PRAGMATIC INTERPRETATION OF SPEAKER MEANINGS: A CASE STUDY OF IMPLICATURES IN KENYA TELEVISION NETWORK'S 'NEWSLINE' PROGRAMME

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated pragmatic mechanisms that underlie interpretation of speaker-intended meanings in KTN's, 'Newsline' program. As an agent of ideology television perpetuates the interests and values of those in power. Yet as a cultural commodity its audiences engage with media material using and defining meaning in terms of their own value and reality systems. Thus the speaker is not always certain that the audience that participates in the communication process will interpret and understand the intended message. Discrepancies often arise between what is said and the message conveyed by uttering specific words. The study therefore investigated implicatures, in KTN's 'Newsline' so as to determine how audiences arrive at interpretations, pragmatically. The study had three objectives, that is, to: identify and describe implicatures and related aspects of context; to analyze implicatures within the Gricean CP and maxims and finally, to establish viewers' opinions about aspects of effective communication, namely, clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance during selected episodes of 'Newsline'. The study adopted Grice's (1975) theory of implicature in which he proposes that speaker's meaning is a type of intention that the speaker discharges cooperatively with the addressee. It employed a case study design. The study sample consisted of 10 episodes of 'Newsline'. Data was collected between January and December 2007 from episodes of 'Newsline' through non-participant observation and face-to-face interviews with regular viewers. 'Newsline' was a discussion program that was selected purposively because of its dialogic structure, interpersonal mode of communication and content, that is, discussions on topical issues. Corpora obtained through audio-visual recording were transcribed and analyzed qualitatively. Interview schedules were availed to guide the interview process. The study concluded that discourse in 'Newsline' is replete with implicatures because interlocutors infer meaning whenever they sense that information is conveyed implicitly. This is part of the cooperative role that both the speaker and hearer play in assigning speaker's meaning. The CP and its maxims together with other aspects of context such as shared background knowledge regulate this process of interpretation. This study contributes to linguistics by showing the application of the tenets of Grice's (1975) CP and maxims in interpretation of speaker-intended meanings in television discourse. It also sensitizes TV program presenters/hosts to moderate discussions firmly so as to ensure objective and meaningful discussions for the benefit of their audiences.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In this section the media of mass communication and television were presented, by reviewing the principal media of mass communication, exploring its nature as well as its functions and effects, so as to establish its role in communication. The nature of television and organization of discussion programs were also discussed so as to show the role of audience in interpreting television discourse and to foreground television as a suitable source of data for this study.

1.1.1 Nature of Mass Media

According to Severin and Tankard (1988) communication is a two way process of reaching mutual understanding, in which participants not only exchange (encode-decode) information but also create and share meaning. It also refers to all means of symbolic or verbal communication (newspapers, mail, e-mail, telephones, television, radio, and so on) that people and machines use to make contact and share meaning (Scott and Brydon, 1997). Mass communication on the other hand is an aspect of communication which involves one source or medium transmitting a message to an audience and also the use of devices to facilitate communication between sources and audiences that are physically separated. Hilliard (1991) argues that mass communication differs from face-to-face and mediated dimensions of communication, such as telephone and e-mail, in terms of its audience, response to feedback and level of regulation. He notes that feedback is not immediate in mass communication; it is usually from ratings for television and radio programs, through opinion polls carried out to determine program popularity, box office

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receipts for movies, circulation figures for print media and 'hits' on the Internet. There can also be individual feedback by way of call-ins or letters to the editor.

Hilliard (1991) also notes that traditional mass media (print, radio, television, film) is highly regulated. For instance, licensing authorities regulate television and radio broadcasters who use the public air waves to transmit programming and advertising. Strict editorial control is exercised over print media; it can be subjected to regulation for obscenity and pornography. Libel laws allow individuals to sue those who publish or air defamatory articles. There is also censorship which comes from production agencies and advertisers who play a role in determining content. Pressure groups also petition stations and producers whenever there is controversial material.

1.1.2 Functions and Effects of Mass Communication

According to Hayne and Peterson (1995) mass communication enables transmission of information to millions of people around the world simultaneously. Electronic broadcasting, for example, communicates news; information, documentaries, sports, election results, financial views, weather prediction and current affairs. Commentary is made and sometimes editorializing is done. A lot of effort is put to describe events accurately. Entertainment is provided in form of comedy, drama, action, music and dance, animation and other forms. The commercial success of such programs depends upon their popularity. The larger the audience, the larger the revenues collected through advertising and program patronage. Hayne and Peterson (1995) also note that advertising or commercials serve to persuade and inform the public that a product or service is available. Such a product or service is usually presented creatively using positive images that establish its superiority over others that are similar.

Scott and Brydon (1997) outline numerous theories that have been advanced to explain the functions and effects of mass media. First, the Magic Bullet theory propounds the notion that the mass media powerfully and directly affects the behavior of the audience – it provokes them to act. Early researchers had concluded that media had only minimal effects: reinforcing what people already believed.

In a second theory, namely, Uses and Gratification theory, Scott and Brydon (1997) explain that the people's reasons for using the media have a significant impact on how messages are processed. This approach assumes that audience members are active and make conscious choices about the media they consume. They decide for themselves the functions media will perform in their lives. The kinds of gratifications or motivations identified include surveillance (the desire to keep up on current affairs), vote guidance (to learn about various candidates to help decide how to vote), anticipated communication and excitement (what will become common talk the next day) as well as family programming.

Another theory that informs the understanding of the role of media is Agenda-setting theory, that is, the mass media's ability to determine the issues of public debate by choosing which events to report and which to ignore. The basic premise of Agenda-setting is that "although the media might not tell the audience what to think, it can have a significant impact on what audience members think about" (Scott and Brydon, 1997:496). Many depend on the mass media for easily comprehensible reports on politics and public affairs as they are the widest and the fastest means of communication. Thus, the mass media's raising issues to the public consciousness is termed

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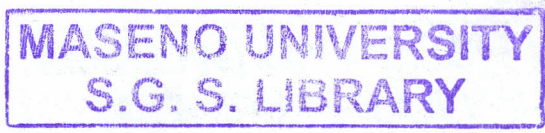
the Agenda-setting effect of the media; whole nations rely on them to set the agenda that can generate an enlightened mass political discussion.

Apart from the theories discussed above, Scott and Brydon (1997) also discuss critical perspectives on understanding media effects, for example cultural studies and gender studies, which are concerned with the role of media in perpetuating the power of elites in society. Burton (2000) characterizes this as cultural control. That this is what defines the identities, differences and similarities between social groups. It involves the use of languages to construct representations and meanings, cultural production, that is, creation of popular culture material which appeals to large audiences, consumption and commodities, and social practices such as fashion and music as well as creation of moral panics.

