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**The Analysis of Directives in Puerto Rican Spanish: Thirty Years Later**

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**Abstract**

This study is a replication of the previous work on Puerto Rican Spanish carried out by Simounet in 1990 (1990a), where she explored the structure and distribution of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish, how they compared to directives in American English, and the educational implications of her findings for ESL programs in Puerto Rico. Thirty years later, the present study followed the same objectives as the original study, utilizing Brown and Levinson's 1987 Politeness Theory and Ervin-Tripp's (1976) framework for the analysis of structure. New questions arose during the course of the present study and they were duly addressed. After collecting and analyzing data gathered in three service encounter settings, the results were compared with those obtained by Simounet three decades ago, and the findings indicate that the differences observed between the two studies can in many cases be attributed to sociolinguistic changes in Puerto Rico, particularly those that relate to the role of women in society.

**Keywords:** directives, Puerto Rican Spanish, politeness

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## 1. Introduction

Thirty years ago, using the innovative approaches to sociolinguistic thought and methodology that had been developed by researchers such as William Labov in the US and Peter Trudgill in the UK, Alma Simounet (1990a) directed a study of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish. In her work, Simounet capitalized on the fact that these new approaches were broadening the scope of legitimate research to many phenomena that were once considered by linguists not to be worthy of their attention, such as ritualistic speech and “small talk”, while placing a priority on the collection of samples of speech that were as naturalistic and spontaneous as possible.

Simounet (1990a) decided to focus her attention on directives in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS), given the relative lack of studies about politeness and directives at the time in the Puerto Rican and Caribbean contexts. Her aims were to explore the structure and distribution of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish, how they compared to American-English structures, and the educational implications of her findings for ESL programs in Puerto Rico. Using Brown and Levinson’s (1987) Politeness Theory as a foundation, buttressed by Ervin-Tripp’s (1976) structural framework for request strategies, she analyzed 100 naturally occurring directives in a variety of contexts, including classroom interactions, family/household interactions, and service encounters. Among the service encounters that she studied were a beauty salon, a local bakery/eatery (*cafetería*) and a hospital.

Even though a rapidly growing number of politeness studies have been undertaken worldwide since Simounet published her work, relatively little has been done on directives in Puerto Rican Spanish. It is only quite recently that politeness practices in PRS and other Caribbean languages have become the focus of attention for a few linguists who have been attempting to fill

this gap, such as Heffelfinger Nieves (2015, 2019) and Migge and Mühleisen (2005). The present study aims to contribute to these efforts by carrying out a modified replication of Simounet's 1990a titled *The analysis of some requests or directives in Puerto Rican Spanish*.

The present research therefore follows as much as possible the objectives of Simounet's study, as reflected in research questions 1 and 2 below, while research questions 3 and 4 correspond to the objective of comparing the results obtained with those of the original study:

- 1) What is the form and structure of typical directives used in various settings by speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish?
- 2) What is the correlation between the use of the various forms of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish and features such as setting, topic, rank, age, gender, and familiarity?
- 3) How do the findings for questions 1 and 2 compare with the findings of the original study (Simounet 1990a) that was replicated here?
- 4) How can the social changes that have occurred in Puerto Rico over the past 30 years help to explain differences between findings of the present study and those of Simounet (1990a)?

In section 2 (Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework), I survey and comment on the theoretical literature on politeness and directives, paying particular attention to both Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory and Ervin-Tripp's request strategies, as these comprise the theoretical framework for the present study. That said, I intentionally postpone mention of the technical details of the definition of each of Ervin-Tripp's request strategies to section 3 (Methodology, Findings and Analysis), since these are used in the presentation of the findings, thereby avoiding the need to go back and forth in the process of reading the present work. In

section 4, I state my final conclusions and projections for future studies. The appendix presents tables of the data collected for the present study.

## 2. Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I present an overview the historical development of Politeness Theories, I provide the definitions of key terms, and I discuss some studies that have been previously done regarding politeness and directives.

### 2.1 Politeness theories

The study of politeness has been gaining increased prominence in linguistics since the late 1970s, when scholars began acknowledging the significant role and impact of politeness in everyday interactions. Today, politeness is therefore no longer consigned to the status of a mere chapter in books on communication, and instead it is acknowledged as an important part of the foundation upon which all successful interactions occur between members of a given community. (Simounet, personal conversation, 2020).

In her pioneering work on the study of politeness, Robin Lakoff (1972) recognizes that having different ways of making the same meaning is part of our linguistic and cultural competence, whereby we know that in X context, X form is more appropriate than Y form. Her politeness theory is motivated by two maxims: the first is *make yourself clear*, a concept akin to what known today as Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975), and the second is *be polite*. Making yourself clear means saying no more than what is necessary, saying what is true and relevant, and doing it in a non-confusing way (1972, p. 102). Being polite has three aspects: 1) *Formality*, or avoiding imposition, 2) *Hesitance*, or allowing the addressee his/her options, and 3) *Camaraderie*, or making the addressee feel good. Lakoff used this framework to explore interpersonal conflict situations, in which one has to choose between being polite but at the same time making oneself



less easily understood; or making oneself clear but being impolite. For Lakoff a balance must be struck between these two options in order for successful interactions to happen (Heffelfinger, 2019).

Charles Ferguson (1976) conceived politeness as being part of our natural human behavior – with parallels in the behavior patterns of other social animals. He posited that, while all human communities have politeness formulas (greetings, and expressions like *thank you* and *god bless you*), the character and incidence of these formulas vary from one society to another. To prove one of his hypotheses, he conducted an informal social experiment in which he intentionally did not respond to his secretary's greetings. After three days of such behavior, he was obliged to conclude the experiment, in order to relieve the tensions that this behavior had caused in his office. He asserted that politeness is not something that is readily acknowledged, until it becomes absent. Although Ferguson only addressed greetings and ritualistic phrases, his work provided a basis from which future studies on politeness could emerge.

Geoffrey Leech (1983, 2005) utilizes Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) to formulate his Principles of Politeness, whose goals are to avoid discord and foster concord among human beings. Leech asserts that just as we have illocutionary goals that we want to achieve in what we communicate, we also have social goals whose aim is to maintain good relations, and there are situations where two types of goals may conflict with each other.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work on politeness has become the most influential theoretical framework used today. By reimagining Goffman's (1967) concept of *face* as *wants*, these theorists propose that politeness is inextricably linked to *positive face* and *negative face*. Brown and Levinson contend that *face* can be lost, maintained, or enhanced during any given

interaction (p.61) and that positive and negative face are universal, while their specific nature is culturally conditioned. They also assert that politeness is essentially a means used to redress a *face-threatening act* (FTA). Positive face has to do with our desire to be esteemed, included and accepted in a social group, therefore *positive politeness* corresponds to strategies that maintain or enhance positive face of the addressee, such as compliments or expressions of solidarity, which are also known as Face Enhancing Acts (FEAs) or Face Boosting Acts (FBAs). Negative face has to do with our desire to be autonomous and unencumbered by imposition, therefore *negative politeness* corresponds with strategies that maintain or enhance negative face of the addressee, such as being indirect and showing deference.

