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The conformance level to Grice's Cooperative Principle by Iraqi Kurdistan University Lecturers and Students

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Abstract

The paper is an attempt to reveal the level of conformance to the Co-operative Principle (CP), which was first developed by Grice (1975), in the academia in Iraqi Kurdistan. The research has been done in an intra-cultural context. The number of the participants is 134 people who were sent a researchers-made questionnaire of sixteen items via online Google Forms. The items reflect the CP maxims which have been arranged in the form of multiple choice questions. The principle states that interlocutors should abide by the maxims of quantity, quality, manner, and relevance as far as they can during communication in order for them to convey their messages best. Being a quantitative research, the paper seeks to show the difference between lecturers and students as well as between male and female participants with respect to their observance of the CP maxims using SPSS program. The paper also has a sociocultural perspective in that it focuses upon two different groups of people on the basis of their occupations. Also, it takes the gender difference into account between the participants by

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Accepted: 1-2-2021	indicating their adherence to the four aforementioned maxims.				
Available online	The main conclusion of the study is that factors such as age, occupation, gender, and societal attitudes cannot make big				
	differences in the participants' observance of the CP maxims.				

مستوى المطابقة لمبدأ Grice التعاوني من قبل محاضري وطلاب الجامعات في كردستان العراق

احمد, جامعة رابرين	الح أبراهيم	د. ص
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الكلمات الدالة: _ الخلاصة: البحث هي محاولة للكشف عن مستوى التوافق مع المبدأ التعاوني (CP)، الذي تم تطويره لأول مرة بواسطة Grice (1975)، CP -في الأوساط الأكاديمية في كردستان العراق. تم إجراء البحث في سياق - ما کسیم ثقافي. بلغ عدد المشاركين 134 شخصًا تم إرسال استبيان من إعداد - المطابقة الباحثين من ستة عشر عنصرًا عبر نماذج Google عبر الإنترنت. - الانتهاك تعكس العناصر مبادئ CP التي تم ترتيبها في شكل أسئلة الاختيار - الضمني من متعدد. ينص المبدأ على أن المحاورين يجب أن يلتزموا بمبادئ الكمية والنوعية والأسلوب والملاءمة بقدر الإمكان أثناء الاتصال حتى يتمكنوا من نقل رسائلهم بشكل أفضل. لكونه بحثًا كميًا، تسعى البحث إلى إظهار الفرق بين المحاضرين والطلاب وكذلك بين المشاركين الذكور والإناث فيما يتعلق بمراعاة مبادئ CP باستخدام برنامج SPSS. تحتوى البحث أيضًا على منظور اجتماعي ثقافي من حيث الاستلام: 2020-12-1000 أنها تركز على مجموعتين مختلفتين من الأشـخاص على أسـاس القبول: 1 -2-2021 مهنتهم. كما أنه يأخذ في الاعتبار الاختلاف بين الجنسين بين المشاركين من خلال الإشارة إلى تمسكهم بالمبادئ الأربعة المذكورة. الاستنتاج الرئيسي للدراسة هو أن عوامل مثل العمر، والوظيفة، التوفر على النت والجنس، والمواقف المجتمعية لا يمكن أن تحدث اختلافات كبيرة في مراعاة المشاركين لقواعد CP.

1. Introduction

When communicating, we need to be cooperative in order to understand others and to be understood by others. The central point in people's interaction is making a bridge between the two parties to exchange their messages in a possible way. On this basis, it is rational for human beings to abide by the four CP maxims first developed by Grice (1975). Sometimes people deliberately flout or intentionally violate the CP maxims (see Brown & Miller, 2013; Hornsby, 2014). Among the pragmatic notions, when the speaker flouts a maxim, inference is what the listener has recourse to for the purpose of interpreting what is said and unsaid by the speaker. As a pragmatic term, as indicated in Finch (2005) and Yule (2006), inference is tightly tied to the here-and-now situation. It can be defined, in simplest terms, as the listener's deduction to interpret utterances or to establish a connection between what is said and what is unsaid, but to be meant.

