Generalized Conversational Implicatures and Indexical Fields: The Case of Address Forms

Sarah Sinnott
Benedictine College

1. Introduction

Address forms[2] (AFs) in Castilian Spanish contribute a variety of social meanings to an utterance. A surge of exploration into AFs began about 50 years ago with the work of Brown & Gilman (1960). Since then, researchers have explored "the relevant criteria that govern the choice of one form over the other" (Taavitsainen & Jucker, 2003, p. 2). Much research has gone into answering the questions of when speakers choose T or V and what the forms mean to them, from a sociolinguistic point of view. A more recent development has been to address the question of how AFs contribute social meaning to an utterance, from a pragmatic point of view. Sinnott (2010a) explored this question and determined that AFs contribute meaning via conventional and conversational implicature.

Looking at AFs from a sociolinguistic perspective has helped to answer the *what* of their use, but leaves unanswered the *how*. Looking at them from a pragmatic perspective has helped to understand the *how*, but leaves behind a seemingly crucial link between the *how* and the *what*. In other words, we know that many meanings are associated with AFs. We also know that the meanings associated with AFs are expressed via implicature. But we have yet to bring these two ideas together. We need to bring the ideas together in order to understand, for example, why some of the social meanings seem to be more reliant on form (such as respect), while others do not seem to rely on a particular form at all (such as anger). How do these implicatures differ in how they arise? In addition, the range of possible implicatures is essentially limitless, yet speakers tend to focus on a select few. What is the connection between these implicatures? By expanding on a relatively new notion in sociolinguistic theory, the Indexical Field (IF) (cf. Eckert, 2008), and relating it to the pragmatic theory of implicature, we can begin to bridge the gap between the *how* and the *what*. Sinnott (2010a) mentioned the possibility of the existence of an indexical field (IF) associated with AFs and in this paper I will further explore the notion and demonstrate its link with conversational implicature (CVI). Specifically, I will show that the IF consists of a hierarchy of meanings, many of which are expressed via different types of conversational implicature. By combining the sociolinguistic notion of the IF with the pragmatic notion of implicature, I hope to provide a clearer picture of how AFs contribute social meaning to an utterance.

I will begin by presenting a summary of the social aspects of AFs followed by a summary of their pragmatic characteristics. I will then discuss in more detail the concepts of the IF and implicature in order to demonstrate how they come together, allowing speakers to manipulate two forms in order to produce and interpret a wide variety of meanings.

[2] The term *address forms* as used in this article refers to singular T and V forms in Spanish. In Castilian Spanish T = tú and V = usted.

2. Address Forms from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

As mentioned above, many in the realm of sociolinguistics have explored the *when* and the *what* of AFs. Several themes ring constant throughout this research. I will provide here a brief summary of the highlights of this research with special attention to Peninsular Spanish when possible.

Among the contextual factors that influence AF choice are the age of the addressee with respect to the speaker (e.g., Alba de Diego & Sánchez Lobato, 1980), sex, education level, social class, level of familiarity, profession, (e.g., Moreno Fernández 1986), physical context (e.g., Blas Arroyo, 1994; Ramón, 2009), and the topic or purpose of the interaction (Blas Arroyo, 1995). A speaker takes these factors into account in deciding whether to use T or V. These factors are culturally determined and knowledge of them is acquired as a speaker observes and participates in social interactions. According to Hanks, "reference is a socially significant phenomenon" (1990, p. 4) and the felicitous use of deictic forms, such as AFs, "rest(s) on an immense stock of social knowledge" (p. 7). Because these factors are culturally determined, they are also variable. That is, the factors themselves might vary, as well as the relative importance of one over another.

