the familiarity/low proximity of *tu*) but also a lower level of distance/formality than *o senhor/a senhora* (Castilho, 2016, p. 193).

**Table 3**

*Formal and Informal BP Second-Person Forms of Address*

	<b>Formal BP</b>	<b>Informal BP</b>
<b>Singular</b>	<i>tu</i> <i>você</i> <i>o senhor</i> <i>a senhora</i>	<i>tu</i> <i>você (or ocê)</i>
<b>Plural</b>	<i>vós</i> <i>os senhores</i> <i>as senhoras</i>	<i>vocês (or ocês/cês)</i>

*Note.* Adapted from *Gramática do português brasileiro*, by A. T. Castilho, 2016, p. 477, Contexto.

Additionally, when we consider the combination of pronoun and verb, besides the prescriptive and etymological use of *tu* with the 2sg verb morphology (T-T) and the use of *você* with the 3sg verb morphology, *tu* dialects can have a hybrid address form (T-V) in which *tu* (T) is used with the 3sg (V) verbal morphology, instead of the prescriptive 2sg (T) verb morphology

(Cook, 2013) (cf. examples 6-9, adapted from Cook, 2013, p. 269, 280). Despite the fact that T-V is the most frequently used form in some *tu* dialects (Map 3), it is still considered a colloquial non-standard form (Silva, 2012, p. 104) when compared to the prescriptive T-T.

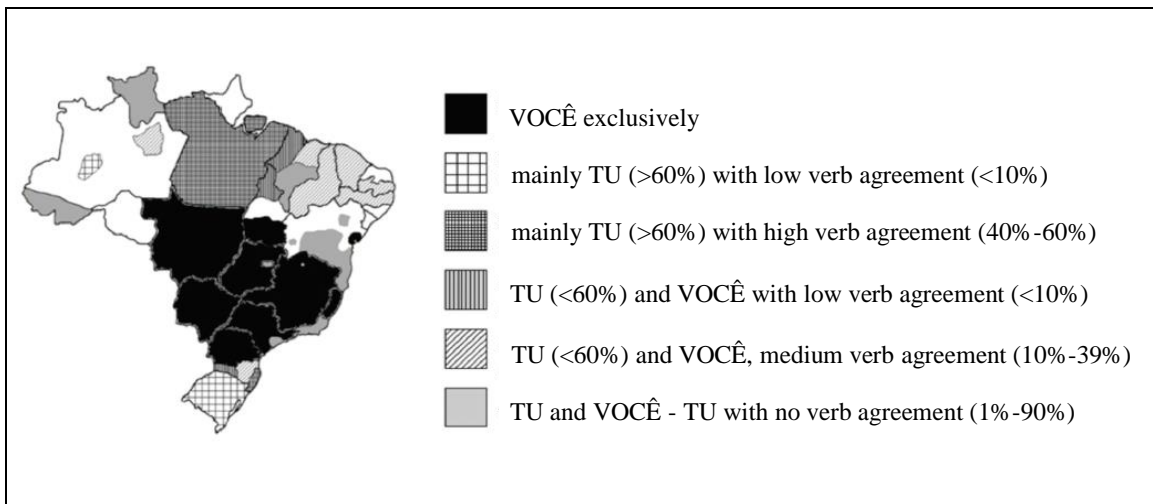
- (6) *Tu*                      *falas*  
 you.NOM.2SG      **speak-2SG.IND.PRS**  
 ‘You (singular) speak.’ (prescriptive / etymological)      (T-T)
- (7) *Tu*                      *fala*  
 you.NOM.2SG      **speak-3SG.IND.PRS**  
 ‘You (singular) speak.’ (informal / familiar)      (T-V)
- (8) *Você*                      *fala*  
 you.NOM.2SG      **speak-3SG.IND.PRS**  
 ‘You (singular) speak.’ (less informal)      (V-V)
- (9) *O senhor / a senhora*      *fala*  
 The sir / the madam      **speak-3SG.IND.PRS**  
 ‘You (sir / madam singular) speak.’ (formal)      (S-V)

### 3.2. *Tu/Você* Variation in Southern Brazilian Portuguese

Map 2 (Scherre et al., 2015, p. 142) shows the distribution of *tu* and *você* across Brazil. As we can gather from this map, Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state in Brazil (Map 3), represents the largest area where *tu* is followed by 3sg verb morphology (T-V or hybrid form) and where this form is used more frequently than *você* (V-V). On this map, the degrees of verb agreement refer to how frequently *tu* and *você* are being used with their corresponding etymological verb morphology. Hence, high verb agreement means a higher use of T-T, low verb agreement means a higher use of T-V, and no verb agreement means an exclusive use of T-V.

## Map 2

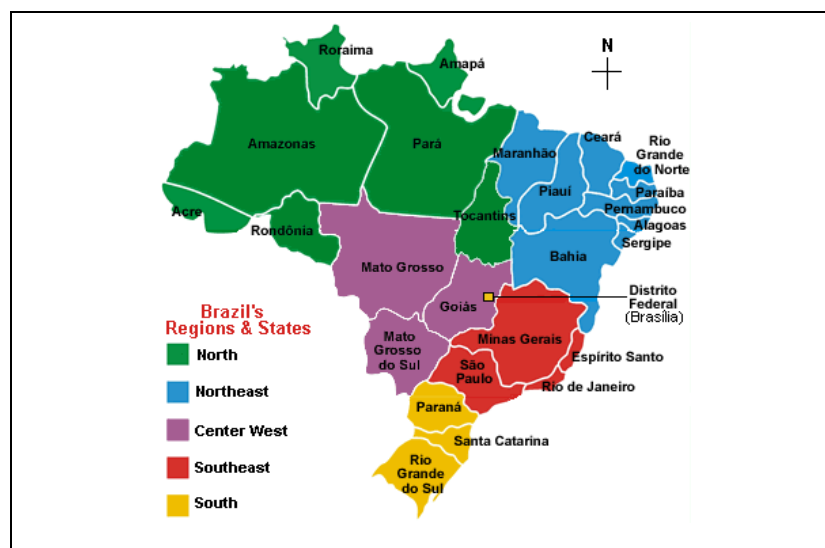
### *Distribution of Você and Tu in Brazil*



*Note.* Retrieved and adapted from “Variação dos pronomes “tu” e “você” by M. M. P. Scherre et al., in *Mapeamento sociolinguístico do português brasileiro* (2015) by M. A. Martins; J. Abraçado. Contexto.

## Map 3

### *Brazil's Macroregions and States*



*Note.* Retrieved from *Brazilian States, Abbreviations & Information*. [https://brazil-help.com/brazilian\\_states.htm](https://brazil-help.com/brazilian_states.htm)

Early studies of variation in the 2sg forms of address in Southern BP focus on the use of T-T, T-V, and V-V in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná (Map 3). These studies, led by Loregian-Penkan, investigate whether there is a change in progress by which *você* is replacing *tu* (e.g. Franceschini & Loregian-Penkal, 2015; Loregian-Penkal, 2004; Menon & Loregian-Penkal, 2002; Loregian, 1996). These studies will be described next.

In her 1996 study, Loregian investigated the use of the of T-T and T-V in the southern capitals of Florianópolis (Santa Catarina) and Porto Alegre (Rio Grande do Sul) using data from the VARSUL Project<sup>2</sup>, a Southern Brazilian variationist data base. Florianópolis speakers showed higher verb morphology variation following *tu* (T-T / T-V) and some variation in their use of *tu* and *você*, while Porto Alegre speakers used *tu* almost exclusively and mainly followed by the 3sg verb morphology (T-V). Loregian then added more data from Florianópolis as well as a corpus previously collected in the town of Ribeirão da Ilha (Santa Catarina). She found that whenever speakers had previously used T-T in their discourse, they would be more likely to use it later again (parallelism) (pp. 41-47). She also found that the 2sg verb morphology was used more often with indicative mood (p. 70), and in pro-drop constructions (0-T) (pp. 51-55). Infinitive mood (p. 70) and the explicit use of *tu* favoured the use of the 3sg verb morphology (T-V) (p. 52). Loregian also found that interviewees were more likely to use T-T with their interviewers, while T-V was more frequently used in phatic communication (pp. 57-59). The stress and number of syllables of verbs were also found to account for part of the variation, with oxytone (words with final stress) and polysyllabic verbs showing higher 2sg morphology (pp. 79-85). Loregian also found that speakers from Ribeirão da Ilha used the 2sg verb morphology more often than those from Florianópolis, who showed higher variation between 2sg and 3sg, and also more than those from Porto Alegre, who used T-V almost exclusively (pp. 92-94). She also found that the higher the educational level, the more frequent the use of 2sg verb morphology, and that those participants over 50 used the 2sg verb morphology more often than those under 50 (pp. 102-107).

Menon and Loregian-Penkal (2002) revisited the VARSUL Project to further investigate the use of *tu* and *você* in the southern region. The authors focused on two capitals, Florianópolis (Santa Catarina) and Porto Alegre (Rio Grande do Sul), and one provincial city, Lages (Santa

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<sup>2</sup> VARSUL - *Variação Linguística na Região Sul do Brasil*. Or ‘Linguistic Variation in Southern Brazil’ Project. <http://www.varsul.org.br/>

Catarina). After an initial distributional analysis, the two capitals appeared to be the areas with higher uses of *tu* than *você*, while the city of Lages appeared to be the area with higher uses of *você* than *tu* (pp. 163-164).

The first round of statistical analyses focused on Florianópolis and Porto Alegre. The authors found that females used *tu* more than males, and that pronoun drop favours the use of the 2sg verb morphology (as in Loregian 1996). They also found that speakers from Porto Alegre used *tu* more often than those from Florianópolis, that speakers with a higher level of formal education used *tu* more often than *você*, and that the presence of discourse markers favoured the use of *tu* (pp. 168-170). A second round of analysis focusing on speakers who used both *tu* and *você* showed that reported speech was also a determining factor in the use of *tu*. However, speakers showed different patterns according to location, with those in Porto Alegre using *tu* when reporting their own speech and that of others, and those in Florianópolis using *tu* more often only when reporting the speech of others. Menon and Loregian-Penkak argue that Gauchos have a stronger connection to the pronoun *tu*, which leads them to use *tu* more often than *você* when referring to their own speech (p. 174).

Finally, T-T was the focus of Menon and Loregian-Penkak's last round of analyses. Although social factors were relevant for *tu/você* variation, they did not seem as relevant for the use of 2sg verb morphology with *tu* (p. 181). The authors found that the main factors for the use of T-T were parallelism, pronoun-drop, region, verb tense/mood, and type of discourse (reporting own speech and addressing the interviewer) (p. 180). A final look at the two capitals individually showed that tonicity, education level, and gender were relevant factors in Florianópolis, while tonicity, phonological context, and gender were relevant in Porto Alegre. This research is further expanded in Loregian-Penkak (2004), described next.

Loregian-Penkak (2004) reanalyzed the data from Loregian (1996) and Menon and Loregian-Penkak (2002). In addition to looking into *tu/você* variation, she focused on the verb morphology used with *tu*, and considered linguistic factors (type of discourse – speaker and addressee interaction, pronoun-drop, pronoun alternation, verb tense/mood, and parallelism) and social factors (region, age, and educational level) (pp. 86-105). Analysis on *tu/você* variation showed similar results to those presented in Loregian (1996) and Menon and Loregian-Penkak (2002). For the second dependent variable, *tu* verb morphology, she found that T-T was used more frequently in Ribeirão da Ilha and Florianópolis, and T-V in the four cities in Rio Grande do Sul

and the city of Chapecó (p. 224). In the cities from Rio Grande do Sul state, older speakers tended to use T-T more often and younger speakers tended to use T-V (p. 224). Gender was a relevant factor only in Porto Alegre, where men used T-T more often than women. Interestingly, when verb morphology was not included in the analysis, results showed that women used *tu* more than men, but when analyzing verb morphology, the T-T form was used more often by men, while women preferred T-V (pp. 225-226).

Finally Franceschini and Loregian-Penkal (2015) reanalyzed data from Loregian-Penkal (2004) and Franceschini (2011) to investigate the role of speaker gender, age and educational level in *tu/você* variation in Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. They found that *tu* is preferred by females from older age groups and lower educational level, while younger women with higher level of education show a higher use of *você*, similarly to the linguistic behaviour found in males (p. 202). Unfortunately, Franceschini and Loregian-Penkal (2015) do not provide information on verb morphology, which prevents us from learning further about the influence of gender on form of address variation that includes T-V, the most frequent form used by Gauchos (Loregian, 1996).

### 3.3. *Tu/Você* Variation in *Gauchês*

The T-V form, frequently used in the *Gauchês* dialect, is also a defining feature of the Spanish spoken in neighboring Uruguay, where *tú* is used with *vos* verb morphology (T-V) (Weyers, 2009). Although there is sociolinguistic work on forms of address in Uruguay, and in various parts of Brazil (e.g. Alves, 2015; da Costa, 2013; da Rocha, 2015; da Silva Costa, 2016; da Silva, 2019; Lopes et al., 2016), work exclusively on *Gauchês* forms of address is scarce. Previous variationist linguistic studies on *Gauchês* have focused on phonological features (Battisti & Oliveira, 2016), verb tense, verb morphology, and placement (Cardoso, 2007; Soares, 2010; Zilles, 2000), and lexical variation (Simioni & Cavalcante, 2018). To my knowledge, only a small number of studies have been published on this matter, namely those of Menon (2000), Bolivar (2007), a master's thesis by Bolivar (2008) and a doctoral dissertation by Amaral (2003).