As stated in Davis (2003), communication is not what the speaker means, i.e. speaker meaning. Instead, it is a step deeper than the speaker meaning; it is the success of the interaction between the speaker and the addressee. A question arises here: what if the speaker deliberately flouts a maxim during conversation? In such a case, the role of implicature appears. Implicature is an additional, context-dependent meaning which is not stated, but assumed for the purpose of maintaining the CP (see Hornsby, 2014; Yule, 1996). Moeschler (2007) claims that implicature is a non-truth-conditional aspect of meaning which comes into existence when the speaker exploits one of the Grice's CP maxims. Concerning the types of implicature, Yule (1996) and Finch (2005) indicate that implicature falls into two types: conventional and non-conventional (or conversational). Conventional implicature has got to do with the written context as it is determined by specific words. Being found in written language, it is not of the paper's concern. Central to conversational implicature is Grice's CP according to which our conversation should be arranged and set on the basis of certain maxims of conversation. Following Grice (1989), CP can be classified into four maxims: Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner.

- A. Quantity: It relates to the amount of information which has to be provided in conversation; it falls into two sub-maxims:
- 1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange)
- 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Concerning the second maxim above, as stated by Grice (1989), overinformativeness may be a waste of time, or it may raise side issues. However, the researchers believe that the second maxim is redundant and not necessary! Our claim can be proved true by explicating the first maxim: the expression 'as informative as required' implies providing neither less information nor more. On this ground, we do not need any more maxims to avoid being more informative than is required. Furthermore, the second maxim itself, if it works, contains an implicature. It implicates that being less informative is allowed and it is possible to be so. Once more, it stands against the first maxim! Now we conclude that the first maxim will do and having the second violates the maxim of manner in that it does not adhere to the 'be brief' concept. Additionally, in accordance with Neo-Gricean version of CP, as mentioned in Fox (2007), when there are two alternatives, both being true, the addressee should choose the one which is more informative.

B. Quality: This one is about being certain of what we say when interacting with others. It contains a supermaxim 'Try to make your contribution one that is true', and two more specific maxims:

- 1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
- 2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

C. Manner: This maxim is related to how what is said is to be said, not to what is said. It includes a supermaxim 'Be perspicuous', and four submaxims:

- 1. Avoid obscurity of expression
- 2. Avoid ambiguity
- 3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
- 4. Be orderly

D. Relation: It consists of one maxim which is 'Be relevant'. This tells us that we have to communicate exactly about the topic to which the conversation is underway, and keep ourselves from uttering irrelevant utterances.

As far as the researchers are concerned, in terms of our ability to recognize, the most important CP maxim is Relation because being relevant in any conversation is vital to the success of the communication. The second most important is that of Quantity so as to give the amount of information meeting the needs of the addressee, then Manner, and finally Quality. The role of honesty must not be downgraded; it is very crucial to be honest and we all have to be, but the problem is that when evaluating utterances we cannot decide about the interlocutors' honesty since we may have no clue of it. Conversely, it is quite easy to decide on and recognize the other three.

Sometimes, the speaker is concerned about his adherence to the CP. For example, he is not quite certain to be as informative as required, to be relevant, to be perspicuous, or to be honest. Therefore, he resorts to the use of some expressions known as hedges such as *well*, *as far as I know*, *sorry*, *etc*. Hence, each of Grice's maxims may be deteriorated by such expressions (see Caffi, 2007).

Indicating to what extent the Iraqi Kurdistan university lecturers and students abide by the maxims of conversation is the main aim of the paper. The paper also aims at revealing the gender differences in terms of the observance of the maxims. Hence, it can be said that the paper works on the socio-pragmatic aspect of the CP.

2. Literature Review

Investigating the use of CP in teaching and learning context is researched by Zhu (2009) during oral English teaching. The findings of the study highlighted the role of CP in illustrating the importance of literary meaning in communication and its implication. This is again seen as developing and improving students' competence in communication. With the application of CP in spoken English, teaching can be regarded as a way of developing and improving students' competence in communication which can be regarded as the most concerned aim of oral English teaching.