Brown and Levinson (1984) posit that there are five ways to tackle a face threatening act (FTA): *boldly*, or *without redress* (the most direct, explicit way), *going off record* (being very indirect, i.e. using hints), using *positive politeness* (using FBAs, i.e. “You make the best pies.” to express: “I want one of your pies.”), using *negative politeness* (apologies, deference, impersonals or employing degrees of conventional indirectness, i.e. “Pardon me, could I have one of your pies?”), or, finally, not do the FTA at all. The authors observe that there are three situational factors that condition the weight of an FTA: the *urgency* of the situation, the speaker’s *rating* of the FTA’s level of imposition, and the social *power* of the speaker over the hearer (asymmetric social relationship). In this sense: a person with higher power (because of knowledge, age, rank, social status, or other reasons) may be more direct with a person of lesser power and a situation that is urgent may require more direct FTAs, as well as less risky FTAs.

Brown and Levinson’s theory has encountered much criticism, especially in terms of its claim of universality. Leech (2005) observes that Ide (1989, 1993), Matsumoto (1989), Gu (1990)

and Mao (1994) all claim to some extent that Brown and Levinson have a “Western” bias, which centers the individual and her/his agenda, rather than centering the group, which often is the case in non-Western societies “in which each person has a place defined by obligations and rights in relation to superiors, equals and inferiors” (p.5). Leech (2005) notes that another criticism levelled at Brown and Levinson’s claims to the universality of their theory is related to its downplaying of the importance of context. In the final analysis, however, Leech concludes that Brown and Levinson’s theory remains robust and that these criticisms are only partially justified, given the provisos made by Brown and Levinson for cultural and interactional conditioning, and the questionable basis for the construction of a binary East-West cultural divide. In any case, the theoretical work of George Ferguson, Robin Lakoff and Geoffrey Leech himself also incorporate notions of universality.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004) criticizes the fact that Brown and Levinson’s concept of politeness is too exclusively focused on the function that politeness strategies play in redressing face-threatening acts. Bravo (2010) critiques Brown and Levinson’s terminology, and suggests the replacement of the term positive face with the term *affiliation* and negative face with the term *autonomy*, given the fact that politeness is a social image based on a system of social values and beliefs to which we can either *affiliate* or from which we can choose to remain *autonomous*.

## **2.2 Directives**

Directives and requests are speech acts, or utterances made with the intention of causing the addressee to do something, or in more abstract terms to make the world conform with the words uttered (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Searle, 1976). Directives are often studied in politeness research because they often represent face-threatening acts that require some kind of mitigation of an

imposition on the addressee (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Research has not only focused on directives as they occur in natural speech (Simounet, 1990a) but also in more experimental conditions involving role-playing (Armstrong, 2010; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Orozco, 2008).

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's 1984 study established a set of Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns, which classifies and organizes request strategies according to levels of directness; the most direct or explicit are imperatives (i.e. "Give me coffee.") and hedged performatives (i.e. "May I ask you for some coffee?"); a bit less direct is conventional indirectness, (i.e. "Could you give me coffee?"); and even less direct is non-conventional indirectness (i.e. "It's so cold, I'd drink something warm."). Other theorists, like Ervin-Tripp (1976), Searle (1976), Austin (1962) and Fraser (1975) have also proposed their own categorizations for directive strategies, sometimes ranging in levels of directness. Ervin-Tripp (1976), for example, proposes six directive strategies types: Need Statements (and Want Statements), Imperatives (and Ellipticals), Embedded Imperatives, Permission Directives, Question Directives and Hints.

However, as it had been argued in the preceding section, politeness is sensitive to many variables, like culture, context of situation, interactants and others, which is why one can argue that what is categorized as a very direct request may not necessarily be considered to be rude in all contexts. This underlines the complexity of the phenomenon of politeness, a fact that cannot be ignored by those wishing to study it. Saville-Troike (2003) mentions how scholars may use introspection to study their own cultures subjectively, and shed light on the knowledge, values, meanings, and interpretations therein (p.89). As a Puerto Rican, I see the present research as a way to explore my own culture from the unique point of view of an insider.

### 2.3 Previous studies

A significant number of studies have been carried out on the nature of directives in a broad array of contexts and languages (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Cho, 2007; Díaz Pérez, 2006), but in most cases, English seems to be the language of focus. Some researchers, like Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Díaz Pérez (2006) and Cho (2007) have compared politeness strategies among different speech communities, specifically in terms of the amount of attention each community places on positive or negative face, or if there is variation due to interference. Heffelfinger (2019), Simounet (1990b) and Mülheisen (2011) have studied positive and negative politeness in the Caribbean. Mülheisen (2011) indicates that Trinidadians may use the second person plural as a mitigation strategy to avoid impositions. Félix-Brasdefer (2015) notes that service encounters are asymmetric in terms of power relations “when the focus is on the sales transaction (i.e. business talk) and both participants (service provider and service seeker) negotiate service based on the demands and giving of goods and services” (p 56), and that such relations of power may shift among the participants and may even become more symmetric during the course of the interaction.

Heffelfinger’s (2019) dissertation compares the positive and negative politeness strategies of live radio interactions among three English speaking islands of the Caribbean: St. Eustatius, St. Croix and Barbados. She explains that positive politeness dominated over negative politeness, and that the highest level of positive politeness over negative politeness was found in Barbados and the lowest level of positive politeness over negative politeness was found in St. Eustatius. She concludes, however, that the data revealed more similarities than differences among the islands. In the case of negative politeness, she found that *hedges* were the most dominant form of

mitigation, especially in St. Croix, as well as other lexical (“kind of”, “probably”) and paralinguistic (hesitations, rising intonations and nervous laughter) downgraders.

In the case of Spanish, Díaz Pérez (2006) sustains that Spanish pragmatics places less weight on the hearer’s negative face than English does; that is, speakers of Spanish tend to approach conversation more with the goal of inclusion of and solidarity with the person being addressed than with the goal of respecting the personal space of the addressee. This could translate to Spanish being a more positive face-oriented language than a negative face-oriented one.

Placencia indicates that, in two quite diverse socio-cultural contexts, Madrid and Quito, direct requests in Spanish are the preferred strategies. This is also shown by Thompson and Alvord (2019), who cite works by Félix-Brasdefer (2012, 2015), Placencia (2005), Vélez (1987), and Yates (2016). The former conclude that direct request strategies reflect a strong tendency in the Spanish pragmatics of Mexico, Spain, Ecuador, Puerto Rico, and Argentina. Márquez Reiter and Placencia have carried out studies that describe the pragmatics of politeness in service encounters in different varieties of Spanish (Márquez Reiter, 2002; Márquez Reiter and Placencia, 2004; Placencia, 2005). Service encounters are face-to-face (or online) interactions that seek and provide some type of good and/or service and take place in institutional settings, such as shops, post offices, front-desks, service calls, etc. (Félix-Brasdefer, 2015). Coffee shops, *cafeterías* and kiosks, the contexts of my study, are places where service encounters happen.