Menon (2000) analyzed *tu/você* variation, as well as verb morphology following *tu* (2sg or 3sg), using the BP translation of the American novel 'The Grapes of Wrath' (*Vinhas da Ira*). The adoption of *Gauchês* for this translation relates to the fact that the original version uses English 'slang' from Oklahoma, so using *tu* (and specially the hybrid) in the BP version gives it a "dialectal flavour" (Pádua, 1942 cited in Menon 2000, p. 148). Data were collected from dialogues and

analyzed using Varbrul according to the following variables: presence/absence of pronoun *tu*, person/pronoun (*tu*, *você*, *nos*<sup>3</sup>, *o senhor*), parallelism, sentence type and discourse type, and verb tense/mood (p. 151). Overall, Menon found that *tu* was the most used address form, and that it was used more often with 2sg verb morphology. Imperative structures were the most likely to display 2sg verb morphology, as well as speech occurrences coded as ‘formal speech’ (e.g., formal or solemn speech, references to the Bible, advice), and questions, orders and statements. Similarly to previous work (Loregian, 1996; Loregian-Penkak, 2004; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), the absence of pronoun increased the likelihood of 2sg verb morphology; however, parallelism did not play a role in explaining variation in Menon (pp. 153-157). Finally, although both *você* and *o senhor* appear in the dialogues, they do so to a much lesser extent than *tu*. Menon points to an apparent gradual change in the proximity and formality between characters when they make use of *tu*, *você*, or *o senhor*. For instance, earlier in the book an interaction between a man and a priest crossing paths in the street shows the man addressing the priest as “*o senhor*” and the priest addressing the man as “*você*”. However, later in the book, we find the same man addressing the priest as “*você*” and the priest addressing the man as “*tu*”. This change in pronoun use shows that, although they already know each other, there is still some social distance between the two of them (the priest still enjoys a higher social position) (pp. 152-158).

In his dissertation, Amaral (2003) analyzed T-T and T-V variation in the city of Pelotas, near the Brazil-Uruguay border, using data from 90 sociolinguistic interviews. Participants were stratified by gender (female/male), social class (low, middle, and upper-middle), and age (16-25, 26-49, and over 50). Amaral’s variationist analysis shows that pronoun-drop increases the likelihood of using 2sg verb morphology (0-T) (p. 122) (similarly to Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), and so do 2sg verb forms ending in *-ste* or its variant *-sse* (vs. *-es*, and *-s*) (pp. 125-126). He also found that when addressing the interviewer and reporting the speech of others (who are in asymmetrical relationships with the speaker), the 2sg verb morphology was used more frequently (pp. 127-128) (as seen in Loregian, 1996; and Loregian-Penkak, 2004). Finally, this tendency was also found when speakers used interrogative sentences (p. 129) (as in Menon, 2000). As for social variables, participants who were older than 50 used the T-T form more frequently (pp. 130-132), as well as those of upper-middle class background (pp. 132-137). Both female and male speakers

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<sup>3</sup> Although ‘*nos*’ refers to the first person singular (clitic pronoun form), Menon (2000) found occurrences of this form with the 2sg verb morphology (p. 151).

used the T-V form more often than T-T and at similar rates (females = 90%, males = 95%), although females used the T-T form twice as often as males (pp. 144-146), contradicting Loregian-Penkál's (2004) finding that females used T-V more than males, and that males used T-T more often than females.

Bolívar (2007) gathered data from television shows produced and broadcast exclusively in Rio Grande do Sul to investigate *tu/você* variation by TV presenters (verb morphology was not included in the investigation). He found that presenters used *você* when addressing the viewers, and *tu* for every other interaction (p. 509). Female presenters used *você* more frequently than male presenters (p. 509), contradicting the findings of Menon and Loregian-Penkál (2002) and Loregian-Penkál (2004). Bolívar argues that *você* carries an intermediate level of formality and/or distance between the informality of *tu* and the formality of *o senhor/a senhora* (p. 511), agreeing with previous observations made by Menon (2000).

In a different study, Bolívar (2008) investigated the use of *você* by male and female salespeople from three commercial areas of Porto Alegre representing different socio-economical groups (an 'elite' mall, a 'working class' mall, and 'popular' street shops located downtown) (pp. 41-47). Since *você* is the most frequently used 2sg form around Brazil, which according to the author makes it the standard and more prestigious form in the country, he wanted to find out whether this form is replacing *tu* in the Gaucho capital. As the nature of the study was anonymous (the author pretended to be a client) (pp. 50-52), other factors like age or education level were not included in the study. Data came from a total of 120 interactions (60 with male and 60 with female salespeople) (p. 47). In all locations *tu* was used more often than *você*, with the highest rates of *tu* being found in the commercial area representing the lower social class. In interactions where the salesperson used both *você* and *tu*, *você* was always used first at the beginning of the interaction (p. 67), leading Bolívar to suggest that in Rio Grande do Sul *você* represents a more formal and/or distant relationship between speaker and listener than *tu*, but less formal and/or distant than *o senhor / a senhora* (p. 85), which supports findings from previous studies (Bolívar, 2007; Menon, 2000). Bolívar also found that females used *você* more frequently than males in the three commercial areas (pp. 58-59), which once again contradicts Loregian-Penkál's findings (2004). Finally, although Bolívar does not look at verb morphology, the transcriptions (pp. 69-82) provided in his paper show that 48 of the 49 occurrences are of T-V, demonstrating the extensive use of this form in Rio Grande do Sul.

In sum, a few studies (Bolivar, 2007, 2008; Menon, 2000) suggest that the coexistence of *tu*, *você*, and *tu* verb morphology variation creates a complex system of addressing a singular interlocutor in *Gauchês*. The variation between these forms seems to be influenced mainly by pronoun drop (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), type of discourse (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996; Menon, 2000; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), asymmetrical relationships between speakers (Amaral, 2003; Bolivar, 2007; Menon, 2000; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), educational level (Franceschini and Loregian-Penkak, 2015; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), gender (Amaral, 2003; Bolivar, 2007; Franceschini & Loregian-Penkak, 2015; Loregian-Penkak, 2004; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), and age (Amaral, 2003; Bolivar, 2007; Franceschini & Loregian-Penkak, 2015; Loregian-Penkak, 2004). Although results from these studies are sometimes contradictory, one thing they agree on is that the T-V form is the preferred form of address in Rio Grande do Sul.

### 3.4. Second-person Singular Forms of Address Variation in Songs

The work undertaken by Pontes and Brito (2000) and Moyna (2015) are particularly relevant to this study, as both have used song lyrics to study variation in forms of address.

Pontes and Brito (2000) give us insights into the influence of music genre on language variation in BP. In order to investigate the use of *você* with the 2sg clitic *te* (which prescriptive grammars indicate should be used with *tu*), the authors analyzed 300 tokens from MPB ('Brazilian Popular Music'), Rock, and *Sertanejo* (a type of Brazilian country music) songs. According to Pontes and Brito, because these are considered to be 'popular music' genres, their lyrics would be an accurate representation of spoken BP (p. 157). Their multiple regression analysis using Varbrul showed that *você* is more likely to be combined with *te* in the absence of verb-object pronoun agreement (e.g., 0-T address combined with '*sua*', a 3sg possessive adjective used with *você*, in the same song) (p. 158), in lyrics from the *Sertanejo* genre, and in sentences where transitive verbs follow the sequence 'conjugated verb + nominal form of a verb' (e.g. "*vai TE encontrar*" 'he/she is going to find you') (pp. 170-172).

Moyna (2015) focused on *voseo/tuteo* variation over time, exploring the lyrics of ten prolific Uruguayan singer-songwriters from varied genres. The corpus was comprised by tokens collected from around thirty songs recorded by each artist throughout a fifty-year span. A qualitative analysis, followed by a descriptive quantitative analysis, showed that the use of verbs

and pronouns in lyrics represented local speech very closely. However, some pronoun-verb combinations found in the data did not follow the local norm, possibly for influence of artistic factors, according to the author. Besides finding evidence of language change over time, the author adds that language change seems to be “motivated by specific constraints posed by the ambiguous status of lyrics as oral/written discourse, by genre, by theme, and by the formal requirements on lyrics” (pp. 21–22).

In this chapter, BP 2sg forms of address were presented, followed by a literature review on 2sg forms of address in the dialects spoken in the southern region of Brazil. Finally, results from sociolinguistic studies on *Gauchês* were discussed, as well as results from previous studies on 2sg address variation in songs. In the next chapter, the methodology used in this study is presented, including descriptions of data collection and statistical analysis.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

A quantitative analysis was conducted using 115 songs recorded by six Gaucho singers/composers born in Rio Grande do Sul and representing the 60s-70s, the 80s-90s, and the 2000s. This chapter describes the methodology employed for collecting and analyzing these data. [Section 4.1.](#) details the selection of artists and songs, followed by the artists' biographies in [Section 4.2.](#) [Section 4.3.](#) describes how the data were coded and finally, [Section 4.4.](#) presents the data analysis methods selected for this study.

### 4.1. Artist and Song Selection

The selection of artists started with a compilation of the names of eighty-five (85) Gaucho solo artists and groups considered relevant in the industry. This first compilation was done by reading online news articles on Gaucho music festivals and competitions, as well as published studies on this music genre and its history. Moreover, conversations with this author's friends and family members who live in Rio Grande do Sul were invaluable. Next, the list was narrowed down to 20 artists by including only solo artists who 1) were born in Rio Grande do Sul; 2) were singers and songwriters; 3) had a prolific career/large number of albums recorded; 4) had songs and lyrics available online; 5) self-identified as a Traditionalist, Regionalist and/or Nativist; and 6) had recorded albums in at least one of the periods selected for this study (60s-70s, 80s-90s, 2000s)<sup>4</sup>.

The next criterion to further narrow down the list was to find a minimum of twenty songs per artist that contained at least one 2sg form of address. In order to find these songs, first I created a list of all the twenty artists' albums and songs. Next, I looked up the lyrics online and saved those presenting 2sg forms. The main sources of information on albums, dates, songs, and lyrics were the websites *Música Tradicionalista* ('Traditionalist Music' – [musicatradicionalista.com.br](http://musicatradicionalista.com.br)), *Letras* ('Lyrics' – [letras.com](http://letras.com)), and *Instituto Memória Musical Brasileira* ('Brazilian Musical Memory Institute' – [Immub.org](http://Immub.org)). When available, I also used the artists' official websites and Wikipedia pages. Then, I listened to the songs (mostly on YouTube) for accuracy. When the song did not match the lyrics found in terms of their 2sg forms, I looked for other songs by the same artist that did contain these forms. If I could not find at least 20 songs containing 2sg address forms

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<sup>4</sup> Having a balanced number of male and female artists was one of the goals when compiling the data. However, the lack of material available online about female artists, and the low number of songs containing 2sg address meant that female artists were excluded from the sample.

in an artist's repertoire, he was excluded from the corpus. Using this method for finding songs from the 2000s was a challenge, since musicians from this period have not released a large number of songs yet. Consequently, an exception to this rule had to be made for Pirisca Grecco, for whom only 15 songs, instead of 20, could be found.

Table 4 shows the six artists selected for this study, their lifespan, the period in which their albums were recorded, the number of songs selected, and their Gaucho music genre (or subgenre). The decades these artists represent are indicated next to the number of songs selected. Only albums/songs from those decades were included in the corpus. After the table, a brief biography of each of the artists will be presented.

**Table 4**

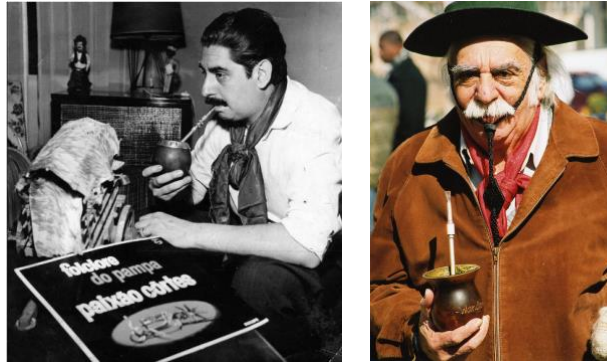
*Artists Selected for this Study*<sup>5</sup>

Artists	Lifespan	Recording career	Songs/Decade Selected	Genre
Paixão Côrtes	1927-2018	1962-1989	20 (60s-70s)	Traditionalist
Teixeirinha	1927-1985	1959-1985	20 (60s-70s)	Regionalist
Jayme Caetano Braun	1924-1999	1983-1998	20 (80s-90s)	Traditionalist
Leonardo	1938-2010	1981-2004	20 (80s-90s)	Regionalist/Nativist
Jairo Lambari Fernandes	1967-	2002-2011	20 (2000s)	Traditionalist
Pirisca Grecco	1971-	2001-2014	15 (2000s)	Regionalist/Nativist

#### 4.2. Artists

**Paixão Côrtes** (1927-2018). Born in 1927 in the small city of Santana do Livramento, located near the Brazilian-Uruguayan border, Paixão Côrtes (Images 3 and 4) was one of the founders and main figures of the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement and the Centres of Gaucho Traditions. A folklorist, songwriter, radio broadcaster, writer, and researcher of the Gaucho culture and traditions, Paixão Côrtes is considered a key figure of Rio Grande do Sul's history and development. He recorded 9 albums and over 50 songs between the 60s and 80s (Portal das Missões; Wikipedia).