Pragmatics is concerned with utterances, i.e. the use of language by speakers. Thus, in any setting or context language is used as a means of communication, legal contexts being one of them. Pavlíčková (2011) sought to shed light on the relationship between pragmatics and the language that law uses to discover the type of communication that occurs in legal contexts (contracts, acts, bills, last wills, agreements, and other legal documents) and also to observe the degree to which the CP is violated or obeyed. The concluding remark of this study was that those who work in a legal context work for the purpose of clarity and precision.

Kheirabadi and Aghagolzadeh (2012) examined the CP as a criterion for selecting the news depending on the value of the news theoretically. They also selected Grice's CP as a universal tool for selecting the value of the news. However, there are many other cognitive, social, professional, and cultural factors that can affect the selection process. Using Grice's CP in their study is based on the composition level rather than publication or post-publication levels.

In a study conducted by Khan and Bughio (2012), Grice's CP was investigated in *Hamlet*. The aim of the study was to reveal implicature that exists in the selected scene. Findings of the study indicate that all the maxims have been flouted. Such flouting is considered at the surface level of communication in the play, while such flouting creates implicature regarding the deep level.

When speakers perform or act uncooperatively, it affects the comprehension of the message by the receiver. This is also true when patients communicate with psychologists during consultation sessions. In order to examine such cases, Sobhani and Saghebi (2014) conducted a study aiming at discovering the interlocutors' violation of CP during such consulting sessions. They arrived at the conclusion that, in some cases, patients find it difficult to share their own problems, ideas, feelings, and opinions, especially things that remind them of sad or nostalgic memories. Consequently, this will motivate patients to avoid being cooperative and sharing the truth. There was an intention not to include necessary words when constructing and delivering a message. This showed the interlocutors' desire to miscommunicate in such sessions.

In another study conducted by Tajabadi, Dowlatabadi, and Mehri (2014), the observance and violation of CP in oral arguments have been investigated: the case of dispute settlement councils in Iran. The focus was on determining which conversation maxims are more frequently violated or observed. They found that the maxims of quantity and relevance were the two maxims that were more frequently violated, while the maxims of quality and manner were seen to be followed most in that the participants attempted to minimize ambiguity or obscurity through providing further explanation or details. This in turn led them to follow the two maxims of quality and manner. The participants also observed that they tried to be clearer and more cooperative in such settings than in usual settings.

Advertisement is another field in which the CP is violated. While creating them, companies or ad agencies violate the CP to attract the attention of consumers. Advertisers do not usually use the literal meaning of words or expressions when trying to express their persuasive force. Rather, they tend to use implicit words. This is where they attract the attention of consumers, and consequently make them buy the product. The concluding remark of the paper is that all the attraction process is done through implicatures because implicatures cause creativity and creative ads will leave a deep impression in people's minds (Li, 2015).

Zebua, Rukmini, and Saleh (2017) conducted a study investigating gender differences in relation to the violation and flouting of CP in the Ellen DeGeneres Talk show. The findings revealed that the male participants mostly used statements that indicate exaggeration whenever they wanted to express their opinions in the show and they generally flouted the CP rather than violate it. Additionally, the maxim that was flouted most by the males was the maxim of quantity whereas the female participants mostly violated the maxim of relevance. When someone does not want to talk about something, it is normal for him/her to change the topic. The same applies here for the female participants as they appear to avoid talking about the thing that they do not want and simply change the conversation direction in another way. In such a case, the other partner would not receive the intended answer.

Another instance of observing CP for investigating the quality and degree of effectiveness in communication is a study by Fang and Xin (2017). They argue that there is a tactic or understanding process in all languages when interlocutors communicate. They examined the utilization of CP in the *Nirvana in Fire* film released in 2015. The competence of the researchers and material limitations forces the researchers to select only the classic examples. In the film, the characters attempt to convey the intended meaning through violating the maxims. This in turn will help the audience to understand the plot clearly.

