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# Variation and change in the second person singular pronouns *tu* and *você* in Santa Catarina (Brazil)

**Abstract:** This chapter aims to provide an overview regarding variation and change between *tu* and *você* pronouns in six samples of personal letters from the PHPB-SC, covering the period between 1870s and 1990s. Considering samples examined in this study, some tendencies may be signalized: (i) in the 19th century *tu* is largely used, while in the 20th century variation between *tu* and *você* is observed; (ii) *tu* is mostly correlated to null subjects, and *você* is mostly correlated to explicit subjects; (iii) *tu* seems to be associated to personal issues and *você* seems to be associated to professional issues; (iv) *tu* is used most in Greater Florianópolis mesoregion, while *você* is the most productive pronoun in the Planalto Serrano, Vale do Itajaí and Northern Santa Catarina mesoregions, and these preferences appears to have some relation to the colonization of these cities. These results are discussed based on the field of historical sociolinguistics and may contribute to the second person singular pronouns description concerning written Portuguese in Brazil and in Santa Catarina specifically.

**Keywords:** second person singular pronouns, personal letters, diachrony, Florianópolis

## 1 Introduction

In this chapter, we propose a mapping of the process of variation and change in the use of informal second person singular pronouns *tu* and *você* in the Portuguese of Florianópolis, capital of the state of Santa Catarina, located in Southern Brazil. The investigation of this linguistic phenomenon in Florianópolis is particularly interesting because the city's patterns of use are distinct from patterns found in other regions of Brazil, where *você* has replaced *tu* as the informal second person singular pronoun.

In Florianópolis, *tu* – the oldest second person singular pronoun in the pronominal pool of the Portuguese language, and a Latin inheritance – still persists and even flourishes, as studies by Loregian-Penkal (2004), Rocha (2012), Davet (2013), among others have shown. This may be due to the Azorean colonization of

the region in the middle of the 18th century (Furlan 1989; Oliveira 2004; Coelho & Görski 2011) and to the geographic isolation of the Island of Santa Catarina, which persisted until the early decades of the 20th century, when the first bridge connecting the island to the mainland was constructed (Nunes de Souza 2011; 2015; Nunes de Souza & Coelho 2015).<sup>1</sup>

Based on these assumptions, this study describes variation and change in the pronouns *tu* and *você* in Florianópolis, investigating the following areas: (i) pronoun distribution in the Portuguese currently spoken in Florianópolis, in contrast with that spoken in other cities of Santa Catarina; (ii) the rate of use of both pronouns in personal letters written by *Catarinenses*<sup>2</sup> in the 19th and 20th centuries; and (iii) the group of internal and external factors that may be correlated to the process of variation and change in the pronominal forms. This study leads us to reflect on (i) differences and similarities concerning the use of the pronouns *tu* and *você* in different parts of the state of Santa Catarina and the evaluation of this use; (ii) evidence of linguistic change or stability; (iii) patterns of variation and change; and (iv) aspects of the social history of the state which may help explain this pronominal variation/change process. The chapter begins with an overview of studies investigating the distribution of second person singular pronouns in Florianópolis and in other cities of Santa Catarina at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries.

## 1.1 Present-day variation

Let us first consider the present-day situation. Examples (1) to (4) are taken from speech data from the city of Florianópolis, extracted from Rocha (2012) and Davet (2013), and illustrate the use of different variants of second person singular in the subject position. In example (1), we observe the use of the null pronoun *tu*, with second person singular agreement expressed on the verb. In example (2), *tu* is present and followed by a verb unmarked for person.<sup>3</sup> Example (3) illustrates

<sup>1</sup> The territory of Florianópolis is mainly situated on an island, but also extends to a small area of the mainland.

<sup>2</sup> *Catarinense* is the term used to refer to those born in the state of Santa Catarina. In this chapter, the term will be used both as a noun, and as an adjective meaning ‘from’ or ‘of’ Santa Catarina. Other Brazilian state terms like *Paulista* (from São Paulo), *Gaúcho* (from Rio Grande do Sul) and *Paranaense* (from Paraná) are also kept in their original Portuguese form.

<sup>3</sup> In Portuguese, third person singular subject pronouns *ele/ela* (‘he/she’) are followed exclusively by a verb unmarked for person (for example, *ele/ela fala*Ø – *he/she speak*Ø). As distinct from Angolan Portuguese, for example, in Brazilian Portuguese second person singular subject pronoun *você*, like pronouns *ele/ela*, only precedes an unmarked verb (*você fala*Ø – *you*

the use of *você*, which in Brazilian Portuguese is categorically combined with a verb with no morphemic person marking. Finally, example (4) shows both overt *tu* with second person singular agreement expressed on the verb and the pronoun *você*.

- (1) eu tinha até uma professora que já era viúva...  
 /I had even a teacher who already was widow.../  
 já era uma mulher,  
 /[she] already was a woman,/  
 e ela assim: ai, *vais casar*  
 /and she like: yikes, **Ø.2sg go.pres.2sg marry.inf**<sup>4</sup>/  
 com operário,  
 /with factory worker,/  
 e eu ficava quieta...  
 /and I would remain silent.../

‘I even had a teacher who was already a widow... she was already a woman, and she would go like: yikes, are you going to marry a factory worker, and I would remain silent...’ (Floripa Sample, 2010s)<sup>5</sup>

- (2) ee daí me cercaram e falaram assim:  
 /and then they me surrounded and said like:/  
 ‘ou *tu dá* o troco do pão ou  
 /‘either **you.2sg give.pres.3sg** [us] the change for the bread or/  
 a gente vai levar o teu relógio’  
 /we will take the your watch/’

‘and then they surrounded me and said: “either you give us change for the bread or we will take your watch”’ (Floripa Sample, 2010s)

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*speak*Ø). As seen in examples (1), (2), and (4), *tu* is followed by a verb with varying behavior that may or may not take the second person singular morphemic mark -s (*tu fala*Ø or *tu falas*). Once it is traditionally associated with third person, the unmarked verb is referred to (here and in other texts) as third person verbal morphology or verb in 3P, even when coupled with a second person pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> The glosses provide POS transcription for the italicized phrase in the original text.

<sup>5</sup> The samples are described in Section 4.1.

- (3) Às vezes *você toma* uma atitude  
 /Sometimes **you.2sg take.pres.3sg** an action/  
 que não deveria ser aquela,  
 /that not should be that,  
 mas depois você pode ficar  
 /but later **you.2sg may.pres.3sgstay.inf**/  
 com a consciência pesada.  
 /with a conscience heavy./

‘Sometimes you take an action that you shouldn’t, and later you may have a heavy conscience’ (VARFUL Sample, 1990s)

- (4) *Tu não me vens* com Luciano do Vale  
 /**You.2sg not to me come.pres.2sg** [with] Luciano do Vale/  
 que também ele pode entender muito  
 /that as well he may know a lot/  
 lá dos comentários dele lá.  
 /[there] about the comments of his, there./  
 Como *você sabe* o filho dele joga futebol.  
 /As **you.2sg know.pres.3sg** the son of his plays soccer./

‘Don’t come talking to me about Luciano do Vale, because he may know a lot about those comments of his as well. As you know, his son plays soccer’ (VARFUL Sample, 1990s)

Even though the topic of this chapter is variation in second person singular pronominal forms *tu* and *você* in the subject position, it is important to explain the verbal morphology that accompanies *tu* for readers who are not familiar with Brazilian Portuguese. In examples (1) and (4), *tu*, both null and overt, is followed by a verb with the distinctive second person singular morpheme *-s* (third person *vai* ‘go’ becomes second person *vais*, for example). In example (2), the verb that follows *tu* does not have the distinctive second person (2P) morpheme (*dá* Ø ‘give’ instead of *dás*).

Moreover, it is also possible to use a distinctive second person morpheme *-sse*, known as “assimilated”, in the past tense indicative (see Loregian-Penkak 2004; Davet 2013), although the morpheme is not present among the variants depicted in the examples. This results in three verbal morphology configurations which can be combined with *tu* in the past tense indicative: (1) the presence of the morpheme defining second person singular *-ste* (*tu falaste* ‘you spoke’, for example); (2) the absence of a specific morpheme to distinguish the person (*tu falou* ‘you spoke’, for example); and (3) the presence of the assimilated second person singular morpheme *-sse* (*tu falasse* ‘you spoke’).

## 1.2 Focusing on a diachronic perspective

The diachronic data central to this study are from six samples of personal letters by *Catarinenses* dating from 1880 to 1992. The varying second person singular forms found are the same as those identified in speech data samples from the late 20th and early 21st centuries, as illustrated in examples (5) to (8), which means that diachrony is still ‘alive’ in the present-day use of Portuguese in Florianópolis. Example (5) illustrates the use of null pronoun *tu*, identified through the distinctive second person singular morpheme *-s* on the verb that follows it. Example (6) shows the use of overt *tu* coupled with a verb with no distinctive morpheme for person. In example (7), we can observe the use of *você*, which, as previously mentioned, in Brazilian Portuguese is only used alongside a verb unmarked for person. Finally, example (8) displays the variants identified in examples (5) and (7), and the use of overt *tu*, followed by a verb marked for second person singular.

- (5) *comquanto passassemos tanto tempo sem nos comunicar*  
 /even though it takes so long without us communicate/  
*por meio da escripta,*  
 /by means of the writing,/  
*continúas a ser meu maior amigo,*  
 /Ø.2sg remain.pres.2sg [to be] my greatest friend,/  
*o mais altamente sincero e dedicado; [...]*  
 /the most highly sincere and dedicated; [...]/

‘even though it takes us so long to communicate through writing, you remain my greatest friend, the most highly sincere and dedicated’ (CS Sample, 1890s)

- (6) *Tudo era triste...!*  
 /Everything was sad...!/  
*E eis que derepente tu surge,*  
 /And then, [that] suddenly you.2sgappear.pres.3sg,/  
*em uma tarde inesquecível,*  
 /in one afternoon unforgettable,/  
*talves ao encontro de um alguém [...]*  
 /maybe by meeting of a someone [...]/

‘Everything was sad...! And then, suddenly, you appear in one unforgettable afternoon, maybe to meet someone’ (VL Sample, 1960s)

- (7) Mas ontem a B me telefonou  
 /But yesterday the B me called/  
 e disse que *você* já *comprou*.  
 /and said that **you.2sg** already **have.3sg buy.past** [them]/  
 Tudo bem. Não se afogue com estas  
 /Everything alright. Not yourself go choking with these/  
 balinhas e maçãs. Acho que era só isto.  
 /candies and apples. [I] think that [it] was all./

‘But yesterday B called me and said that you have already bought them. That’s alright. Don’t go choking yourself on these candies and apples. I think that was all’ (MD Sample, 1980s)

- (8) Não importa-me dançar!  
 /Not care to-me dancing!/  
*Compreendes*, a não ser que  
 /**Ø.2sg understand.pres.2sg**, unless [that]/  
*você pedisse!* do contrário ficarei  
 /**you.2sg ask.past.3sg!**/ otherwise [I] would spend/  
*a noite inteira apreciando [rasura]* tu tocares! Adoro!  
 /the night all watching **you.2sg play.pres.2sg!** [I] love it!/  
 /I do not care about dancing! You understand, unless you asked me to! Otherwise I would spend all night watching you play! I love it!’ (VL Sample, 1960s)

Putting to one side the morphological idiosyncrasies of the verbs that follow the second person singular pronouns – which were not part of the criteria used in the selection of the analyzed variable – and observing only the variation between *tu* and *você*, the eight examples illustrate three patterns of use of second person singular pronouns: (i) exclusive use of *tu* (examples (1), (2), (5) and (6)); (ii) exclusive use of *você* (examples (3) and (7)); and (iii) alternation of *tu* and *você* in the same text (examples (4) and (8)).

### 1.3 Questions and hypotheses

Based on these observations, the following questions arise: (i) What diachronic path can be noted regarding variation and change in the use of pronouns *tu* and *você*? (ii) Which linguistic and extralinguistic factors influence the distribution of the pronouns *tu* and *você*? (iii) Is it possible to affirm that *você* has made its way

into the *Catarinense* variety of Portuguese as early as the end of the 20th century?  
 (iv) What is the social and linguistic history of the presence of the new form *você* in *Catarinense* samples?

We seek to answer these questions by examining the phenomenon in personal letters, limiting the analysis to the subject position. Our main hypothesis, supported by previous studies, is that, even though the innovative pronoun *você* was widespread in Brazilian Portuguese, it was not yet very frequent in personal letters by *Catarinenses* at the end of the 20th century (when our latest sample was produced), with a predominance of the earliest form *tu*.

Further hypotheses lead on logically from the first: (i) *tu* is highly frequent in both centuries as null subject of second person (2P) verbal morphology in more informal contexts, especially in symmetrical relations between lovers, friends and family members; (ii) the new pronoun *você* makes its entry in the early 20th century, combined with third person (3P) verbal morphology, bearing traces of the formality conveyed by *Vossa Mercê* ('lit. Your Mercy'), the address form that preceded innovative *você*; (iii) people begin employing the form *você*, in the middle of the 20th century, in the same discourse contexts as those for *tu* (informal situations such as the symmetrical relations between lovers, friends and family members); and (iv) *você* does not supplant *tu* in the analyzed sample.

## 1.4 Theoretical background

This investigation is situated in the field of historical sociolinguistics (see Conde Silvestre 2007), which is grounded in the principles of the theory of variation and change (see Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 2006 [1968]). We seek to understand and explain processes of variation and change in written documents from the past, spread across different moments of the 19th and 20th centuries. In so doing, we start from the following principles: (i) variation is inherent to language systems; (ii) structured variability therefore characterizes the normal use of the language; (iii) language change is gradual; (iv) processes of language variation/change are connected to social and linguistic factors; (v) quantitative procedures may help explain linguistic variation and change.