Simounet’s 1990a study was among the first to study PRS politeness and request strategies on the island and it is that study that I am replicating in this research. The most recent studies on requests in PRS were done by Heffelfinger Nieves. Heffelfinger (2014) compared positive and negative politeness strategies used by male and female reporters on politically-themed television

shows. She observed that while positive politeness was used more than negative politeness by all, women used more negative politeness strategies than men. She then turned her attention to service encounters in coffee shops, where she compared request strategies by gender and age in two settings, one urban and one rural (Heffelfinger 2015a, 2015b). In her spontaneous data, she found that women employed a wider variety of request strategies than men; that older people used more terms of endearment than younger people; and that directness and indirectness were combined to express solidarity and acknowledge the hearer's autonomy in decision-making.

Although I do not engage in a detailed discussion of this in the present study, I argue that intonation is another feature of politeness in PRS that plays an important role in mitigating the imposition of requests and other directives. Orozco (2008) observes that Navarro Tomás (1944) and Quilis (1993) are among the first linguists to discuss the role of intonational patterns in Spanish pragmatics, particularly in polite requests which are often realized with a final rising intonational melody. Orozco (2008) also finds similar patterns in Mexican Spanish requests. In her study on intonational patterns in PRS questions, Meghan Armstrong (2010) points out that some polite imperatives and questions in the language have a rising intonation at the ending. Heffelfinger (2014) also notices that female reporters used rising intonation as a mitigation strategy for negative politeness in her research on politeness in television programs.

### 3. Methodology, Findings and Analysis

#### 3.1 Methodology

In the original study that the present study sought to replicate, Simounet (1990a) observed and transcribed 100 spontaneous directives in 10 different service encounter contexts in the Metro Area of San Juan. In the present study, I observed and transcribed on my smartphone a single spontaneous directive uttered by each of 201 participants during 16 visits to 8 different service encounter locations within the Metro Area of San Juan (see Appendix for a full listing of the directives in the data set). The 8 service encounter locations were of three types: 1) a *cafetería* (a typical Puerto Rican bakery where coffee is served); 2) coffee shops; and 3) kiosks (small, open air facilities). My length of stay during each visit varied from ten minutes to three hours, with the average time of stay being of about 1 hour and a half.

Using my smartphone was a non-intrusive option for transcribing data, which permitted me to blend into the normal social behavior exhibited by individuals in any given face-to-face public service encounter area. Because there was complete anonymity maintained throughout the process of data collection and therefore there was absolutely no way to trace any directive back to any particular individual; because the directives were uttered in public in non-vulnerable contexts by non-vulnerable populations; because there was no intervention by the researcher in any aspect of any of the encounters; and because there was only one directive transcribed, rather than voice recorded, from each participant, it was not deemed necessary to obtain consent forms from them.

Out of the 201 participants, 99 were female and 102 were male (see Table 1). The perceived age range of the participants was: 51 in the 18-29 range; 53 in the 30-39 range; 38 in the 40 to 49



range; 36 in the 50-59 range; 20 in the 60-69 range; and 3 in the 70-79 range (see Table 2). The data collected was evenly distributed among the three service encounter locations, with 66 out of 201 directives (33%) collected in the *cafetería*, 66 out of 201 directives (33%) collected in the coffee shops, and 69 out of 201 directives (34%) collected in the kiosks (see Table 3).

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number of participants</i>
<i>female</i>	99
<i>male</i>	102
<i>total</i>	201

Table 1. Gender of participants in the present study

<i>Perceived age</i>	<i>Number of participants</i>
<i>18-29</i>	51
<i>30-39</i>	53
<i>40-49</i>	38
<i>50-59</i>	36
<i>60-69</i>	20

<i>70 and above</i>	3
<i>total</i>	201

Table 2. Perceived age of participants in the present study

*Service*      *Number*  
*encounter*   *and percent*  
*location*     *of*  
*type*         *participants*

<i>cafeteria</i>	66 (33%)
<i>coffee</i>	66 (33%)
<i>shops</i>	
<i>kiosks</i>	69 (34%)
<i>total</i>	201 (100%)

Table 3. Number and percent of participants in each service encounter location type in the present study

Since I was interested in collecting naturally occurring directives, I relied completely on my own ears to transcribe each directive on the spot, as it was being uttered, using my smartphone. This meant that I had to sit as close as possible to the ordering area, without making it obvious that

I was transcribing the service encounters taking place there. This was not always easy to do. Some of the factors that repeatedly made my work more difficult in some of the service encounter locations included background noise, the presence of physical barriers such as columns and other structural features between me and the encounter, the presence of groups of people between me and the encounter, and the sometimes great distance from the sitting area to the ordering zone. On one such occasion, I asked the employees at the service encounter location to allow me to stand near the ordering zone, explaining to them the nature of the present study. Poorly heard directives were discarded. However, on occasions, when I heard most of the directive, I would transcribe the parts that I heard and leave a blank to mark the parts that I could not hear. For example, directive #190 reads as follows: “Dame un latte de doce con \_\_\_\_\_. (Give me a latte of twelve [ounces] with \_\_\_\_\_.)

As a means to categorize the directives collected as data in the present study, I made use of Ervin-Tripp’s (1976) division of directive strategies into 6 categories:

- 1) Need Statements and Want Statements
- 2) Imperatives and Ellipticals
- 3) Embedded Imperatives
- 4) Permission Directives
- 5) Question Directives
- 6) Hints

While the classification of the collected directives was mainly based on morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors, intonation and other aspects of prosody were also taken into account.

To aid in the process of collecting and transcribing the data, I created a form on my smartphone using the Google Forms platform, in which each submitted sheet included the transcription of one participant's directive. This platform allowed me to assign sex and perceived age range of the participant who uttered each transcribed directive, as well as to name the service encounter location where the directive was recorded. This platform also allowed me to add a drop-down menu that included 6 options, one for each of the 6 types of directives identified by Ervin-Tripp (1976), so that, if I had the opportunity, I could classify each directive at the moment of hearing and transcribing it. The Google Forms platform easily transforms raw data into graphs, which helped me to monitor the data collection process. Finally, Google Forms facilitated the export of data into the Microsoft Excel software format which I used to re-visit the data for corrections, to correlate the variables, and to present results in the form of tables and graphs.