Sometimes communication occurs in the form of a dialogue and a monologue (mostly in fiction). Igwedibia (2018) seized the opportunity to analyze CP in the selected poems of Audre Lorde with the aim of discovering the extent to which Lorde was cooperative as well as flouting or violating the CP maxims. That is to say, to what extent listeners or readers understand what Lorde says or writes in her poems. The research findings discovered that Lorde violated all the CP maxims identically. At the same time, there were instances that Lorde was cooperative through the use of literal meaning of words.

Sometimes the violation and flouting of CP leads to creativity. In a study by Faridah, Rustono, Nuryatin, and Mardikantoro (2020) in which they examined *The Creativity of Humour in Banjar as a result of violations of CP*. Madihin art is one of the oral literatures in Banjarmasin, Indonesia. It is performed alongside humour that can be used as a way of communication. This group of researchers used the conversation maxims and the violations that occur as the basis to find out the CP violations. According to what they have found, all the four maxims have been violated, but the maxim of relevance receives higher rates of violations, followed by the maxims of manner, quality, and quantity, respectively. This means that the artists' speeches or the communication that occurs in Banjar Madihin is described as being detailed, vague, irrelevant, and ambiguous.

3. Methodology

On the basis of the aims of the study and the type of data needed to be collected to achieve those aims, this research makes use of a quantitative approach. For the purpose of having valid results, we have selected several universities all over the region of Kurdistan/Iraq. What follows is the method of the research:

Participants

The participants of this study are university lecturers and students including both genders who were selected randomly from various universities in Iraqi Kurdistan. A questionnaire of 16 items was sent to the participants from seven universities (as shown in table 1 below). Among those who were sent the questionnaire, 134 participants voluntarily decided to take part in the research. All the details of the participants can be seen in the following table.

Table 1: The participants' details

Universities	Overall	Lecturers	Students	Percentage of
	participants			participation

		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Salahaddin	24	15	4	2	3	17.8
Sulaymania	19	2	3	5	9	14.2
Raparin	41	7	1	19	14	30.6
Garmyan	29	1	3	3	22	21.6
Halabja	5	1	1	2	1	3.7
Duhok	6	2	1	1	2	4.5
Zakho	10	3	1	5	1	7.5

Material

The material of the study is researchers-made data which is a sixteen-item questionnaire. All the structured item have been divided into four categories in accordance with the four maxims mentioned previously: four items for each maxim. In the items, the participants have been provided with various situations some of which including implicature. The study also uses one of the G-Suite services which is Google Forms that can be used as an effective tool for researchers whenever data collection is necessary. Furthermore, the SPSS program has also been used for analyzing the data. It has been assumed that when 50% (or more) of any group of participants observe a maxim, then it is regarded as the conformance to the maxim. Hence the measurement of violating or conforming to each maxim is based on a percentage of 50%.

Procedure

To obtain fine results, the sixteen items were sent to participants online via Google Forms. Each maxim was provided with four items. In terms of observance, partial observance (or implicature in certain case), and violation of the maxims, the options have been put randomly, not in order. The rationale behind this was to make the participants consider the situations deeply and think properly before selecting an option. There are only two options in relation to the maxim of relevance to consider whether the participants are relevant or not. The questionnaire consists of two parts. Part one is related to the university name, the occupation, and the gender of the participants. Part two is devoted to the items set by the researchers. The items have been arranged in the form of multiple choice questions, some of whose options contain hedge expressions as well as implicature. The sampling technique used in the research is a random one in that the questionnaire has been sent to the participants randomly. The questionnaire has been sent to two university lectures for the purpose of evaluation and receiving feedback from them.

4. Results and Discussion

After the process of providing data and sending it to the participants, the responses have been analyzed. As mentioned in the introduction, the main aim of the paper is to indicate the difference between university lecturers and students in Iraqi Kurdistan, then between the two genders. Therefore, we present and focus on the results in accordance with the aims of the paper.