Once an AF is decided upon and used, a variety of meanings might then be expressed based on that choice. These are the social meanings contributed by AFs, among which are power, solidarity (Brown & Gilman, 1960), respect (e.g., Pountain, 2003), distance (e.g., Kielkiewicz-Janowiak, 1992), intimacy (e.g., Ford, 1993), formality (e.g., Carricaburo, 1997), contempt (e.g., Blas Arroyo, 1995), and anger (e.g., Castro, 2001). With most of these meanings exists the possibility of expressing their opposite as well, i.e., AF choice can contribute to expressing disrespect as well as respect, or informality as well as formality.

The contextual factors discussed above feed into these meanings. That is to say, contextual cues give a speaker reasons to express respect or formality. For example, upon noting the age and sex of the addressee, a speaker decides whether to express solidarity. Upon taking into account the location or circumstance of the encounter, a speaker decides whether to express formality. Brown & Gilman (1960) include several of the factors discussed above in their description of features that lead to the expression of power vs. solidarity.

3. Address Forms from a Pragmatic Perspective

Address forms are affected by so many factors and can produce so many meanings that the question of how they do so merits special attention; however it hasn't received much. Many researchers have alluded to the meanings of AFs being examples of CVI, conventional implicature (CI), or presupposition; many simply do so off-hand, without much of an explanation. Among those who have claimed or mentioned the possibility that the socially deictic features of second person pronouns are presupposed is Fasold (1990), who says that "using *vous* can be said to 'presuppose' that the addressee is either non-solidary with or more powerful than the speaker" (p. 168; emphasis in original). He claims that an utterance will be pragmatically infelicitous, but still comprehensible and falsifiable, if such a presupposition proves to be false. Specifically in regard to Peninsular Spanish, Blas Arroyo (1995) hypothesizes that AFs trigger presuppositions which hearers use to understand their meaning.

Regarding CI, Tsohatzidis (1992) says that the social distance conveyed by V is conventionally implicated. He claims that T differs from V in that it conventionally implicates something other than social distance, without expanding on what this might be.

Levinson (1979) also claims that the socially deictic meanings related to AFs and other honorifics is conventionally implicated. Using examples from Tamil, he explains how they follow Grice's definition of CI. He also states that some politeness-related uses are results of CVI.

Others who have mentioned CVI include Ardila (2003) and Fitch, as reported in Placencia & Garcia (2007). According to Ardila (2003), the forms carry implicatures of the "quality and degree (p. 79)" of formality. Fitch claims that AFs have no inherent meaning and all associated meanings are context dependent.

Sinnott (2010a) explored the pragmatic properties of AFs in detail and found that, in Castilian Spanish, V is a CI trigger according to Potts' (2005) model of CIs. As such, it entails *distance* whenever used, regardless of context. T on the other hand entails no social meaning. Rather, all social

meanings associated with it arise via context and interaction with V. Other social meanings associated with V are produced in the same manner. These results were gathered via oral interviews and written questionnaires in which speakers completed a variety of tasks designed to test AFs for the properties of CI and CVI. This methodology differs greatly from those used in previous investigations, which generally have involved impressionistic data or data based on questionnaires in which speakers were provided with a variety of interlocutors and/or contexts and asked which form they would use with each. The interviews and questionnaires in Sinnott (2010a) form the basis for the ideas discussed in this article and therefore I will describe them in more detail before proceeding.

There were a total of 39 oral interviews conducted in Madrid and Manzanares, Spain. There were 24 males and 15 females. There were 53 written questionnaires: 27 males and 26 females. All but 1 was completed in Madrid. The Madrid informants were all approached on the campuses of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid or the Madrid campus of St. Louis University. They included faculty, staff, and students. The Manzanares informants were all members of the Club de Tenis de Manzanares.

During the interviews[3] informants had the opportunity to accomplish 3 tasks. One of which was to provide the researcher with meanings that they associated with AFs. They were able to do this in multiple ways such as those seen in (1-2) below.

(1) Imagínate que has tratado a alguien de usted/tú, pero esta persona se sorprende por el tratamiento. ¿Cómo completarías esta respuesta?
"Te/le he tratado de usted/tú, pero no quería decir que _____."