From this theoretical point of view, we understand that as change develops, we must assume the existence of systematic heterogeneity, whether in data from the present or from the past. Our investigation starts with the varying forms found in the present, which allows us to observe, in documents written in the past, at which moment and through which paths the new form enters the language. We

believe that, in accordance with the principle of linguistic uniformity,<sup>6</sup> the linguistic factors that favor language change in the present are not absolutely different from those in motion in the past. It is possible to assume that, from the moment *você* begins competing with pronoun *tu*, the linguistic variation between the two pronouns in the past was structured in the same way as it is in the present. Our starting point is therefore the results from speech samples, which will be discussed in Section 4.

In addition, personal letters have been analyzed in order to ascertain the varying uses of the pronouns *tu* and *você* in written documents. We believe that letters are texts “that translate into the written genre, communicative exchanges that occurred or could occur in oral speech” (Conde Silvestre 2007: 45). This type of text is likely to manifest a greater degree of variation since it shows, in a way, written records that can reproduce the vernacular of different epochs. It therefore allows for a tighter correlation between linguistic and social factors, the latter including, as far as possible, the personal circumstances reflected in the relationship between senders and their addressees. In letters, the influence of the recipient is likely to be present in the choices the writer makes between the varying forms.

In addition to reconstructing the pronominal system of the past through the lens of the present, we will observe whether it is possible to reconstruct the social contexts of the past from the different styles reflected in the historical documents. Following the observations made by Conde Silvestre (2007) of the stylistic-social continuum theorized by Labov (1966; 1972), we assume that differences in style may, to some extent, be related to social differences. In other words, variants used in more informal contexts correspond to those more frequently used by people towards the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, whereas variants present in formal contexts correspond, to a certain extent, to the forms more frequently used by those towards the top of the hierarchy. The more formal variants found in the speech of higher status speakers are better evaluated, whereas the forms that are more frequent in the speech of lower status speakers have less prestige or can even be stigmatized.

Throughout our discussion, we will focus on the realization of the pronominal subject, a variation phenomenon much debated by those dedicated to investigating changes in Brazilian Portuguese. We depart from reflections by Duarte

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<sup>6</sup> According to Milroy (1992, cited in Conde Silvestre 2007: 41), “in its sociolinguistic contemporary formulation, this principle prescribes seeing variability as an inherent trait of languages, from past to present and understanding that, in the same way that different languages display this characteristic nowadays, we can assume they were subject to variability in their historical development”.



(1993, 1995), Duarte et al. (2012) and Gravina (2008, 2014) about the use of the subject in the Southern Region of Brazil, observing the behavior of this variable in the samples investigated here.

## 1.5 Organization of the chapter

Section 2 presents the socio-historical context of the state of Santa Catarina and its capital, Florianópolis. Section 3 is dedicated to studies that examine the variation of *tu* and *você* in speech samples by *Catarinenses* in recent decades. Section 4 presents the methodology, including a description of the six samples of personal letters written by *Catarinenses* in the 19th and 20th centuries and the *tu* and *você* controlled variables. It also presents statistical results of the use (or lack thereof) of the pronominal subject in the letter samples. Section 5 discusses the results in relation to our hypothesis that linguistic change in the use of second person pronominal forms is a slow process in the letters by *Catarinenses*. Finally, we present our conclusions based on the study's findings.

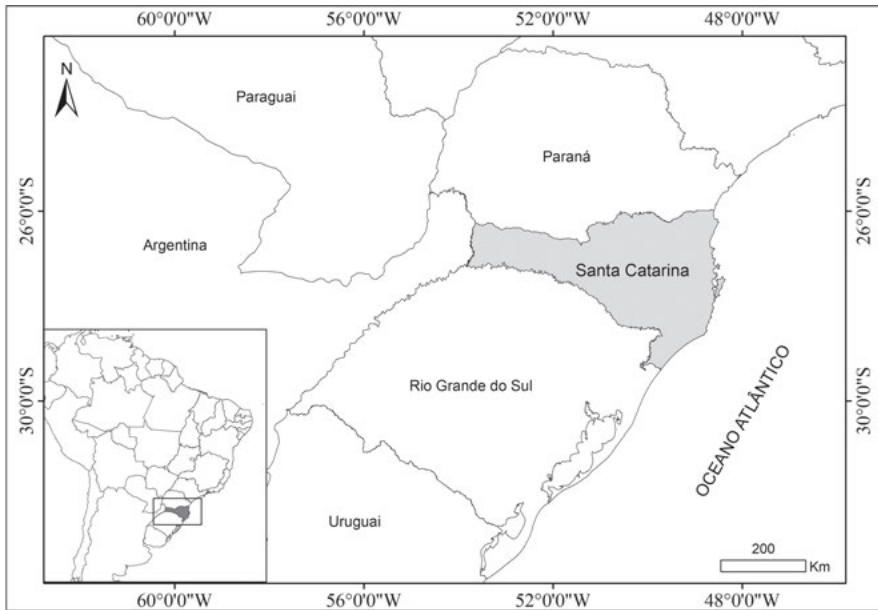
## 2 Socio-historical context

In order to contextualize the social history of the state of Santa Catarina (see Map 1 below), we turn our attention to pioneer studies by Furlan (1989) and Koch (2000), as well as hypotheses on the appearance of pronouns *tu* and *você* in Santa Catarina through contact during different historical moments in the 18th century.

According to Furlan (1989), the linguistic history of the coastal areas becomes particularly interesting during the mid-18th century, as the Portuguese government offered incentives for Azoreans to emigrate to the coast of Santa Catarina (from São Francisco to the north down to Laguna in the south, including the Island of Santa Catarina) seeking to expand the settlement of the state. Between 1748 and 1756, about 1,000 Madeirans and 5,000 Azoreans were transferred from the Archipelagos of Madeira and The Azores to populate Santa Catarina.<sup>7</sup> This would have resulted in a population increase of more than 100%. The immigrants were, in general, illiterate, and their culture was associated with the conservative practices and values of the 15th and 16th centuries. Historians' accounts claim

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<sup>7</sup> According to Mosimann (2010), some have argued that the ship bringing the largest number of Madeiran immigrants in 1759 may well have sunk and, in fact, only 59 Madeirans arrived on the *Catarinense* shore.



**Map 1:** Map of Santa Catarina (Brazil).

that the Azoreans who arrived in the south of Brazil, up until that point, would have been living in a feudal socioeconomic system (see also Mosimann 2010). According to Furlan (1989), these immigrants brought with them the pronouns *tu* (as an informal address form) and *vós* and *Vossa Mercê* (for polite address), in addition to the palatalized /s/, which is still present in the region. In the 19th century, the building of a new harbor on the island was responsible for the development of commercial and administrative activities in the capital. However, access to the Island of Santa Catarina was only made easy in the 1920s, with the construction of the Hercílio Luz Bridge. From that point on, a significant growth in population was evident, as schools and other public buildings were built.

In the same period, the Planalto Serrano region, where the city of Lages is located, developed as a result of another flow of migration, known as the *Tropeiros* route, where cattlemen from the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais would leave Sorocaba (São Paulo) and the neighboring area, headed to Vacaria in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. On their way south, they would bring a number of goods and, on their way back, they would take back cattle raised in Rio Grande do Sul. This movement guaranteed supply for the population of the Planalto Serrano region, and that section of the route became known as the *Lages path*. It is said that the first people to populate the region were precisely the inhabitants of São

Paulo engaged in travels back and forth along the *Tropeiros* route. It is important to highlight that Lages, up until 1820, was part of the São Paulo captaincy, from where it possibly inherited the retroflex /r/ and the second person pronoun *você*.

According to Nunes de Souza (2015), historians have provided information that helps to interpret these uses: there is consensus among scholars that the *Paulistas* were the first to settle in Lages. Even though cattlemen from São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul all crossed the city of Lages, the *Gaúchos* (from Rio Grande do Sul) had to pay fees to spend the night, which consequently made the place more welcoming for cattlemen from the Southeastern Region than from the Southern Region. In the 20th century, however, a second wave of settlers from Rio Grande do Sul arrived in Lages, and thus guaranteed the city's ties with countless traits of the *Gaúcho* tradition.

Still in Santa Catarina, one other type of colonization left important linguistic traces. This process became known as “late colonization”, due to the migration flow of Germans and Italians at the beginning of the 19th century. The Germans arrived in Southern Brazil, especially in the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, from 1824 onwards. The Italian immigration happened later, starting in 1887. In the areas occupied by German and Italian immigrants, “bilingualism was one of the most expressive, if not the most meaningful, characteristic of the linguistic landscape of Southern Brazil” (Altenhofen 2002: 131). The northern and western portions of Santa Catarina are considered multilingual contact zones, noticeably German (in Blumenau) and Italian (in Chapecó).

The Germans who arrived in the 19th century and overpowered the Indigenous peoples (the Xokleng tribe) had a prominent role in the colonization of Blumenau. The majority of German migrants were Protestants, a religion that was different from the one practiced in Brazil. The religious divergence, alongside other linguistic and cultural aspects, contributed to their continued isolation, preserving their language and their culture. It is an acknowledged fact that, at the beginning of the 20th century, due to nationalist policies, Portuguese was made compulsory in schools of Blumenau, thereby imposing the language on native speakers of German. During this period, according to Büchler (1914, as cited in Vandresen 2008), the pronominal paradigm found in schoolbooks that were used to teach Portuguese as a second language did not include the pronouns *tu* and *vós*. We can therefore conclude that the second person singular pronoun learned at schools in Blumenau – whose people spoke Portuguese as a second language – was *você*, not *tu*.

The colonization of Chapecó, now a major city in the west of Santa Catarina, also underwent the influence of two main flows of migration. The first settlers, in 1838, were cattlemen from São Paulo who traveled along the path known as *Estrada das Missões*, connecting Guarapuava, in Paraná, to Cruz Alta, in Rio Grande do Sul, cutting through Chapecó. The second wave of settlers arrived

around 1917, from Italy. The Italians who colonized Chapecó migrated within the country, creating what has been known in history as New Colonies. Margotti (2004) asserts that after the War of *Contestado* (1916) the government decided to populate the west of the state. To enable this, plots of land would be sold to German and Italian settlers from Rio Grande do Sul. Even though Chapecó had its origins in the clash between *Paulistas* and the local Indigenous peoples, and later in the territorial dispute between Paraná and Santa Catarina, from 1917 onwards it received a significant number of migrants, mostly Italians from Rio Grande do Sul. This had a huge influence on the present-day characteristics of the area, both in economic terms – the presence of agro-industries – and in cultural terms, with clear affinities shared by the inhabitants of Chapecó and Gaúcho culture in areas such as cuisine, soccer, and language.

According to Margotti (2004), when the Italians arrived in Southern Brazil the Germans had already been there for about 50 years, which influenced the power relations between the two groups. However, unlike the Germans, whose language and culture were significantly different from those of the Portuguese, the Italians were Catholic – the official religion in Brazil – and their language was one of the Romance languages and therefore more similar to Portuguese than German. The varieties of Portuguese that have evolved from these contacts present traits associated with the presence of the German and Italian languages at different linguistic levels.

This socio-historical contextualization is explained in detail in Koch (2000) and Altenhofen (2002), based on dialectological studies from the *Atlas Linguístico Etnográfico da Região Sul do Brasil* (ALERS<sup>8</sup>) project. According to Koch (2000: 59), the Southern Region can be divided into two main linguistic areas: the *Paranaense* and the *Gaúcho*. In this division, the state of Santa Catarina is considered an area of transition, which the author names the *Catarinense* spectrum, with the following factors playing a role in linguistic variation:

1. The presence of Azoreans in the east of Santa Catarina;
2. Political borders with Spanish-speaking countries on the southernmost border and consequent Portuguese-Spanish contact;
3. Contact between *Paulistas* and *Gaúchos* in two opposing migration flows and the role of the *Tropeiro* routes in cattle trade;

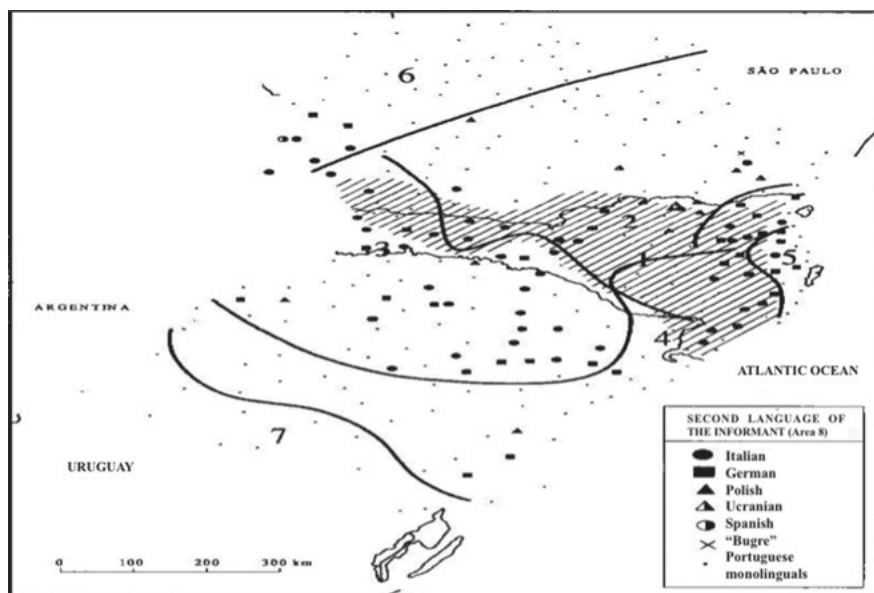
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<sup>8</sup> ALERS is an interinstitutional project initiated in the 1980s that researches an ethnography of special variation in the three states of the Southern Region (Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul). Its research method consists of systematic questionnaires with speakers from the different rural areas of the region.

4. The existence of noticeable bilingual areas, created in the 20th century through the settlement of non-Portuguese-speaking European immigrants in the (old) forest zones.