Figure (1) below shows the university lecturers' conformance to the four maxims. In the maxims of quantity and quality, less than half of them abide by the maxims: 33.8% of them observed the former and 48.3% observed the latter. As for the maxims

of manner and relevance, the data in the figures changes: 63.3% of the lecturers follow the maxim of manner and 83.3% follow the maxim of relevance. The maxim which is most followed is relevance and the one which is least followed is quantity. Concerning violating the maxims, less than one third of them violated the maxims. The remainder partially conformed to or partially violated the maxims. The obtained results show that the lecturers were relevant as they observed the maxim of relevance (83.3%) while only 16.7% of them violated the maxim.

These results indicate that university lecturers, including both genders, observed the maxims of manner and relevance to a great extent. Such results imply that lecturers are relevant in their responses whenever an answer is required and they try to avoid responding ambiguously, especially in their academic career. Surprisingly, they did not largely obey the maxim of quality as expected (48.3 %) since it is related to the quality of the required response from the lecturers. In fact, it is something ordinary for the university lecturers to violate or partially follow the maxim of quantity because the nature of the lecturers' occupation sometimes requires violations. When students ask for an explanation about a specific topic, lecturers usually provide more information; this act usually is seen as violating the maxim of quantity. This kind of violation is also witnessed in other studies, for example in Khayati and Mujiyanto (2019).

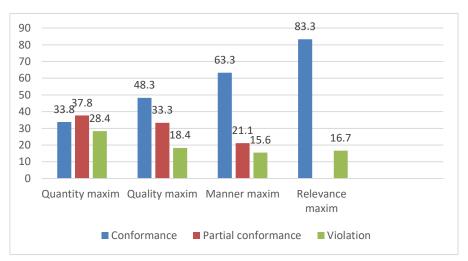


Figure 1: The lecturers' responses

Looking at the results presented in figure (2), it is obvious that students were more cooperative than their lecturers in general. The maxim of quantity has not been observed in a good way because 35% of the participants have obeyed the maxim while 39.8% of them partially obeyed the maxim. The percentage of participants who violated the maxim of quantity is 25.2%. As seen, the students were more cooperative in the maxim of quality, 55% of them obeyed the maxim while 36.8% of them partially obeyed it. A very small number of students (8.2%) violated the maxim of quality. The students' responses in the maxim of manner shows a slight decrease compared to that of lecturers' responses, in which 48.3% of the students conformed to the maxim. Surprisingly, the percentage of the students who violated the maxim of manner (28.6%) is higher than those who partially obeyed it (23.1%). Regarding the maxim of relevance, the students were relevant in their responses (83.7) while only a small number of them violated the maxim (16.3%). Thus, the students' result concerning the maxim of relevance is very identical to that of their teachers. Again, violation of the maxims occurs by less than one third of the students. In the maxims of quantity and quality (as

figures 1 & 2 show), the level of conformance, partial conformance, and violation is safer by the students than the lecturers. In contrast, the opposite is the case in considering the results of the maxim of manner.

In quantitative terms, these results indicate that the students violated the maxim of quantity because they may usually try to have a clear and successful communication with their teachers. They try to be too informative when answering a question or even in their class presentations (see also Agung, 2016; Salija, n.d.). The students appear to be truthful in their responses based on the results obtained. They try to provide true answers as much as possible. When students do not know the answer of a question, they usually use the moving round the bush technique, which creates ambiguity. Providing unnecessary information ultimately violates the maxim of manner as the students did in that less than 50% of them observed the maxim. The results also show that a large number of students try to be relevant in their responses.

Now, deducing a clear-cut comparison between the two mentioned groups of participants, namely lecturers and students, we see that the difference between them in terms of adherence to the CP maxims is very little and it is plausible to be overlooked in certain circumstances. In relation to this, Mey (2007, p. 181) confirms that "Pragmatics, being explicitly concerned with the users, points to a way out of the dilemma: while cultures differ, their users may agree, even when they belong to different or conflicting cultures". This tells us that whereas cultural differences may disappear when it comes to language users, let alone about the speakers of the same language and the members of the same culture. Hence, it can be something normal if we do not find a great difference between the university lecturers and students with respect to a pragmatic phenomenon.