<sup>5</sup> Sources: Música Tradicionalista; Fundação Teixeira; Cassal (2011); Chagas (2015); Portal das Missões; Wikipedia.

**Image 3 / Image 4***Paixão Côrtes*

*Note.* In front of his album *Folclore do Pampa* (left). Retrieved from Estância Virtual (2017). <https://bit.ly/3mNdHAN>; Drinking mate (right). Retrieved from Wikipedia Commons (2007). <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paixao002-1.jpg>

**Teixeirinha** (1927-1985). Born in the small town of Rolante, the legendary Regionalist (Images 5 and 6) achieved great fame in Rio Grande do Sul and all over Brazil with his first album in 1959. He also worked as a radio broadcaster for 20 years and started his own film production company in 1970, where he wrote, produced, and distributed ten movies, alongside his artistic partner Mary Terezinha. Despite being criticized for his “popular” style by Traditionalists, Teixeirinha recorded 49 albums and over 750 songs between 1959 and 1985 (Fundação Teixeirinha), becoming one of the most famous musicians in the history of Gaucho music.

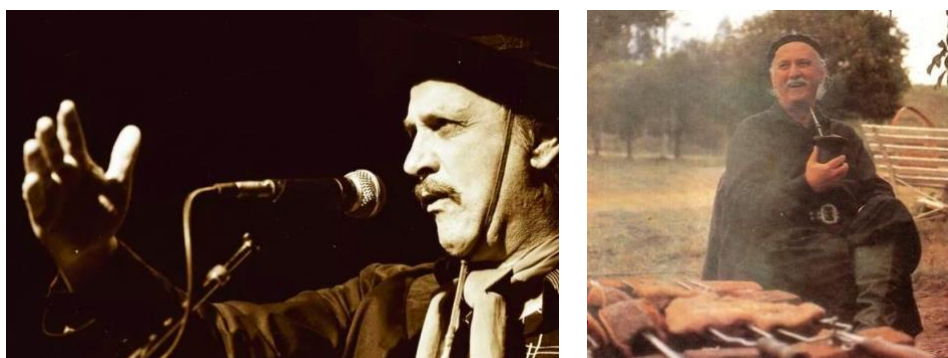
**Image 5 / Image 6***Teixeirinha*

*Note.* Holding his guitar (left). Retrieved from Last.fm (n.d.). <https://bit.ly/2KVhPBi>; Drinking mate (right). Retrieved from Last.fm (n.d.). <https://bit.ly/3aD55dz>

**Jayme Caetano Braun** (1924-1998). Born in the small town of Bossoroca, Jayme Caetano Braun (Images 7 and 8) is one of the most popular traditionalist figures. Besides being a writer, a singer, and a poet, he worked as a radio broadcaster and a civil servant. He was best known for being a *payador* (“a Gaucho minstrel”, according to the Collins Dictionary), that is, an improviser who sings and/or recites his poems accompanied by an acoustic guitar. Jayme Caetano Braun recorded 6 albums and over 60 songs between 1983 and 1994 (Página do Gaúcho).

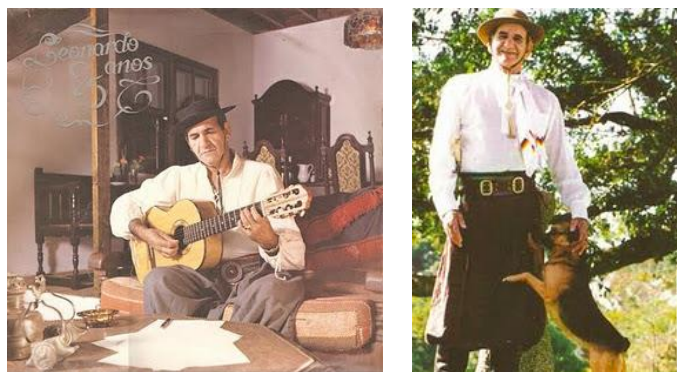
### Image 7 / Image 8

*Jayme Caetano Braun*



*Note.* Singing (left). Retrieved from Letras (n.d.). <https://bit.ly/38vC5Sq>; Drinking mate (right). Retrieved from Letrasweb (n.d.). <https://letrasweb.com.br/jayme-caetano-braun/>

**Leonardo** (1938- 2010). Born in the Brazilian-Uruguayan border city of Bagé, Leonardo (Images 9 and 10) started his music career in the 60s as a member of the Gaucho band *Os Três Xirus*, with whom he recorded 12 albums. In the 70s, he became a music producer, helping launch the careers of now famous Gaucho artists. A decorated Regionalist/Nativist songwriter, his song ‘*Céu, Sol, Sul, Terra e Cor*’ (‘Sky, Sun, South, Land and Colour’) became a popular anthem for Rio Grande do Sul. As a solo artist, he recorded over 10 albums and more than 100 songs between 1981 and the early 2000s (Música Tradicionalista; Internet Archive).

**Image 9 / Image 10***Leonardo*

*Note.* Playing the guitar (left) and posing with dog (right). Retrieved from Música Tradicionalista (n.d.). <https://musicatradicionalista.com.br/artista/90/leonardo.html>

**Jairo Lambari Fernandes** (1967-). Born in the small town of Cacequi, Jairo Lambari Fernandes (Images 11 and 12) started his music career performing in nativist festivals and has received several local awards for his compositions and performance. He has recorded three albums and over 40 songs between 2002 and 2011, with some of his songs also being recorded by other Gaucho and national artists. Defined as a Traditionalist (Chagas, 2015) who sings about the Gaucho farm life, Jairo's trademark is the romanticism of the rural man (Jairo Lambari Fernandes Facebook page; Música Tradicionalista; Chagas, 2015).

**Image 11 / Image 12***Jairo Lambari Fernandes*

*Note.* Singing (left). Retrieved from Galpão Campeiro (2010). <https://bit.ly/2KzSA83>; Drinking mate (right). Retrieved from Jairo Lambari Fernandes – Frases (n.d.). <https://bit.ly/38yLDvJ>

**Pirisca Grecco** (1971-). Born in the city of Uruguaiana, bordering Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, Pirisca Grecco (Images 13 and 14) started recording albums in the early 2000s. Although his music is defined as Regionalist, Pirisca does not believe in subgenres, but rather in singing about what it means to be Gaucho. He is known for his collaboration with other Gaucho musicians, and for combining traditional and cosmopolitan ideas in an effort to modernize Gaucho music. Besides winning awards from several local regional festivals, Pirisca has recorded 7 albums and over 80 songs from 2001 to 2016 (Música Tradicionalista).

### Image 13 / Image 14

*Pirisca Grecco*



*Note.* Singing (left). Retrieved from Last.fm (n.d.). <https://bit.ly/2Ko0rFO>; Drinking mate (right). Retrieved from Prefeitura Municipal de Santa Maria (2016). <https://bit.ly/3nKpBgc>

### 4.3. Data Collection and Coding

Listening to approximately 200 songs resulted in a corpus of 115 lyrics containing a total of 873 tokens (434 2sg forms of address and 439 2sg object pronouns). In this study, forms of address refers to tokens that combine a subject (or pronoun-drop) and a verb (e.g. *tu falas* or ‘you speak’), and object pronouns refer to clitics, possessive adjectives, and pronouns used after prepositions. At this stage, the decision of excluding object pronouns from this study was made, since the variation of these forms between 2sg and 3sg deserve their own study (e.g. Pontes & Brito, 2000; Rumeu, 2015). Consequently, the present study will only focus on forms of address as the combination of pronoun/pro-drop + verb.

The variants of the 2sg forms of address found in the lyrics according to the combination of pronoun (0, T, V, S) and verb morphology (2sg, 3sg) are illustrated in examples 10 to 15. Example 10 shows the prescriptive form T-T, while example 11 illustrates the prescriptive form with pronoun-drop (0-T). Next, the hybrid T-V is presented in Example 12. Example 13 shows V-V, example 14 shows pronoun-drop combined with the 3sg verb morphology (0-V), and example 15 illustrates the use of *o senhor* followed by the 3sg verb morphology (S-V).

### Prescriptive form (T-T)

- (10) *Por maior que tu sejas Rio Grande*  
 For bigger that you.NOM.2SG be-2SG.SBJV.PRS Rio Grande  
 ‘The bigger you are, Rio Grande (...)’

(Paixão Côrtes, 1970, *Hino ao Rio Grande*)

### Prescriptive form with pronoun-drop (0-T)

- (11) *Quando estás longe de mim*  
 When be-2SG.IND.PRS far from me  
 ‘When (you) are far away from me’

(Pirisca Grecco, 2011, *Amargo*)

### Hybrid form (T-V)

- (12) *Eu sei que tu é famoso*  
 I know that you.NOM.2SG be-3SG.IND.PRS famous  
 ‘I know that you are famous’

(Teixeirinha, 1979, *Isso que é desafio*)

### Você form (V-V)

- (13) *Um dia você me amou*  
 One day you.NOM.2SG me love-3SG.IND.PST  
 ‘One day you loved me’

(Leonardo, 1996, *Gaúcho macho*)

### Pronoun-drop with 3sg verb morphology form (0-V)

- (14) *Donde for*  
 From where **go-3SG.SBJV.FUT**  
 ‘(...) from wherever (you) go’

(Jairo Lambari Fernandes, 2004, *Solidão*)

### *O senhor/a senhora* form (S-V)

- (15) *O senhor segue a viagem marcada*  
 The sir **follow-3SG.IND.PRS** the trip scheduled  
 ‘(You) sir keep your scheduled trip’

(Teixeirinha, 1965, *Bate, bate coração*)

#### 4.3.1. Linguistic Factors

The 434 forms of address found in the corpus were coded according to four linguistic factors: *mood*, *tense*, *subject* pronoun, and *verb morphology*.

*Mood* and *tense* were chosen following Loregian (1996), who found that indicative mood and preterit perfect led to a higher use of T-T over T-V (Loregian, 1996, pp. 71–73). In our study, *mood* was coded as indicative, subjunctive, infinitive, and imperative<sup>6</sup>. Later on, imperative forms (n = 150) were excluded from this our corpus, since they are not used with a subject pronoun<sup>7</sup>. *Tense*<sup>8</sup> was coded as present, preterit perfect, preterit imperfect, future, future in the past, or N/A (which was applied to imperatives and infinitive forms, since they do not carry tense).

*Subject* pronoun and *verb morphology* were selected as factors based on previous studies (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996; Menon & Loregian-Penkal, 2002) showing that the use of pronoun drop (0) tends to lead to a higher use of 2sg verb morphology (0-T). Also, when the subject pronoun

<sup>6</sup> The infinitive tokens in this corpus are classified as *infinitivo flexionado* (or inflected infinitive). Infinitives in Portuguese can take two forms, not inflected and inflected. The inflected form is unique to Portuguese and Galician, taking a subject and its own verb morphology, which contradicts the general notion of infinitive forms in other languages (Bechara, pp. 503-504). However, infinitives do not carry tense in Portuguese.

<sup>7</sup> Previous studies that have investigated this variation show an increase in the use of 2sg verb morphology imperatives (commonly used with *tu*) by speakers who exclusively make use of the pronoun *você* (Nunes & Schwenter, 2015; Scherre, Cardoso, Lunguinho, & Salles, 2007). Hence, coding these forms according to their verb morphology would not necessarily be a reflection of the actual subject pronoun/form of address use by the artists.

<sup>8</sup> Although some tenses were also defined according to their aspect (e.g. preterit perfect and preterit imperfect), they were coded under tense since we did not see the need to look at aspect as a separate factor.

*tu* (T) is used, it leads to a higher use of 3sg verb morphology (T-V). The tokens in our data were coded as follows: the *subject* pronoun preceding the verb was coded as T (*tu*), V (*você*), 0 (pronoun-drop), or S (*o senhor/a senhora*), and the verb morphology was coded as 2 (second person singular) or 3 (third person singular).

#### 4.3.2. Extralinguistic Factors

Since common social factors investigated in sociolinguistic variationist studies (e.g. age, profession, education level) do not apply to songs, we need to look at factors that might affect the singers' linguistic choices, such as song *genre* and *theme* (Moyna, 2015, p. 15). The extralinguistic factors investigated in this study were mostly based on previous research on 2sg forms of address using lyrical corpora (Moyna, 2015; Pontes & Brito, 2000).

First, the factor *decade* was selected to explore change over time in the use of 2sg forms of address, in addition to illustrate possible generational changes in the use of the different variants. In her study of forms of address in lyrics from Uruguayan popular songs from the 1960s to the 2000s, Moyna (2015) found a different pattern of use in songs from before and after the 1990s, which suggests a process of language change (Moyna, 2015, p. 21). In the present study, tokens were coded accordingly to the *decade* the song/album was released (60s, 70s, 80s, 90s, 2000s).

Moyna (2015) and Pontes and Brito (2000) indicated *genre* as a significant factor for variation between forms of address in lyrics. In our corpus, tokens were coded as belonging to *Traditionalist* (Paixão Côrtes, Jayme Caetano Braun, Jairo Lambari Fernandes) or *Regionalist* (Teixeirinha, Leonardo, Pirisca Grecco) artists. Since this study focuses on *genre*, individual variation was not taken into account, as in Pontes and Brito (2000).