(2) No te trato de tú porque tengamos confianza, sino porque _____.
I am addressing you as 'TÚ', not because we are close, but rather because ___.

Upon responding to (1) the informant reveals a meaning that they assume their interlocutor will take away from the form that they used. Upon responding to (2) the informant reveals a reason as to why they would use a particular form. Answers to these questions included, for example, (3). In this case the informant tells us that respect is a meaning that they associate with V. Other responses indicated meanings of disrespect, (in)formality, intimacy (*confianza)* or lack thereof, and comments of derision, anger or inferiority.

(3) Te he tratado de usted, pero no quería decir que "te respetase." WQ27[4]

These responses often revealed contextual features used to decide which form to use as well. For example, the most common response to (1) was *fueses mayor* (or similar), confirming that speakers of this dialect take age into account when determining which form to use.

Another purpose of the interviews was to test the meanings provided for the characteristics of CI and CVI. Many of the questions were able to illicit meanings and test them simultaneously, for example when an informant answered (1), they provided a social meaning associated with a form and showed that it was cancellable at the same time. Cancelability is a key characteristic of CVI. For a complete description of characteristics and test questions, see Sinnott (2010a).

Finally, informants were given the opportunity to discuss their opinions of or experience with AFs. They often chose to do this on their own, but several questions were included in the case that they did not. Examples of such questions are seen in (4-6).

(4) ¿En algún momento te ha enseñado alguien cuándo usar usted y cuándo usar tú?

(5) Cuándo te refieres a alguien de usted/tú, ¿es porque *quieres* tratarle de usted/tú o porque crees que es necesario o requerido?

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[3] It should be understood that I am discussing both the oral interviews and the written questionnaire unless explicitly stated. For the most part, the two contained the same questions.
[4] The codes associated with each example should be read as follows: MD1= Oral interview number 1 in Madrid, MZ20= Oral interview number 20 in Manzanares, WQ27= written questionnaire number 27).

(6) ¿Qué opinas de la pérdida del uso de usted hoy día?

In (4), speakers were asked to discuss how they learned which AF to use in a particular circumstance. This, as well as (5), encouraged informants to discuss their daily habits and thought processes regarding the forms. In (6) speakers were asked to discuss the current status of V. This often triggered strong opinions both applauding and abhorring the apparent decrease in use of V in Castilian Spanish. These questions were not part of the written questionnaire due to the time and space constraints of writing.

Based on the results of these interviews and surveys, Sinnott (2010a) concluded that in Castilian Spanish V entails, via CI, distance between the speaker and the addressee. According to Potts' (2005) model, this means that distance is inherent to V and cannot be canceled. Distance is not, however, part of the at-issue content of an utterance containing V; it is a comment, from the speaker's perspective, regarding some aspect of the context in which the utterance occurs.

In addition, Sinnott (2010a) concluded that all other social meanings related to either form, such as respect or intimacy, are produced via CVI. This means that they are context dependent and cancelable; they are not inherent to either form. These meanings are produced due to the fact that the addressee and speaker both know that there are two forms to choose from. The speaker can therefore rely on the addressee to calculate the meaning based on the choice made in context. All of these meanings are related to the concept of distance in that they are, in essence, explanations as to why a speaker feels or wishes to create distance between himself and the addressee or explanations as to why he does not feel that a distance exists or should exist. Take as an example two interlocutors, A and B, who had always used V with each other. The two meet one day and A addresses B with T. B knows that A had previously used V and will look to the context to see why A no longer wishes to express distance. This might be because A feels that the two have bonded sufficiently and wants to express as much by erasing the distance between them with T. It may be that B has offended A and A retaliates by not affording B the distance that he may have otherwise been warranted. In doing so he shows disrespect towards B by damaging his negative face, or, his desire to not be impeded upon by others (according to Brown & Levinson's 1987 model of politeness).