From the foregoing, it is clear that mass media not only provides the opportunity to communicate with a mass audience but it also has a very large potential impact on that audience. This is particularly so with television medium; radio has the limitation that there is nothing to see. Besides, its audiences are not as diverse as television audiences because it is virtually all music, with the exception of some full-service stations which combine talk with music and all news, and other specialized stations. "Each station attempts to program to a specified group of loyal listeners ....at a particular place and time of day and night" (Hilliard, 1991:3).

1.1.3 Nature of Television and Discussion Programs

According to Hilliard (1991) television (TV) is the term used to describe all video writing or programs for the mass media. As a medium of mass communication, it provides an opportunity

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for informed criticism on topical issues by experts and stake holders through active participation during interactive TV shows. It also serves as a source of information not only to studio audiences but also to the masses who tune in to such television broadcasts. With the introduction of Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) digital technology is gradually taking over from analogue broadcasting and creating capacity for more channels and more families receiving TV signals in their homes. Thus it encourages interaction and is not only potentially accessible to huge audiences but is also, as a result, highly influential.

Burton (2000) has also characterized TV in a number of ways. For example, he observes that it has an uninterrupted 'flow', that is, different programs stream across the screen channel by channel and the viewer's attention is never disengaged even though they may hop from one channel to another selecting which segments to watch. Television is a medium for constructing a version of the real; all programs are unreal but narrated in sequence. It is intertextual in nature and is marked by its ability to create actuality material, screening events as they happen. This immediacy is exemplified by satellite links on news, live studio quiz shows, outside broadcasts and children's programs.

Burton (2000) adds that TV is polysemic, that is, it comprises several signs generated through a variety of codes: visual, verbal, technical and non-verbal. This leads to its visual and aural complexity as well as a possibility of generating varied meanings for the audience. It is a transitory medium because of its popular culture of mass production and collective authorship compared to books, which enjoy individual authorship. TV is also a domestic medium since it involves families and takes place largely in the home. Besides, a TV program is a commodity or good which "has a price and is sold to the audience" (Burton, 2000: 10), but more importantly

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for this study, it is a cultural commodity since the audiences make use of its meanings and define it in terms of cultural values and the situated context.

Many TV programs depend on personalities talking to the audience out of the screen. Indeed interviews, quiz shows, the news, some documentaries, current affairs programs; all involve people talking, encouraging responses from both studio audiences and viewers at home. Thus discussion programs, as examples of talk shows, are aimed at an exchange of opinions and information as well as arriving at solutions on important questions or problems. They differ from interviews whose object is to elicit information, not to exchange. An example of an interview program is the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) 'Hard talk'.

Burton (2000) discusses several major types of discussion programs: the panel, the symposium, the group discussion and the debate. The panel, for example, presents a number of people exchanging ideas on a topic of interest. There is no set pattern on individual contribution and the participants make spontaneous statements, having done background preparation. The program presenter attempts to guide the discussion without participating in it. It is worth noting that this kind of control makes such a mode of conversation different from a normal conversation, where turn taking occurs as talk situation demands, for example, the three part structure of exchange, I-R-F (Invitation-Response-Feedback) talk pattern observed in teacher-pupil interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). This is because the program presenter uses his discretion to interrupt and even appoint new speakers. The panel discussion approach is informal with participants offering personal comments and evaluation at will. No conclusions are necessarily arrived at although the moderator frequently summarizes in order to pull the discussion together.

The symposium according to Burton (2000) presents several persons who have prepared individual solutions to a problem. Each participant presents, within equal time limits, a prepared statement on the question after which members of the audience may direct questions to all or specific members of the symposium. Group discussion attempts to solve a problem by employing the objective, cooperative thinking of all participants. Debate, on the other hand, is a form of discussion that consists of two opposing sides of a question, one side talking in the affirmative, the other side the negative. Each side is given a specified time for presentation. Examples of TV discussion programs include Aljazeera's 'Rhiz Khan' show and Kenya Television Network's (KTN's) 'Newsline'. KTN broadcasts from Nairobi under the management of The Standard Group, also the publisher of The Standard Newspapers.

'Newsline' program, the source of data for this study, was an interactive talk show involving responses from studio audiences or personalities and program presenters in order to arrive at solutions on important questions and problems. It discussed social, political and economic issues. 'Newsline' was hosted by KTN in partnership with 'Uraia', Kenya's National Civic Education Program, in the run up to the 2007 General Elections in Kenya. According to The Sunday Standard, June 3rd 2007 pg 4, 'Uraia's overall objective was the consolidation of a vibrant democratic political culture in Kenya where groups and individuals would be aware of, and fully exercise, their rights and responsibilities.

'Newsline' was aimed at promoting human rights and good governance. It also focused on nation building, democracy and constitutionalism. These were the concerns of the day and were evident in the topical issues that the talk shows dealt with. The program took the form of a

discussion panel comprising a studio presenter, who was the host, and one or more panel members. The host not only posed questions to start off discussions but also attempted to moderate and control the direction of talk, ensuring that speakers focused on specified themes. The panel members were selected from stakeholders and experts on topical issues to be discussed. These included experts on constitution making, church leaders and even lawyers. The program also had the domestic audience watching from a distance and for whose benefit the program must have been produced.

Whatever the mode of presentation, it is worth noting that television audiences are not passive victims of the program as text, but they engage with the material, making meanings and incorporating it into their value systems and reality systems. Viewers freely make meaning depending on how they understand references within media texts. Thus given programs or utterances "can mean both similar and different things to their viewers" (Burton, 2000:212). People will agree on salient features of a program yet still put on a different emphasis on these features. This variation in understanding television messages is exemplified by Collet and Lamb (1986) in their study on audience 'viewing behavior' cited in Burton (2000).

The TV 'viewing behavior' of a number of households was video-recorded to measure the amount of looking at the screen and other activities which occurred during both commercial breaks and programming. The researchers observed interactive behavior – comments and discussions about the program in progress. They noted that the audience conducts mental processing while watching TV and that decoding television or reading the text involves making sense of multiple codes in this polysemic medium. Collet and Lamb (1986) then concluded that

the audience uses television to gratify inner needs to do with the social self and self-image. These are summed up as the need for: information, identity, social interaction and diversion, that is, to use television for entertainment.

Burton (2000) criticizes this needs notion for its emphasis on individual responses, ignoring the 'audience as a group' but notes that cultural studies have advanced the notion of active audience engagement with TV as a way of making meanings, making culture and taking control. Drawing from Fiske's (1982) 'theory of pleasure', he illustrates this control using game shows which reveal complicated layers of pleasures.