What can be deduced here is that academic degree, academic background, age, and societal attitudes have little or no influence on those two groups of participants in the academia. We should bear in mind that the research has been done in an intra-cultural context.

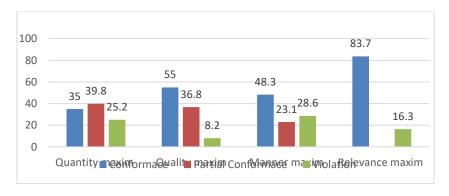


Figure 2: The students' responses

Now turning to gender differences among lecturers, one can notice that (as seen in figures 3 & 4), the male lecturers abide by the maxims of quantity, manner, and relevance more than the female lecturers. The only maxim to which the female lecturers have more adherence than the male lecturers is the maxim of quality. Even when it comes to violations, the female lecturers' violation is larger in amount than that of the male lecturers in three maxims (see figures 3 & 4). Thus, it can be said that the higher level of conformance to the maxims by the male lecturers leads to the lower violation of the maxims. Generally speaking, on the basis of the data in figures 3 and 4, the male lecturers adhere better to the CP than the female lecturers do.

The maxim of quantity was not observed by the male lecturers as only 35.5% of them obeyed the maxim, while 37.9% of them partially obeyed the maxim of quantity. Violations occurred with the percentage of 26.6%. They again did not follow the maxim of quality in a good way since 46.7% of them obeyed the maxim whereas 33% of them partially obeyed it. Those who violated the maxim of quality is 20.3%. The male lecturers conformed to the maxim of manner with the percentage of 66.9% leaving only 20.9% and 12.2% for partial conformance and violations, respectively. The maxim of relevance is again conformed by the male lecturers because their conformance percentage is 87.2% and the violation is only 12.8%.

From another perspective, less than half of the male lecturers abide by the maxims of quantity and quality: 35.5% and 46.7%, respectively. As for the female lecturers, more than 50% of them abide by the three maxims (all but quantity) while it is not the case with respect to the male lecturers in that more than 50% of them abide by the maxims of manner and relevance.

The results of the maxim of quality show another aspect of gender differences in which the female lecturers obeyed the maxim more than the male lectures. This is an indication that the female lecturers are more truthful and they do not give uncertain answers and do not say what they believe to be false.

Results indicate very slight gender differences between the university lecturers. The male lecturers conformed to the maxim of quantity more than the female lectures, at the same time the female lecturers' violation of the maxim is greater if compared to the male lecturers. This indicates that the female lecturers provide little or more information when they are asked for a response while the male lecturers appear to be more precise than their female colleagues.