For Koch, this division is probably a reflex of two moments of colonization in opposite directions. The first was towards the southwest, starting from what he calls old Paraná and the south across Lages and Curitiba, with *Paulista-Paranaense* traces. The second was towards the west, as a result of extending the colonization of the northwestern region of Rio Grande do Sul (the Missions), where a majority of German, Italian and Polish descendants are situated, outside the so-called old colonies.

Complementing the detailed analysis presented by Koch (2000), Altenhofen (2002) lists the following geolinguistic scenarios for the Portuguese spoken in rural areas of the Southern Region of Brazil, based on data mapped by ALERS, which are set out in Map 2:



**Map 2:** Linguistic areas of the Southern Region (see Map 1) based on data from ALERS (Source: Altenhofen 2002: 133).

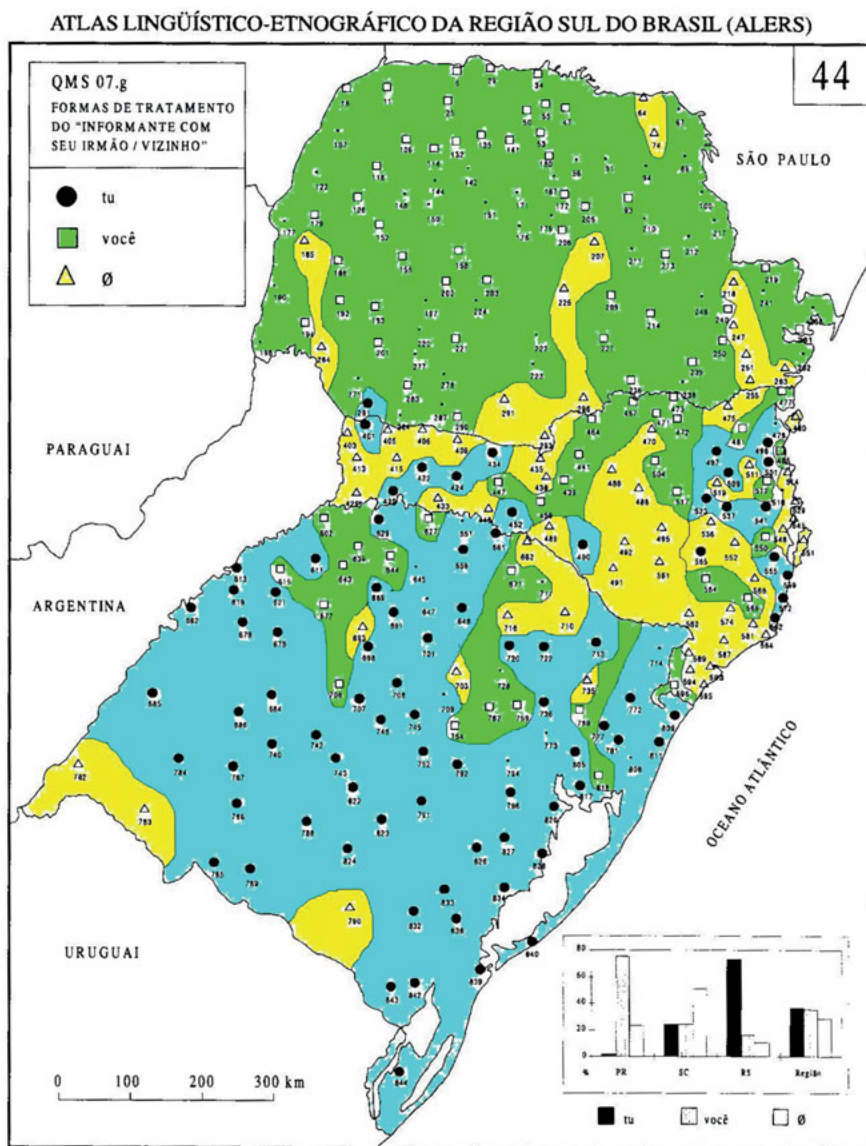
1. Santa Catarina is an area of transition (the *Catarinense* spectrum postulated by Koch 2000) between Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná;
2. The central route towards Paraná has the shape of a wedge, with the migration routes of the *Paulistas*;

3. The western pathway towards Rio Grande do Sul is an area under the influence of European immigrants;
4. The eastern route headed to Rio Grande do Sul (*Gaúcho* cluster, according to Koch 2000) is an area that portrays the occupation of the Campos de Cima da Serra and Lages;
5. The lateral Azorean-*Catarinense* zone ranges from Laguna to São Francisco do Sul;
6. The lateral zone in the North of Paraná (*Paranaense* cluster, according to Koch 2000) is related to the form of colonization;
7. The lateral zone of the foreign border of Rio Grande do Sul is related to traces of the contact between Portuguese and Spanish.

The present study is particularly concerned with the first five areas identified in Map 2, looking at Santa Catarina as an area of transition between Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná. In the central route towards Paraná we can note the migration routes of *Paulistas* in the cattle trade and the influence they left in Lages. In the western pathway towards Rio Grande do Sul, we can see the traces left by the *Gaúcho* Italian descendants in Chapecó. In the Eastern route headed to Rio Grande do Sul, the *Gaúcho* influence on the colonization of Lages can also be observed. The lateral zone experienced Azorean (and Madeiran) colonization, along the *Catarinense* coast, from Laguna to São Francisco do Sul, including the Island of Santa Catarina. These areas in particular account for the colonization of the Planalto Serrano region and the coast (see Margotti 2004 and Rocha 2012), and are particularly relevant to the discussions that follow.

In order to illustrate the *Catarinense* spectrum, we now turn to a map from ALERS, which shows the answers by speakers from rural areas to a question about the use of the second person singular pronoun. The set of questions about the second person in the questionnaire took into account the linguistic sensibility of the speakers regarding symmetrical and asymmetrical relations between interlocutors, for example brother-to-brother, parent-to-child, child-to-parent, and friend-to-friend. The results are presented in Map 3, and show the second person forms used by speakers to address a sibling or neighbor.

The areas marked with squares represent the places where speakers from rural areas interviewed by ALERS used the pronoun *você* to address a sibling or neighbor. This use is predominant in the state of Paraná (mostly in green to the north) but can also be found in some small regions of Santa Catarina (centre) and Rio Grande do Sul (south). These regions coincide with the *Tropeiros* route, identified by Altenhofen (2002) as the central route projected towards Paraná. The areas with black circles identify the places where rural speakers used the pronoun *tu* to speak to a sibling or neighbor. We can observe that this use is



**Map 3:** Address form used by informants with a sibling/neighbor.

(Source: ALERS 2002, adapted by Rocha 2012: 53).

predominant in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In Santa Catarina, the pronoun *tu* is found especially in the coastal regions, as well as in the north of the state. Looking at the map, according to Rocha (2012: 54), “we are given the impression that *tu* ascends from the Southern region towards the north and bumps into *você*, definitely in Santa Catarina”.<sup>9</sup>

The generalization proposed by Koch (2000), according to which Santa Catarina is a transition zone between two greater linguistic areas – the *Paranaense* and the *Gaúcho* – can, to a certain extent, be seen at work. With these results from ALERS and the social history of Santa Catarina alone, it is already possible to relate the factor “colonizing ethnic group” to the variety found in the coastal and the Planalto Serrano cities as well as the northern and western regions of the state. The social and linguistic history of these areas allow us to correlate the following:

- Florianópolis and the use of *tu* due to the influence of the Azorean colonization (in the middle of the 18th century);
- Lages and the use of *você* due to the influence of the *Paulista* colonization (in the middle of the 18th century);
- Blumenau and the preferred use of *você*, through the influence of school (at the beginning of the 20th century);
- Chapecó and the preferred use of *tu* due to the influence of the *Gaúcho* colonization (at the beginning of the 20th century).

In spite of the fact that the social history of the state of Santa Catarina, as told by historians and linguists, helps us to understand the role the colonizing ethnic groups played in the language used today in the state, it is easy to perceive that some ethnic groups – especially those from the European continent – are privileged in this narrative. It is undeniable, however, that other ethnic groups, frequently made invisible in the historical narrative as told by Europeans, have significantly contributed to the formation of the *Catarinense*, and consequently, to the language spoken by them. Some noteworthy examples are the roles played by the Kaingang, Xokleng and Guarani peoples, who still inhabit (though in small numbers) the state of Santa Catarina. In addition, the *Catarinense* are, to a considerable degree, made up of individuals of African descent. This is mainly due to the centuries of slavery to which Africans and African descendants were

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<sup>9</sup> The triangles in the yellow areas indicate the places where speakers did not use a pronoun. These results will not be taken into account in this analysis, since the research did not control whether the null pronoun was *tu* (*Ø Sabes que horas são?* – ‘Do Ø know what time it is?’) or *você*, which is often called neutral as it is not marked for person in the subject or verb morphology (*Ø sabe que horas são?* – ‘Ø know the time?’).



subjected on Brazilian territory. About 15% of the *Catarinense* population self-declared as “Black” in the 2010 census conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). Few studies examine the influence of Indigenous and African peoples on the language spoken in the state and those that exist tend to focus on lexical aspects (Altenhofen 2002). In spite of this, we believe that “the” socio-historical context that we have presented here is an important factor in explaining the use of second person pronouns by *Catarinenses*, which will be discussed in the next sections.

### 3 The use of the present to explain the past

The description of the alternation between second person pronouns *tu* and *você* in spoken Portuguese, not only in Santa Catarina, but also in the remaining two states of the Southern Region, was greatly aided by the creation in the 1990s of the VARSUL<sup>10</sup> (Linguistic Variation in Southern Brazil) database. The initial sample from Santa Catarina was complemented by samples consisting of sociolinguistic interviews that were similar in form to those of the initial data collection model used by VARSUL. These additional interviews contribute above all to the description of the Portuguese language spoken in the capital, which was, consequently, the preferred location for the subsequent sample collections.

Due to the update of the VARSUL database with data collected in subsequent decades, it is possible to make a comparison between the use of the pronouns in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s in the city of Florianópolis. In order to conduct the comparison, we looked at studies by (a) Loregian-Penkal (2004), who analyzed the initial VARSUL sample and the Brescancini Sample;<sup>11</sup> (b) Rocha (2012),

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**10** “VARSUL (Linguistic Variation in the Southern Brazil) is a research nucleus that contains different data samples. In the Base Sample, there are 288 interviews conducted in the Southern Region in the 1990s. In each of the three states, the capitals and three other cities were chosen, the latter representative of different ethnicities and settlements: in Paraná, the cities of Curitiba, Irati, Londrina and Pato Branco; in Santa Catarina, the cities of Florianópolis, Chapecó, Lages and Blumenau; and in Rio Grande do Sul, the cities of Porto Alegre, Flores da Cunha, São Borja and Panambi. In each city, 24 interviews were carried out with informants stratified according to the variables gender, schooling and age group. More information on VARSUL can be found on their webpage: <www.varsul.org.br>” (Nunes de Souza 2015: 77).

**11** “The Brescancini Sample consists of 12 interviews conducted by researcher Cláudia Regina Brescancini in the 1990s, for her master’s thesis. The informants of this sample are residents of the Ribeirão da Ilha neighbourhood – the second oldest district in the capital of Santa Catarina, far from Downtown, where cultural characteristics (cuisine, architecture, economy) of the

who cross-analyzed interviews from the initial VARSUL sample, the Monguilhott Sample<sup>12</sup> and the Floripa Sample; and (c) Davet (2013), who studied the Floripa Sample.<sup>13</sup> These studies present results about the alternation between the second person pronouns *tu* and *você* in the subject position, the varying realization of the verb agreement with the pronoun *tu*, and the correlation between pronouns used as subjects and pronouns used in other morphosyntactic contexts. These results are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Trends in the use of *tu* in speech data from Florianópolis in the 1990s and 2006–2012 (adapted from Loregian-Penkal 2004; Rocha 2012; and Davet 2013).

Variable	Controls	Trends in use	
		1990s	2006–2012
Second person singular subject pronoun	Preferred pronoun	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Tu</i>
	Social contexts	The young	The young
		Better educated	Better educated
		Women	Women
		Urban area	Urban area
	–	Symmetrical, asymmetrical and hierarchically descending relations	
Linguistic contexts	Determinate subject	–	
	Pronoun is absent (null subject)	Pronoun is present (overt subject)	

Loregian-Penkal’s study (2004) takes into account both the linguistic behavior attributed to the community and the linguistic behavior found in individual anal-

Azorean settlers are preserved – and were equally divided by gender and schooling, on the basis of the VARSUL Sample-base, but not by age group” (Nunes de Souza 2015: 75).

**12** “The Monguilhott Sample consists of 32 interviews, 16 of which were collected in Florianópolis and 16 in Lisbon during the years 2006 and 2007. On that occasion, the researcher Isabel de Oliveira e Silva Monguilhott collected the data for her doctoral thesis, defended in 2009. She was concerned with contemplating more and less urban areas in each of the cities, as well as informants of different educational levels and age groups, disregarding the variable ‘gender’.” (Nunes de Souza 2015: 76).

**13** “The Floripa Sample consists of interviews conducted by students of the discipline Sociolinguistics and Dialectology, offered by the PPGLg (*Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística*) at UFSC (*Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina*), between 2009 and 2012, and includes a less urban area in the city of Florianópolis” (Nunes de Souza 2015: 76).

yses. She begins her investigation by presenting a chart indicating the individual preferences of the participants. Of the 24 interviewees in the urban areas of Florianópolis in the 1990s, 13 used only the pronoun *tu*, one used only *você*, and the remaining 10 alternated between the two pronouns. Of the 11 informants from Ribeirão da Ilha (a less urbanized neighborhood) in the same decade, seven used only the pronoun *tu* and four alternated between the two forms. In other words, none of the informants exclusively used *você* in Ribeirão da Ilha.

In her conclusion, Loregian-Penkal (2004) points to the predominance of pronoun *tu* over *você* both in urbanized Florianópolis and in Ribeirão da Ilha. In the initial VARSUL sample, in turn, the informants make use of *tu* in the subject position in 585 of the 767 occurrences of 2P (76%). In the Brescancini Sample (collected in Ribeirão da Ilha), this number becomes larger as the informants utilize the older pronoun in 445 of the 462 occurrences of 2P (96%), which reveals a more widespread use of *tu* in the less urbanized area in contrast with the more urbanized area of the *Catarinense* capital.