### **3.2 Findings and analysis**

The findings that appear below are organized according to the four research questions that the present study was designed to answer:

- 1) What is the form and structure of typical directives used in various settings by speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish?
- 2) What is the correlation between the use of the various forms of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish and features such as setting, topic, rank, age, gender, and familiarity?
- 3) How do the findings for questions 1 and 2 compare with the findings of the original study (Simounet 1990a) that was replicated here?

- 4) How can the social changes that have occurred in Puerto Rico over the past 30 years help to explain differences between findings of the present study and those of Simounet (1990a)?

Because the purpose of the present study is a comparative one, the discussion of research questions 3 and 4, which addresses comparison, will be integrated into the discussion of research questions 1 and 2 in this section.

### **3.2.1 Research question 1: What is the structure of some typical directives from various settings in which Puerto Rican Spanish is used?**

In my data, I identified five of the six types of directives classified by Ervin-Tripp (1976). In the original study which the present study seeks to replicate, Simounet (1990a) found all of these six types plus a seventh one, Indefinite Directives, which was also observed and recorded by Vélez (1987). There were no directives in my data, however, that could be classified as belonging to this seventh category. All these seven types are listed in Table 4 below with examples, wherever possible, from my data.

<b>Type of directive</b>	<b>Spanish Example</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
1. Need Statements/ Want Statements	<i>Yo quiero un chocolate.</i>	I want a cup of hot chocolate.
2. Imperatives/	<i>Dame un pastelillo de carne.</i>	Give me (T)*** a meat turnover.

Ellipticals	- <i>Un pastelillo.</i>	-One turnover.
3. Embedded Imperatives	<i>¿Me puedes dar un jugo y una tostada?</i>	Can you give me (T)*** a glass of juice and a toast?
4. Permission Directives*	<i>¿Puedo escoger el café?</i>	Can I choose the coffee?
5. Question Directives	<i>¿Tienes una tapita para llevar?</i>	Do you (T)*** have a lid for carry-out?
6. Hints	<i>Mira, hoy nos vamos de un revoltillo con jamón de pavo, queso y unas tostaditas.</i>	Hey, today we'll have scrambled eggs with turkey ham, cheese, and toast.
7. Indefinite Directives**	<i>Para lo de la licencia.</i>	I'm here for [to get] the license papers.

Table 4: Types, examples, and translations of directives. \* Found in Ervin-Tripp (1976) and Simounet (1990a), but not in the present study. \*\* Found in Simounet (1990a) and Vélez (1987), but not in the present study. \*\*\*Any 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular address in Spanish has two forms: formal (V) and informal (T).

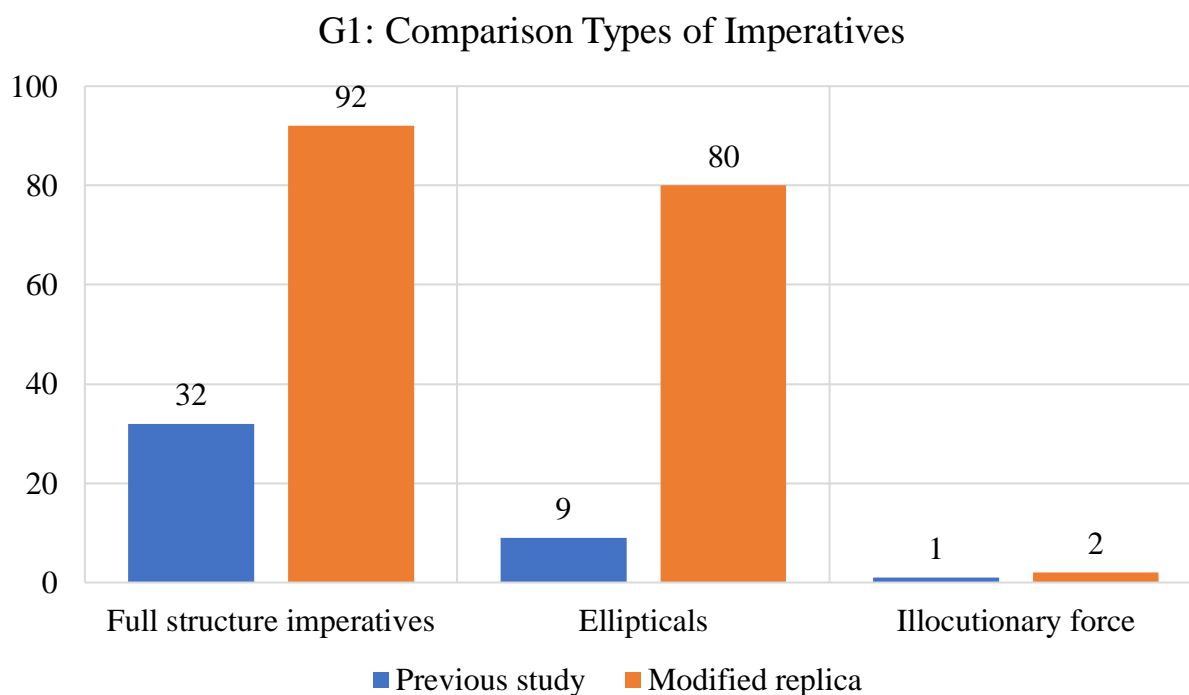
Want Statements express desires, and Ervin-Tripp (1976) considers them a variation of Need Statements, which express necessity. Want Statements constituted 4% (9 of 201) of the directives in my data and I did not find any Need Statements. In contrast, Need Statements and

Want Statements made up 17% (17 of 100) of Simounet's 1990a data set. Although she did have Need Statements in her data, none of them were uttered in the service encounter setting, but instead she found them in her data from classroom and family/household interactions. This might suggest that this particular type of directive is not common in service encounters in Puerto Rico, at least for the past 30 years.

Simounet (1990a) used Stockwell et al.'s (1965) structural definition to identify directives that fit into the category 'Imperative' in her data: "The structure of imperatives in Spanish consist of a verb, which if transitive, is followed by an object and the recipient of the object, which in Spanish is always a prepositional phrase"( p. 192). Using this same structural definition, I found that Imperatives constituted 87% of the data collected for the present study (174 directives). This contrasts dramatically with the 42% (42) of Imperatives identified by Simounet in her study. However, it must be borne in mind that Simounet included non-service encounter situations in her investigation. The prominence of Imperatives in my findings compare to that found in Placencia's (2005) and Vélez' (1987) work on service encounters, where there is evidence that this type of directive is quite typical in Spanish-speaking communities.

Two types of structure are included by Ervin-Tripp (1976) under the category Imperative: 1) Full Structure Imperatives and 2) Elliptical Imperatives. Both of these structures are illustrated in Table 4 above. These two structure types were also to be found in both Simounet's study and the present one, along with a much less frequently occurring third category that we refer to as 'Illocutionary Force Imperatives' which are full structure imperatives realized with a rising intonation, so that they sound similar to a question. This rising intonation is a form of prosodic

mitigation, which is very typical in Puerto Rican Spanish, and therefore can be readily identified as such by its speakers.