*Theme* was indicated as a possible predictor for address variation in lyrics in Moyna's (2015) study, mainly in songs about romantic love, where *tuteo* (a similar form of address to the BP *tu*) appears more frequently than *vos* (similar to BP *você*) (Moyna, 2015, p. 16). In our study, four categories were created for coding the *theme* of the songs. These are *fight* (where the singer is involved in a fight or having an argument with another person), *love* (where the singer is talking to or about a loved one), *Gaúcho life* (including songs where the singer talks about life in the farm, their habits and lifestyle), and *music* (where the singer usually describes parties, dances, or making music, or where he talks about or to his instruments).

The factor *addressee* was chosen to investigate the influence of social distance between speaker and addressee in the variation of forms of address. Previous studies on 2sg forms of address (Amaral, 2003; Bolivar, 2007; Menon, 2000; Menon & Loregian-Penkall, 2002) show that asymmetrical relationships might motivate variation, and that the choice for address forms that reflect more distance between speaker and addressee. For our study, tokens were coded according to four categories of addressees, including *person*, *animal*, *location* (when the singer addresses a city, Rio Grande do Sul, the farm, a building or location inside the farm), and *object* (something inanimate that was not a location, like instruments, objects around the house or farm, Gaucho clothing attire).

Finally, the factor *rhyme* was chosen to investigate the influence of formal constraints related on the process of song writing. Variation between forms of address forms may respond to the need of creating rhyming patterns or maintaining a specific meter (syllable count) (Moyna, 2015, p. 17). In our corpus, *rhyme* was coded as being *present* (rhyme) or *absent* (no rhyme), according to the verb used in the form of address analyzed and neighboring words in the lyrics.

#### 4.4. Data Analysis

Distributional and cross-factor analyses were first performed using Excel. Then, following Moyna (2019), data were analyzed using a logistic regression in *R*. Random forests and conditional inference trees were used in order to investigate the role that each linguistic and extralinguistic factor play on variation in the corpus. According to Tagliamonte (2012, p. 152), random forests and conditional inference trees “are ideal for exploring the combined effect of multiple factors in complex data sets”. Random forests rank the importance of factors for predicting variation. Tagliamonte (2012, p. 153) adds that “the disadvantage of the random forest analysis is that it does not show us how the factors work together, namely the constraint ranking of factors within each factor group”. Hence, the use of conditional inference trees is important to investigate the influence that each factor group has over each other. This latter model uses branches and *p* values in order to illustrate the hierarchical importance of the main factors indicated as important in the random forests.

The *party* package was run in *R* in order to create random forests (*cforest()* function) and conditional inference trees (*ctree()* function) to verify the influence of the factors in the variation of verb morphology (2sg, 3sg) combined with each subject (T, V, O, S).

## Chapter 5: Results

This chapter presents the results from the distributional and statistical analyses undertaken for this study. [Section 5.1.](#) presents the distributional analysis of the factors investigated, followed by an analysis of how forms of address are distributed by decade according to genre. The factors mood and tense are not included here, since they were not found to be relevant factors in our statistical analysis. [Section 5.2.](#) reports the findings of the statistical analysis, with random forests and conditional inference trees illustrating the relationship between factors according to three dependent variables: verb morphology, subject, and forms of address.

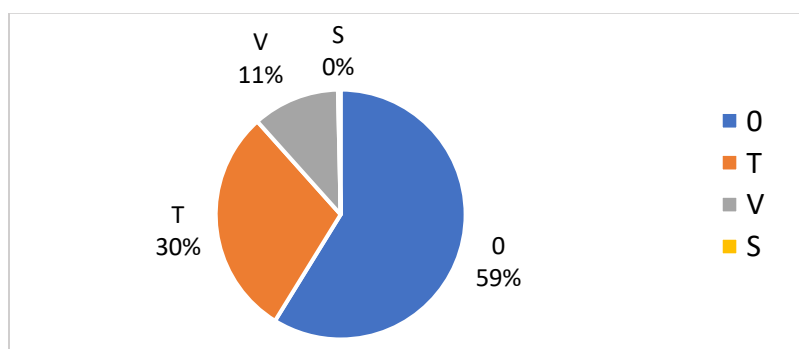
### 5.1. Distributional Analysis

#### 5.1.1. Subject Pronouns

As shown in Figure 1, the most frequent subject found in the corpus is actually the absence (0) of a pronoun (pronoun-drop), making up for 59% of the data ( $n = 167$ ), followed by *tu* (T) (30%,  $n = 84$ ), *você* (V) (11%,  $n = 32$ ), and *o senhor/a senhora* (S) representing only 0.4% of the tokens ( $n = 1$ ).

**Figure 1**

*Subject Distribution (n = 284)*

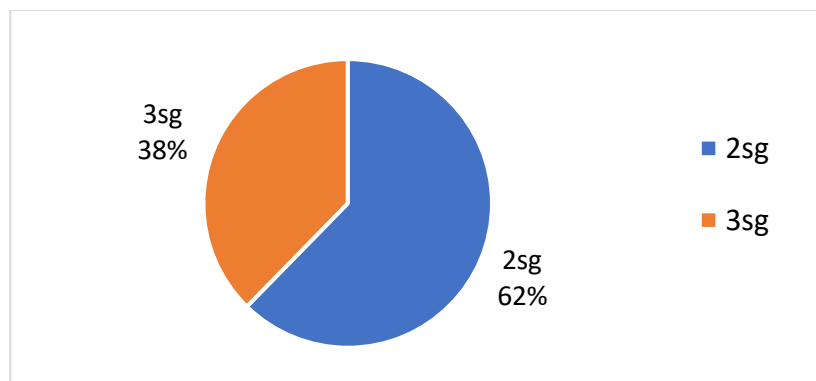


#### 5.1.2. Verb Morphology

The most common type of verb morphology found in the corpus is that of 2sg person (62%,  $n = 177$ ), while 3sg person tokens represent 38% ( $n = 107$ ) of the data (Figure 2). As explained in section 4.3.1., imperative forms were excluded from the analysis.

**Figure 2**

*Distribution of Verb Morphology according to Person (n = 284)*

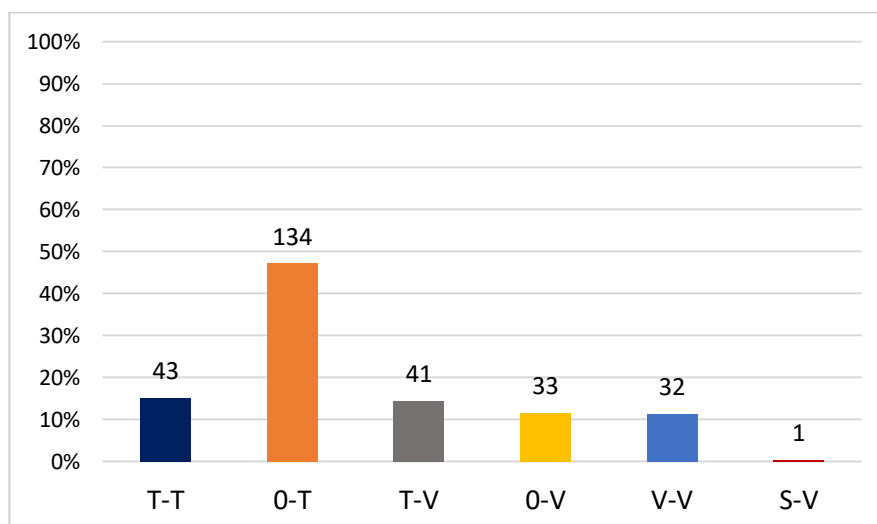


### **5.1.3. Forms of Address**

The distribution of forms of address is illustrated in Figure 3. 0-T represents 47% (n = 134) of the data, followed by T-T with 15% (n = 43). As for forms of address with the 3sg verb morphology, T-V represents 14.4% (n = 41) of the tokens, while 0-V and V-V show similar weights (11.6%, n = 33 and 11.3%, n = 32 respectively). There was only 1 occurrence of *o senhor/a senhora* (S-V).

**Figure 3**

*Distribution of Forms of Address (n = 284)*



#### 5.1.4. Forms of Address by Decade

The 90s is the decade with the highest number of tokens, representing 36% ( $n = 101$ ) of the corpus, followed by the 60s with 26% ( $n = 75$ ) of the data. The 70s and 80s show similar distributions with 17% ( $n = 48$ ) and 15% ( $n = 42$ ) of the data, respectively, while the 2000s comes last with 6% ( $n = 18$ ) of the tokens (Figure 4).

**Figure 4**

*Distribution of Total Tokens ( $n = 284$ ) by Decade*

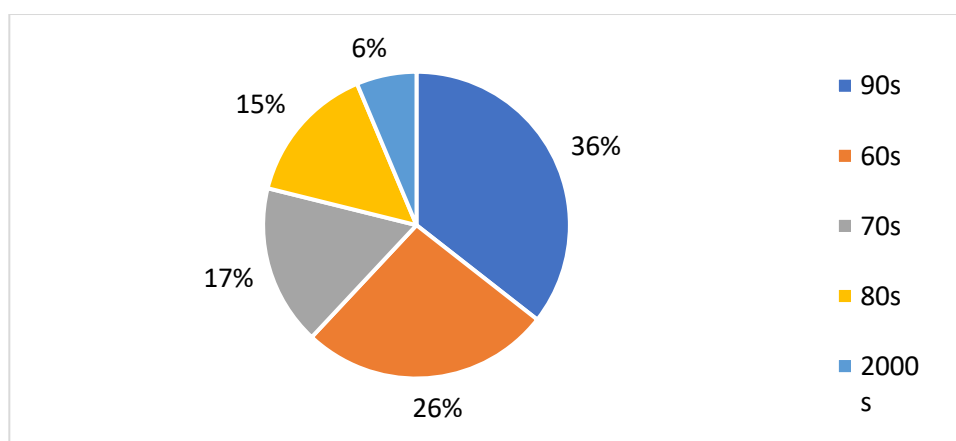
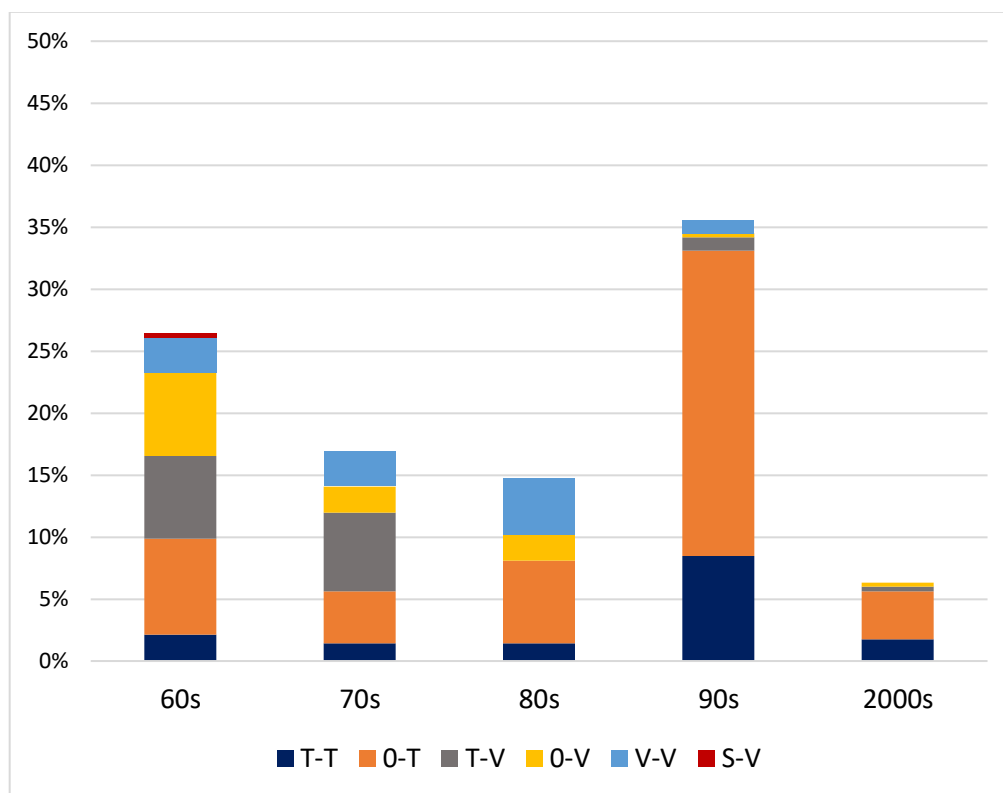


Figure 5 shows the distribution of forms of address per decade. The 60s and 70s are the decades with more variation between all forms. O-T is the most used form in all decades, except for the 70s, where T-V (6%,  $n = 18$ ) is used slightly more than O-T (4%,  $n = 12$ ). In the 80s V-V (5%,  $n = 13$ ) is the second most used form after O-T (7%,  $n = 19$ ); it is the only decade with no T-V tokens. The 90s displays the highest use of O-T (25%,  $n = 70$ ), representing one fourth of all tokens. The use of V-V decreases in the 90s and disappears in the 2000s, while the use of T-T and O-T increases in these periods. The 2000s is the only decade where no occurrences of V-V are found, and T-V and O-V represent less than 1% of the total tokens.