In the correlation between the dependent variable and the extralinguistic factor groups, a similarity can be perceived between the two locations investigated by the author. As far as the age of the informants is concerned, no significant statistical difference was found between age groups, but both locations show greater use of *tu* among informants aged between 25 and 49 than among those over 50. Regarding school instruction, both in Ribeirão da Ilha and in the urban areas the more educated speakers use *tu* more frequently than those with fewer years of schooling. Finally, although the difference in men's and women's use of *tu* is marked in the urban areas and minimal in the non-urban neighborhood, women appear to be leading the use of *tu* as opposed to *você* in both areas.

Loregian-Penkal (2004) also identifies contexts where the pronoun *tu* is more likely to occur in each location. In the more urbanized area of Florianópolis, the extralinguistic variables “gender” and “school instruction” are significant as they point to the same trends found in the frequencies: women and the more educated speakers tend to use the older pronoun *tu*. The linguistic variables “discourse determination”<sup>14</sup> and “overt vs. null-subject pronouns” are significant, with determinate discourse and the absence of the pronoun (null subject) favoring the

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14 In the study by Loregian-Penkal (2004), the variable “discourse determination” refers to (in) determination of the pronoun referent. If the referent is recoverable, it is categorized as determinate; if there is no way to retrieve the referent, it is categorized as indeterminate. Among the examples offered by the author are the following: (i) when I came here the manager told me: “É, Alemão, *tu não é fácil*” (‘Yes, German, you are not easy’) (determinate); and (ii) “*pra entrá no hospital tu precisa dá uma entrada, senão eles não aceitam*” (‘to enter the hospital you need to pay in advance, otherwise they will not take you in’) (indeterminate).

use of *tu*. In Ribeirão da Ilha, in contrast, no extralinguistic variables are selected as significant. However, one linguistic variable is significant – “discourse determination”, with determinate discourse favoring *tu*, which follows the pattern of use in the more urbanized area of the *Catarinense* capital.

Rocha (2012), in turn, investigates the distribution of the pronouns *tu*, *você*, and *o senhor* in subject position in 28 interviews. Four of the interviews were conducted in the 1990s, and the others between 2006 and 2009. Participants came from urban zones – the City Center and the Ingleses neighborhood – and less urban zones – the neighborhoods of Ribeirão da Ilha, Costa da Lagoa, Santo Antônio de Lisboa and Ratoles. Rocha’s results show that, of the 28 informants, 17 utilized *tu* categorically and 11 alternated between *tu* and *você* – no informants used the form *você* exclusively.

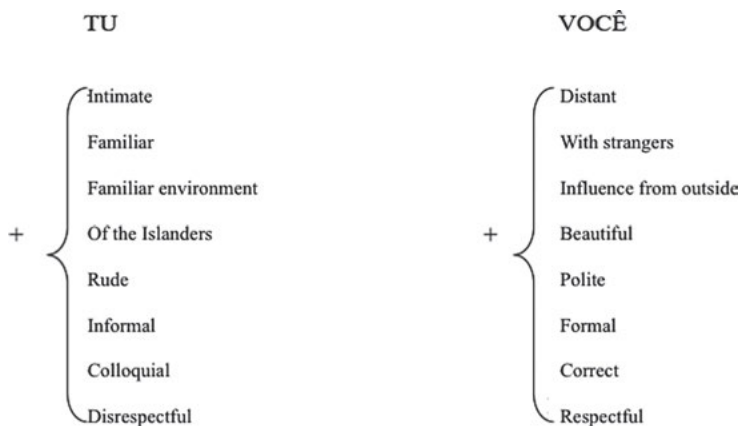
Rocha’s findings (2012) correspond to those presented by Loregian-Penkall (2004): *tu* is favored by young, more educated, female speakers, and those who live in less urbanized urban zones. Rocha also found morphosyntactic correlations pointing towards symmetry in the use of clitics and possessives, with forms associated with the pronoun *tu* (*te*, *teu/tua*) being used in parallel with subject pronoun *tu*. Furthermore, The author identified a decrease in the rate of use of verbal agreement with *tu*, at 19%, contrasting to Loregian-Penkall’s (2004) results of 43% in the central area and 60% in Ribeirão da Ilha.

It is worthwhile mentioning that Rocha (2012) correlated the alternation between *tu* and *você* with using or dropping the pronoun. His results regarding the linguistic variable “overt vs. null subject pronouns” show that both the use of the pronoun *tu* and the use of the pronoun *você* are related to a greater use of the subject pronoun, and possibly for that reason, the variable was not selected as significant. Of the 440 uses of *tu*, 349 (79%) are overt, and of the 99 uses of *você*, 77 (78%) are overt. We believe that the high rate of use of pronoun *tu* is associated with dropping the agreement morpheme, given that once the identification of the subject can no longer be rendered by verbal morphology, the use of the pronominal subject becomes necessary. This association will be further discussed in the following section, where we explore the variable “using the subject pronoun”.

In a more recent study, Davet (2013) analyzed the verbal agreement with pronoun *tu* in more urbanized zones (Ingleses and City Center) and in less urbanized zones (Ribeirão da Ilha and Costa da Lagoa) of Florianópolis, using the Floripa Sample, collected between 2009 and 2012. Davet begins her investigation by mapping individual use of second person singular pronouns in the subject position. In the 31 interviews she examined, 22 informants made categorical use of *tu*, one informant used *você* exclusively, six informants alternated between the two forms, and two informants did not use any form of 2P pronouns. Of particular

relevance to our analysis, the 959 occurrences of second person pronouns found by Davet comprise 147 uses of *você* (15%) and 812 of *tu* (85%). This indicates that the high rates of use of the pronoun *tu* in Florianópolis speech data from the beginning of the 21st century have been maintained.

Other studies of Florianópolis speech have explored individual attitudes towards second person singular pronouns. Part of the study conducted by Ramos (1989) was dedicated to interviewing 36 informants, born and living in urban areas of the city, about their attitudes towards the pronouns *tu* and *você*. The results are presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Attitudes towards pronouns *tu* and *você* in Florianópolis.  
(adapted from Ramos 1989: 46)

4 reveals that Ramos's (1989) informants evaluate the pronoun *tu* in a varied manner, attributing to the form both positive or neutral values like "intimate", "familiar", "of the islanders", "informal" and "colloquial", and negative values, such as "rude" and "disrespectful". On the other hand, *você* is associated with mostly positive or neutral values, such as "beautiful", "correct", or "influence from outside" – even though outsider influence is not always welcome by the residents of the island, as noted by Pagotto (2004). A closer look into the appendices of Ramos's (1989) dissertation, however, shows that pronoun *você* is, at times, evaluated by her participants as "snobbish", a negative value. This evaluation is confirmed in non-systematic observations of spontaneous conversations by Florianópolis residents.

Rocha (2012) also conducted attitudinal tests with 40 speakers from Florianópolis. When asked which form they considered more beautiful, 11% of the informants chose *tu*, 40% chose *você*, 28% chose *senhor* and 12% selected none.

When asked which form they considered ugly or bad, 34% answered *tu*, 4% chose *você*, 2% chose *senhor* and 60% picked none of the options. Although the two studies are 23 years apart, their results seem to reveal the prestige of the form *você* and a certain stigma associated with *tu*, even though, in terms of use, the islanders prefer *tu*, as repeatedly indicated by Loregian-Penkak (2004), Rocha (2012), and Davet (2013).

In order to understand the distinctiveness of second person singular pronoun distribution in the city of Florianópolis, it is useful to compare studies conducted in the capital with studies examining speech data from other locations in Santa Catarina. We believe that the differences found among the cities may in great part be due to their different socio-historical contexts.

Hausen (2000) sought to investigate two variables, the alternation between the 2P pronouns and the varying marking of verbal agreement with pronoun *tu*, starting with the initial VARSUL sample of the cities of Blumenau, Chapecó and Lages. Generally speaking, as far as the distribution of pronouns is concerned, the cities of Santa Catarina present distinct patterns, although some similarities can be pointed out in relation to the groups of conditioning factors for the pronoun's distribution.

Hausen (2000) begins the mapping of pronoun distribution by observing whether there is co-occurrence of *tu* and *você* in the subject position in the same sociolinguistic interview. In 53 of the 72 interviews analyzed, there is variation between the two pronouns. However, some categorical behaviors are observed: (i) three speakers from Blumenau and two from Chapecó use only *tu* during the interview; (ii) two informants from Blumenau, five from Chapecó and six from Lages make categorical use of the pronoun *você*; (iii) one informant from Blumenau does not use any second person singular pronouns: and (iv) no informants from Lages make categorical use of the pronoun *tu*.

The overall pronoun distribution, presented in Table 2, indicates that *você* is more widely used than *tu*, which is different from the distribution in the capital Florianópolis.

Despite the preponderance of *você* in the corpus (74%, or 1,587 of 2,148 uses), some particularities in the use of *tu* (26%, or 561 of the 2,148 uses) in the subject position deserve attention. The first is related to the distribution of variants across localities. Both in Blumenau and Lages, there is a minority use of *tu* (23% and 26% respectively); in Chapecó, on the other hand, the distribution of the two variants is evenly balanced at 50% each.

This preference for *você* can be explained by the socio-historical context of the state. The history of the cities investigated by Hausen (2000) is different from that of the capital, colonized by Azoreans in the 18th century. As we saw in Section 2, Lages was a checkpoint for *Mineiro* and *Paulista* cattlemen in the 18th

**Table 2:** Use of *tu* as opposed to *você* in the subject position in Blumenau, Chapecó and Lages according to informants' social characteristics (adapted from Hausen 2000: 69).

Social characteristics		BLUMENAU		CHAPECÓ		LAGES		TOTAL	
		Tu/ Total	%	Tu/ Total	%	Tu/ Total	%	Tu/ Total	%
<b>Age</b>	25–50	97/ 321	30%	199/ 316	63%	155/ 806	19%	451/ 1.443	31%
	>50	16/ 178	9%	64/ 205	31%	30/ 322	9%	110/ 705	16%
<b>School Instruction<sup>15</sup></b>	Elementary	41/1 47	28%	46/ 123	37%	17/ 228	07%	104/ 498	21%
	Middle School	28/ 146	19%	110/ 173	64%	68/ 415	16%	206/ 734	28%
	High School	44/ 206	21%	107/ 225	48%	100/ 485	21%	251/ 916	27%
<b>Gender</b>	Female	82/ 172	48%	148/ 245	60%	109/ 478	23%	339/ 895	38%
	Male	31/ 327	09%	115/ 276	42%	76/ 650	12%	222/ 1.253	18%
<b>Total</b>		113/ 499	23%	263/ 521	50%	185/ 1.128	16%	561/ 2.148	26%

century<sup>16</sup> and was part of the captaincy of São Paulo until 1820. Nowadays, we can observe that the form *você* and its reduced variants *ocê* and *cê* are the most frequent 2P pronouns in the states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo. This observation allows us to establish a relationship between the “colonizing ethnicity” factor and the variation demonstrated in the Planalto Serrano city.

<sup>15</sup> In the Brazilian school system, the three stages correspond to the first 5, 9 and 12 years of formal education, respectively.

<sup>16</sup> As observed in the previous section, cattlemen from Rio Grande do Sul (*Gaúchos*) also crossed Lages, and later new Gauchos arrived at the locality, so that residents of the Planalto Serrano of Santa Catarina still conserve many habits common to the *Gaúchos*. However, although one might suppose that the influence of Rio Grande do Sul in Lages also affected the use of 2P pronouns, this is not what the studies by Hausen (2000) and Loregian-Penkak (2004) indicate. They point to a prevalence of *você* in Lages and a preference for the pronoun *tu* in the four Rio Grande do Sul cities that make up the initial VARSUL sample. These results are in line with what the social history of the region indicates. Although the Southeastern and Southern cattlemen crossed Santa Catarina's Planalto Serrano, the latter had to pay to stay overnight at the checkpoint located in Lages.

Similarly, explanations for the pronoun distribution in Blumenau can be drawn from social history. In this location, Portuguese was learned from the beginning of the 20th century at school, as a second language, where the form *você* was privileged through its presence in schoolbooks. Regarding Western Santa Catarina, Chapecó is the city with the highest rate of *tu* use (50%), as well as the lowest rate of distinctive second person singular morphemes on the verb that accompanies the pronoun (3%, or 5/161). This combination resembles the variety spoken in Rio Grande do Sul, where rates of *tu* use are quite high – exceeding 90% – and agreement with this pronoun is rare (commonly below 10%), according to Loregian-Penkal (2004)<sup>17</sup> and Amaral (2003).<sup>18</sup> Such similarities are certainly not due to chance and can be explained via social history, as emphasized in Section 2.

Table 2 also shows that, in spite of the general preferences for one or the other variant in each locality, the speakers of the younger age group are the ones who more frequently use the pronoun *tu*, with 30% of occurrences in Blumenau (as opposed to 9% for older speakers), 63% in Chapecó (as opposed to 31% for older speakers) and 19% in Lages (as opposed to 9% for older speakers). Likewise, female informants use the variant *tu* more often than male informants in all cities investigated by Hausen (2000), regardless of whether the general preference in the locality is *tu* or *você*. In Blumenau, women use *tu* in 48% of cases (men, in only 9%); in Chapecó women use *tu* in 60% of cases (42% for men); and in Lages women use *tu* in 23% of cases (18% for men).

However, there does not seem to be a direct relationship between the use of *tu* and level of school instruction – at least not one shared by the three cities in question. In Blumenau, the least educated informants more often employ the pronoun *tu* (28%, compared to 19% of those with middle school education and 21% with high school education), whereas in Chapecó it is the speakers with middle school education who more frequently use pronoun *tu* (64%, compared to the less educated with 37%, and those with most schooling, with 48%). In Lages, *tu* is favored by those with high school education (21%, compared to the less educated with 7%, and to those with middle school education, with 16%).