The study shows that there is a studio audience directly involved and enjoying spectacle, challenge and the right to respond. There is a domestic audience taking pleasure at a distance and another even expressing disagreement. There is also the control of the game show exercised through the host. The audience is in control because it defines what it enjoys through its responses, and therefore defines what is likely to be produced. Fiske (1982) contends that the audience wrests control from the producers by making meaning and pleasures for themselves.

The emphasis of the two studies is on television audience's engagement with the text and the possibility of a program achieving varied effects as a result of its audience arriving at varied meanings.

Drawing from Hall's (1980) model of the process of encoding and decoding, Mc Quail (2000) portrays a television program (or any other media text) as a meaningful discourse which though

encoded according to the meaning structure of mass media production organization, is decoded according to the different meaning structures and frameworks of knowledge of different audiences. Hilliard (1991:2) concurs and notes that 'the opinions, prejudices, educational, social and political backgrounds, economic status and personal creeds of people watching television programming vary from A to Z'.

It is also notable that as a carrier of ideology in which the interests of those who are in power are perpetuated, television text is bound to communicate meanings, values and beliefs tailored to suit the interests of producers. This scenario can lead to breakdown of communication since apart from contextual variations, misunderstanding often occurs as a result of a linguistic phenomenon, that is, the "gap between knowing what a sentence (of English) means and understanding all that a speaker intends to communicate by uttering it on any given occasion" (Wilson, 1994:38).

The speaker and hearer exploit the shared background assumptions since meaning is not always a matter of encoding and decoding linguistic signs. In fact, for Severin and Tankard (1988) the receiver of a message has an active role in assigning meaning through the process of interpretation. This joint role of speaker and hearer in assigning meaning to media messages, therefore, provided a suitable area for investigation in an attempt to establish the pragmatic mechanisms behind various interpretations by TV viewers and studio participants.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

For messages to be successfully transmitted there has to be not only contact, which is the channel of communication such as TV, code or language, and context, but also a mutually shared perception of a situation as envisaged by the Gricean Cooperative Principle and its maxims. Effective communication, that is, an effort to ensure that messages are well understood, is best achieved when interlocutors not only conform to conversational conventions but also when they recognize the speaker's intended meanings. Yet in interpersonal communication such as during 'Newsline', one often finds differences between what a speaker says and the actual meaning he or she intends to communicate. This can lead to misunderstanding. It was in view of this linguistic phenomenon that this study was conceived, to investigate pragmatic mechanisms that underlie interpretation in KTN's 'Newsline'.

1.3 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

i.   What implicatures and related aspects of context can be derived from KTN's 'Newsline' program?

ii. What pragmatic properties of the interpretation process contribute to recovery of implicatures during 'Newsline'?

iii. What is the opinion of 'Newsline' viewers about effectiveness of communication during the talk show?
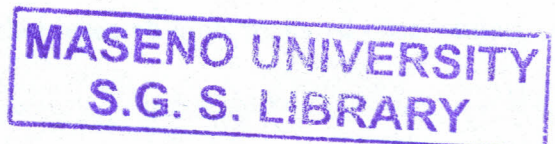
1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to determine, pragmatically, the mechanisms that underlie interpretation/understanding in KTN's talk show 'Newsline', by examining how implicatures are worked out in selected utterances. The specific objectives of the study were to:

i. Identify implicatures in selected discourse from KTN's weekly talk show, 'Newsline' and describe related aspects of context.

ii. Analyze implicatures from the recorded discourse within the Gricean CP and maxims.

iii. Establish opinion of viewers of 'Newsline' about aspects of effective communication such as clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance during selected episodes of the program.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

This study of pragmatic features that underlie interpretation in KTN's 'Newsline' program was conducted using discourse from ten episodes of the program collected between January and December 2007 through case study design. The study specifically sought to analyze speaker's intended meanings/implicatures pragmatically. This was done under Grice's (1975, 2000) CP and maxims using non-participant observation sessions. Related contextual elements were described.

Further, a sample of twenty regular viewers of 'Newsline' from Kano, Kisumu County was interviewed. This was aimed at establishing viewers' opinion about effectiveness of communication. In addition to video cassette recorder, other research tools included observation schedules and interview guides.

The study was faced with challenges such as the cumbersome manner in which the video recorder had to be moved in order to avail recorded discourse to interviewees. The researcher was able to engage them in groups rather than individually so as to reduce movement. Transcription was time consuming not only because of the large volume of discourse but also because of auditory difficulties that arose from speakers' overlapping speech, voiced hesitation or unclear articulation of words.

1.6 Justification of the Study

This study investigated implicatures in television discourse since the literature review revealed that not many pragmatic studies (studies on utterance-meaning) used TV discourse as their source of data yet it is accessed by large audiences and is subjected to varied interpretations. The study is useful to TV producers since it shows the process of interpretation applied when hearers derive implicatures and the need for improved policies on more conscious efforts at preparation of speakers and moderation of discussions by presenters. This would ensure that discussions are objective and meaningful for the benefit of listeners. It contributes to pragmatics by giving prominence to recognition of shared context or occasion in the derivation of implicature and by showing the application of Gricean framework to TV discourse.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This is a pragmatic study of implicatures based on the assumption of interactional cooperation. Grice's (1975, 2002) theory of implicature provided the framework for analysis of implicatures, in an effort to trace the interpretation processes. The key ideas were proposed by Paul Grice in his 1957 seminar paper on meaning, in which utterance meaning is analyzed in terms of speaker-

intentions, and in his William James lectures delivered at Harvard in 1967 and only partially published (Grice, 1975, 1989, 2000).

Grice's (1975) account of rational communicative behavior as spelled out in the theory of implicature sharply differentiates what one says from what is implicated by uttering a sentence. It proposes that what one says is determined by the conventional meaning or literal content of the sentence uttered as well as contextual processes of disambiguation and reference fixing. That what is implicated, the implicature, is linked to some principles and maxims governing conversation. In explaining implicature, Grice (2002) focuses on these implicit aspects of communication, proposing that the implicatures of an utterance are not decoded but inferred by a non-demonstrative inference process in which contextual assumptions and general conversational principles, more precisely, the co-operative principle and its maxims of truthfulness, informativeness, relevance and clarity, underlie communication.

Grice (2002) observes that talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks but that they are, to some extent, cooperative efforts in which each participant recognizes a common purpose and that to understand what speakers mean one must consider the joint role or social practice they are engaged in. He suggests a general principle which participants are expected to observe. This is the Cooperative Principle (CP) which assumes that every conversation has a mutually accepted purpose or direction whose recognition plays a crucial role in comprehension. It states: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 2002: 26).

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The (CP) is supported by four maxims, namely:

Quantity: Give the right amount of information i.e.

i) make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the talk exchange).

ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

i) Do not say what you believe to be false.

ii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: be relevant.

Manner: be perspicuous i.e

. i). avoid obscurity of expression

ii). avoid ambiguity

iii). be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)

iv). be orderly.

(Grice, 2002: 26 - 27)

The CP and its maxims summarize the manner in which speakers cooperate when they talk. Through the quantity maxim, a speaker is expected to make the strongest claim possible consistent with the hearer's perception of the facts. The speaker should give no more or no less information than is required to make the message clear considering the semantic content of the utterance and the contextually relevant facts. The quality maxim requires a speaker to be genuine and sincere while the relation maxim expects an utterance not to be irrelevant to the context in which it is uttered, because that makes it difficult for the hearer to comprehend it. The maxim of

manner expects that where possible a speaker's meaning should be presented in a clear, concise manner that avoids ambiguity, misleading or confusing the hearer through stylistic ineptitude. It should facilitate a perfect response.

The Cooperative Principle holds whenever the speaker and hearer mutually recognize the speaker's observance of three aspects:

i.   Communicative presumption, that is, the intention of communicating some message.

ii.   Reasonableness condition, that is, the rationale for selecting a particular utterance, for example, observing relevance.

iii.   The conventions pertaining to face effects, for example the speaker being polite, making the hearer feel good (positive face affect) unless he intends to affront the hearer's positive face (negative face affect).

<div align="right">(Frawley, 2003: 389)</div>

It is because of the assumption of co-operation and shared context that utterances are interpreted as conforming to the CP and its maxims. The shared assumptions that the speaker and hearer are observing the CP and its component maxims, even when they do not appear to be doing so, are exploited to generate what Grice (2002) terms, conversational implicature; the addressee draws inferences about the speaker's beliefs and intentions, based on non-literal components of the utterance.

Grice (2002: 26) distinguishes conversational implicatures dependent heavily on context (or occasion), that is, "particularized conversational implicatures" from those that are independent,

that is, "generalized conversational implicatures". For Grice (1975) conversational implicatures are not accidental but they consist of speaker's intended meanings, which the hearer should be able to recognize. To work them out hearers rely on the following factors:

i.   Conventional meanings of the words used, together with identity of any references that may be involved.

ii.   The CP and its maxims.

iii. The context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance.

iv.   Other items of background knowledge.

v.   The fact that all the items above are available to both participants and they both know or assume this to be the case.

<div align="right">(Schiffrin, 1994: 195)</div>

According to Grice (2002) general conversational implicatures are created in one of three ways: a maxim can be observed when a speaker invokes a maxim as a basis for interpreting an utterance. It can be flouted because of a clash with another maxim when a speaker's desire to fulfill two conflicting maxims results in him or her flouting one maxim to invoke the other, or it can be flouted deliberately to convey an additional meaning. Martinich (1996) distinguishes three different ways in which a maxim can be flouted. First, a speaker might flout a maxim deliberately. Second, a speaker might opt out of a maxim. Third, a speaker might flout a maxim by being faced with a clash of maxims.

According to Grice (1975) another form of conversational implicature is the scalar implicature. This concerns the conventional uses of words like 'all' or 'some' in conversation. A scalar

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implicature is a quantity implicature based on the use of an informationally weak term in an implicational scale. According to Levinson (1983) such use implicates that all similar utterances using an informationally stronger term are not true because the quantity maxim would require one to make a stronger, more informative utterance if it were available. For example in 'some of the boys went to the party', 'some' implies that 'not all the boys went to the party'. The word 'none', 'some', and 'all' form an implicational scale, in which the use of one form implies that the use of a stronger form is not possible (Levinson, 1983:133).

Grice (2002) also identifies "conventional implicatures". These are independent of the (CP) and its four maxims. For example 'John is poor but happy', implies that 'Surprisingly John is happy in spite of being poor'. The conventional interpretations of the word 'but' will always create the implicature of a sense of contrast. Conventional implicatures are similar to entailments.

Post Gricean researchers such as Levinson (1983) and Horn (2007) as well as Sperber and Wilson (1986) have revised the Gricean theory and developed two Neo-Gricean theories and the Relevance theory, respectively. According to Jaszczolt (2002) the main difference is that while neo-Griceans still consider utterance meaning, including implicature, to be speaker's intended meaning, Relevance Theorists view intentional communication from the perspective of the addressee's reconstruction of speaker's assumptions. Relevance theory replaces the Gricean maxims with one 'principle of relevance'. It 'assumes that human cognition is relevance-oriented: we pay attention to information that seems relevant to us' (Wilson, 1994:44). It posits that the intended relevance of an utterance is a combination of content, context, attitude and implications and that the first acceptable interpretation is the only acceptable interpretation of an utterance. Sperber and Wilson (1986) propose that such an interpretation is consistent with the

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principle of relevance if and only if the speaker might rationally have expected it to be optimally relevant to the hearer.

The Hornian nortion (Horn, 2007) replaces the Gricean maxims with two principles: the Q(uantity) principle and the R(elation) principle. The Q-Principle states: make your contributions sufficient, say as much as you can (given the R-Principle). It includes Gricean maxims: Quantity 1: Don't say less than is required; Manner 1: Avoid obscurity and Manner 2: Avoid ambiguity. According to Horn (2007) the Q-Principle expects that the strongest possible statement is made and no further interpretation is needed; saying as much as is necessary for the hearer to understand (maximization of information content). For example, 'I ate some of the cookies' entails, 'not all the cookies'. The R-principle on the other hand states: make your contribution necessary; say no more than you must (given the Q-principle). It includes Gricean maxims: Quantity 2: Don't say more than is required. Relation: Be relevant. Manner 3: Be brief, and Manner 4: Be orderly.

The R-principle requires that not the strongest possible statement is made; the hearer is invited for further interpretation, to infer meaning (maximization of form). For example, 'I broke a finger yesterday' implies that 'I broke my finger yesterday'. The Q- and R- principle interact such that speakers would use the weakest expression possible, and a stronger (marked) expression only for a stronger (marked) message which a weaker expression would not convey.

According to Jaszczolt (2002) Levinson's approach, on the other hand, transforms Grice's maxims of conversation into three neo-Gricean pragmatic principles as follows:

1. Q-principle: Quantity

Speaker: Do not say less than is required or state less than you know.

Addressee: What is not said is not the case because the speaker made the strongest statement (gave maximum information) consistent with what he or she knows. For example, 'three boys came in' implies 'not four'. In this category are also Q-scalar, Q-clausal and Q-alternate implicatures.

2. I-Principle: Informativeness

Speaker: Do not say more than is required.

Addressee: Read as much into an utterance as is consistent with what you know about the world.