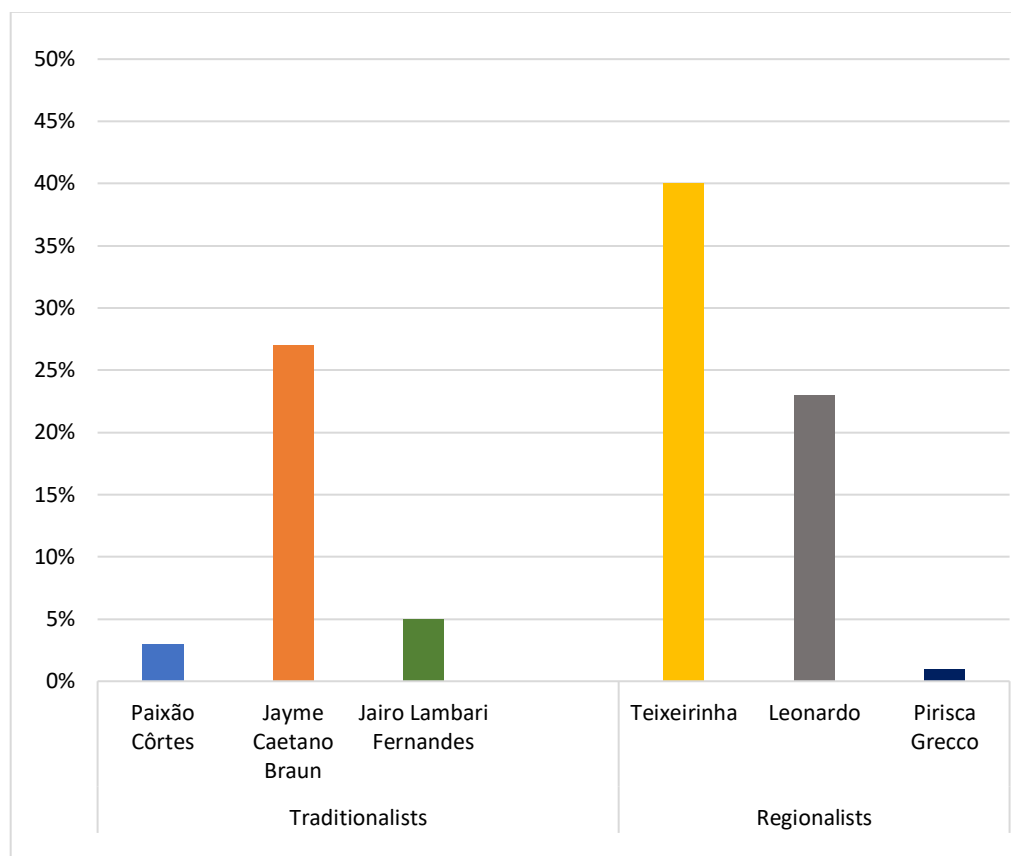
**Figure 5***Distributions of Forms of Address (n = 284) by Decade*

### 5.1.5. Forms of Address by Genre

Figure 6 shows the distribution of total tokens according to music genre and artists. Tokens from Regionalists (Teixeirinha, Leonardo, Pirisca Grecco) represent 64% (n = 183) of the data, while tokens from Traditionalists (Paixão Côrtes, Jayme Caetano Braun, Jairo Lambari Fernandes) represent 36% (n = 101). Although the present study does not look at individual variation, it is worth noting that 40% (n = 114) of the tokens come from Teixeira's songs, while all combined tokens from Jairo Lambari Fernandes, Paixão Côrtes and Pirisca Grecco represent only 9% (n = 27) of the data.

**Figure 6**

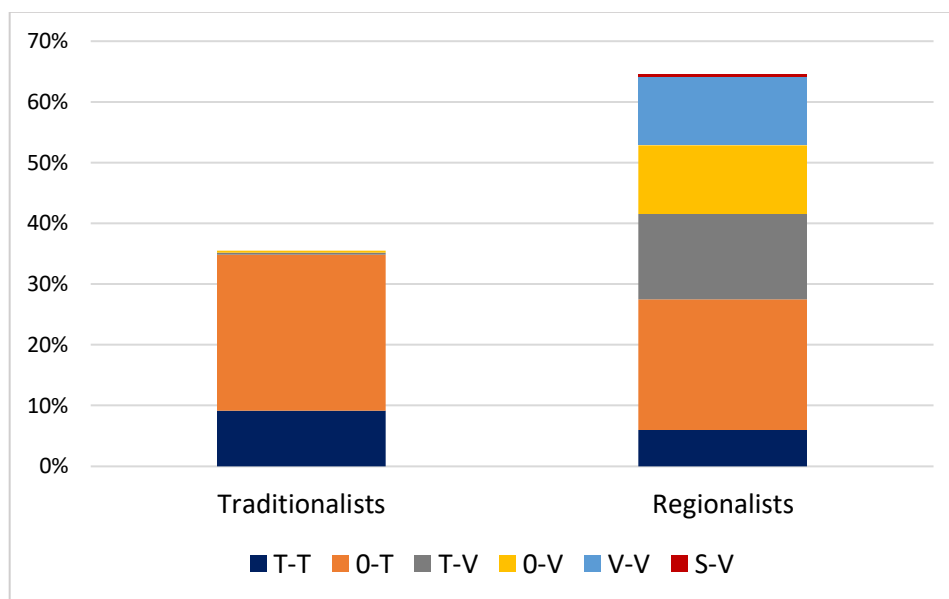
*Distribution of Total Tokens (n = 284) by Music Genre and Artist*



The distribution of forms of address by music genre is displayed in Figure 7. 0-T is the most commonly used form by both groups, representing 26% of the total tokens used by Traditionalists (n = 73), and 21% of the total tokens used by Regionalists (n = 71). T-T forms are used slightly more by Traditionalists (9% vs 6%), while their use of 0-V and V-V forms combined represents less than 1 % of the data. Regionalists display more variation in address than Traditionalists, with T-V forms representing 14% (n = 40) of the data, and 0-V (n = 32) and V-V (n = 32) 11% each.

**Figure 7**

*Distribution of Forms of Address (n = 284) by Music Genre*

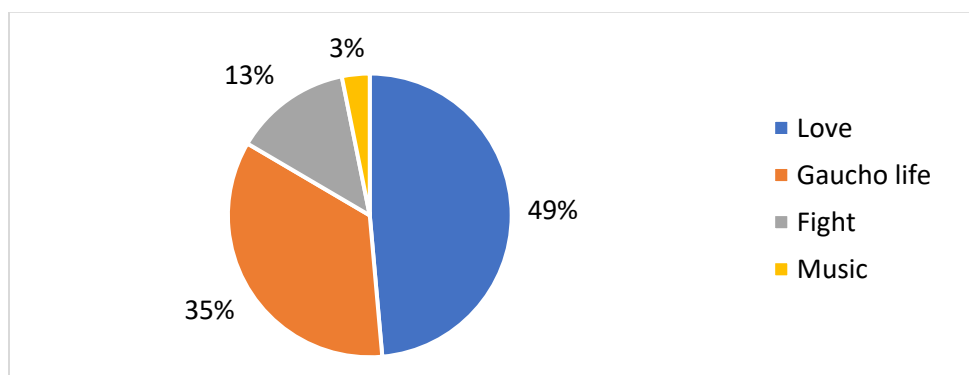


### 5.1.6. Forms of Address by Song Theme

Figure 8 presents the distribution of tokens by the theme of the songs. Most forms of address appear in *Love* songs (49%, n = 138), followed by songs about *Gaucha life* (35%, n = 99). Tokens in songs coded under the theme *Fight* represent 13% (n = 38) of the tokens, while only 3% (n = 9) appear in songs about *Music*.

**Figure 8**

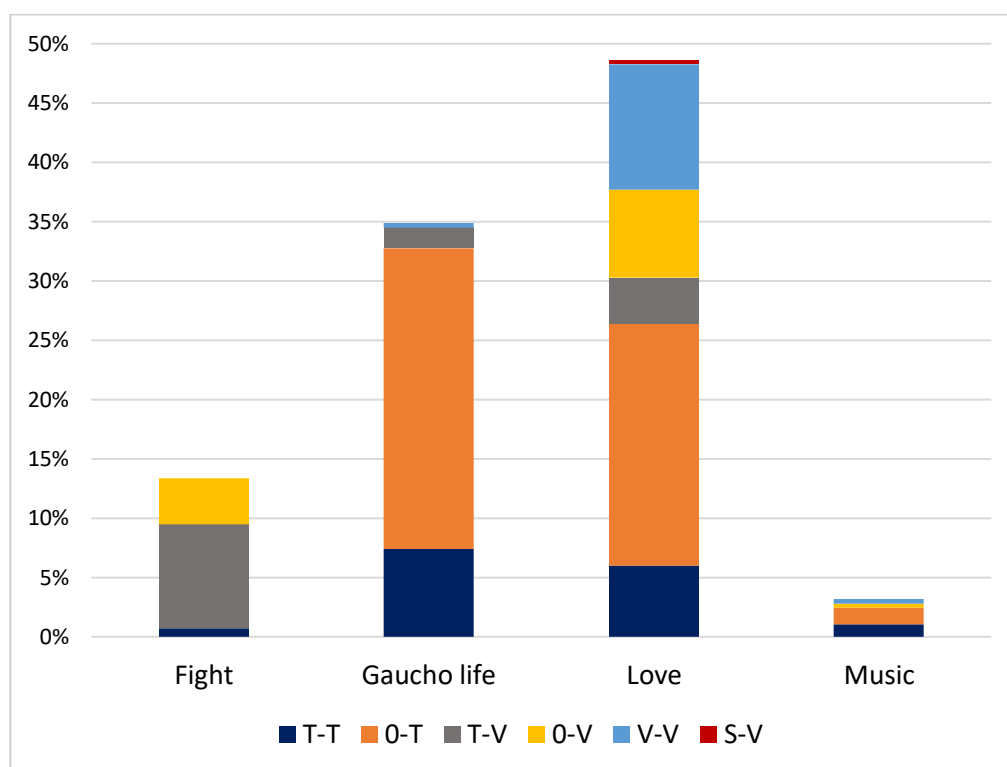
*Distribution of Total Tokens (n = 284) by Song Theme*



The distribution of forms of address by song theme is shown in Figure 9. *Love* is the only theme that displays the use of all forms of address, with 0-T being the most used form (20%, n = 17), followed by V-V (11%, n = 30), 0-V (7%, n = 21), T-T (6%, n = 17), T-V (4%, n = 11), and S-V (0.4%, n = 1). The patterns found in *Gaucha life* and *Fight* songs are very different from *Love* songs. Songs about *Gaucha life* do not show much variation, using mainly 0-T (25%, n = 72) and T-T (7%, n = 21) forms. T-V and 0-V are the most commonly forms used in songs about *Fight*; notably, these are the only songs that do not contain tokens of 0-T.

**Figure 9**

*Distributions of Forms of Address (n = 284) by Song Theme*



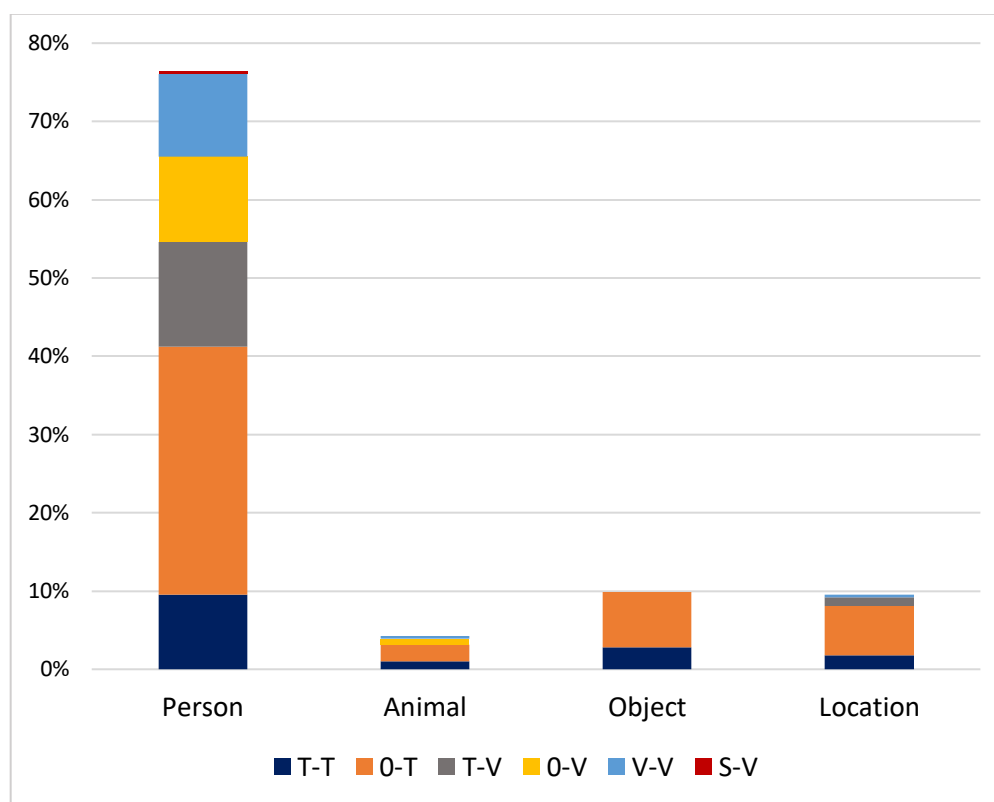
### 5.1.7. Forms of Address by Type of Addressee

Figure 10 illustrates the distribution of forms of address by type of addressee. Person is the main addressee found in the data (76%, n = 217) and the only type that displays tokens of all six forms of address investigated. 0-T (32%, n = 90) is the most frequently used form, followed

closely by T-V (13%,  $n = 38$ ), V-V (11%,  $n = 30$ ), and T-T (10%,  $n = 27$ ). A different pattern is seen with animal, object, and location. Although O-T is still the most used form to address all of them, T-T appears as the second most used form. The hybrid form T-V is almost exclusively used with person, representing 13% all data.