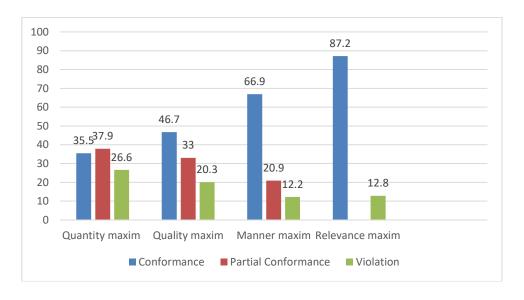


Figure 3: The male lecturers' responses

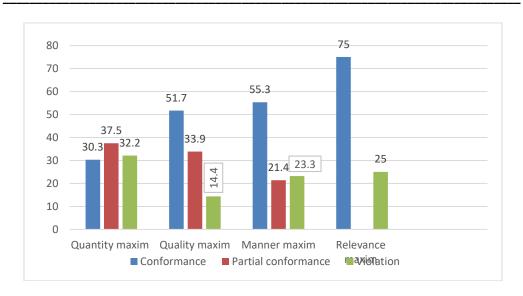


Figure 4: The female lecturers' responses

Concerning the figures (5) and (6), which show gender differences in connection with the conformance level to the CP maxims by the university students, we see that things are roughly similar. More than 50% of the male students abide by the maxims of quality, manner, and relevance whereas the female students do so only in the maxims of quality and relevance. As for the maxim of quantity, nearly one third of each gender conform to the maxim, and their violation of the maxim is almost the same: 24.9% and 25%, respectively. It is also the case with respect to the maxim of relevance (see the figures). Hence, the difference between the two genders in terms of their adherence to the CP can be focused upon regarding the maxims of quantity and manner, although the difference is very small. Generally speaking and taking the whole image of the figures (5) and (6), a very unnoticeable difference can be found between the two genders. Thus, making a comparison between the results of figures (3) and (4) on the one hand and those of (5) and (6) on the other, we note that the matter of gender difference among lecturers is not the same as gender difference among students.

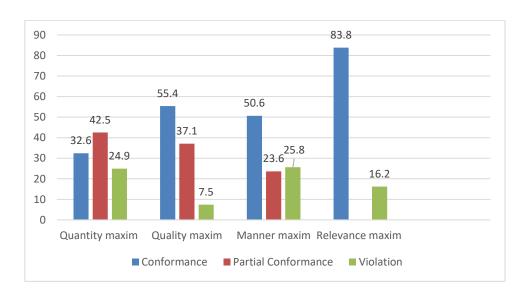


Figure 5: The male students' responses

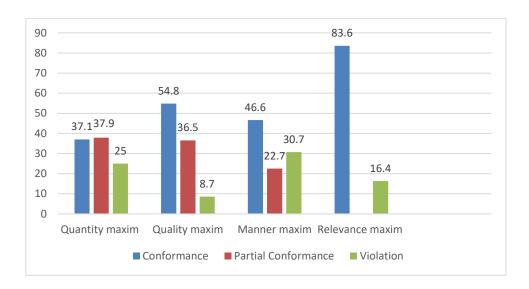


Figure 6: The female students' responses

Dividing the whole community of the participants according to gender, not occupation, it is felt that the difference between the two genders is noticeable in only one maxim, namely manner which is 58.1% for the male participants of the study and 48.4% for the female ones. They are also different in violating the maxim. Regarding the maxim of manner, both genders conformed to the maxim, but the males did more. The females tend to use ambiguous responses or be indirect in their communication. This has been proved true by Rundquist (1992) who argued that females are more indirect than males.

Their difference is not that remarkable in the other three maxims as can be seen in figures (7) and (8). Taking all the 134 participants as a whole, the results reveal that one third of them conform to the maxim of quantity, half of them to the maxims of quality and manner, and four fifths of them abide by the maxim of relevance.

The results of this study do not show noticeable differences in terms of gender. This does not mean that the maxims are abided by equally by people around the world, i.e. they are culture-dependent as claimed by (Yaquin, 2018). Certain cultures interpret them differently because their discourse patterns of communication are different from others. This can be regarded reminiscent of the Principles and Parameters approach to syntax in that all the maxims are available universally, but the level of conformance to them varies from culture to culture.

Sometimes, violating a certain maxim is not under of control of the interlocutor because. In relation to this, Noveck and Sperber (2004, p. 5) claim that "Such violations may be unavoidable because of a clash of maxims or of principles, or they may be committed on purpose in order to indicate to the hearer some implicit meaning". Hence, there may be more than one reason behind violating or flouting a maxim; even trying to observe a maxim may cause violating another simultaneously.

The study participants in general, including both genders, observed the maxim of relevance to a great extent. This has also been concluded previously by He (2012) and

Herawiti (2013). They claim that the maxim of relevance is the one that almost all of the participants obey it.