Hausen (2000) also examined linguistic contexts that could correlate to the distribution of second person pronouns. When the variant form *tu* is used to refer directly to an interlocutor – in a dialogue with the interviewer (29% of occur-

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<sup>17</sup> In his thesis, Loregian-Penkal (2004) analyzed the alternation between the pronouns *tu* and *você* and the verbal agreement with pronoun *tu* in VARSUL Base Sample data from the four cities of Santa Catarina and the four cities of Rio Grande do Sul covered by the database.

<sup>18</sup> Amaral (2003) analyzed sociolinguistic interviews conducted in the city of Pelotas (RS) between 2000 and 2001, belonging to the Sociolinguistic Data Base per Social Class (VarX).



rences), with a phatic function (59%), in reported speech from others (33%), in self-reported speech (46%), and with third parties during the interview (50%), it is used more often than with an indeterminate referent (22%). This seems to point to the fact that *você*, among the second person singular pronouns, is the favored form with indeterminate referents, which reveals traces of its non-pronominal origins.

The results of these studies that examine variation between *tu* and *você* in speech in Santa Catarina indicate some trends in pronoun use. Among the four cities investigated, the pronoun *tu* is used most, in percentage terms, in Florianópolis, followed by Chapecó, Blumenau, and Lages, in that order. The social history of these various locations provides clues to understanding these trends.

In all localities, in spite of the general preference for one or the other variant, *tu* is used more by the young than by the elderly, more by women than by men, and more frequently employed with determinate than with indeterminate reference. In Florianópolis and Lages, the better educated lead the use of *tu*, even though, in the capital, the older pronoun is preferred and, in the city of Planalto Serrano, speakers prefer the more innovative pronoun. As far as Florianópolis is concerned, *tu* is associated with less urbanized areas, symmetrical relations and descending asymmetrical relations, as well as with overt subjects. The form *você*, which is not favored in the capital, is evaluated more highly than the form *tu*.

We consider that these most recent analyses of data on the distribution of second person singular pronouns in Santa Catarina should provide evidence of the varying use of pronominal forms in the past. In the same way, in the personal letter samples, evidence is sought that may corroborate the hypotheses proposed for the interpretation of current linguistic uses based on the social history of the state of Santa Catarina. Due to the limitations of the material gathered so far, the analysis focusses mainly on data from the Greater Florianópolis area, but a counterpoint can be established with the city of Lages (and, on a smaller scale, with the city of Blumenau) when dealing with data from the second half of the 20th century.

## 4 From past to present: epistolary writing of the 19th and 20th centuries

This section examines the distribution of pronouns *tu* and *você* in the subject position in six samples of letters from the PHPB-SC,<sup>19</sup> covering the period between

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<sup>19</sup> Projeto Para a História do Português Brasileiro – Santa Catarina (Project for the History of Brazilian Portuguese in Santa Catarina).

the 1870s and the 1990s. Although the letters are relatively homogeneous, they differ from one another and display idiosyncrasies. There are also disparities in the quantity and quality of these historical texts left for posterity, which, in the words of Conde Silvestre (2007: 36), are “survivors by chance”.

The following sections set out similarities and differences between the letters. The analysis takes into account linguistic (internal) variables – the factors that control the pronoun in subject position – and extralinguistic (external) variables – when the letters were written, the gender of sender and recipient, the relationship between sender and recipient, and the topic of the letters. This is followed by an analysis of pronominal alternation in the corpus, with a focus on letters from the city of Florianópolis. Given that this is a diachronic study, the analysis includes a reconstruction of the social context, both at a macro-sociological level and at a level closer to the specific context in which the letters were written.

#### 4.1 Letter samples

**CS Sample:** consists of 35 love and friendship letters written during the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. The protagonist of the sample (CS), at times the sender, at times the recipient, is a renowned poet of the Symbolist literary school in Brazil. Although the phrase “public figure” could be attributed to the sample, given the poet’s public life and literary production, it is important to emphasize that the writer only became acknowledged after his death. The contents of these letters are linked to the relation between sender and recipient. There are love letters from the poet to his fiancée; letters addressed to the poet written by two friends, who were also writers (VV and AF) and who were politically active in Desterro, talking about friendship and the social context of the time; and letters sent by the poet’s father, whose contents involve family themes.

**JB Sample:** is composed of 15 letters of friendship, written by six senders to the politician and intellectual JB between the 1880s and 1930s. Among the senders is the writer VV, who also kept in constant communication with CS. The other senders – RF, UC, VK, TC and EF – seem to have been friends with JB, although, to a certain extent, there is a political slant. Sample JB was created during the lifetime of the JB (1865–1934) and LB (1880–1966) siblings. JB was born in Desterro and founded the Law School there, as well as the Historical-Geographical Institute of Santa Catarina and the Academy of Letters of Santa Catarina (Cunha 2008). He can, therefore, be considered a “public figure” recipient.

**MS Sample:** consists of 68 letters to friends sent by the writer MS (1904–1991) to five recipients – four men and one woman – in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The

men are all writers and the only female recipient is responsible for the MS “folder” at the Academy of Letters of Santa Catarina. The missives range from updates on the writer’s personal life to information about the Brazilian literary universe, with special attention to Santa Catarina, and were largely sent from the city of Rio de Janeiro, where the writer lived after her divorce at a young age. Born in Florianópolis, MS is considered a “public figure” because she was the first woman to hold a chair at an Academy of Letters in Brazil. In addition, she wrote several books, and had a recognized public life. The writer was also involved in feminist and environmental causes and is often portrayed as “a woman ahead of her time” (see Schroeder 1997).

**HL Sample:** is composed of 93 friendship letters sent by *Catarinense* writer HL to his translator and friend CC during the 1980s and 1990s. Born in Tijucas, in the Greater Florianópolis, HL is considered to be a “public figure”, since he has a well-known public life, and his letters to CC deal with both professional and personal matters. The letters document the relationship between writer and translator, which grows over the years, and although the subjects of the letters contemplate questions related to translation and publication of books, it is especially dedicated to narratives concerning the friendship between sender and recipient (Nunes de Souza 2015; Grando 2016).

**DS/MD Samples:** consist of a combination of two samples, DS and MD, and include 23 love and friendship letters, written by different letter writers. The DS Sample consists of six love letters written by men, addressing women, in the 1950s and one love letter written by a man to a woman in the 1970s. The MD Sample consists of 16 letters from female friends and family members written in the 1980s to a single female addressee. Little is known about the interlocutors of the DS Sample besides their love relationships, which can be inferred from the content of the missives. The MD Sample has the social profile of its known interlocutors. This sample consists of letters sent to a student, in the health care area, by her mother, cousins, and friend while she was away in Florianópolis pursuing higher education. The letters contain updates on school and social life in their hometown in the case of the letters written by the younger letter writers, and instructions for the payment of bills and purchase of books, besides parents’ news, in the letters written by the mother.

The two samples were combined due to the limited number of letters in the DS Sample, the theme and temporal proximity of the samples, and, above all, the fact that the two samples are written not only by “private individuals”, but also by non-natives of the capital of Santa Catarina. The interlocutors are from the region of Lages, whose social history differs from that of the coastal regions, where the capital is located. Lages was a checkpoint on the *Tropeiros* route, as previously mentioned, which seems to have contributed to its economic, cultural, and linguistic structure.

**VL Sample:** is composed of 41 love and friendship letters written by 15 young women to the same addressee in Vale do Itajaí, in the 1960s. The senders were born in Santa Catarina and lived in the Greater Florianópolis area, in Vale do Itajaí, in the Planalto Serrano, and in the north of the state. They write to the same recipient, a young male Portuguese teacher who was also a musician and who traveled with his band to many cities in the state. Most of the senders give signals of being romantically interested in the musician, but the letters also talk about friendship. Overall, the sample is interesting as it consists of letter writers from different localities in Santa Catarina, thus shedding light on the distribution of second person singular pronouns in different regions of the state. Moreover, the senders may be considered “private individuals” and, since they are young, it is inferred that they have not yet finished high school, which means that the sample is composed of more vernacular characteristics than those composed of letters written by “public figure” senders.

## 4.2 Description of second person singular pronouns in letters by Catarinenses

Table 3 presents information about the six samples, detailing the sender-recipient dyads, the gender of the interlocutors, and preferences for the use of the second person singular pronouns in the subject position in each sample, based on number of occurrences.

Table 3 shows that the oldest letters – the CS Sample (1870/1880/1890) – contain only the subject-pronoun *tu*. From the JB Sample (1880/1910/1920/1930) onwards, pronouns *tu* and *você* begin to be used interchangeably as subject. In the JB sample, a preference for *você* can be noticed, and is repeated, to a greater or lesser extent, in the MS (1960/1970/1980/1990), DS/MD (1850/1970/1980) and VL (1960) Samples. Only in the HL Sample (1980/1990) is *tu* the preferred form.

General preferences for *tu* or *você* in the samples, at first glance, do not seem to clearly follow a regular pattern. Knowing that the new form is *você*, it could be expected that, in the course of more than a century of epistolary writing, the old form *tu* would lose space to its competitor. That prediction is only partially met, since diachronically there is a transition from the categorical use of *tu* to an alternating use of *tu* and *você*. However, focusing on the letters from the capital, more robust patterns of use of the second person singular pronouns can be discerned, especially between different localities and different styles. In the analysis, therefore, we seek to explain the uses of *tu* and *você* according to four dimensions: the historical/diachronic, the social, the geographical and the stylistic.

**Table 3:** General characterization of sender-recipient dyads within the samples and occurrence of second person singular subject pronouns.

Total letters by sample and period	Sender(s)	Recipient(s)	Gender (sender- recipient)	Subject Pronoun	
				<i>Tu</i>	<i>Você</i>
<b>CS Sample</b> 35 letters (Florianópolis) 1870–1890	CS	Fiancée G.	M – F	28	–
	VV	CS	M – M	36	–
	AF	CS	M – M	33	–
	CS's father	CS	M – M	13	–
	<b>Total</b>			<b>110/110</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>0/110 (0%)</b>
<b>JB Sample</b> 15 letters (Florianópolis) 1880–1930	RF	JB	M – M	2	–
	VV	JB	M – M	2	2
	UC	JB	M – M	–	1
	VK	JB	M – M	–	3
	TC	JB	M – M	–	1
	EF	JB	M – M	–	4 <sup>20</sup>
<b>Total</b>			<b>4/15</b> <b>(26%)</b>	<b>11/15 (74%)</b>	
<b>MS Sample</b> 68 letters (Florianópolis) 1960–1990	MS	N	F – M	6	146
	MS	P	F – M	20	–
	MS	S	F – F	2	5
	MS	C	F – M	30	17
	MS	Z	F – M	11	–
<b>Total</b>			<b>69/237</b> <b>(29%)</b>	<b>168/237</b> <b>(71%)</b>	
<b>HL Sample</b> 93 letters (Florianópolis) 1980–1990	HL	CC	M – F	316	29
	<b>Total</b>			<b>316/345</b> <b>(92%)</b>	<b>29/345 (8%)</b>

(continued)

<sup>20</sup> The sender remarks that his daughter is writing the letter because he is ill at that moment.

Table 3: (continued)

DS and MD Samples (Lages) 23 letters 1950–1980	S	J	F – F	–	33
	F	J	F – F	1	11
	B	J	F – F	–	3
	R	J	F – F	–	7
	W	X	M – F	13	9
	A	X	M – F	1	28
			<b>Total</b>	<b>15/106 (15%)</b>	<b>91/106 (85%)</b>
VL Sample 41 letters (different localities) 1960	A	N	F – M	10	2
	B	N	F – M	4	1
	C	N	F – M	5	-
	D	N	F – M	6	41
	E	N	F – M	4	8
	J	N	F – M	15	1
	L	N	F – M	1	5
	M	N	F – M	5	-
	N	N	F – M	1	13
	O	N	F – M	40	4
	R	N	F – M	1	21
	T	N	F – M	2	2
	V	N	F – M	–	5
	Y	N	F – M	2	4
Z	N	F – M	2	1	
			<b>Total</b>	<b>98/206 (48%)</b>	<b>108/206 (52%)</b>

Considering the historical/diachronic dimension, the 19th century shows stability (with a categorical use of *tu*), whereas the 20th century is more unstable (with variation between the forms *tu~você*). In order to better understand the instability of the 20th century, Table 4 highlights patterns of use in a subset of samples that have a robust dataset and greater variation between the 2P pronouns.

Table 4: Distribution of 2P pronouns in Samples MS, DS/MD and VL.

Samples	Sender	Recipient	Gender	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Você</i>
MS (29% <i>tu</i> and 71% <i>você</i> )	MS	N	F–M	6	146
	MS	P	F–M	20	–
	MS	C	F–M	30	17

Table 4 (continued)

Samples	Sender	Recipient	Gender	Tu	Você
DS and MD (15% <i>tu</i> and 85% <i>você</i> )	S	J	F–F	–	33
	W	A	M–F	13	9
	A	T	M–F	1	29
VL (48% <i>tu</i> and 52% <i>você</i> )	D	N	F–M	6	41
	O	N	F–M	40	4

This subset of samples, located between the 1950s and the 1980s, generally indicates that the form *você* is more productive than the alternative *tu*, with 71% *você* in the MS Sample, 85% in the DS and MD Samples, and 52% in the VL Sample. It is not a coincidence that, among the three samples with the greatest variation, two involve writers who are not considered public figures: this may be evidence that better educated people tend to show less variation in their writing, which would, consequently, reveal a relationship between pronominal variation and the social dimension of language.

Similarly, the linguistic behavior of sender W from Samples DS/MD appears to be, to some extent, associated with social factors. Even though in the three samples singled out here the form *você* prevails, W prefers to use *tu*. A quick examination of W's letters reveals that, among the letter writers included in this section, W is the one who least mastered writing (See Nunes de Souza 2015). Examples (9), (10) and (11) illustrate W's linguistic behavior. In examples (10) and (11), in addition, we note how insecure W is about his writing.