I-principle contrasts Q-principle in that it allows additional inference.

M-principle: manner maxim (Do not use a prolific, obscure or marked expression without reason).

The post-Gricean notions were not applied in this study because, as Jaszczolt (2002) suggests, they revise Grice's (1975) set of maxims in order to reduce redundancy and overlap but remain close to the spirit of original maxims. Besides, relevance principle, for example, reduces the CP and its maxims but fails to offer a standard measure for 'optimal' relevance which it requires an addressee to identify. This may lead to over generation of implicatures.

In summary, the classical notion of the CP and its maxims was applied in this study because of its focus on speaker-intended meanings. Besides, these are not rules or laws to be obeyed but are mutually acceptable conventions that act as reference points for language interchange and regulate interpretation. They not only apply variably to different contexts of language use, such

as 'Newsline' program but they also apply in variable degrees (Leech, 1983). The study recognizes that during a television talk show, like in any other conversation, hearers arrive at implicatures by interpreting what a speaker says and thus build upon the semantic meaning. Burton (2000) characterizes TV as a way of making meaning. Thus, the CP and its maxims were used to analyze corpora recorded from 'Newsline', where participants were expected to cooperate with their conversation partners.

1.8 Conclusion

In chapter one, television is shown to be highly influential and to have a possibility of generating varied and complex meanings for its audiences. Hence the need for pragmatic interpretation schemes such as Grice's (1975, 2000) theory of implicature. KTN's 'Newsline' program is also presented as a suitable source of data due to its panel approach and focus on topical issues. The chapter incorporates the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, scope and limitations as well as justification for the study. The next chapter reviews related literature in order to characterize the key concepts and to find existing gaps in knowledge.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on features of pragmatics including Implicatures. Conversational conventions that affect interpretation of speaker-intended meanings and aspects of effective communication are also discussed. This is done according to study objectives in order to put key concepts into perspective and identify existing gaps in knowledge.

2.2 Pragmatics: Context and Implicatures

According to Levinson (1983) pragmatics as a field of linguistic inquiry was initiated by Morris, Carnap and Peirce. Morris described problems in semantics which cannot be handled by semantic methods, in his 'Foundation of the Theory of Signs'. Carnap discussed syntactic properties in 'The Logical Syntax of Language: Principle of Tolerance'. Both were published in 1938 while Peirce addressed 'Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs', published in 1940. They argued that syntax addressed the formal relations of signs to one another, semantics the relations of signs to what they denote, and pragmatics the relation of signs to their users and interpreters. Various attempts have since been made to characterize pragmatics.

According to Brown and Yule (1983) any analytic approach to linguistics which involves contextual considerations belongs to pragmatics. They identify three main types of context: the physical context, which encompasses whatever, is physically present around the speaker and hearer at the time of communication, including what objects are visible and what is going on.

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The linguistic context, that is, what has been said before the current conversation. Lastly, the social context, that is, the social relationship of the people involved in the discussion.

Levinson (1983) suggests that one needs to distinguish between actual situations of utterance and the selection of just those features that are culturally and linguistically relevant to the production and interpretation of utterances. Such features of context are likely to include: knowledge of role as speaker or addressee in the speech event and status/social standing, knowledge of spatial and temporal location, knowledge of formality level, knowledge of medium/code or style appropriate to the written or spoken varieties of language, knowledge of appropriate subject matter, knowledge of appropriate province/register of language and even the participants' beliefs about most of the above parameters and the place of the current utterance within the utterance that makes up the discourse.

He notes that context should include contextualization cues, that is, the linguistic features that invoke the relevant contextual assumptions. He therefore describes pragmatics as the study of utterance-meaning; an utterance being the issuance of any sound or talk by humans in an actual context. An utterance is spoken by a specific person on a particular occasion. It is a physical event and may be grammatical or not, meaningful or meaningless, a single phrase or even a single word. Most utterances contain one or more acts of referring. An utterance need not be vocal; it could be a gesture, or a drawing or the moving or disposing of objects in a particular way.

Levinson (1983) characterizes pragmatics by differentiating it from semantics, the study of sentence-meaning. A sentence is a string of words put together by grammatical rules of a language expressing a complete thought. He contends that there are specific phenomena that can only be described by recourse to contextual concepts, for example, presuppositions, speech acts and other context dependent implications. That "pragmatic principles of language usage can be shown to 'read in' to utterance more than the utterances conventionally or literary mean" (Levinson, 1983:37) and can account for other aspects of linguistic communication such as figures of speech, for example, metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions and understatement. Accordingly, pragmatics can account for implicit communicative content of an utterance, that is, those inferences that are openly intended to be conveyed, in Grice (1975) sense of 'non-natural' meaning/what is meant without being said, whose fulfillment consists in being recognized by the addressee.

Levinson (1983) also observes that pragmatics can provide functionalist explanations of linguistic phenomena by reference to pragmatic principles as when a linguistic feature is motivated by factors outside the scope of linguistic theory. An example is when principles of social organization are drawn on to explain the use of imperatives, interrogatives and declarations for ordering, questioning and asserting, rather than searching for internal linguistic motive for the three sentence types.

Schiffrin (1994) has described pragmatics as the general study of how context influences the interpretation of meaning. She also observes that contemporary pragmatics focuses on meaning in context. Wilson (1994) supports this view when he explains that understanding an utterance

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depends on choosing the most relevant meaning in the prevailing context. The assumption is that human cognition is relevance oriented; during interpretation attention is paid to that which seems relevant to us.

Larson and Segal (1995) while explaining the role of pragmatics contend that pursuing application on strictly linguistic knowledge, that is, identification of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic forms provides only the context independent meaning of an utterance. They propose that in order to fully understand an utterance, more than this linguistic knowledge is required. In the sentence 'She is here', the knowledge of language does not tell the hearer who 'she' refers to on this occasion (except that someone female is next to the speaker) or which place is identified by 'here'. These deictic words are context dependent features of the utterance. The hearer must identify the relevant features of context and combining them with knowledge of language arrive at a full interpretation of the utterance. That is how pragmatics is applied to bridge the gap between what is said with the sentence and the meaning that the speaker using the sentence intends to convey.

Leech (1997) while acknowledging the inadequacies of generative grammar (theories that share the assumption that language is a mental phenomenon that can be studied through the specification of rules, that the data for such theories are available through intuition and that languages consist of sentences) in explaining the way meaning differs from context to context, notes that semantics spills over to pragmatics. He defines pragmatics as the study of the general conditions of communicative use of language which can be studied in terms of conversational

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principles, referential pragmatics, pragmatic particles, attitudinal function of intonation, and of non-verbal communication through gestures, paralanguage and style.