**Figure 10**

*Distribution of Forms of Address ( $n = 284$ ) by Addressee*

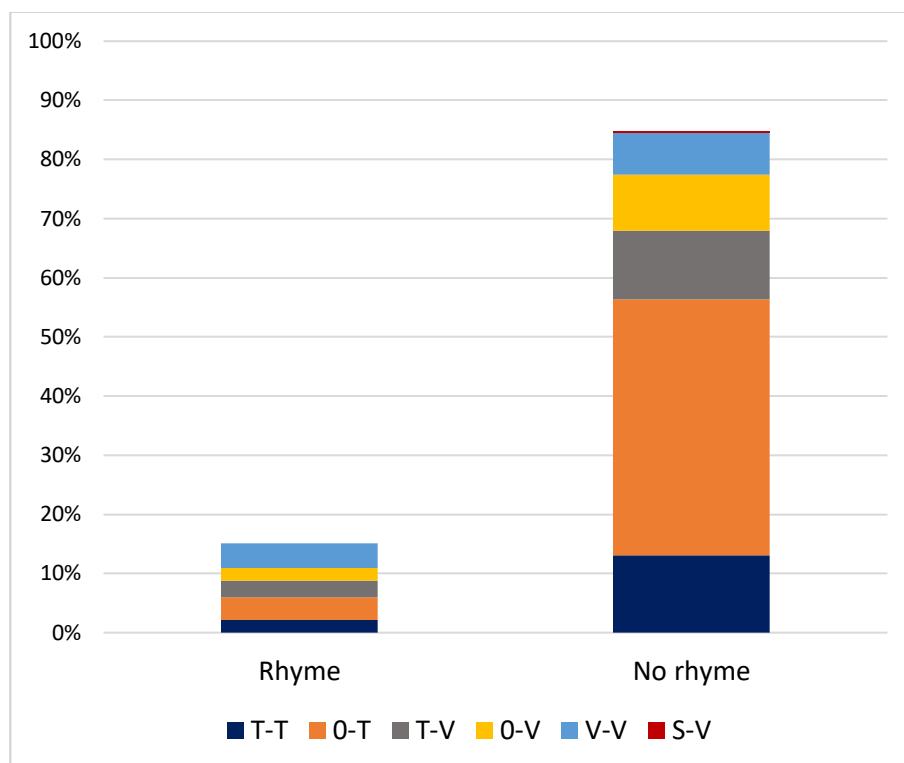


### 5.1.8. Forms of Address by Rhyme

As shown in Figure 11, tokens that rhyme with another word in the stanza represent 15% ( $n = 43$ ) of the data, while those which do not rhyme represent 85% of the data ( $n = 241$ ). There is a similar distribution within the forms of address that rhyme. Notably, V-V (4%,  $n = 12$ ) is used as often as O-T (4%,  $n = 11$ ), which differs from the pattern found in forms that do not rhyme, where O-T (43%,  $n = 123$ ) is the main form used and V-V (7%,  $n = 20$ ) is used the least.

**Figure 11**

*Distribution of Forms of Address (n = 284) by Rhyme*

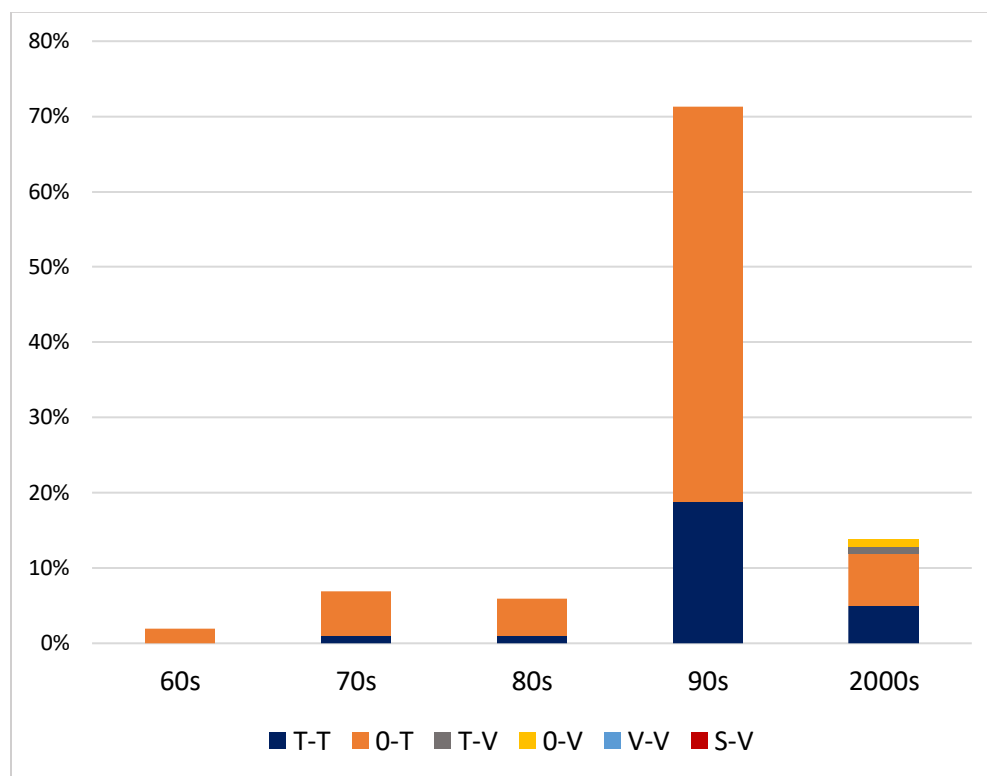


### ***5.1.9. Traditionalists Tokens by Decade***

Figure 12 illustrates the distribution of forms of address by decade found in the data coded as Traditionalist (n = 101). Most tokens are found in songs from the 90s (71%, n = 72). Overall, O-T is the form most frequently used across decades. The 70s, 80s and 90s present similar pattern, with the exclusive use of forms of address with 2sg verb morphology. The 2000s show a slightly different pattern, displaying some forms with the 3sg verb morphology.

**Figure 12**

*Distribution of Traditionalists' Forms of Address (n = 101) by Decade*

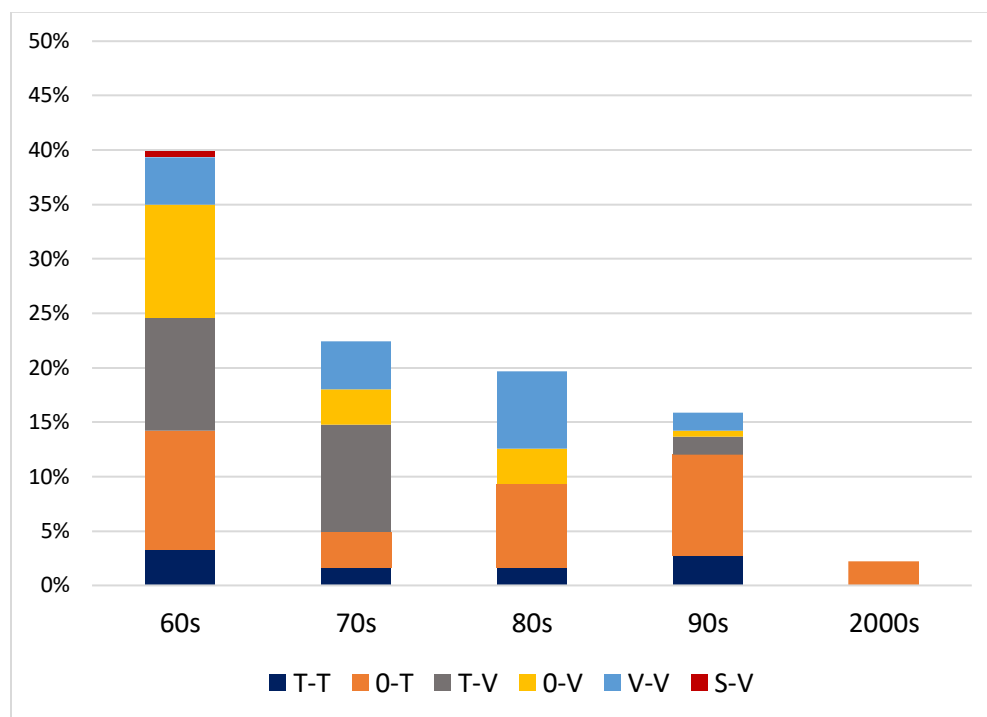


#### **5.1.10. Regionalists Tokens by Decade**

Figure 13 illustrates the distribution of forms of address by decade found in the data coded as Regionalist (n = 183). While the Regionalist data is more equally distributed across decades than the Traditionalist data, there is some imbalance. Notably, 40% (n = 73) of the tokens are found in songs from the 60s, and only 2% (n = 4) in the 2000s. A similar pattern can be found from the 60s to the 90s, with a variation between different forms. Overall, O-T is the most used form, except in the 70s, where T-V (10%, n = 18) is the most frequently used. The 2000s show a different pattern, where O-T is used exclusively (2%, n = 4).

**Figure 13**

*Distribution of Regionalists' Forms of Address (n = 183) by Decade*



## 5.2. Statistical Analysis

A logistic regression was used to compare the effect of the factors on variation. Random forests were used to identify the importance of each factor as a predictor for the dependent variable. This technique has been praised for its effectiveness when working with complex data sets and multiple factors (Tagliamonte, 2012, p. 152). As we chose four linguistic factors and five extralinguistic factors for our analysis, using random forests allowed us to verify which factors were the most important ones for predicting variation.

Confidence in the model was measured by C-values and Somers'  $D_{xy}$ . C-values of 0.5 indicate random predictions, above 0.8 indicate real predictions, and C-values equal to 1 indicate perfect predictions. Somers'  $D_{xy}$  represents "a rank correlation between predicted probabilities and observed responses", with values ranging from 0, which indicates complete randomness, to 1, which indicates perfect prediction" (Baayen 2008, p. 204 in Schweinberger, 2020). In our first model, using verb morphology as the dependent variable, we obtained a C-value of 0.9559 and

Somers'  $D_{xy}$  of 0.911, which indicates that that predictions were extremely close to being perfect and far from being random.

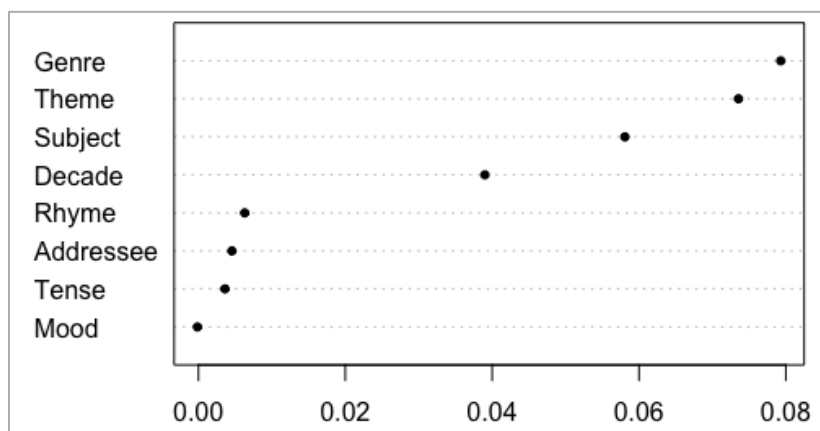
Besides verifying the influence of factors on the dependent variable verb morphology (2sg / 3sg) (Section 5.2.1.), a second model was created for checking the influence of factors on the dependent variable subject (T, 0, V, S) (Section 5.2.2.), and a third for the dependent variable form of address (T-T, 0-T, T-V, V-V, 0-V, S-V) (Section 5.2.3.). Having three separate models allows us to verify whether the factors were equally important in predicting variation for each element (pronoun and verb form) independently. Since the random forest model only displays the influence of each factor group individually, conditional inference trees were run in *R* in order to cross the main influential factors found in the models and verify how they work together<sup>9</sup>.

### 5.2.1. Dependent Variable: Verb Morphology

Figure 14 illustrates the importance of each factor group in verb morphology variation. “Factors are ordered according to variable importance” (varimp, represented by the numbers on the bottom of the plot) (Tagliamonte, 2012, p. 153), indicating that *genre*, *theme*, *subject*, and *decade* appear to be the most influential factors, since they are the ones with ranked higher. These four factors were then used to run a conditional inference tree (Figure 15), where we can see also see their significance (p value) and how they interact.