As shown in Graph 1 (G1) above, not only do the percentages of Imperatives in general substantially increase from Simounet’s study to the present one, but also the proportion of Elliptical Imperatives shows a dramatic increase in relation to Full Structure Imperatives. This could suggest that the realization of directives in Puerto Rican Spanish, at least in service encounters, has become more context dependent – suppressing “unnecessary” information when the context allows for the understanding of the directive. While further research is necessary to determine to what extent and why this change is happening, I do not see this phenomenon as being a purely linguistic change, but rather a sociolinguistic one, in which Puerto Rican Spanish speakers



over the past 30 years have chosen to “say less” and depend more on their addressees to take context into account to construct the intended meaning.

Embedded Imperatives are defined by Ervin-Tripp (1967) as requests with direct intent, where the object and agent are explicit (Simounet, 1990a). While Simounet classified 8% (8) of the directives in her data as Embedded Imperatives, these were found to make up only 4% (9) of the directives in the present study. As shown in Table 4, Permission Directives consist of a modal + a beneficiary + a verb + the object (Simounet, 1990a). Simounet encountered only one such structure among the directives in her data, and that was in a non-service encounter context. It is therefore not surprising that no Permission Directives were encountered among the directives collected in the present study. Indefinite Directives occur mainly in two structural configurations in Spanish: 1) the verb ‘*venir*’ (to come) plus a verbal phrase or nominal phrase; and 2) the prepositional ‘*para*’ (for) plus a verbal phrase or nominal phrase (as illustrated in Table 4). Simounet (1990a) encountered Indefinite Directives in service encounters where the context was explicit and specific enough to allow their use, such as in offices where one applies for specific licenses, etc. No Indefinite Directives were found in the data collected for the present study. The limited use of Embedded Imperatives and the complete absence of Permission Directives and Indefinite Directives in the data set of the present study may suggest that these three directive types are not favored in service encounters that are associated with food and beverages.

Question Directives take the form of an information question, as shown in the example in Table 4. Simounet (1990a) states that for Ervin-Tripp, this question/request ambiguity in interpretation allows the hearer an escape route if he or she does not wish to comply with the directive. In the present study, eight (4%) Question Directives occurred in the data. Question

Directives made up 14% (14) of the directives collected by Simounet (1990a), but none of these occurred in service encounter settings. Half of the Question Directives found by Simounet incorporated the negative to allow for greater mitigation and freedom of choice for the hearer. (Ex: *¿No tienes clase hoy?* Don't you have class today?) Although the data for the present study did not include such structures, I personally have heard negative Question Directives used in service encounters.

While Simounet (1990a) found 11 instances of Hints (11%) used as directives in her data, I encountered only 2 instances of Hints (1%) used as directives in the data collected for the present study. Simounet (1990a) observes that “Hints appear to be prime examples of the kind of communicative abbreviation which appears in high solidarity, closed networks of communication” (p. 21). She suggests that the occurrence of Hints is restricted mainly to ‘regular customer’ service encounters involving the same individuals repeatedly over a sufficient period of time to permit the consolidation of relations of familiarity between them. This appeared to be the case in one of the instances of Hints in the data for the present study, where I observed that the client behaved like a regular customer:

#116: *Mira, hoy nos vamos de un revoltillo con jamón de pavo, queso y unas tostaditas.*

(Hey, today we'll have scrambled eggs with turkey ham, cheese, and toast.)

While hints were barely in evidence in the data collected for the present study, the occurrence of some related items, particularly downgraders, merits comment here. Downgraders, such as *por favor* (please) and *cuando puedas* (when you can, i.e. please) were found in both the original study as well as the present one. Simounet (1990a) found 4 instances (4%) of *por favor* in

her data and all of these were uttered by women once in an Imperative Request, once in an Imbedded Imperative, once in an Elliptical Imperative and once in an interaction which was eventually classified as a Hint. In the data collected for the present study, there were 15 instances (7%) where *por favor* was used, 5 by men and 10 by women. 13 of these 15 directives used with *por favor* were Imperatives. The *cuando puedas* downgrader is used in Puerto Rican Spanish as an alternative way of saying *por favor*. It was found once in both studies: in an Imperative in the original research and in an Elliptical Imperative in this one. Interestingly, *cuando puedas* was used by women on both occasions.

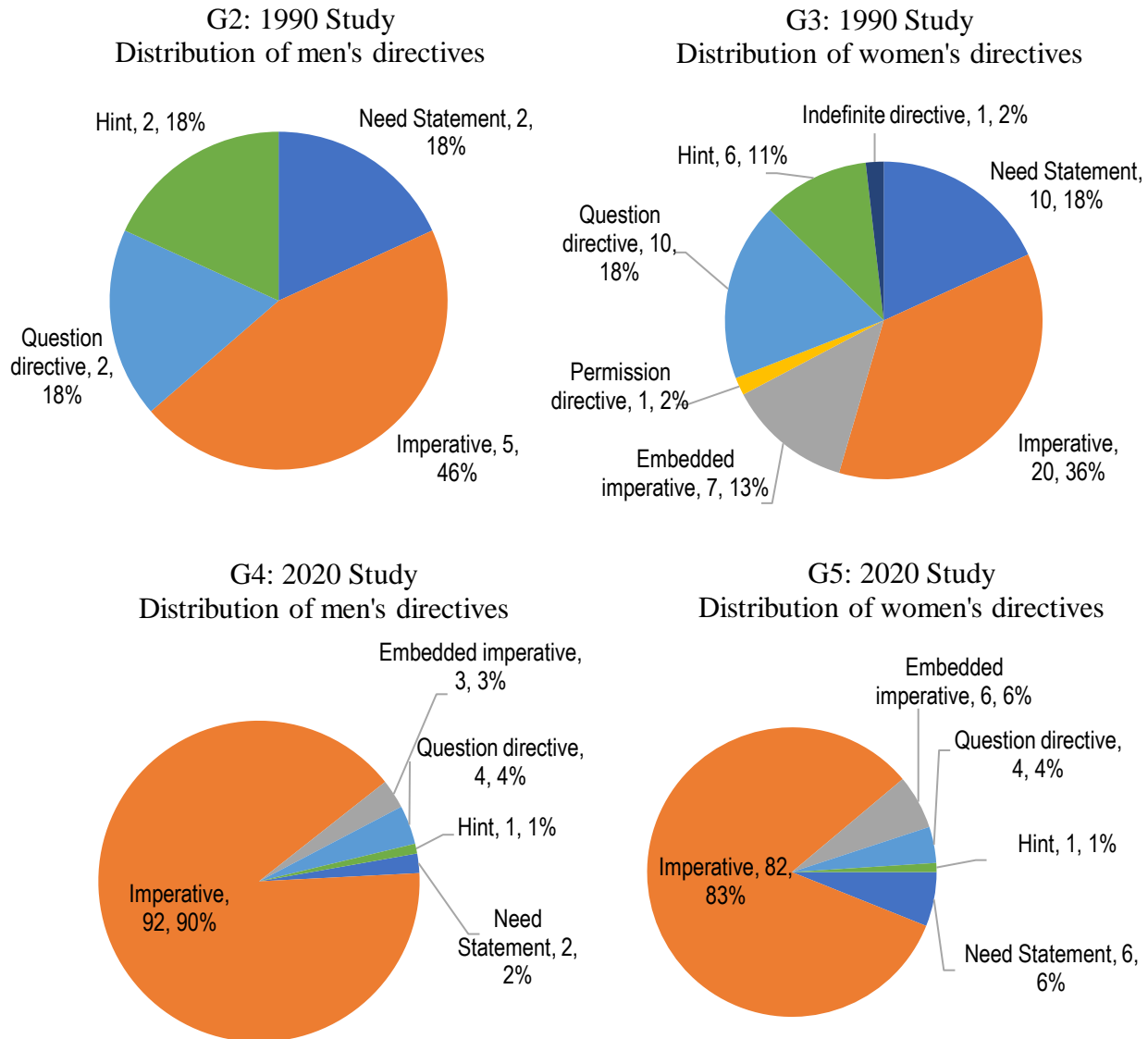
### **3.2.2 Research question 2: What is the empirical distribution of the variants across social features such as setting, topic, rank, age, gender, and familiarity?**