- (9) Bem *deves saber que intereçei /*  
 Well **Ø.2sg should.pres.2sgknow.inf** that [I] was interested/  
*que vosse se acertasse com o J novamente*  
 /that **you.2sgmake up.pres.3sg** with J again/  
 muito conselho dei a ele  
 /many pieces of advice [I]did give to him,/ *o outro rapaz também não éra mau*  
 /the other lad also not was bad,/ *mais estava muito errado em debochar o outro por isto*  
 /but [he] was very wrong in mocking the other for this,/ *e eu era comtra, fiquei satisfeito quando sube*  
 /and I was against [it], [I]was pleased to know/  
*que vosse estava bem com o J [...]*  
 /that **you.2sg be.imperf.2sg** good with J [...]/

'You should well know that I was interested in seeing you and J make up again. I did give him many pieces of advice. I don't know if I have done well or not. The other lad wasn't bad either, but he was very wrong in mocking the other for such a thing, and I was against it. I was pleased to know that you were on good terms with J' (W, 195-)

- (10) Nesta pesso desculpar as faltas  
 /In this [I] ask to apologize for faults,/  
 pois a minha inteligencia não é igual a *tua*  
 /as my intelligence not is match for **yours.2sg.poss**/  
 muito falta-me para comparar  
 /much lacks me to compare [to you],/  
*por isso não mantenho legível.*  
 /therefore [I] not remain readable./  
*Aceite um forte adeusinho*  
 /**Accept.imp.2sg** a strong so long/

'This is to apologize for my faults, as my intelligence is no match for yours. I have a long way to go before I can compare to you, therefore I remain unreadable. Accept a strong "so long"' (W, 1952)

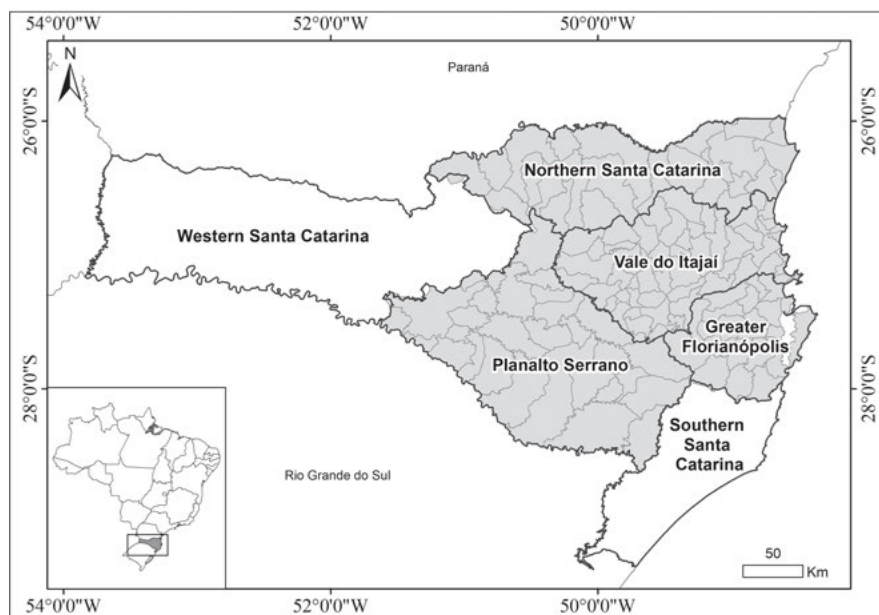
- (11) Sempre lembrada Minhas saudades Hoje neste feliz momento/  
 Forever remembered My longing Today in this happy moment/  
 e que dirijo-me a indereçar-*te*  
 /and that [I]bring myself to addressing **you.2sg.dat**/  
*estas mal escritas...*  
 /these poorly written.../

'Forever remembered my longing today in this happy moment that I bring myself to addressing you these poorly written [lines]' (W, 195-)

Table 4 only highlights letter writers who have a considerable number of letters. By singling these letters out, two cells reveal categorical behaviors: one with exclusive use of *tu* (sender MS – recipient N) and another with categorical use of *você* (sender S – recipient N). The letters written by S show individual stability in the use of *você*. In the letters by MS, however, the use of pronouns varies if we consider the entire sample. Depending on who the interlocutor is, the sender uses *tu* (to recipients P and C) or *você* (to recipient N). As the content of the letters is similar for all recipients, it is the relationship between writer and recipient, which is unknown to us, and the period in which the letters were written, which can influence pronoun use, as will be discussed below.



Turning to the geographical dimension, the results presented in Section 3 from studies that, to a considerable extent, had the *VARSQL* database as corpus, point to regional differences in the use of second person singular pronouns in Santa Catarina. The *VARSQL* Base Sample was formed based on a socio-historical hypothesis, namely that different types of colonization would lead to different linguistic behaviors. In our letter samples, there are only a limited number of letters from the 20th century whose writers' birthplace is known. It is therefore not possible to map the linguistic behaviors of all six of what are known as the mesoregions of Santa Catarina (the Greater Florianópolis Area, Northern Santa Catarina, Western Santa Catarina, Planalto Serrano, Southern Santa Catarina and Vale do Itajaí).<sup>21</sup> However, we can point to different pronoun preferences by comparing senders from the Greater Florianópolis area with senders from other mesoregions of the state (see Map 4 below).



**Map 4:** Map of the mesoregions of Santa Catarina (Brazil).

<sup>21</sup> A mesoregion in Brazil is a subdivision of a state that groups together municipalities that are geographically close and share common characteristics. It should be noted that the state of Santa Catarina is divided into mesoregions by strictly geographical criteria, not by colonizing ethnical group or economic activity, although there is in many cases an overlapping of these characteristics. Taking the Greater Florianópolis as an example, it is observed that the colonizing ethnic group is predominantly Azorean, but the municipality of Angelina, colonized by Germans, for example, is part of that mesoregion.

**Table 5:** Use of *tu* and *você* in the subject position in the 20th century, by senders' mesoregion.

Personal letters by <i>Catarinenses</i> in the 20th century					
Mesoregion	Status	Letter writer	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Você</i>	
Greater Florianópolis	Private individual	A	10	2	
	Private individual	B	4	1	
	Private individual	C	5	0	
	Private individual	E	4	8	
	Private individual	L	1	5	
	Private individual	O	40	4	
	Private individual	T	2	2	
	Private individual	Z	1	1	
	Subtotal			68 (75%)	23 (25%)
	Public figure	MS		69	168
Public figure	HL		316	29	
Subtotal			385 (66%)	197 (34%)	
Total			453 (67%)	220 (33%)	
Planalto Serrano	Private individual	S	0	33	
	Private individual	F	1	11	
	Private individual	B	0	3	
	Private individual	R	0	7	
	Private individual	W	13	9	
	Private individual	A	1	28	
	Private individual	Y	2	4	
Total			17 (15%)	95 (85%)	
Vale do Itajaí	Private individual	J	15	1	
	Private individual	N	1	13	
	Private individual	R	1	21	
	Private individual	V	0	5	
Total			17 (30%)	40 (70%)	
Northern Santa Catarina	Private individual	D	6	41	
	Total		6 (13%)	41 (87%)	

The Table 5 presents letter writers classified according to their geographical origin and status (public figure/private individual), and no longer references the samples of which they are part.

Beginning with the public figures from the Greater Florianópolis mesoregion (MS is from Florianópolis and HL was born in Tijucas), their preferences seem

more dependent on individual choice than on a pattern followed by the community. While HL mostly makes use of pronoun *tu*, MS prefers the form *você*. The period in which MS writes may help us interpret the linguistic uses made by the writer, as we discuss in the following sections.

For the private writers, even though, individually, some contradict the general pattern exhibited by mesoregion, the difference overall between the Greater Florianópolis area and other localities is evident. Writers from the Greater Florianópolis area use *tu* in 75% of cases, whereas those from the Planalto Serrano mesoregion use *tu* in only 15% of cases. Similarly, writers from the Vale do Itajaí mesoregion (which has an outlet to the sea like Florianópolis, but unlike the capital was mainly colonized by Germans and Italians) use the form *você* 70% of the time, and those from the North use *você* 87% of the time (with the caveat that the North is represented in the sample by a single letter writer). We can draw a parallel between Blumenau and the cities such as Lages whose data were analyzed (see Section 2). Blumenau, which shows a low rate of *tu* usage in speech data, is also located in Vale do Itajaí; the city of Lages, also preferring the form *você* in speech, is in the Planalto Serrano mesoregion. These results corroborate the strong correlation established between colonizing ethnic group and choice of 2P pronoun.

Moreover, important considerations about the use of *tu* and *você* by decade can be drawn from Table 5. Even though each sample displays preferences for one or the other 2P pronoun, in the MS Sample the supremacy of pronoun *você* in the 1960s and 1970s gives way to a homogeneous distribution of pronouns *tu* and *você* in the 1980s. Once *você* was the novel form, its decreasing usage was unexpected. A thorough analysis of the writer's letters, however, reveals an explanation for this behavior.

In the letters from the 1980s, MS announces the beginning of her retirement. In the same decade the author begins to express dissatisfaction with her illnesses and those of her partner, and with small domestic accidents which seem to steal away her focus on her writing. This is hinted at in examples (12) to (15).

- (12) Cousin vai dar à Achiamé inéditos vários  
 /Cousin will give to Achiamé *unpublished* many/  
 (contos, crônicas, ensaios, reedição)  
 /(short stories, chronicles, essays, new editions)/  
*mas eu não darei mais nada, pois ele, me deixou mais doente –*  
 /but I not will give anything else, since he me made more ill –/  
 e eu fiquei há 5 anos com o corpo e alma abalados,  
 /and I have been for 5 years with body and soul shaken,  
*como você sabe.*  
 /as **you.2sg know.pres.3sg.**/

‘Cousin will give Achiamé many unseen [works] (short stories, chronicles, essays, new editions) but I won’t give anything else, since he made me more ill – and I have spent five years with my body and soul shaken, as you know’ (MS, 1984)

- (13) Querido, vamos muito conversar pessoalmente,  
/Dear, [we] are going much to speak in person,  
mas, se *puderes*,  
/but if **Ø.2sgcan.past.2sg.** /  
fala nos dois assuntos de que falei  
/talk about the two subjects of which [I] have spoken/  
nestas mal traçadas.  
in these badly written./

‘Darling, we are going to speak a great deal in person, but if you can, talk about the two subjects I have spoken of in these badly written [lines]’ (MS, 1987)

- (14) Não quis escrever para não deixar a respiração na carta  
/[I] Not want to write to not let [my] breathing in the letter/  
e não pude telefonar de novo  
/and [I] not could telephone again/  
porque a voz não permitia.[...]  
/because the voice not would allow [it] [...]/  
Eu quero dizer-*te* que o frio está uma loucura aqui,  
/I want to let **you.2sg.dat** know that the cold is a madness here,/  
estou com os dedos duros e roxos  
/[I] have [my] fingers hardened and purple/  
e ainda queimei o polegar direito  
/and on top of that [I]have burned [my] right thumb/  
na cozinha.  
/in the kitchen./

‘I did not want to write so as not to breathe on [sic] the letter and I could not telephone again because my voice would not allow it [...]. I want to let you know the cold is crazy here, my fingers are hardened and purple and on top of that I have burned my right thumb in the kitchen’ (MS, 1987)

- (15) Piorei muito da gripe forte –  
/[I]became much worse from the flu strong –/  
e por isso não *te* telefonei nem *te* escrevi.

/and because of that not **you.2sg.dat** ring or **you.2sg.dat** wrote./  
 Melhorei um pouco e aqui *te* mando estes garranchos,  
 /[I]got a little better and here [I] **you.2sg.dat** send these scribbles,/   
 que peço que *rasgues*.  
 /which [I] **ask** [that] **Ø.2sg tear apart.pres.2sg**./  
 Se eu morrer, peço que sejas muito amigo de Cousin.  
 /If I die, [I] **ask** that **Ø.2sg be.pres.2sg** friends with Cousin./  
 Ele está aflito.  
 /He is distressed./

'I became much worse from the strong flu – and because of that I have not called or written. I feel a little better now and I send you these scribbles, which I ask you to tear up. If I die, I ask that you be friends with Cousin. He is distressed' (MS, 1988)

These examples suggest a relation between the amount of attention dedicated to writing and the choice between one or the other pronoun, with the higher rates of *tu* occurring when MS appears less focused. This behavior allows us to draw a conclusion regarding the stylistic dimension mentioned earlier: when both 2P pronouns are part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire, the pronouns are used in different discourse contexts. This observation is further supported by sender E, from the VL Sample, who reveals to her recipient that she prefers to use *tu* in oral speech (normally considered more informal than writing) and with close relations, while opting for *você* in writing, as shown in example (16).

- (16) *Você também deve ter notado*  
 /**You.2sg** also **might.pres.3sg****have.inf****notice.pp**/  
 a diferença de tratamento que *lhe* dispensei.  
 /the difference of treatment that [I] **you.2sg.dat** give/  
 Vou explicar-*lhe*:  
 /[I] will explain **you.2sg.dat**:/  
 considero o tratamento “você” muito impessoal por isso  
 /[I] consider the form of address “você” very impersonal, therefore/  
 prefiro-o para cartas ou para pessoas totalmente desconhecidas.  
 /[I] prefer it to letters or to people completely strangers./  
 O mais costume usar “tu”.  
 /Elsewhere [I] normally use “tu”./  
*Como vê, a gramática e eu não nos damos.*  
 /As **Ø.2sg see.pres.3sg**, the grammar and I not get along well./

‘You might have also noticed the different manner in which I addressed you. I shall explain: I consider the form of address “você” very impersonal, therefore I prefer to use it in letters or with complete strangers. Elsewhere I normally use “tu”. As you see, grammar and I do not get along well’ (E, 1965)

### 4.3 Variable subject use

We now turn to the topic of variable subject use. Current Brazilian Portuguese (BP) shows high rates of overt pronominal subject use, especially in the first and second person, according to Duarte (1993, 1995), Duarte et al. (2012), Kato & Duarte (2008) and Gravina (2008, 2014), who analyse data from the Southeast. In the third person, the change is greatly influenced by the [+animated] trace of the antecedent. The [-animated] trace of the antecedent is more resistant to the use of overt referential subjects.