To summarize, albeit briefly, what we know about AFs, at least the following information must be included. We have a variety of meanings associated with a small number of forms. These meanings are all related in some way, namely that they are all some kind of comment on or reaction to the distance existing, required, or desired in a particular situation. Some of the meanings seem more contextually dependent than others. Some are also more frequent than others. In order to account for all of these aspects of the behavior of AFs, let us turn to the IF and its relation with implicature, thereby combining the work done by sociolinguists with that done by pragmaticists in order to provide a full account of AFs in Castilian Spanish and, hopefully, beyond.

4. The Indexical Field

Let's first take a look at the insight that "sociolinguistics" can offer us on the subject. Eckert (2008) brings to the forefront a theory which provides a picture of how speakers might organize indexical information associated with a form. She refers to this picture as the Indexical Field. According to Eckert, an IF is a "constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (p. 1). These are associations that speakers of a language make between speakers of an utterance and the features therein. For example, Campbell-Kibler (2009) showed that different assumptions are made about a speaker depending on their pronunciation of the English affix –ing in words such as walking. Participants associated the velar pronunciation with education, politeness, and articulateness (among others) and associated the alveolar pronunciation with laziness, rednecks, and compassion (among others). Which index (or indices) is invoked in a particular utterance depends on the context. Campbell-Kibler raises the question of what actually determines which might arise in a particular context, but leaves this question unanswered.

Eckert's work on the IF is based in part on that of Silverstein (2003), who claims that "any linguistic, aka sociolinguistic, fact is necessarily an indexical fact" (p. 194) and that indexical forms, such as AFs, signal some aspect of the context. The contextual aspect signaled can already be in the context ("presupposed" in Silverstein's terminology) or can be imposed upon it through use of the form ("contextually entailed" in Silverstein's terminology). An important characteristic of indexical

meaning, according to Silverstein, is that new indices (n + 1st order) can arise based on already existing ones (nth order). Eckert (2008) incorporates this idea into her notion of the IF by stating that the IF can grow or change with any use of the form in question.

Silverstein does discuss his ideas about indexicality with specific reference to T/V forms and other honorifics. He bases his application of indexicality on Brown & Gilman's (1960) model of T/V forms described above. According to Silverstein, the nth order index of T/V forms is in regard to deference, i.e., use of the forms indicates the level of deference between a speaker and addressee. Power and solidarity are then n + 1 level indices which arise based on the level of deference indicated by the forms used.

Silverstein's description of the indexical nature of AFs is a step in the right direction in that it demonstrates that some meanings associated with the forms are actually built off of other meanings. It is, however, limited in the scope of meanings included. Eckert's (2008) theory demonstrates that multiple indices are possible but lacks the ability to distinguish between nth order and n+1st order meanings. In addition, the IF has been mainly used to explain indices related to phonological variables. Eckert leaves room for the expansion of the IF beyond the phonological when she states that "it remains to be seen what kinds of indexical fields other kinds of variables have" (p. 470).

While most of the research done so far in the area of IFs has been phonologically based, some have moved the idea into morphological variation (Sinnott, 2010a) and lexical variation (Beaton & Washington, 2012). In addition to being centered around phonological variation, the claim thus far has been that the IF of a given feature represents indexical information about the speaker. All indexicals do not point to the speaker however; recall that any social information related to a linguistic feature is an index (e.g., Silverstein, 2003). The questions are whether or not features unrelated to the speaker can be part of an IF, and whether non-phonological items can carry an IF. Beaton & Washington claim that, for the Portuguese term *favelado* (person from a *favela*, or slum), the IF represents indexical information about the referent of the term. In particular, they claim that the term has an n value of *slum-dweller* and an IF consisting of its various n+1 values. Most of these values are negative characteristics associated with people from the *favela* such as *poor*, *drug-dealer*, or *slut*. Some values are positive, however, such as *badass*, *streetsmart*, or *warrior*. Beaton & Washington claim that the negative values are more frequent and that the positive values require highly specific contexts to be understood.