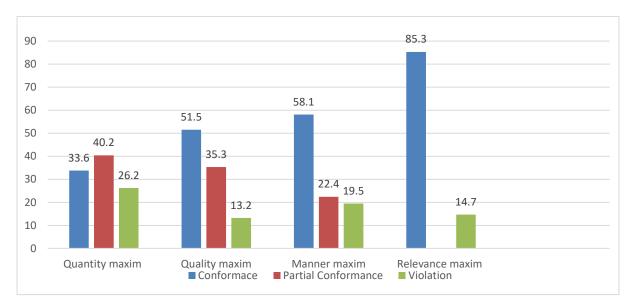


Figure 7: The male responses

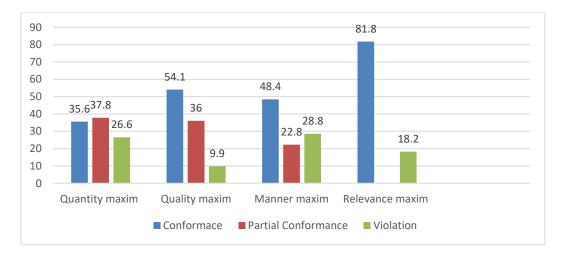


Figure 8: The female responses

Implicature is an inevitable aspect of the CP as interlocutors sometimes deliberately avoid conforming to the CP when communicating. Of the sixteen items, a quarter of them (i.e. 25%) contain an option which represents implicature: two items (6 & 8) in the maxim of quality and two items (11 & 12) in the maxim of manner (see the appendix). The use of implicature depends on the situation as well as interlocutors because an utterance which contains implicature may be understood by somebody but not somebody else; or it may be understood in a situation but not in another. Hence using implicature is flexible and varies from one person to another. Focusing on our items and comparing items (6) and (8) to those of (11) and (12), we see a great difference in the participants' responses to the items. About half of all the participants have chosen an option which carries implicature in items (6 & 8): 56.5% in item 6 and 44% in item 8 (see figure 9 below). Conversely, a very big difference can be seen in

items of the maxim of manner (11 & 12). As figure (9) shows, only 10.9% of all the participants have chosen the option carrying implicature in item (11); and only 5% of them have done so with respect to item (12). On such grounds, we conclude that the participants' preference to resort to implicature is much more in the maxim of quality than in the maxim of manner. Everything aside, what matters in communication is conveying the message and occurring a successful interaction regardless of the means, the way, or the style of the communication.

The implied meaning normally co-occurs with inference, therefore Noveck and Sperber (2004, p. 5) state that "... the implicit content of an utterance is typically inferred by the hearer in his effort to find an interpretation which preserves the assumption that the speaker is obeying, if not all the maxims, at least the cooperative principle". This indicates that the addressee's inference to what the addresser expresses should be balanced in terms of achieving the aim of the communication. Also, expressing something which needs interpretation by the hearer may not mean that the speaker does not observe the maxims of conversation because sometimes the situation obliges the speaker to do so.

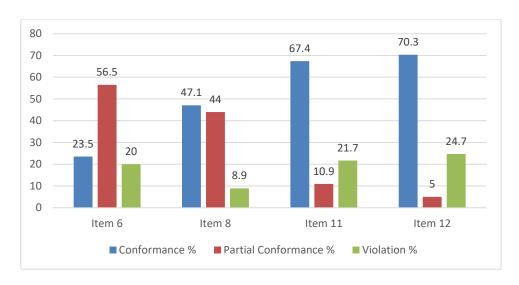


Figure 9: The observance of implicature by all the participants

Conclusion

The success of communication depends on some pragmatic factors and phenomena. Among the pragmatic factors, the CP is one which plays a crucial role in producing a fruitful and successful communication in which conveying and understanding the message becomes clear, relevant, true, and as much brief as possible. After analyzing and discussing the data of our study, the main conclusion that we arrived at is that academic background, gender, occupation, age, and societal attitudes cannot have a great influence on the interlocutors' observance of the CP maxims. This can be concluded from the lecturers and the students' (including both genders) responses to the items. Even sometimes the difference between two different groups of participants is very slight and can be unnoticeable. Observing the maxims sometimes intertwines with implicature. The participants' observance of four of the sixteen items including

options carrying implicature varies remarkably. The observance of implicature with reference to the maxim of quality is much more than that of the maxim of manner.

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