In the original study which the present study was designed to replicate, Simounet (1990a) tested for correlations between the type of directives used on the one hand and social variables, such as setting, topic, rank, age, gender, and familiarity on the other. Given the fact that the present study was limited to service encounters related to food and beverages, there was no way to test for topic. There was also very little in the data that could be used to test for correlations between rank and familiarity on the one hand and directive type on the other. Some interesting results, however were obtained related to issues of rank and familiarity, when the use of second person singular forms of address (the informal *tú* versus the formal *usted*) were compared between the original study (Simounet 1990a) and the present study. This comparison indicated a significant shift from the original study to the present study towards the use of *tú* over *usted*, Simounet identified 15 (15%) instances (15%) where the *usted* form was used in her data and 43 instances (43%) where the speaker opted for the *tú* form, with the remaining 42 instances (42%) being non-specified or

unclear. In the present study, however, only 5 instances of the *usted* form (3%) could be found, while 112 instances of the *tú* form (70%) were attested, with the remaining 42 instances (26%) being non-specified or unclear. The age and gender of the three *usted* utterers varied, thus it appears that the shift from formal to informal address has been nearly categorical over the past 30 years in Puerto Rican Spanish in the context under study.

The age of the speaker was not correlated with any of the directive types in the present study, with a fairly even and proportional distribution of directive types being evident across all age groups. There were, however, some correlations between gender and the types of directives used, and these correlations proved to be particularly significant when the results from the original study were compared with those of the present study.

Simounet (1990a) collected 100 instances of directives, for which 66 (66%) she was able to record the gender of the speaker; 11 (11%) being male and 55 (55%) being female. To check for correlations between gender and the use of directive types, these 66 directives were compared to the 201 directives collected in the present study. I originally used the label *sex* for this variable, but changes in the use of directives by women over the thirty years from the original study to the present study seem to depend more on social constructs of gender than biological sex, so I decided that the label *gender* was more appropriate, and I have used that label in the present work. Graphs 2 to 5 (G2, G3, G4 and G5) below show the distribution of directive types for the two genders, in both the original study (Simounet 1990a) and the present study.



At first glance, these graphs already display some obvious trends: 1) there is a significant increase in the number of Imperatives used from the original study to the present study; 2) there is a significant increase in the proportion of Imperatives used in relation to all other directive types from the original study to the present study; and 3) women by far showed the greatest increase in the number of Imperatives used from the original study to the present study in between studies.

This means that thirty years ago, while men used only three other directive types beside Imperatives and used them 54% of the time, women used six directive types beside Imperatives and used them 64% of the time. In the present study, the percentage of Imperatives used as directives by men rose from 64% to 90%, and the percentage of Imperatives used as directives by women rose from 54% to 83%, while the number of directive types used by women decreased from 7 types to 5 types. The number of directive types used by men, however, increased from 3 to 4 from the original to the present study with the inclusion of 3 instances of Embedded Imperatives in their repertoire, alongside 1 case on Hints, 2 cases of Needs Statements, and 4 cases of Question Directives.

As explained above, some of these trends could be explained by the fact that the present study was exclusively focused on service encounters related to food and beverages, while in the original study (Simounet 1990a) service encounters related to food and beverages were included among a larger set of contexts. It is unlikely, however, that the steep increase in the use of Imperative directives from the original study to the present one can be attributed only to that factor.

#### 4. Conclusions

In general, the comparison between the results obtained in the original study by Simounet (1990a) and those of the present study which attempted to replicate it, indicate that many of the features in Puerto Rican Spanish which encode asymmetrical social relations (such as [+formal] vs. [-formal]) are being levelled, presumably along with the levelling of some of the corresponding asymmetrical relations in society (such as [+masculine] vs. [-masculine]) (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010).

The results of the present study indicate that women have become less and less encumbered by traditional expectations that they be more negatively polite and deferential than men, and are less and less likely to mitigate their directives in any way, using the Imperative directive type in the overwhelming majority of cases, almost as often as men. The tendency towards greater equality between men and women in Puerto Rico now allows the latter to utilize the former's strategies in the performance of culture. These findings do not align with those obtained by Heffelfinger (2015), however, in her study of politeness in service encounters in rural areas of Puerto Rico. Perhaps the discrepancy here is due to the fact that the present study was conducted exclusively in urban areas of the island. If this is the case, then the social and linguistic changes attested to in the present study may be spreading slowly from urban areas to the countryside. This suggests an important area for further research in the future. Although nothing approaching a firm conclusion can be drawn from the limited data concerning the expansion of men's repertoires to include more types of directives, it would be interesting to conduct a study to determine if men are in some ways shifting their behavior to embrace some of the directive types and some of the strategies for politeness that were previously reserved for women.

The decrease in the use of the formal *usted* form in favor of the informal *tú* form over the thirty years between the original study and the present study suggests that another feature of Puerto Rican Spanish which encoded asymmetrical social relations in the past is being levelled, presumably along with the levelling of some of the corresponding hierarchical relations in society. Again, the more negatively polite, deferential form *usted* has lost ground to the less negatively polite, more in-group form *tú*. Another reason for this trend may be the influence of English the colonial language in Puerto Rico, which only has one term of address for the second person. The exploration of the causal factors for this phenomenon merits future study.