Sinnott (2010a) suggests that T/V forms might be associated with an IF. In this case, as I will claim here, the indexical information could be about the speaker, but it would most likely be a comment about the addressee or the situational context. Sinnott (2010a) brought up the idea of the IF in response to her finding that all of the CVIs associated with AFs didn't behave in the same manner i.e., some were more frequent and less context-dependent than others. She therefore proposed that there might be a set of meanings that existed as an IF and that other meanings didn't fall within said IF. Those that she claimed would form part of the IF include old age, youth, formality, informality, unfamiliarity, and closeness. All others, such as respect or anger, would fall outside of it. The meanings in the IF seemed more likely to be referred to in repeated uses of the forms, and those that did not form part of the field appeared to be invoked during first time uses of a form or during AF switches (when a speaker changes the form he had previously used with the same addressee). Sinnott (2010b) stated that the difference between the two sets of meanings might lie in intentionality, or whether the speaker intends for the meaning to be expressed or not.

Expanding on Sinnott's (2010a) observation that not all indices should be treated equally, we see that the idea of the IF as it stands does not quite describe the pattern of meanings exhibited by AFs, however, to say that some meanings lie within the IF and some lie without may not be necessary. Here I will explore the possibility of expanding the IF to include all established meanings. In order to do so, I must first suggest that it may not be the case that some meanings are "inside" vs. "outside" the field, but rather that there are layers. These layers having indeed been suggested by Silverstein (2003) in terms of nth vs. n+1st order indexicality. Eckert (2008) herself mentions that some members of an IF are nth order vs. n+1st order, but does not distinguish them in the IF.

The patterning of the indices associated with AFs does in fact suggest that there may be a hierarchical order within an IF, where some meanings are more likely/readily understood than others. I demonstrate this hierarchical order in Figure 1, which shows 3 layers of meaning. Layer 1, the innermost layer, might be compared with the nth order meanings as described by Silverstein (2003) and Eckert (2008). These are the most basic indices, the contextual features used by speakers to

determine which form to use on a given occasion. Included in this layer are characteristics of the addressee, such as age and sex, as well as situational features, such as location. Compare these to Silverstein's (2003) *presupposed* indices. In layer 2, the middle layer, I include the most frequent meanings that arise from the use of AFs in context, according to Sinnott (2010a). These are respect and intimacy (*confianza*). I hypothesize that *formality* and *informality* would also belong in this layer, but will leave them aside for now since they were not frequently mentioned in this data. In layer 3, the outermost layer, I include those associations that are more highly context dependent. These include anger, disrespect, and changes in relationship status. Both of these layers can be compared to Silverstein's (2003) *pragmatic entailments*. Layering the IF in such a way provides a better view of the differences between the indices involved. All of the layers are bound together by the existence of the conventional implicature of *distance* (Sinnott, 2010a). I must make clear that there may be more indices than those pictured here and that there may be variation as to what is included and what is not. Not all layers will necessarily be used on any given occasion. First the speaker uses the social and contextual cues of the first layer in order to decide between the T and V forms, thereby expressing distance (V), remaining neutral (T), or expressing lack of distance (T). The factors determining whether distance need be expressed are culturally determined. The indices here in essence index "membership in a population" (Eckert, 2008, p. 463) which, according to Eckert is the primary function of an nth order index.