We depart from studies on the representation of the subject in BP that point to a change in the *pro-drop* parameter. The generative literature in the 1980s associated the languages that were marked with the null subject parameter as having a set of properties that distinguishes them from the languages that are negatively marked for this parameter. In a language like Portuguese, two features are described as characterizing a null subject: (i) subject omission and (ii) “free” inversion of simple sentences.

Duarte’s (1993) pioneering studies, based on a sample of plays written in Rio de Janeiro in the 19th and 20th centuries, reveal that first and second person show a steep decrease in the use of null subject from one century to the next. The studies make the connection between this decrease and changes in use of pronouns *tu*, *você* and *a gente* ‘we’. Firstly, the fall in the null second person subject (dropping from 69% in 1918 to 25% in 1937–1938, and following the same downward trend in 1955, 1975–1986 and 1990–1992) is related to the decrease in use of pronoun *tu* and the increase in the use of *você* at the beginning of the 20th century. Secondly, the fall in the use of the null first person plural subject (decreasing from 56% in 1955 to 32% in 1975–1986 and 18% in 1990–1992) is related to the entry of the pronoun *a gente* in the pronominal paradigm in the 1950s. Both pronouns (*você* and *a gente*) agree with a 3P verb form, since that form does not mark person (*você/a gente ama*∅ – ‘you/we love’). Therefore, simplifications in the inflection paradigm and overt subject seem to be associated.

According to Duarte (1993, 1995), from 1930 on, BP has been transitioning from being a *pro-drop* language to a *non-pro-drop* language. The author shows that the loss in functionality of the verb inflection paradigm in BP, caused mainly

by the use of *você/vocês* and *a gente* at the expense of pronouns *tu/vós* and *nós* ('we'), respectively, could help explain the ongoing change of the *pro-drop* parameter in this language. The third person is the only one that does not seem to be affected by the reduction in the paradigm, since the third person subject remains attached to the option allowed in *pro-drop* languages.

The initially proposed binary marking of the null subject (*pro-drop* and *non-pro-drop* languages) was, to a certain extent, abandoned by generative studies, once many languages showed specific conditions and contexts both for the occurrence and absence of null subject, being denominated "partial null-subject" languages. Currently, due to occasionally diverging theoretical approaches, some authors (see Kato & Duarte 2008; Gravina 2008, 2014, among others) have described the changes in the null subject parameter as evidence that BP could be included in the group of partial null-subject languages.

In general, these studies have shown that the null subject is restricted to determined syntactic environments. The empty category in the place of subject may have a diverse nature, interpreted not (only) by verb inflection, where personal pronouns are expressed by verb inflection, but by an antecedent expressed in syntactic, discourse, and pragmatic contexts. Our analysis observes the behavior of overt use of second person singular subject in samples from 19th and 20th century Santa Catarina in different decades, and does not take into account discussion on the third person.

In the set properties that compose the null-subject parameter, the verb-subject order (VS) has an important role, as can be observed in Romance languages like Italian and Spanish. Results of diachronic studies dealing with the phenomenon of order point to the 20th century as a period marked by a system with no VS syntactic restrictions (Berlinck 1988, 1995; Coelho 2006; Berlinck & Coelho 2018; among others), in contrast with the system of the 20th century, especially after the 1930s, with VS being progressively more restricted to contexts of unaccusative verbs. The fall of both VS order and the null subject seem to follow the same direction.

For the purposes of this study, it is relevant to seek evidence that (i) in 19th century *Catarinense* Portuguese, the second person pronominal subject (*tu*) was mostly null, since it could be identified by the morphemic mark on the verb (as happens in Italian and Spanish); and (ii) in 20th century *Catarinense* Portuguese, the second person pronominal subject (*tu~você*) was null especially when identified by the second person morphemic mark in the verb (2P) and was overt when combined with third person (3P) verb morphology.

Table 6 shows the correlation between pronominal alternation and the use of an overt pronominal subject, two phenomena undergoing variation/change in Brazilian Portuguese. The results presented take into account the external

**Table 6:** Overt versus null second person singular pronominal subject in the analyzed samples, organized by time period (source: the authors, including adaptations from Grandó 2016: 46–47).

Sample	Decade	<i>Tu</i>		<i>Você</i>	
		Null	Overt	Null	Overt
CS	1870	4/5 80%	1/5 20%	–	–
	1880	27/35 78%	8/35 22%	–	–
	1890	56/70 80%	14/70 20%	–	–
	<b>Total</b>	<b>87/110</b> <b>79%</b>	<b>23/110</b> <b>21%</b>	–	–
JB	1880 and 1890	4/4 100%	0/4 0%	–	–
	20	–	–	7/11 64%	4/11 36%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>4/4</b> <b>100%</b>	<b>0/4</b> <b>0%</b>	<b>7/11</b> <b>64%</b>	<b>4/11</b> <b>36%</b>
MS	1960 and 1970	1/1 100%	0/1 0%	32/91 35%	59/91 65%
	1980 and 1990	65/68 96%	3/68 4%	34/77 44%	43/77 56%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>66/69</b> <b>96%</b>	<b>3/69</b> <b>4%</b>	<b>66/168</b> <b>40%</b>	<b>102/168</b> <b>60%</b>
HL	1980	177/190 93%	13/190 7%	13/26 50%	13/26 50%
	1990	112/126 89%	14/126 11%	0/3 0%	3/3 100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>289/316</b> <b>91%</b>	<b>27/316</b> <b>9%</b>	<b>13/29</b> <b>45%</b>	<b>16/29</b> <b>55%</b>
DS and MD	1950	10/13 77%	3/13 23%	6/9 66%	3/9 34%
	1970	0/1 0%	1/1 100%	15/28 54%	13/28 46%
	1980	1/1 100%	0/1 0%	22/54 41%	32/54 59%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>11/15</b> <b>74%</b>	<b>4/15</b> <b>26%</b>	<b>43/91</b> <b>47%</b>	<b>48/91</b> <b>53%</b>
VL	1960 <b>(Total)</b>	92/98 <b>93%</b>	6/98 <b>7%</b>	31/108 <b>28%</b>	77/108 <b>72%</b>



variable of the period when the letter was written, and the internal variable of the use of an overt pronominal subject.

The results of the 19th century, represented predominantly by the CS sample, for the variable “overt *versus* null subject” reveal an impressive rate of null second person subject *tu* (79%), against a mere 21% of full subject. It is important to make the following observations about this sample. Firstly, all occurrences of pronoun *tu*, be they null or overt, are accompanied by verbs with distinctive 2P endings. The second person subject is expressed on the verb (see Kato & Duarte 2008). Secondly, when overt, the subject is accompanied by additional information for emphasis or contrast. In these cases, in general, the pronoun could not be omitted. Examples (17) and (18) illustrate this strategy.

(17) Só *tu és* merecedôra

/Only **you.2sg be.pres.2sg** deserving/  
de que eu *te* ame muito, como *te* amo,  
/of that I **you.2sg.acc** love a lot, as I **you.2sg.acc** love,/  
muito, muito, muito, e cada vez mais, com mais firmeza,  
/a lot, a lot, a lot, and always more, with more steadfastness,/  
sempre fiél, sempre teu escravo bom e  
/always faithful, always your slave good and/  
agradecido, fazendo de ti, minha estrela, a esposa santa,  
/grateful, making of **you.2sg.obl**, my star, my wife sacred/  
adorada companheira dos meus dias.  
/beloved companion to my days./

‘Only you are deserving of my love, as I love you very much, very much, very much and always more, with more steadfastness, always faithful, always your good and grateful slave, making of you, my star, my sacred wife, beloved companion to my days’ (CS Sample, 1890)

(18) *Tu, G.,* não me *conheces* ainda bem,

/**You.2sg**, G., not me **know.pres.2sg** yet well,/  
não *sabes* que amor eterno eu tenho  
/Ø.2sgnot **know.pres.2sg** that love eternal I have/  
no coração por *ti*,  
/in heart for **you.2sg.obl**,/  
como eu adôro os *teus* olhos que me dão alegria,  
/how I love the **your.2sg.poss** eyes that me bring joy,/  
as *tuas* graças de mulher nova, de moça,  
/the **your.2sg.poss** charms of woman young, of girl,/

carinhosa e amiga de sua boa mãe.  
/affectionate and friend of her good mother./

'You, G., do not know me well yet, you don't know the eternal love I have in my heart for you, how I love your eyes, that bring me joy, your charms of a young woman, of a girl who is affectionate and a friend to her good mother' (CS Sample, 1890s)

Thirdly three of the occurrences with overt pronominal subject *tu* are in VS order, as seen in example (19).

- (19) *Escreve-me tu extensamente,*  
/Write.imp.2sg me you.2sg extensively,/  
*como às vezes costumás,*  
/as sometimes Ø.2sg.be used to.pres.2sg./  
*tens tempo pra isso.*  
/Ø.2sg.have.pres.2sg time for that./

'Write me extensively, as sometimes you used to do. You have time for that' (CS Sample, 1880s)

On the other hand, in the samples from the 20th century, regardless of the choice of pronoun, it is clear that *tu* appears preferably as null subject and that *você* is preferably overt. Furthermore, there may be a connection between this use and some syntactic-semantic properties. Firstly, *tu* is mostly combined with a verb in 2P form. In this case, the subject is null in 80% of occurrences, keeping a rate of null subjects that is close to that found in the 19th century. Analyzing the contexts of use, however, the inflection of the verb alone no longer guarantees recognition of the subject. Two of the ten occurrences from the DS and MD Sample, one of the 65 occurrences from the MS Sample, and one occurrence from the VL Sample are examples of full *tu* combined with a verb in 3P, as shown in example (6), presented again in example (20).

- (20) *Tudo era triste...!*  
/Everything was sad...!/  
*E eis que derepente tu surge,*  
/And then, [that] suddenly you.2sg appear.pres.3sg./  
*em uma tarde inesquecível,*  
/in one afternoon unforgettable,/ *talves ao encontro de um alguém [...]*  
/maybe by meeting of a someone [...]/

‘Everything was sad...! And then, suddenly, you appear in one unforgettable afternoon, maybe to meet someone’ (VL Sample, 1960s)

Secondly, *você* enters the *Catarinense* system in the 1920s, as null subject. These occurrences resemble the courtesy implied in *Vossa Mercê* ‘lit. Your Mercy’ as in example (21), and remain preferably with a full subject thereafter.

- (21) Meu caro Dr. Boiteux, mandei *lhe* um folhete  
 /My dear Dr. Boiteux, [I] have sent **you.sg.dat** a leaflet/  
 de meu “Programa de Socorro”  
 /of my “Program [of] Help”/  
 tambem não sei se *recebeu*!  
 /[I] also not know if **you.2sg [have] receive.3sg.past** [it]!/
- Victor, como *sabe*, está tambem interessado,  
 /Victor, as **Ø.2sg know.pres.3sg**, is too interested,/
- é um grande passo  
 /[it] is a big step/  
 o *Amigo* ahi com os seus Amigos, ver se é, possível.  
 /the **friend.2sg** there with your friends, see if [it] is, possible./

‘My dear Dr. Boiteux, I have sent you a leaflet of my “Help Program”. I do not know if you have received it! Victor, as you know, is interested too. It is a big step. See with your friends if it is possible’ (JB Sample, 1920s)

Thirdly, there are two occurrences of VS order in the second person contexts, but they refer to idiomatic, formulaic constructions, as shown in example (22).

- (22) Saudações. Olá meu amor como *vai voce*  
 /Greetings. Hello my love how **be.pres.3sg you.2sg**/  
 espero que *esteja* com muita saúde  
 /[I] hope that **Ø.2sg.be.pres.3sg** [with] much health/  
 e felicidades.  
 /and happinesses./

‘Greetings. Hello, my love. How are you going? I hope you are very healthy and happy’ (MD Sample, 1970s)

Finally, the results regarding second person singular indicate that *Catarinense* writing from the 19th century reveals properties of a null-subject language, with categorical use of *tu* coupled with verbs in 2P and possibilities of VS order. In the 20th century, in turn, the two forms, *tu* and *você*, compete. The persistence

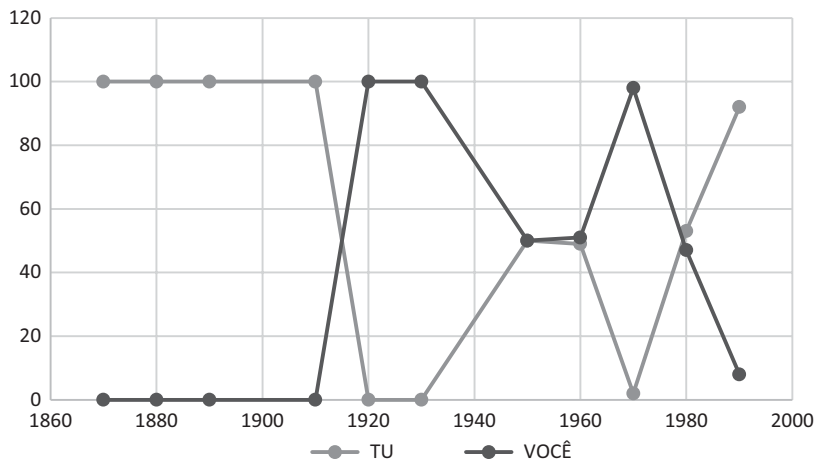
of pronoun *tu* is, in most cases, related to properties of a null-subject language, like the distinctive 2P inflection in the verb that follows the pronoun. In parallel with this system, pronoun *você* makes its slow entrance in this variety of Portuguese, but it does not replace *tu*. By comparing these results with Duarte's (1993), it is possible to ascertain that change in *Catarinense* writing, considering the second person singular, is slower than in the spoken language. The difference between Duarte's results for the second person singular and those presented in Table 6, however, may be related to the difference between the discourse genres analyzed by the author and in this study – plays and personal letters, respectively.