It could be argued that the trend identified in the present study toward the increased use of the Imperative directive type, and perhaps the trend identified toward the increased use of the informal address form as well, can be attributed in a significant way to the service encounter context, particularly that related to food and beverages, where customers often feel pressured not to ‘mince words’ or ‘waste time’ in articulating their orders while hungry and thirsty people are waiting behind them in line to be attended to. In fact, Jean Cuevas (personal conversation, 2019) has observed that in service encounter settings in the area of Barrio Obrero in San Juan, it is expected that one be direct and to the point in one’s requests, and that in such situations indirectness may be considered to be impolite. This is a promising area for further investigation.



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**Appendix: List of directives collected in the present study**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Directive</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Encounter site type</i>
1.	Dame una media noche	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
2.	Dame una tostada de mantequilla	Imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
3.	Dame un pastelillo de carne	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
4.	Dos café termino	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
5.	Dame un bocadillo	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
6.	Una botella de agua	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
7.	Dame una medianoche	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
8.	Un pastelillo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
9.	Un bocadillo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
10.	¿Me puedes dar dos bocadillos?	Imbedded imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
11.	Dame un cubano en pan de agua	Imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
12.	Una Heineken bien fría	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
13.	Una medianoche con todo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
14.	Dame dos café	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
15.	Me das el Corricorre.	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
16.	Dame Tortilla a la Jardinera	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
17.	Me das una Corricorre, por favor	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
18.	¿Me das para llevar?	Imperative Intonation	Woman	18-29	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
19.	Dame un cortadito doble shot y un baklava	Imperative	Man	18-29	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop

20.	¿Tienes proteína?	Question Directive	Woman	18-29	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
21.	Dame, por favor, dos grilled cheese.	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
22.	Mira, una madre de esas ahí. (señala pie de guayaba).	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	70-79	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
23.	Deme unas tostadas francesas.	Imperative	Man	60-69	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
24.	¿Tú qué tienes ahí de crema?	Question Directive	Man	60-69	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
25.	Dame un Lorenzo y Pepita	Imperative	Man	60-69	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
26.	Dime qué te queda de la crema del día.	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
27.	Yo quiero un huevito a la plancha.	Need Statement	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
28.	Yo quiero dos cafés regulares para llevar, uno blanquito y uno oscuro.	Need Statement	Woman	18-29	Hato Rey	Coffee Shop
29.	Una bolsa de hielo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
30.	Un quesito	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
31.	Una libra de pan sobao	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
32.	Dame una coca cola	Imperative	Man	50-59	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
33.	Un pocillo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
34.	¿Me puedes dar dos quesitos?	Embedded Imperative	Woman	18-29	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
35.	Dame un cafe	Imperative	Woman	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
36.	Un pocillo	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
37.	Yo quiero un café	Need Statement	Man	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
38.	Media de sobao	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
39.	Media libra de pan de agua	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
40.	Dame una libra de pan de agua	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>



41.	Un pan sobao	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
42.	Dame un quesito	Imperative	Man	40-49	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
43.	Dame media de sobao	Imperative	Woman	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
44.	Americano	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	50-59	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
45.	Un latte	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
46.	Dos cortados, por favor.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
47.	Dame un latte regular	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
48.	¿Me puede dar dos galletas de almendra?	Embedded imperative	Woman	18-29	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
49.	¿Me puede dar un americano?	Embedded imperative	Woman	40-49	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
50.	Dame un cortado para llevar.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
51.	Una botella de agua	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	60-69	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
52.	Tres latte	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
53.	Americano grande	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
54.	Dos cortados	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
55.	Una latte y un french vanilla	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
56.	Dame un cortado doble	Imperative	Man	30-39	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
57.	¿Me puedes dar un latte grande?	Embedded imperative	Woman	30-39	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
58.	Deme dos cappuccino	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Mall of San Juan	Coffee Shop
59.	Esos dos que quedan son míos. (quesitos)	Hint	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
60.	Clarito y caliente (café)	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
61.	Yo quiero, por favor, un latte de 8oz para llevar.	Need Statement	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
62.	Yo quiero un cortadito.	Need Statement	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop

63.	Dame, por favor, un late de ocho onzas y una botella de agua para llevar.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
64.	Dame un machiatto doble.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
65.	Dame un expreso para llevar.	Imperative	Man	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
66.	Un café negro pequeño	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
67.	Dame un expreso doble para llevar, por favor.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
68.	(luego de preguntar cantidad de leche para su café) Pues, me vas a dar un drip de leche.	Imperative	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
69.	Me vas a dar un café cortadito.	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
70.	Dame un café con leche de almendra.	Imperative	Woman	60-69	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
71.	Dame, una docena de donas	Imperative	Man	40-49	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
72.	Una medalla de lata	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
73.	Dame, la nueve.	Imperative	Man	60-69	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
74.	Sancocho, por favor	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Río Piedras	<i>Cafetería</i>
75.	Dos colaítos de cuatro	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
76.	Dos de seis	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
77.	Dame un latte de 12	Imperative	Man	18-29	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
78.	Esto y dos lattes de Seis	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
79.	Dame un latte de 12	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
80.	Dos café de 6	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	50-59	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
81.	Un café de seis con leche de almendra	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
82.	Un capuccino grande	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk

83.	Dame dos café	Imperative	Man	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
84.	Una botella de agua	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
85.	Un café regular	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	60-69	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
86.	Colaíto con leche	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
87.	Me das uno de seis onzas	Imperative	Man	50-59	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
88.	Dame un cafe regular	Imperative	Woman	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
89.	Un chocolate	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	50-59	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
90.	Expreso grande	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	60-69	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
91.	Dame dos colaíto con leche	Imperative	Woman	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
92.	Colaíto regular	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
93.	Un bizcocho	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
94.	Dame un colaíto clarito	Imperative	Man	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
95.	Un latte regular	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
96.	Dame un cafe frio con leche	Imperative	Man	40-49	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
97.	Dame dos colaíto	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
98.	Un café termino de cuatro onzas	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
99.	Espresso doble	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
100.	Espresso, por favor	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Plaza Las Américas	Kiosk
101.	Me das un expreso de cuatro.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
102.	Dame un café de cuatro.	Imperative	Man	50-59	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
103.	Yo quiero un chocolate.	Need Statement	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
104.	Sully, a mí se me había olvidado. Si no lo tienes,	Question Directive	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk

	no hay problema, sí lo tienes...					
105.	¿Te quedan ensaladas?	Question Directive	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
106.	Dos pocillos, término medio.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
107.	Mira, dame un cortadito oscuroito.	Imperative	Man	60-69	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
108.	Una Coca Cola.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
109.	Eh, dame una uva.	Imperative	Man	50-59	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
110.	Un Café.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
111.	Uhm, un café frío.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
112.	Dame el huevo con tocineta.	Imperative	Man	40-49	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
113.	Un vasito de agua caliente.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
114.	¿Tienes una tapita para llevar?	Question Directive	Man	18-29	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
115.	Cremita, cuando puedas.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	70-79	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
116.	Mira, hoy nos vamos de un revoltillo con jamón de pavo, queso y unas tostaditas.	Hint	Man	50-59	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
117.	Me das dos mallorcas de jamón y queso.	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Viejo San Juan	<i>Cafetería</i>
118.	Un media noche y un jugo de china	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
119.	Me vas a dar un bocadillo y una Sprite	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
120.	Un cubano con jamón de pavo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
121.	¿Tu me das un platito?	Imperative Intonation	Woman	40-49	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
122.	Dame una botellita de agua	Imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
123.	Me das una Malboro	Imperative	Woman	60-69	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>
124.	Yo quiero dos libras de sobao y una croqueta de jamón.	Need Statement	Woman	50-59	Hato Rey	<i>Cafetería</i>