Figure 1: The Hierarchical Indexical Field of Address Forms
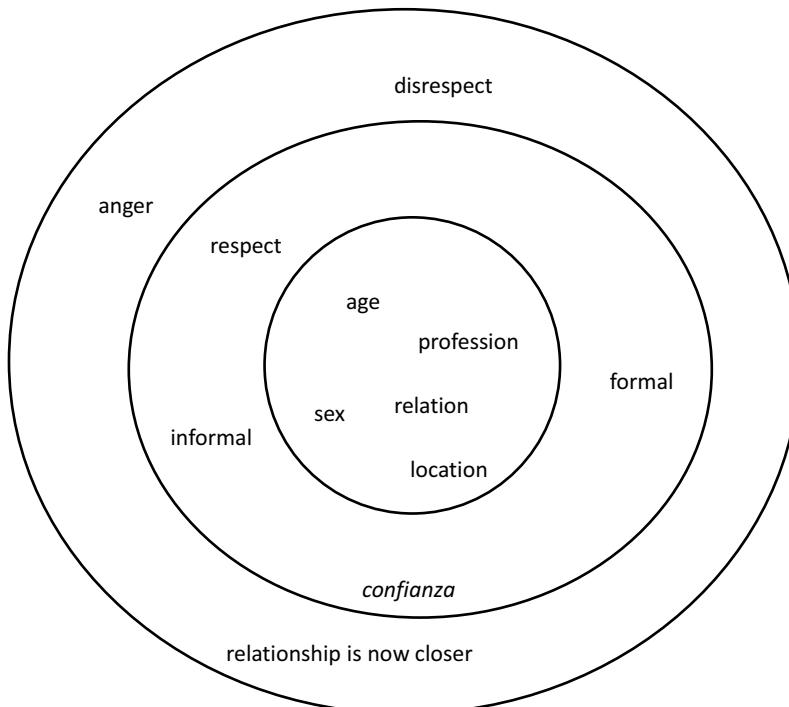
The expression or lack thereof of distance leads to further indices, the most frequent of which are shown in the second layer of the IF. For example, a speaker might note the age of his addressee and decide that their age is such that it would be culturally appropriate to acknowledge (or impose) distance between himself and the addressee, thereby showing respect based on the age difference. This might also be thought of in terms of politeness principles (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987). In this case the negative politeness showed by the speaker implicates his respect for the addressee. I would predict that these would be referred to as n + 1st order indices by Silverstein and Eckert.

In highly specific contexts, the third layer of the IF might be reached. Take as an example a case in which a speaker who wishes to let her addressee know that, in her view, their relationship has become closer; perhaps they have now gone from being acquaintances to being friends. In order to do so, the speaker uses relation information to determine whether or not to express distance. In this case

she will choose not to express distance, and therefore will use T. In such an instance T could implicate *confianza*, a frequent relation-based social meaning associated with T. Based on the fact that the speaker had previously been using V, use of T would not only implicate *confianza* but, beyond that, let the addressee know that a change had occurred in the relationship in the eyes of the speaker. This "change in relationship" implicature is a less frequent association because it only arises in highly specific contexts.

In 3rd layer cases the speaker may not necessarily consciously traverse the other two layers, but they might expect that their interlocutor would expect them to. For example, a speaker might wish to disrespect an elder. He can do so using AFs because he can rely on his addressee assuming that he notes his age as sufficient to express distance using V, which would implicate respect. If V is not used, then the addressee could infer that this was done intentionally in an attempt to disrespect him. I leave open the possibility as well that some nonce implicatures would not be included at all in the IF, these would be implicatures never before used or heard by the interlocutors. Once used, they might then form part of the 3rd layer.

The main difference between the 2nd and 3rd layers is the amount of contextual information needed to calculate the implicature or to arrive at the index. The principle distinction between the 1st layer and the 2nd and 3rd is that the elements in the 1st layer are cues that the speaker uses to decide which AF to use, and elements in the other layers are what is communicated to the addressee based on that choice. However, the communication can potentially stop at the 1st level, as demonstrated by comments such as that in (7-8).

(7) Te he tratado de *usted*, pero no quería decir que "fueras mayor." MD2
     I addressed you as *usted*, but I didn't mean to say that "you were older."

(8) Me alegra porque me gusta que la gente me considere mayor. Me hace sentir importante. Me hace sentir maduro. MD13
     I'm happy because I like it when people think I'm older. It makes me feel important. It makes me feel mature.