Grundy (2000) characterizes pragmatics from the premise that when we talk, it is not what the sentences literally mean that matters, but how they reveal the intentions and strategies of the speakers themselves. Some features of language use that he suggests are of importance to pragmatics include its appropriacy. This is where the choice of words, at the moment of speaking can render an utterance appropriate depending on the status of the speaker in relation to those being addressed on that occasion. For example, a manager who has a habit of saying, 'Are we all here?' He says so just when the meeting is due, and only if he sees that not all the staff members are there. His utterance has the effect of causing a younger staff member to go out in search of missing colleagues without whom such a meeting cannot start. The utterance is not only appropriate to the context in which it may occur but it is also indirect in the sense that its literal meaning is not all that the speaker would intend it to convey. "Non literal or indirectness is typical of real world language use and the literal or stated meaning is only one aspect of the meaning conveyed in an utterance" (Grundy, 2000:6).

Grundy (2000) further notes that in order to understand indirect meaning from the literal meaning of an utterance we have to draw inferences or conclusions as to what the speaker intends to convey. Inference is therefore another important feature of language use in pragmatics.

Indeterminacy arises when an utterance invites an inference as a result of being unclear/under-determined. It means that an utterance might typically have one of several different possible

meanings and that the inferences (drawn) are the ones to determine which of these possible meanings the addressee thinks the speaker is intending. Pragmatics accounts for the hearer's ability to determine what a speaker intends even when his utterances are so under-determined. However, the appropriate context, be it deictic, speech act or implicature context, must first be identified in order to make sense of the utterance. In case of deixis, context helps to resolve matters of reference (I, you, this, and so on) as noted earlier, and in the case of speech acts, to determine the speaker's intentions.

In implicatures, as discussed under 'theoretical framework' above, context helps to determine the meaning conveyed implicitly but not explicitly stated by the speaker. According to Frawley (2003) the Gricean model assumes a one way relation between semantics and pragmatics: the logical form of expression, i.e. semantics or its truth conditional form establishes 'what is said'. This then provides the input to the inferential pragmatics – determining, relative to a context, what is implicated. To derive implicature a hearer must not only understand the literal content of utterances but he or she must also make appropriate inferences that capture the speaker's intended meanings.

Grundy (2000) describes reflexivity or reflexive uses of language. These determine how we understand an utterance in the sense that one part of what we say may provide some sort of comment on how our utterance fits into the discourse as a whole or on how the speaker wants to be understood. For example, 'I suppose' in the sentence: 'I suppose today it's especially important to be thinking carefully about what our students say to us'. It tells the audience that the speaker doubts what he is saying. In Bill Clinton's statement of 18th August 1988 when he said,

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'Indeed, I did have a relationship with Ms Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong'. Both 'Indeed' and 'in fact', in the example tell us of Clinton's sincerity. 'It was wrong' emphasizes the inappropriateness of the relationship while 'did' verifies the facts stated. The meaning of the sentence shows reflexivity in language use.

In some instances utterances do not have the desired effects, at least, when judged from the reactions of the audience. This is called pragmatic misfire. For example, when once during a dinner someone said to an important professor sitting across the table, 'Will you have more chocolate?' No one had realized that he had got missed out when the chocolates came round the first time until he replied, 'I didn't even have any to begin with.' This reaction shows that misfires are a kind of pragmatic failures, which arise from language being used in a way that is not appropriate to the context (Grundy, 2000).

In summary, pragmatics deals with utterance meaning in relation to a speech situation. As such, it focuses on the speaker, the context of utterance and the goals of an utterance. It deals with what is said but is also focused on what is done with language beyond what is literally said. Implicatures are derived pragmatically by relying on context. This is what the first objective of the current study was aimed at, that is, to identify implicatures and describe related aspects of context. This required pragmatic interpretation of utterances.

2.2.1 Pragmatic Studies on Context and Implicature

According to Kramsch (1998) studies where meaning is described in terms of context of situation have been associated with two scholars, first an anthropologist Malinowski and later, the linguist

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Firth. Both were concerned with stating meaning in terms of the context in which the language is used. Malinowski's interest in language derived from his work in the Trobrian Islands in the South Pacific. He was particularly concerned with his failure to translate ethnographic texts he had recorded in Kirwinian language into comprehensible English: for example, 'we run-front. Wood ourselves, we-run we-see companion-ours he-runs rear wood'.

This utterance, he argued, made sense only if it was interpreted in the context in which it was used, where it would become clear that 'wood' referred to the paddle of the canoe. He concluded that language is a 'mode of action' not a counter sign of thought. This shows that language does much more than just stating information. He was only able to get meanings of utterances by referring their component parts, such as words and phrases, to the various functions in the particular situational contexts in which they were used.

Malinowski's work shows that the meanings of utterances relate to the worlds of the speaker's experience and that context is part and parcel of speaker's meaning. He also noted that a speaker's utterances may have to be linked to the immediate contexts or the wider "context of culture such as tribal economics, social organization, kinship patterns, fertility rites, kinship rhythms, concepts of time and space" (Kramsch 1998:26). The current study was able to interpret utterances by considering similar links from implicature contexts.

Cicourel (1985) exemplified the role of context in 'Aspects of doctor-patient communication' by Tannen and Wallet (1983). In the study a pediatrician uses three codes each having its particular contextual cues, that is, intonation, voice quality, context and lexical and syntactic structures.

The doctor's three audiences consist of a trainee pediatrician, a parent and the parent's child. He uses different registers for each of them. The use of a particular register can help a speaker to achieve different goals. According to Cicourel (1985) one goal for the doctor may be a carefully worded delivery that is intended to inform the parent about the child's illness, a professional register, designed to convey the doctor's competence and range of experience with an illness or procedure. The register used with the child may be intended to distract the child or comfort him when he appears apprehensive. The context (medical setting) makes specific demands on the doctor's information processing strategies.

Cicourel (1985) illustrates the influence of context on interpersonal discourse and the fact that the success of a speaker's intentions is governed not only by lexical and syntactic choices but it is also dictated by pragmatic strategies, for example appropriate register. The study stresses the role of pragmatic choices as an attempt by speakers to cooperate with the hearer to simplify their task of interpretation and ensure that information is communicated effectively.

Habwe (1989) examined pragmatic aspects of Swahili discourse. The work investigated interpretation procedures and strategies of conveying meaning using corpus from casual conversations of Mvita speakers. It discusses several strategies including mutual knowledge and rules of conversation within the Gricean CP and maxims. Among the findings are that casual conversation is a type of discourse that is highly dependent on context of situation and speaker meanings are often inferred. Elements of conversational structure such as turn taking and adjacency pairs are identified as important features of a conversation. The study also provides the role of conversational principles such as the Gricean CP and its maxims in recovering

intended meanings. Habwe (1989) draws data from private/casual conversations that occur in a natural environment. The speakers were also not under pressure to convey specific information. The current study investigated mediated conversational discourse from KTN's 'Newsline' talk show.