125.	Me puedes dar un café y una libra de pan	Embedded imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	Cafetería
126.	Dame un padrino de Coca cola	Imperative	Woman	40-49	Hato Rey	Cafetería
127.	Dos café termino	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
128.	Una costilla de queso y una dona rellena de queso.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	Cafetería
129.	Dame media libra de pan de agua y media de sobao	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Hato Rey	Cafetería
130.	Deme dos bocadillos para llevar	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
131.	Dame un pastelillo de carne	Imperative	Man	50-59	Hato Rey	Cafetería
132.	¿Me puedes dar un jugo y una tostada?	Embedded Imperative	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
133.	Dame lo que te queda de croquetas	Imperative	Man	60-69	Hato Rey	Cafetería
134.	Dame una malta y una media noche	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
135.	Me vas a dar una tostado de queso suizo	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
136.	Dame una libra de sobao	Imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	Cafetería
137.	Si tienes sandwich de pavo, dame uno.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
138.	Una botella de agua y un bocadillo	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Hato Rey	Cafetería
139.	Dame una media noche y una coca cola	Imperative	Man	40-49	Hato Rey	Cafetería
140.	Dame café con leche, por favor	Imperative	Woman	70-79	Viejo San Juan	Kiosk
141.	¿Qué tienes de cremita hoy?	Question directive	Woman	40-49	Río Piedras	Kiosk
142.	Un jamón queso frío	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	40-49	Río Piedras	Kiosk
143.	Me das un café.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
144.	Dame un café latte	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
145.	Dame uno capuchinno	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Viejo San Juan	Coffee Shop
146.	Buenas, dame una crema.	Imperative	Man	50-59	Río Piedras	Kiosk

147.	Café y un jugo.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	50-59	Río Piedras	Kiosk
148.	Sí, dame una, por favor	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Río Piedras	Kiosk
149.	Dame un juguito de uva.	Imperative	Woman	50-59	Río Piedras	Kiosk
150.	¿Qué tienes de harina?	Question directive	Man	50-59	Río Piedras	Kiosk
151.	Pues, yo quiero un mangoberry	Need Statement	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
152.	Dame un café.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
153.	Sí, buenas, dame un café americano.	Imperative	Man	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
154.	Un Powerade	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
155.	El café de diez onzas tibio con azúcar negra.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	60-69	InterMetro	Kiosk
156.	Un icee de cocacola.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
157.	Dame un café, eh, término.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
158.	Me das una de las ensaladas.	Imperative	Man	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
159.	Me vas a dar una ensalada de pollo.	Imperative	Woman	40-49	InterMetro	Kiosk
160.	tostadas con mantequilla y jugo de china	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
161.	una ensalada de pollo.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	50-59	InterMetro	Kiosk
162.	Hola, ¿me puedes dar un café por favor de ocho onzas?	Embedded Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
163.	Dame un croissant con queso.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
164.	Hola, Buenos Días, dame un café negro por favor	Imperative	Woman	30-39	InterMetro	Kiosk
165.	Un sándwich de jamón y queso.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
166.	Un sándwich de mortadella y queso, por favor.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	InterMetro	Kiosk
167.	Buenas, dame un sándwich de __ con pan sobao.	Imperative	Man	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk

168.	Dame un latte de ocho.	Imperative	Man	30-39	InterMetro	Kiosk
169.	Dame un yogurt y una batida de chocolate.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
170.	Buen día, un sándwich de jamón y queso. perdón perdón, de pavo y queso.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
171.	Un sándwich de jamón y queso.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
172.	Buenas, dame las tostadas con mantequilla.	Imperative	Man	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
173.	¿Qué sopas tienes disponible?	Question Directive	Man	30-39	InterMetro	Kiosk
174.	Buenas, dame un sándwich con queso de papa.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	InterMetro	Kiosk
175.	Dame un cafecito	Imperative	Man	60-69	Alejandrino	Cafetería
176.	Newport cien	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Alejandrino	Cafetería
177.	Dame los primeros que salieron.	Imperative	Woman	60-69	Alejandrino	Cafetería
178.	Dos café.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Río Piedras	Cafetería
179.	Dame un... un jugo de china.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Río Piedras	Cafetería
180.	Buenas, un cortadito	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Miramar	Coffee Shop
181.	Pues, dame jamon, queso y huevo.	Imperative	Man	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
182.	Dame un latte de seis	Imperative	Man	60-69	Miramar	Coffee Shop
183.	<b>(Employee: ¿Qué vas a querer?)</b> Lo mismo de siempre.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
184.	¿Cómo estás, bro? Eh, macchiato.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Miramar	Coffee Shop
185.	<b>(Employee: ¿Deseas lo mismo de siempre?)</b> Sí.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
186.	Buenos Días, dame uno de ocho. (señala vasitos de café para llevar que están en display)	Imperative	Man	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop

187.	(Empleado le entrega una bolsa) Y el jugo de manzana.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
188.	Para aquí, me vas a dar ____.	Imperative	Man	40-49	Miramar	Coffee Shop
189.	Buenas, un macchiato.	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
190.	Dame un latte de doce con ____.	Imperative	Woman	40-49	Miramar	Coffee Shop
191.	Hola, ¿me puedes dar un ____, con pavo de jamón, pero sin queso?	Embedded Imperative	Man	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
192.	Un cappuccino.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
193.	Hola, me das un latte de ____.	Imperative	Woman	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
194.	Un café de este (señala El display de vasos para llevar).	Imperative Ellipsis	Woman	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
195.	Cappuccino de seis.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
196.	Ajá, esto (pone un café en bolsa en la mesa) y un café.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	30-39	Miramar	Coffee Shop
197.	Dos macchiatos y un espresso.	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	50-59	Miramar	Coffee Shop
198.	Latte de 8 para llevar (señala display de vasos)	Imperative Ellipsis	Man	40-49	Miramar	Coffee Shop
199.	Dame un __ late.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop
200.	Dame un café oscurito.	Imperative	Man	50-59	Miramar	Coffee Shop
201.	Hola, dame un iced latte con vainilla, por favor.	Imperative	Woman	18-29	Miramar	Coffee Shop