**Figure 14**

*Random Forest for all Factors in Verb Morphology Variation*



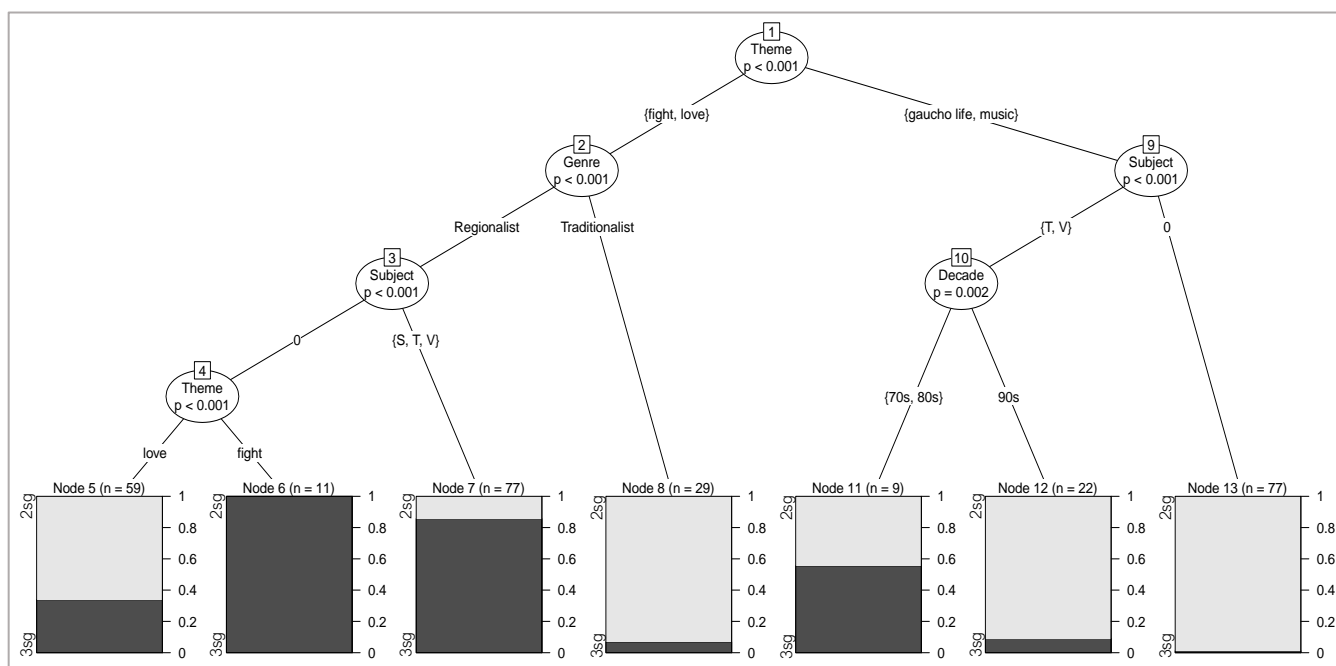
<sup>9</sup> For more details, see Tagliamonte (2012, pp. 152-155).

The conditional inference tree (Figure 15) shows that *theme* (node 1) is the most important factor influencing verb morphology variation, since it appears on the top. Songs with themes related to *fight* and *love* are intersected with the factor *genre* (node 2), with the use of the 2sg verb morphology being more common among *Traditionalists* (node 8). *Regionalists*, on the other hand, show a different pattern according to the *subject* they use (node 3). When using pronoun drop (0), *Regionalists* use 3sg verb morphology exclusively in songs with *fight* as main theme (node 6), while in songs about *love* they favor the use of 2sg over 3sg verb morphology (node 5). When *Regionalists* use the *subjects* S, T, V, they favor the 3sg verb morphology (node 7).

This tree (Figure 15) also shows that songs with the themes *Gaucha life* and *music* do not intersect with *genre*. *Subject* is presented as the most important factor in these songs. In cases of pronoun drop, the 2sg verb morphology (0-T) is used almost exclusively (node 13). When the *subject* is T or V, then songs in the 70s and 80s follow a different pattern from songs in the 90s. In the 70s and 80s (node 11), songs about *Gaucha life* and *music* slightly favor 3sg verb morphology, and in the 90s there is a clear preference for 2sg verb morphology (node 12).

**Figure 15**

*Conditional Inference Tree for Genre, Theme, Subject, and Decade Factors in Verb Morphology Variation*

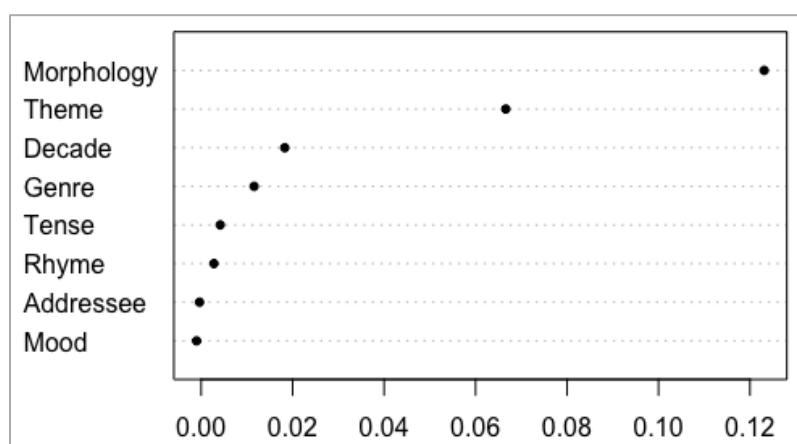


### 5.2.2. Dependent Variable: Subject

*Theme*, *decade*, and *genre* were indicated as the most important factors to influence the variation of subject (0, T, V, S), in addition to verb morphology (Figure 16). However, when the relationship between these four factors was analyzed in a conditional inference tree, *genre* was excluded from the final model, which indicates this factor is not significant when combined with the other three. Figure 17 illustrates the final model and the interaction between the factors *verb morphology*, *theme*, and *decade*.

#### Figure 16

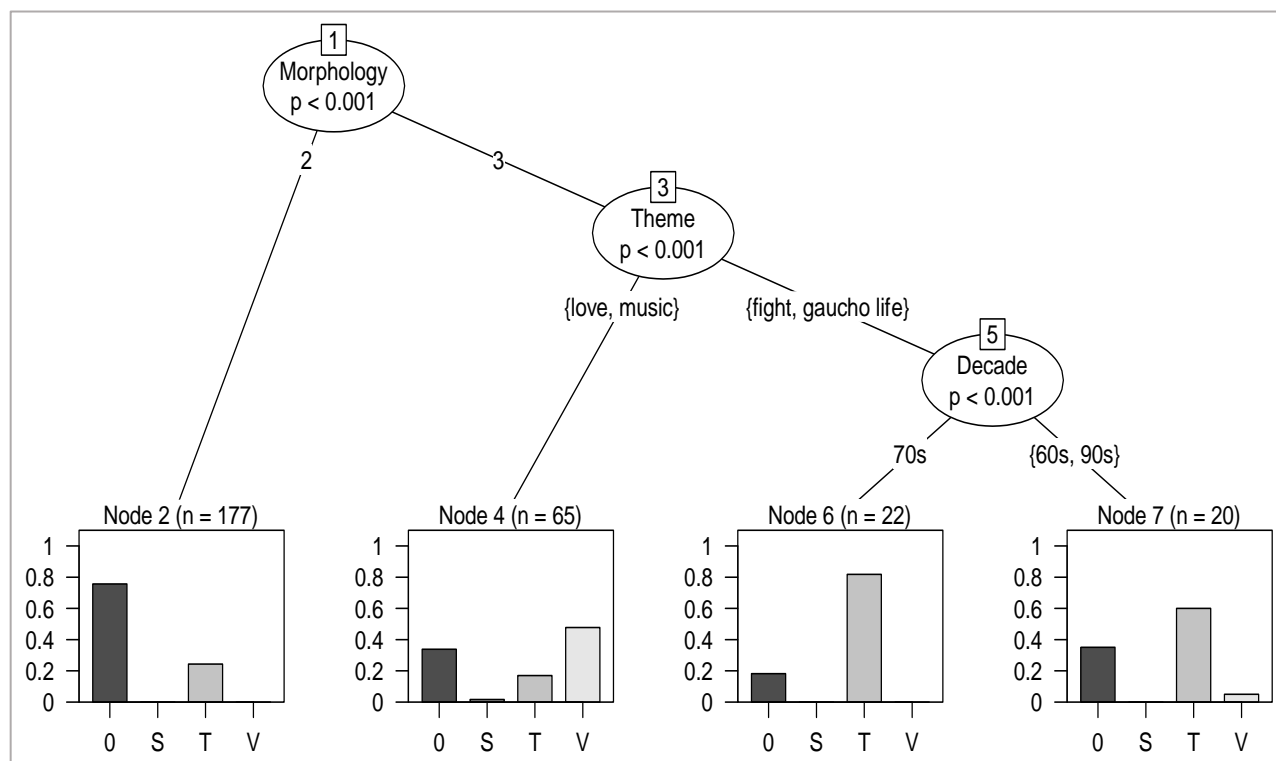
*Random Forest for all Factors in Subject Variation*



The conditional inference tree for the dependent variable *subject* (Figure 17) shows *verb morphology* as the most important factor determining variation (node 1). The use of the 2sg verb morphology appears to be exclusively connected to the use of pronoun drop (0) and T (node 2), corresponding to the 2sg prescriptive form (0-T or T-T). The use of the 3sg verb morphology presents a different pattern, which is determined by the factors *theme* and *decade*. In songs about *love* and *music* V is the most frequently used subject with 3sg verb morphology, followed by pronoun drop and T (node 4). Songs about *fight* and *Gaucha life* show preference for T-V. This preference is more noticeable the 70s (node 6), while lyrics from the 60s and 90s show fewer uses of T-V but more of 0-V than in the 70s (node 7).

**Figure 17**

*Conditional Inference Tree for Morphology, Theme, and Decade Factors in Subject Variation*



### 5.2.3. Dependent Variable: Form of Address

When combining *subject* and *verb morphology* we have the third dependent variable analyzed and the main focus of this study: *forms of address*. Figure 18 illustrates the most significant factors for address variation. The factors *subject* and *morphology* were not included when this model was run, since they are the elements that actually compose the dependent variable form of address (pronoun + verb). The factors *theme*, *genre*, and *decade* are once again selected, and so is *rhyme*. When producing the conditional inference tree, the model excluded the factor *decade*, suggesting it lacks significance when analyzing the relationship between these factors (Figure 19).

**Figure 18**

*Random Forest for all Factors in Forms of Address Variation*

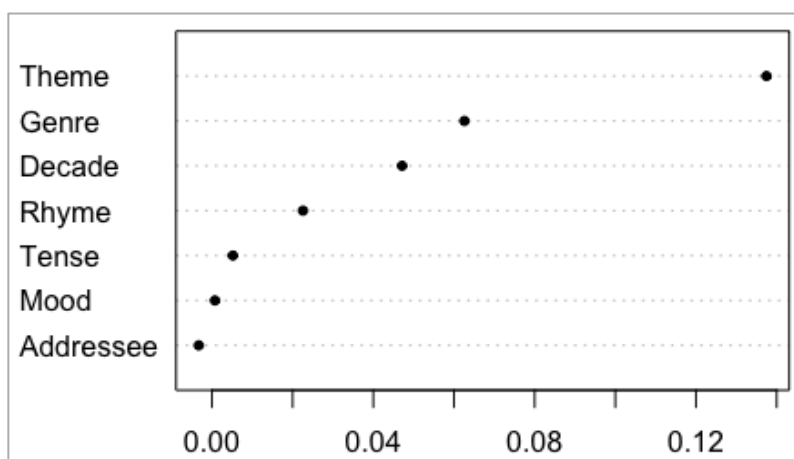
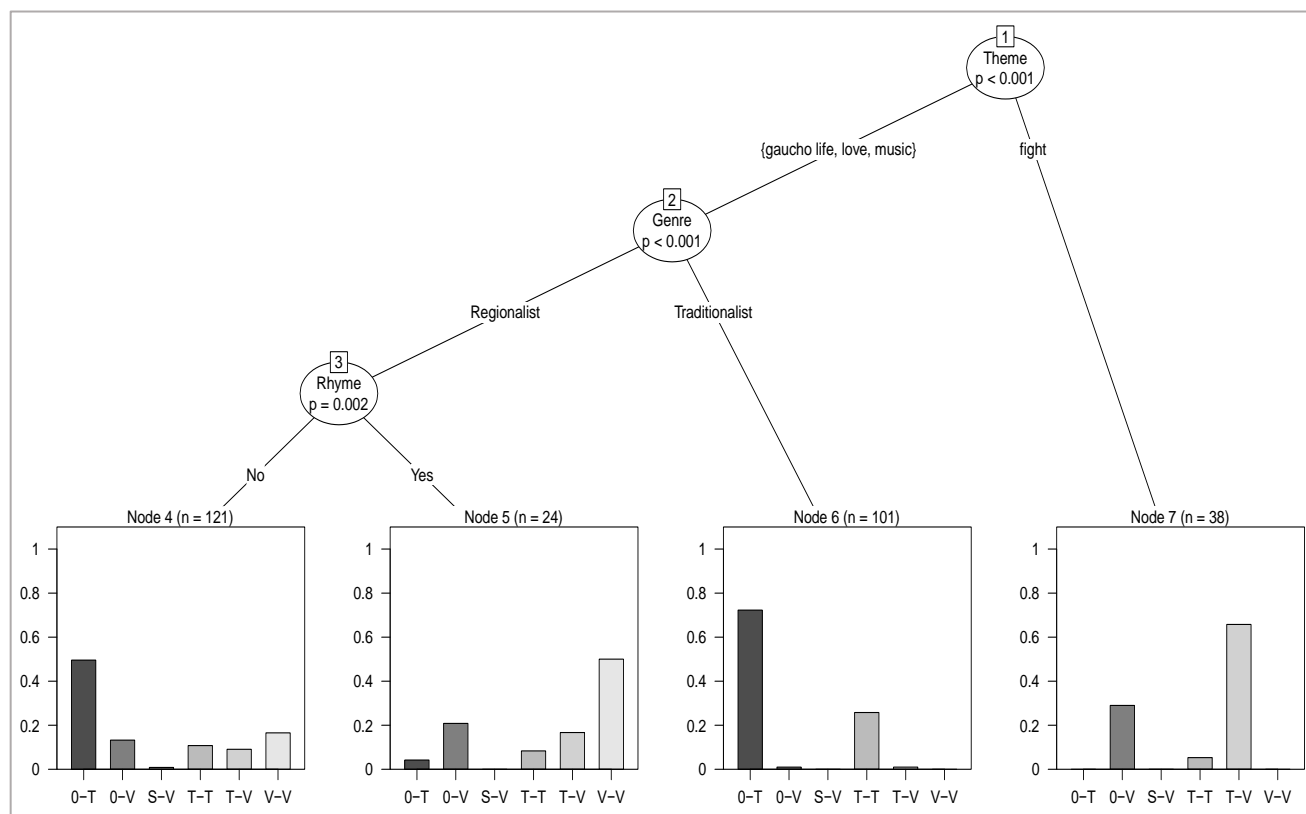