Blass (1990) in her investigation of face-to-face interaction among Sissala speakers used conversational data. The study examines discourse connectivity in a linguistic phenomenon such as metaphor, using Relevance theory. The purpose of the study is to show how the hearer goes about processing or interpreting the particular parts of discourse. Blass (1990) hypothesizes that discourse analysis involves the role of context in the interpretation process. The study concludes that during comprehension speakers are constrained by the hearer's expectation of relevance. The theoretical approach adopted is relevant to the current study even though it questions the place of mutual knowledge while stressing optimal relevance in comprehension. Blass (1990) does not however provide standard parameters for determining optimal relevance. The current study, which was premised on interactional cooperation made possible by mutual knowledge, examined role of relevance in accordance with Gricean CP and maxims.

2.2.2 Communicative Conventions: CP and its Maxims

According to Strawson (1970) rules or conventions govern human practices and purposive human activities and therefore rules for communicating are rules by the observance of which the utterer/speaker may fulfill his communication-intention. He adds that we may expect a certain regularity of relationship between what speakers may intend by uttering certain sentences and what those sentences conventionally mean. But the system of semantic and syntactical rules by

which we gain a mastery of knowledge of language is not a system of rules for communicating. Even though the rules may be exploited for this purpose, this is only incidental.

What an utterer/speaker means is identified by specifying the intention with which he or she produces the utterance. For example, an utterer might have as one of his intentions to bring his audience to think that he believes some proposition or he might want them to perform some action. If certain other conditions on utterer's intentions are fulfilled then he may be said to mean something by the utterance. According to Illes (2006) such communicative conditions have been associated with Austin and Searle in their Speech Act Theory, and Grice in CP and its maxims.

Austin developed the Speech Act Theory for which the main question was how an act of communication is recognized as the expression of a certain intention; for example, the utterance 'I wouldn't do it' can function as a threat, advice or an expression of opinion. Austin and Searle looked at the conditions which make a sentence an order, request, agreement, disagreement, and so on. According to Searle (1983) for example, in order for an utterance to count as a promise the speaker must pledge to do something which the speaker believes the hearer wants to be done and the speaker can do it, or that the speaker undertakes an obligation to perform a certain act. Searle (1983) proposes that communicative intentions are intentions in action and not prior intentions. They are oriented towards an addressee who is able to recognize them because they are overt. Speech Act Theory argues that the circumstances in which words are uttered must be in some way appropriate. It however leaves out every covert aspect of the speaker's intention.

Grice (2002) also views meaning as the communication of intention but is not concerned with conditions of recognition of intentions. Rather, he attempts to find out how hearers work out

what the person talking to them intends to say. He contends that language interchange like other social activities requires that participants mutually recognize certain conventions. These he refers to as the Cooperative Principle (CP) and its maxims of quality, quantity, manner and relations, as outlined under the theoretical framework above. They require speakers to convey information as required by the context of situation while also maintaining social relations. In so doing, they keep to the point and connect up with the hearer (maxim of relation), attempt to be truthful and as accurate as necessary (maxims of quality and quantity) and make an effort to be brief and avoid ambiguity (maxim of manner). Illes (2006) rightly points out that maxims are not rules but guidelines and are relative to the requirements of a specific situation. The maxims do not have to be obeyed. The maxim of relevance is violated, for instance, when we change the subject in order to avoid talking about something. Since there is no overt connection between interactants, the hearer has to seek an alternative understanding of the utterance and the underlying intention. In so doing, he acts on the assumption that the speaker intended to be cooperative. These pragmatic interpretation processes formed the basis of the second objective of the current study, which is to analyze implicatures within the Gricean CP and maxims.

Habwe (1999) examines interactional data in his pragmatic study of implicatures in Swahili political speeches. He uses the Gricean CP and its maxims as a model in his eclectic approach and incorporates the politeness maxim. The study obtains data from what is considered as dialogic discourse since the speakers, politicians, address a listening audience. Some of the findings made are that the speakers make assumptions of mutual knowledge as they communicate with their audiences. This leads to implicit meanings, which are inferred from literal meanings and mutual knowledge. The study captures the use of pragmatic strategies such

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as metaphor and rhetorical questions noting that although these can be accounted for through literary theories such as comparative and interactive theory, linguistic pragmatics can also account for them as being a breach of one maxim or other of the CP and maxims. The study fails to state explicitly that such rhetorical devices are used for stylistic/ communicative effect in political discourse to mobilize the masses.

Habwe (1999) is relevant to the currrent study since it draws on the Gricean CP and maxims as its pragmatic framework. The current study considered it worthwhile to investigate television discourse from KTN's 'Newsline' talk shows.

Skripsi (2010) discusses conversational implicature in J. K. Rowling's novel *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets.* The study identifies implicatures and analyzes implied meanings from utterances made by characters on the basis of the Gricean theory of implicature. It describes the implicated meanings in conversational implicatures as exhibiting various intentions, for example, agreement, refusal, acceptance, denial, command and announcements. The study concludes that maxims are sometimes flouted for special effect but that they form a necessary part of successful communication. That, for instance, the manner maxim should allow for easy interpretation of messages. Another conclusion arrived at is that maxims can help to analyze the contributions of all communicating partners. Skripsi (2010) does not triangulate research methods; an oral interview with the author or those who critiqued the novel, for example, would have indicated how the implicatures derived may have been constrained by the thematic concerns of the novel. Like in other studies reviewed in this section, the CP and its maxims regulate interpretation of meaning. The current study used the same conventions to examine pragmatic interpretation procedures stated in the second research objective.

2.2.3 Effective Communication: Strategies and Barriers

Communication has been defined in chapter one as a two way process of reaching mutual understanding, in which participants not only exchange (encode-decode) information but also create and share meaning. Watson (1985) characterizes communication as dynamic or constantly changing, irreversible, proactive, interactive and contextual. He observes that people are not empty receptacles to be filled with information, ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values; communication occurs when they attribute significance to message related behavior. Effective communication, as noted earlier, is an effort to ensure that messages are well understood. This is possible when hearers employ strategies such as listening for the speaker's thoughts: details, major ideas and their meaning. Another strategy is to seek an overall understanding of the subject, rather than reacting to individual words or expressions.

