This paper focuses on variation in the use of address forms in Uruguayan border Spanish, a variety in daily contact with Portuguese in the bilingual town of Rivera, on the Uruguayan-Brazilian border. More specifically, it studies the choice between verbal voseo (sos, ‘you are’) and verbal tuteo (eres, ‘you are’). By exploring the forces that determine speakers’ choices between 2nd person verbs that correspond with either tu or vos, this paper seeks to find and explain social, linguistic, and discourse conditioners that underline current variation, alternation, and change, based on data collected from 36 sociolinguistic interviews.

Although this dialectal area has been classified as tuteante (Rona 1965, Elizaincín, Behares and Barrios 1987), Varbrul analysis shows current variation between the newly incorporated vos and the more local tú. Among the linguistic factors conditioning the variable, linguistic parallelism was found to be the most important, followed by expression of a pronoun, and level of specificity. An analysis of the social factors reveals a tendency among younger generations, the middle-class, and women to incorporate vos into their dialect as a way of converging with the dialect of Montevideo, the Uruguayan capital. These results support my previous hypothesis of dialect leveling as a result of recent urbanization of this border dialect.

Quantitative results of general distributional patterns are complemented by a qualitative analysis of interactional strategies revealed by vos/tú alternation during sociolinguistic interviews. This analysis points to direct and indirect quotations as a site for frequent address form alternation. Quotations have been revealed as an important type of realignment by Zentella (1996) in her analysis of code-switching. Koven (2001) finds that, through quotation, speakers enact socio-culturally locatable identities. In my study, an analysis of quotations where the local tú and the non-local vos verbal forms are alternated depending on the reported interlocutor demonstrates that this variable is an important sociolinguistic resource in enacting socio-cultural identities. For example, when speakers want to highlight the interlocutor’s local identity, the tú verbal form is used and, conversely, when affiliation with an outside group is emphasized, the vos form is preferred. By capturing this relationship, this analysis elucidates, at a micro level, the social patterns found in the macro distribution of this variable.

Thus, in addition to a purely quantitative approach to the study of address forms, this paper discusses how speakers’ use of this variable when representing themselves and others in a single discourse turn mirrors social identities revealed by group linguistic behavior. Ultimately, this study pinpoints the need to conciliate interactional and variationist approaches in order to fully understand the dynamics of this linguistic change.