Figure 19 shows that the most important factor in the use of forms of address in the lyrical corpus examined is *theme* (node 1). Songs about *fight* use mainly the T-V form, followed by 0-V, and T-T at a much lower frequency (node 7). Songs about *Gaucha life, love, and music* intersect with *genre*, with *Traditionalists* using 0-T and T-T almost exclusively, and 0-T being the most frequently used form (node 6). *Rhyme* intersects with the *Regionalist* genre, showing slightly different patterns in lyrics depending on whether the forms of address rhyme with words in previous or following verses (node 3). When rhyming does not occur, the most used form of address is 0-T, followed by similar rates of 0-V, V-V, T-T and T-V (node 4). However, when rhyming occurs, V-V is the preferred form of address, followed by 0-V, T-V, 0-T and T-T (node 5).

**Figure 19**

*Conditional Inference Tree for Theme, Genre, and Rhyme Factors in Forms of Address Variation*



The random forest and conditional inference tree analyses show that extralinguistic factors are more important than linguistic factors when it comes to predicting variation in the use of 2sg forms of address in Gacho music. Specifically, *genre* and *theme* are the most relevant, followed by *decade* and *rhyme*. In the next chapter we discuss these results and present our conclusions.

## Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, results are discussed and compared to previous literature in order to answer our main research question, which seeks to determine what linguistic and extralinguistic factors explain variation in the use of 2sg forms of address in traditional Gaucho music. After discussing the factors *genre*, *theme*, *decade* and *rhyme* separately, we focus on the factor *subject*, and finish the chapter with our final conclusions and suggestions for further research.

### 6.1. Genre

Regarding *genre*, there is a clear distinction in the production of forms of address between Traditionalists and Regionalists. Traditionalists show a preference for prescriptive forms (T-T / 0-T) in all decades, which could be explained in light of their concerted efforts to adhere to the local traditions and original Gaucho lifestyle, and their concerns about assimilating to the larger Brazilian culture, which linguistically would mean using V forms. Although T-V has been shown to be the most commonly used form of address by Gauchos (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996), it is considered a colloquial, non-standard form, and very much a deviation from what is correct or traditional (Silva, 2012, p. 104). This is supported by a 2007 interview with Paixão Côrtes in which he states the importance of fighting against fads, claiming that Traditionalist will not convert to modernity and that Gaucho traditions will resist (Página do Gaúcho. Retrieved from Zero Hora, 2007). Interestingly, it is in the 2000s when we first witness uses of T-V and 0-V in Traditionalists' songs, despite Paixão Côrtes' insistence for this movement to continue to adhere to traditional ways of being Gaucho. This could signal an openness by Traditionalists to reflect the actual speech of Gauchos, who have been mostly using the hybrid form of address for some time (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996).

Regionalists, on the other hand, show somewhat similar patterns to those found in the speech of Gauchos. Regionalist music being perceived as a suburban, more "popular" Gaucho music genre (Cougo Junior, 2012, p. 9), explains that these lyrics represent oral speech more closely. This can be seen in their choice of the colloquial non-standard T-V form in addition to V-V, a form widely used in other BP dialects. In contrast to Paixão Côrtes's speech against modernity, Pirisca Grecco, a Regionalist, describes himself as an activist for "regional" (the umbrella term) Gaucho music, and a strong supporter of collaborating with artists across different genres to build a stronger regional music community and make Gaucho regional music more

accessible. Pirsca Grecco believes Gaucho regional music is about “singing what is true and ours as Gauchos” (Cassol, 2011), and this seems to include representing Gauchos’ actual language use.

## 6.2. Theme

When we consider the themes *fight*, *Gaicho life*, *love*, and *music*, results show that forms of address with the 3sg verb morphology (T-V, 0-V, V-V) are used more frequently in songs that simulate a dialogue, and this is especially true for songs about fights. This relates to the findings of Loregian (1996) and Menon (2000), where phatic communication was found to be a factor for the use of T-V, while T-T (and 0-T) was related to more formal speech. Love songs show the highest variation of forms, which may be explained by the varied nature of this theme, which includes unrequited love, breakups, platonic relationships, forbidden relationships, and happy love stories. The emotional and social distance between the singer and the addressee varies according to the type of relationship (Bolivar, 2007, 2008; Menon, 2000), which can explain the variation found in these songs.

Songs about gaucho life and music illustrate one-way conversations in which the singer addresses something he admires (e.g. an animal, a building, the farm, the *mate*, and so on), making use of T-T and 0-T more frequent than other variants. In contrast, songs about fight use mainly T-V and 0-V. A possible explanation for this might be the fact that T-V is the form of address to show familiarity and solidarity, and even in situations where politeness is not expected, such as in a fight.

## 6.3. Decade

The three 2sg forms of address that make use of the 3sg verb morphology (T-V, 0-V, and V-V) can be found in Regionalists’ songs from the 60s onwards. The 80s are especially notable in our corpus, as during this period there are no occurrences of T-V, and V-V is the main form used. A possible explanation for this pattern might be commercial reasons. Gaucho music became popular all over Brazil in the 60s (mainly because of Teixeira), and in the 70s national recording companies hired Gaucho musicians (Cougo Junior, 2012, pp. 8–9), thus the use of V-V might be a way to make this music genre more accessible or relatable to audiences outside Rio Grande do Sul. Our corpus shows an exclusive use of T-T by Regionalists in the 2000s, which might indicate an attempt to return to the traditional forms suggested by the Gaucho movement. However, this

claim could easily be disputed due to the small number of forms of address found in this decade. That being said, considering that artists rarely employ 2sg forms of address in the 2000s, the fact that when they do it is the traditional, prescriptive T-T variant, makes this choice a meaningful one.

#### 6.4. Rhyme

Rhyme seems to be directly related to Regionalists' use of forms of address with the 3sg verb morphology. Songs in which forms of address do not show rhyming have higher occurrences of 0-T, while those songs that do show it have higher occurrences of V-V, followed by 0-V and T-V. Variation according to rhyme could be simply related to the process of composing a song, rather than to the relationship between speaker and addressee or Gaucho identity concerns. In contrast, rhyme did not seem to be a factor for Traditionalists' use of 2sg forms of address. We could hypothesise that, unlike Traditionalists, who are more concerned with prescriptiveness, Regionalists' variation may respond to rhyming needs. Since they are not bound by an inflexible paradigm, as Traditionalists seem to be, variation might follow stylistic formal requirements when needed.

Something else to be considered is the importance of fitting a meter in song writing. When looking at songs that present tokens of 2sg forms of address, there is some indication that the number of syllables in a verse could be a factor explaining this variation as well. For instance, example 16 illustrates an excerpt of a song where *você* is used after a preposition first, followed by the form of address 0-V, and then 0-T, all to address the same person. All these verses are composed of eight syllables each (indicated in different colours), and the choice of pronoun and form of address appears to be a consequence of attempting to maintain this meter. If the 2sg object pronoun *ti* had been used instead of *você*, it would have made the verse one syllable shorter. If the singer were to add the pronoun *tu* in the 0-V structure, making it a T-V, it would have added an extra syllable. If he were to add *você* (V-V) instead of *tu*, it would have added two extra syllables. And if the verb morphology were 2sg instead of 3sg, making it a 0-T, it would have also added an extra syllable. In the address form 0-T, if the singer were to use the 3sg verb morphology (0-V) instead of the 0-T form, the verse would have been one syllable shorter. And if he were to add *tu*, making it T-T, it would have added an extra syllable as well. Thus, variation helps the artist fit the

intended meter. What we do not know, however, and this also applies to rhyme, is what comes first: choosing an address form to fit the words and patterns around it or vice versa.

- (16) *vol.ta.rei.*                      *pra. mi.nha a.ma.da*  
 return-1SG.IND.FUT    to    my            beloved  
 ‘I will go back to my beloved one’

*mos.trar. pra. vo.cê.*                      *que eu. po.sso*  
 show            to    **you.OBJ.2SG**    that    I            can  
 ‘show you that I can’

**V form**

*e. fa.zer. sen.tir.*                                      *re.mor.so*  
 and    make    **feel-3SG.SUBJ.FUT**    remorse  
 ‘and make you feel remorse’

**0-V form**

*quan.do. ro.la.res.*                                      *na. la.ma*  
 when            **roll-2SG.SUBJ.FUT**    in            mud  
 ‘when you roll in mud’

**0-T form**

(Teixeirinha, 1964, *Como é falsa*)

## 6.5. Subject

Finally, regarding linguistic factors, pronoun-drop represents almost 60% of our data, with 0-T alone representing 47.2% (n = 134) and 0-V, 11.6% (n = 33). This means that of all the pronoun-drop forms, 80% are 0-T and 20% are 0-V. These findings agree with previous studies (Amaral, 2003; Loregian, 1996) that indicate the absence of the pronoun as a factor for the use of the 2sg verb morphology (Amaral, 2003; Loregian-Penkak, 2004; Loregian, 1996; Menon, 2000; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002). When the subject is present, T is also the most used pronoun (30%, n = 84) in our data in comparison to V (11%, n = 32), a tendency confirmed by previous research indicating that T is the most used pronoun by Gauchos (Menon, 2000). However, unlike previous research on oral speech (Amaral, 2003; Menon & Loregian-Penkak, 2002), our results do not suggest that the presence of *tu* (T) leads to a higher use of T-V. In fact, in our data the use of

T-T (15%) and T-V (14%) are extremely balanced. The fact that lyrics are a combination of oral and written discourse (Moyna, 2015) could explain the higher use of the prescriptive T-T by Traditionalists, as this is considered the standard and “correct” grammatical form of using *tu*. Additionally, this mismatch between oral and lyrical use of forms of address could be related to what Coupland (2001) refers to as *stylization* or *strategic inauthenticity*. The forms of address found in Traditionalists’ lyrics do not represent the everyday speech of Gauchos, but rather project “stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups, situations or times” (Coupland, 2001, p. 349). In other words, Traditionalists’ use of T-T represents a projected persona, that of the ideal Gaucho icon that has not been influenced by external cultural and linguistic factors. Unlike real Gauchos, who use a hybrid form of address that suggests assimilation into the national Brazilian ways of speaking, Traditionalists’ ideal Gaucho, the national hero, sounds “pure” and is immune to the influence of external linguistic forces.

The purpose of the current study was to investigate *Gauchês* 2sg forms of address in traditional Gaucho songs from the 60s onwards in order to determine what linguistic and extralinguistic factors may explain their variation. The analysis undertaken in this study has identified four main factors for variation between the forms T-T, 0-T, T-V, 0-V, V-V, and S-V. These factors are Gaucho music genre (Traditionalists versus Regionalists), theme of the songs (which is also connected to categories of addressees), decade of the recording, and rhyme. Moreover, subject choice was indicated as a factor for verb morphology variation, with pro-drop seemingly leading to a higher use of 2sg verb morphology. One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that Regionalists’ songs reproduce Gauchos’ current use of forms of address more faithfully than Traditionalists. While the former present more variation between all forms, the latter show an almost exclusive use of prescriptive 2sg forms of address. In addition to the importance of the factor song theme in predicting variation, this study suggests that the different perspectives on what it means to be and to speak like a Gaucho espoused by Traditionalists and Regionalists may help explain their use of 2sg forms of address.

In future research I would like to expand my data collection in two ways. First, I would like to incorporate female artists in order to investigate whether the gender of the artist (and the gender of the addressee) plays a role in the use of 2sg forms of address, as indicated by previous studies (Amaral, 2003; Bolivar, 2007; Franceschini & Loregian-Penkal, 2015; Loregian-Penkal, 2004; Menon & Loregian-Penkal, 2002). Second, I would like to include more artists/songs from

the 2000s in order to have a more balanced data set in terms of number of tokens. Furthermore, I plan to examine variation in the use of imperative forms and object pronouns found in our corpus. Investigating other linguistic factors that were not the focus of the current study, like verb ending (-s, -ste, -sse), and sentence type, could also expand our understanding of variation in lyrics. Finally, exploring variation at the individual level is also a path worth pursuing, as recent work on Spanish code-switching in Pitbull (Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2017) and The Texas Tornados (Loureiro-Rodríguez, Moyna, & Robles, 2018) has demonstrated.

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