In (7) the cancellation of *fueras mayor* demonstrates that it is a potential implicature and that the speaker knows this, otherwise there would be no reason to cancel it, even hypothetically. In (8) we see the addressee's perspective that age can be communicated through AF choice. The relationship between age and the IF will be discussed further in an upcoming paper.

We now have a picture of a layered IF, which demonstrates the fact that there are multiple indices associated with AFs and that these indices do not behave identically. The next step is to see how this IF works, or, how speakers use the IF of meanings to communicate. According to Campbell-Kibler (2009, p. 135) "little is known about how listeners realize social meaning, how they receive sociolinguistic cues, and what they do with them." She also asks the question

> given this diversity of meanings, all connected to the same linguistic variable, what determines when *ing* "means" one of these versus another? How do listeners decide which of the many associations they will assign to a given token? (p. 150)

According to Eckert (2008)

> which of the meanings in the indexical field the hearer will associate with a given occurrence will depend on both the perspective of the hearer and the style in which it is embedded – which includes not only the rest of the linguistic form of the utterance but the content of the utterance as well. (p. 469)

However there is no explicit description of how the form and the context of the utterance work together to produce meaning.

These problems with understanding the processes by which the IF functions lead us to look for the answers of *how*, for which we can turn to pragmatics, and in this particular case implicatures of various sorts.

Because the *how* is so intertwined with the *what*, I have not been able to avoid hinting at this process throughout my description of the IF, but I will now specifically treat the fact that these meanings don't behave equally from a pragmatic perspective.

5. Pragmatics: Generalized and Particularized Conversational Implicature

It turns out that a distinction of meaning types along similar lines as those described above has already been established in the field of pragmatics. According to Levinson's (2000) model, there are two different types of CVIs: generalized (GCI) and particularized (PCI). I will offer a brief description of the two types of CVI here. GCIs are those that arise unless they are blocked by some aspect of the context. PCIs are those that only arise when certain conditions are met in the context. In other words, GCIs surface unless prevented; PCIs only surface when contextual conditions are met. GCIs are more reliant on form than PCIs. A typical example of a GCI is that associated with the word *some*. When this word is used in an utterance such as "I ate some of the pizza," the GCI is that I did not eat all of the pizza. This interpretation arises unless blocked. For example if it is found that the pizza triggered food poisoning and all who ate some are instructed to go to the ER. Even if I had in fact eaten all of the pizza, I could perfectly well show up at the ER and state that I had eaten some of the pizza with no repercussion.

According to Levinson (2000), GCIs are "preferred interpretation(s)" (p. 367) that arise via three different mechanisms known as the Q, M, and I Principles. In brief, Q implicatures arise based on the idea that "what isn't said, isn't" (Levinson, 2000, p. 35). In other words, the use of one form in a set implicates that another could not have been used. They often are scalar (eg. <hot, warm>) (all examples from Levinson, 2000) and therefore if a speaker uses a stronger term on a scale, all weaker terms are included. If a speaker uses a weaker term, it is because they could not have used a stronger one. M implicatures arise based on the relationship between marked forms and marked meanings. In Levinson's words, "what's said in an abnormal way isn't normal" (p. 38). If a marked form is used, the meaning should be taken as not typical. For example, in the utterance *John came in and the man laughed,* we understand "the man" to be one other than John, because a more marked form was used where a simpler one (he) could have been. I implicatures arise based on the idea that "what is expressed simply is stereotypically exemplified" (Levinson, 2000, p. 37). In this way, forms are enriched to their most likely meaning based on the speaker's and listener's knowledge of the world. For example, a "bread knife" is enriched to "a knife used to cut bread," while a "steel knife" is one made out of steel.