We are aware of the limitations of the samples and the analysis that we have carried out here. Nonetheless, in the next section, we make some generalizations departing from the results described here.

## 5 General patterns of use in the letter samples

This section discusses results judged of particular significance in the process of variation/change of 2P pronouns observed in *Catarinense* letters, in order to identify general patterns. We start by organizing the data by decade, in order to track the course of change, as presented in Graph 1.

The *Catarinense* Portuguese of the 19th century (1870s, 1880s, and 1890s), represented here by the CS Samples and part of the JB Sample, shows stability with categorical rates of the *tuteamento* (addressing with *tu*) system. The trajectory of the address form in the 20th century, on the other hand, portrays instability, which may indicate a change in progress. According to the principles of the theory of variation and change, in order for a linguistic change to occur there needs to be a period of variation (even though not all variation leads to change). In the first decades of the 20th century (1920s, 1930s), we can observe the categorical use of *você* that enters Santa Catarina, bearing the traces of courtesy implied by *Vossa Mercê*. In the JB Sample, seven of the 11 occurrences of *você* observed are null subject, which, combined with the absence of pronominal person marking on the verb, may convey neutrality in the treatment of the interlocutor. From the 1950s and 1960s onwards, pronouns *tu* and *você* are used alternately, with peaks of almost exclusive use of *você* (in the 1970s) and almost categorical use of *tu* (in the 1990s). As shown in Section 4, all the evidence points to a connection between this varying use of the pronouns and the personal preferences of the letter writers, which are conditioned by the writers' place of origin.



**Graph 1:** Frequency of use of *tu* and *você* by decade in the six samples of letters by *Catarinenses*.

Table 7 presents the overall numbers of private individual letter writers by mesoregion.

**Table 7:** Frequency of use of *tu/você* by mesoregion in letters by private *Catarinenses* of the 20th century.

Personal letters by private <i>Catarinenses</i> of the 20th century		
Mesoregion	<i>TU</i>	<i>VOCÊ</i>
Greater Florianópolis	68 (75%)	23 (25%)
Planalto Serrano	17 (15%)	95 (85%)
Vale do Itajaí	17 (30%)	40 (70%)
Northern	6 (13%)	41 (87%)

Considering these rates of usage, there is a clear difference between letter writers from the Greater Florianópolis area (with 75% use of *tu*) and correspondents from other mesoregions, especially the Planalto Serrano mesoregion (with 85% use of *você*), whose letters contain more occurrences and thus allow for more accurate and robust comparisons. The social and linguistic history of the Greater Florianópolis area and the Planalto Serrano allows us to associate the second person forms with the process of colonization of the two mesoregions of Santa Catarina by Azoreans and *Paulistas*, respectively. In the case of the Vale do Itajaí and the Northern mesoregions, which were predominantly colonized by Germans, the

prevalence of the form *você* (70% and 87%) may be a reflection of the Portuguese learned at school as a second language, where textbooks presented the new form as the standard second person singular pronoun. These results reflect the speech results found in the linguistic atlas research conducted by ALERS and in the studies by Loregian-Penkall (2004), Rocha (2012) and Davet (2013), conducted on VARSUL data. We therefore argue that “colonizing ethnicity” is a key factor in 2P pronoun usage in the coastal, Planalto and Northern middle-regions,<sup>22</sup> as follows:

1. Greater Florianópolis and the preferred use of pronoun *tu*: influenced by the Azorean colonization;
2. Planalto Serrano mesoregion (Lages) and use of the pronoun *você*: influenced by the *Paulista* colonization;
3. Northern and Vale do Itajaí mesoregions and the preferred use of *você*: influenced by schooling.

In addition to the influences of the colonizing ethnic group, which seem to explain the instability at the level of the community, there is instability at the individual level, depending on the relationship between the letter writer and the recipient or on the topic of the letter. In Section 4, data from the MS Sample and the VL Sample served to illustrate how, depending on the situation, the same letter writer makes use of *tu* or *você*. The letters of HL are a further indication of how the variation in 2P pronoun use reflects stylistic variation. This is demonstrated by Grando (2016) who analysed the address forms used as a vocative in the HL Sample, where the letter writer takes two paths:

1. Increasing familiarity: HL begins to exchange letters with her translator (CC) at the beginning of the 1980s, addressing her as Dear Madam CC (letter from 1984), Dearest Mrs. CC (letter from 1986), and Dearest Mme. CC (letter from 1987). Starting at the end of 1987, the letter writer begins employing familiar vocatives with CC, like My dear C. (letter from 1987), Dear C. (Letter from 1988), Dear C-y (diminutive) (1988), Dearest C. (1989), *Chère C.* (1990), C., *ma fleur* (letter from 1992). The change in vocative forms reflects the evolution of their relationship from a more professional to a more friendly and close one, from writer-translator to friend-friend, in the course of two decades. This evolution is consequently accompanied by changes in pronominal forms from *você* to *tu* (as subject and complement). This strategy maintains the dyad

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<sup>22</sup> In the sets of samples used in this study, there are no personal letters from the middle-region of Western Santa Catarina, where the city of Chapecó, a town colonized by Gaúchos, mostly of Italian descent, is located. We believe that in this case there would be significant use of *tu*, reflecting the speech data results by ALERS and VARSUL.

formality-informality, conserving the asymmetrical relation between the pronouns of power (V) and those of solidarity (T).

2. From a professional to a personal topic: the same change in pronominal forms observed in the move from a formal to an informal relationship is found in the topic of the letter. There is a clear link between professional topics and the use of *você* (example (23)) and between personal subjects and the use of *tu* (example (24)). Depending on the topic these uses may vary within the same letter.

### Professional topic

- (23) Eis um belo título para o futuro livro,  
 /That is a beautiful title for the upcoming book,  
 pois acredito que a palavra é  
 /for [I] believe that the word is/  
 bastante sonora em francês  
 /very well sounded in French/  
 e que talvez não exista na língua francesa,  
 /and that perhaps [it] not exist in the language French,  
 Mas, naturalmente, *você pode sugerir* outro.  
 /But, naturally, **you.2sg may.3sg suggest.inf** another./

‘That is a beautiful title for the upcoming book, for I believe that the word sounds fine in French and that, perhaps, it does not exist in the French language, but naturally you may suggest another one’ (HL, 1987)

### Personal theme

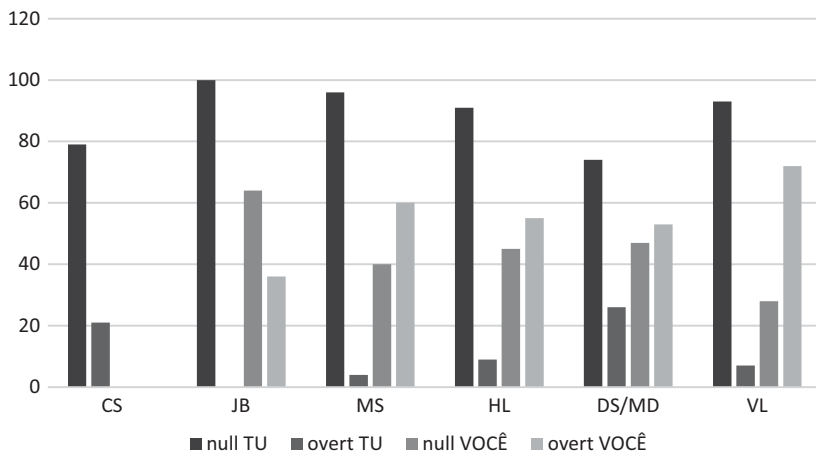
- (24) Um beijo em retribuição àquele furtivo  
 /A kiss in retribution for the furtive one/  
 que me *deste* uma noite em que eu  
 /that me **Ø.2sg give.past.2sg** one night when I/  
*estava em minha mesa de trabalho e tu ias dormir.*  
 /was at my desk of work and **you.2sg be.imperf.2sg sleep.inf**./

‘A kiss in retribution for the furtive one you gave me one night when I was at my desk and you were going to bed’ (HL, 1989)

The distribution between pronoun *tu* associated with more informal vocatives and personal topics, and pronoun *você* associated with more formal vocatives and more professional topics can be also seen in the letters by the public figures

JB and MS. In these cases, we argue that it is possible to regard the forms *tu* and *você* as variants or forms under strict variation.

Beyond the evidence that second person pronouns in Santa Catarina bear traces of the colonizer and of the dual system of power and solidarity (terms from Brown & Gilman 2003 [1960]), we are led to believe that the use of null or overt subjects in the *Catarinense* linguistic system is also conservative: pronoun *tu* is null across time, as shown in Graph 2.



**Graph 2:** Percentage of use of *tu/você*, according to the variable use of pronouns in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Graph 2 shows that *Catarinense* Portuguese from the 19th century shows stability, with categorical rates of the use of *tu* and null subject, the overt subject being, in this case, used especially as a strategy for emphasis or contrast when trying to solve ambiguity problems (see subsection 4.2). This stability in the behavior of null subject *tu* can also be observed in the writing by public 20th century letter writers. Pronoun *você*, in turn, follows the changes in the pronominal system of other regions of Brazil: it appears as null subject in samples JB, MD, and HL – as if maintaining a strategy for neutrality or formality – and stabilizes as overt subject when competing with the form *tu*, as observed in samples DS/MD and VL.

Considering only the letters of the private individuals (samples DS/MD, and VL), the following trends are evident:

1. Pronouns *tu* and *você* compete as variants of the same variable when they are used as a strategy for informality.
2. The null pronoun *tu* tends to be identified by verbal inflection.



3. Cases of overt *tu* coupled with a verb in 3P are scarce, but they already indicate that verb inflection is no longer a guarantee of subject identification.
4. Pronoun *você* is combined with a verb in 3P and is preferably overt.

To sum up, the results relating to the second person singular allow us to say that, in the 19th century, the Portuguese spoken in Santa Catarina shows properties relevant to the null subject parameter. In the 20th century, in turn, the variation between *tu* and *você*, with significant rates of preferentially null *tu* and preferably overt *você*, shows that there are specific conditions and contexts for a null subject. This seems to indicate two systems at play: the *tuteamento*, with the personal pronoun *tu* marked by verb inflection (see Kato & Duarte 2008), and the *voceamento* (addressing with *você*) system, with no distinctive verbal ending and full subject *você*.

These results provide some indication of the persistence, over time, of null pronoun *tu*, coupled with a verb in 2P, and of the slow evolution of *você* in the pronominal system of *Catarinense* Portuguese. It is likely that social circumstances, such as the colonization and isolation of the island, were motivating factors in the generally conservative system found in *Catarinense* samples of the 20th century.

## 6 Conclusion

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The main questions that this study sought to answer were: (i) What diachronic path can be noted regarding variation and change in the use of pronouns *tu* and *você*? (ii) Which linguistic and extralinguistic factors influence the distribution of the pronouns *tu* and *você*? (iii) Is it possible to affirm that *você* has made its way into the *Catarinense* variety of Portuguese as early as the end of the 20th century? (iv) What is the social and linguistic history of the presence of the new form *você* in *Catarinense* samples?

Regarding the six samples analyzed, our results reveal that, in the 19th century, *tu* is the only pronoun used by letter writers to refer to the second person singular. In the 20th century, in contrast, *tu* and *você* compete against each other. The analysis of differences and similarities in the use of the two pronouns indicates that:

1. Pronoun *tu* is used most in coastal areas and *você* is used in the Planalto Serrano mesoregion. These differences in usage must be related to the colonization of these regions by Azoreans and *Paulistas*, respectively. In regions of German colonization, *você* is the predominant form, which can be explained

as a strategy learned at school, in Portuguese as a second language classes. This indicates that aspects of Santa Catarina social history related to the “colonizing ethnicity” can explain the process of pronominal change/variation observed in the samples.

2. Pronoun *você* enters *Catarinense* writing in the early 20th century, bearing traces of the courtesy imparted by *Vossa Mercê*, the form of address that gave rise to the innovative pronoun *você*. This formality is perceived especially in the samples of public senders (JB, MS and HL). In private individuals’ samples (DS/MD and VL), *tu* and *você* compete as variants of the same variable, as *você* is used with the same function as *tu*, that is, in more informal contexts.
3. There is evidence of linguistic change or linguistic instability in the community when observing private writers from the Greater Florianópolis area and the Planalto Serrano mesoregion who use the two pronouns *tu* and *você* as variants of the same variable. If, on the one hand, the letter writers of the coastal regions – mostly users of *tu* – adopt (albeit on a small scale) the pronoun of the Planalto (*você*), on the other hand, the writers from the latter, mainly using *você*, adopt (although on a small scale) the pronoun of the coast (*tu*).
4. The use of null or overt pronouns in the *Catarinense* linguistic system is conservative: pronoun *tu* appears in both centuries, especially as a null subject, coupled with second person (2P) verbal morphology, while pronoun *você* (although related to the null subject at the beginning of the 20th century) is more often used as an overt subject, combined with third person (3P) verbal morphology.

Based on the empirical evidence presented here – from present to past and from past to present – it is not possible to assert that the form *você* arrived in the *Catarinense* variety of Portuguese as early as the end of the 19th century. *Você* does not supplant the form *tu* in this study’s corpus. The social history of the colonization of the coast and the mountain plateau is quite revealing of the linguistic history of these pronouns. *Tu* reveals traces of the Azorean colonizers, and *você*, of the colonists from São Paulo. The isolation of the island prior to the beginning of the 20th century may be responsible for the preservation of the Latin form *tu* and the resistance to the entry of *você* in the writing and speech of people from coastal Santa Catarina.

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