As mentioned above, PCIs are not reliant on form and are heavily reliant on context. Levinson refers to the content contributed by PCIs as *utterance token meaning*. Like GCIs, PCIs are cancelable (defeasible) and nondetachable, but unlike GCIs they require a great amount of calculation based on knowledge of the context in which the utterance is made.

In sum, "pragmatics" offers us a distinction between default meanings that have little to no reliance on context, and nonce meanings that are heavily reliant on contextual information. I will now relate this specifically to AF usage.

Addressees are able to calculate, with great accuracy, the intention of an AF in context. The model of implicatures described above explains how they do so. Walking through the principles of GCI in the order suggested by Levinson, an addressee assumes that if T is used, V isn't, and vice versa (Q-Principle). They can then look to why one form was used over the other. If the marked form-V, as established in (Sinnott, 2010a)- is used, they can assume that the situation is "abnormal" (M-principle) i.e., there is need for information beyond the 2nd person singular provided by the T form. The extra information provided by the marked V form is +distance, but the reason for the distance can be found in the context. The most frequent reason is, arguably, *respect*. If the unmarked T form is used, distance is not entailed and the addressee may look to the context to figure out why not. According to the I-principle, he will first look to the most stereotypical reason as to why not. I propose that this default or most likely reason is *confianza*. These default implicatures (respect and confianza) are shown in the 2nd layer of the IF. As Levinson puts it, these implicatures are "what any reasonable interlocutor would understand by a certain way of putting things." It is in this layer of meaning, however, that further explanation is required. Presumably, according to Levinson's theory, one form should only be able to trigger one GCI. Based on this data, I argue that we might be able to expand on this without much difficulty. According to Levinson, a GCI is the default interpretation of an utterance type. In the case

of AFs, there appear to be multiple "default interpretations." I propose that this is due to the forms actually participating in multiple utterance types, which I will call "context types." These are based on the culturally determined norms of AF usage. For example, there is one default meaning when V is used in the context type of speaking to an elder (respect) and another when used in the context type of government work (possibly formality). I explore this issue further in an upcoming paper.

We may reach the 3rd layer of the IF if the context does not fit into any of the culturally determined context types or if the speaker and addressee do not hold the same view of the context. A case in which the speaker and addressee do not hold the same view of the context might be the following: the addressee assumes his age to be sufficient to show respect and therefore expects V but hears T and therefore must seek out a reason in the context for this to be the case. These uses are highly context dependent and therefore lead to PCIs, which are represented in the 3rd layer of the IF.

In sum, the model presented here combines both the sociolinguistic meanings of AFs with their pragmatic characteristics into one umbrella theory. Here we are able to see that all the meanings attached by speakers to AFs are related by the CI of *distance* triggered by V and therefore form one IF. All of these meanings are describable by and real to speakers of the language. They can consciously talk about them and explain situations in which they might occur. Speakers will have more trouble describing how different meanings arise. How they arise is represented by the layers in the IF which represent different types of implicature, ranging from the less context dependent GCIs to the more context dependent PCIs.

6. Conclusion

I have sketched out a model in which both the *what* and the *how* of AFs are taken into account. The model is able to account for the fact that speakers associate many different meanings with T and V. It allows for these meanings to operate at different levels of "defaultness." It offers an explanation as to how speakers and addressees can count on each other to navigate through these meanings and arrive at the intended one.

The next steps in the development of this model involve taking a more in depth look at each of the layers of the IF. In each of the levels we need to distinguish more clearly what meanings are included. In addition, within the 1st level we need to distinguish whether contextual factors are presupposed, or whether their information is contributed by implicature.

We also need further exploration on how to represent the fact that some social meanings, such as age, can either be presupposed or introduced into the context.

Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether this layered model of the IF can be applied to phonological or lexical variation.

If this model can successfully explain the behavior of AFs, it should be expandable to other dialects of Spanish as well as to other languages with similar 2nd person distinctions. While the specific items within each layer will most likely differ, I predict that the process will remain the same.

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