Barriers to effective verbal communication would include lack of clarity. Since different people may interpret the same words differently, the speaker should be precise and clear and beware of abstract, overly formal language, colloquialism and jargon, which can obscure the message. Instead he should make useful pragmatic choices. Using stereotypes and generalizations, polarization or creating extremes and jumping to conclusions without checking facts are also barriers to effective communication. Others include using disconfirming responses such as giving irrelevant or no responses at all and making rude interruptions. The third objective was to establish opinion of viewers of 'Newsline' about aspects of effective verbal communication such as clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance. Thus the framework for strategies and barriers was useful in achieving this objective.

Onyango (2010) carried out a case study on effective communication and examined the role of precision in breakdown of communication during Nation Television's (NTV's) Show-down program, focusing on possible causes of imprecision. The study examined imprecision in responses and illocutionary acts that were performed by the program hosts and panelists in three episodes that were sampled. It adopted the Gricean CP and Searle's Speech Act model. Onyango (2010) analyzed transcribed texts both quantitatively using descriptive statistics and qualitatively under the themes that emerged.

Four categories of illocutionary acts − directives, representatives, expressives and commissives − emerged among speakers. Further findings revealed that the panelists do not respond to questions raised with precision. This imprecision was attributed to misconception of questions, prevarication, mindsets, defensiveness, digression and dishonesty. The study fails to observe that some of these may have been applied as strategies to avoid giving complete information or that the program presenter may not have moderated the discussions firmly enough. It rightly concludes that most technical questions were not answered accurately because panelists were not well prepared and that to ensure adequate and precise responses; they should be served with all possible issues of discussion to prepare beforehand. The program producer should ensure that participants prepare topics in advance in order to reduce imprecision and enhance understanding of messages.

Since effective communication is an attempted effort at making one's listeners understand what he or she says, the presence of imprecision in Show-down talk show confirms that

misunderstanding occurs in TV discourse not only because of varied perceptions of audiences but also due to lack of preparedness which can be facilitated by producers.

2.3 Conclusion

The literature review revealed that while semantics tells us conventional rules about what someone literally says, pragmatics will explain the information one conveys, and the actions one performs in or by saying something. It deals with objective facts about the utterance, including who the speaker is, when and where the utterance occurred. Pragmatics is also concerned with speaker's communicative intentions, language, addressee's beliefs, shared beliefs, and the focus of the talk and is therefore well suited for the current study. Research gaps were also identified. The next chapter explains the research methods employed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design that was adopted for this study. The study area, study population, the sampling criteria and sampling techniques are explained. Data collection methods and instruments as well as the procedure for data analysis are outlined.

3.2 Research Design

This study employed case study research design. This was because according to Kombo and Tromp (2006) a case study seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically and may draw its primary data from one or multiple sources in order to enhance the validity or credibility of results. This design was therefore suitable for this study, which had its focus on KTN's 'Newsline' program. Selected episodes of the program were used as sources of conversational discourse and corpora for in-depth analysis of implicatures. The aim of the study was to establish the pragmatic mechanisms that underlie interpretation in KTN's 'Newsline', by analyzing implicatures derived from such television discourse.

3.3 Study Area

The study area was KTN's 'Newsline' program as broadcast from Nairobi, Kenya.

3.4 Study Population

The target population for this study comprised twenty four episodes of 'Newsline' that were broadcast between the months of January and December 2007 and thirty respondents included for face-to-face interviews.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Techniques

This study employed purposive sampling in selecting KTN's 'Newsline' program. In purposive sampling, the goal is usually "to select cases that are 'information rich' with respect to the purposes of the study" (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996: 218). Accordingly, the discussion program 'Newsline' on KTN was selected, first because it was regular on the station's weekly program guide and had predictable content based on program objectives, that is, promoting human rights and good governance, nation building, democracy and constitutionalism. These issues were significant because they encouraged public interaction during an election year. Second, 'Newsline' was interactive in its organization and involved panelists from different sectors, for example lawyers, politicians and clergy. This provided the conversational genre and discourse for the data.

Purposive sampling technique was also employed to select twenty four episodes of the talk show. These episodes were selected because they focused on topical issues such as General elections and HIV/AIDS. They also had more than one panelist engaged in discussion with the presenter: this provided conversational discourse with a substantial number of the desired linguistic features for the study.
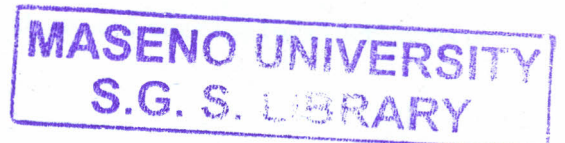
Purposive sampling was again employed to select ten episodes of 'Newsline' from the twenty four episodes initially identified. According to Johnson (1992), in a study of linguistic phenomena in the written or spoken text, the adequacy of the sample size depends on what is being studied. The ten episodes were selected because they contained complex features such as non-literal forms of language that required pragmatic interpretation. This was decided after several observation sessions during which the researcher developed an observation framework whereby the required linguistic features were noted. After the tenth episode, a stage of saturation was reached. This is the stage where no more new features emerged in the data.

Further, the researcher employed purposive sampling to select the population of respondents for face-to-face interviews. Thirty respondents were identified through snowballing or chain sampling because this technique allows the initial subjects identified purposively to name others that they know have the desired characteristics until the researcher gets the number of cases required (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). After useful interaction with the researcher and among themselves, thirty respondents participated in face-to-face interviews. The target population comprised adults who were regular viewers of the program and had 'O' level education. This was to ensure that there was informed consent from interviewees and that they could identify the linguistic features under investigation.

Out of the responses from thirty respondents initially accessed only responses from twenty subjects were selected purposively as suitable data for the study. This is because they provided key information that would corroborate the researcher's findings and help achieve the objectives of the study. The researcher developed a framework of analysis and after the twentieth interview

schedule nothing new emerged; the saturation stage had been reached. A sample of twenty was therefore considered representative. Boyce and Neale (2006: 4) assert that "when the same stories, themes, issues and topics are emerging from the interviewees, then a sufficient sample size has been reached".

The twenty respondents were sampled among viewers living in Kano, Kisumu County. In order to achieve the third objective of the study, it was necessary to expose viewers to recorded discourse before engaging them in in-depth interviews. This was only practically possible within the researcher's locality, Kano. Besides, moving the video cassette recorder was cumbersome and the distance to be covered had to be reduced. The researcher also judged that Kano was suitable because information from respondents in this locality could be replicated to cases of 'Newsline' discourse elsewhere.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

In order to realize the study objectives, a non-participant observation method was employed. In an observational study, information is sought by way of investigator's own direct observation without asking from the respondent (Kothari, 2004) while in non-participant observation, the researcher is not directly involved in the situation to be observed. Non-participant observation was well suited for this study because it enabled the researcher to remain detached and to avoid any form of interference with the conversational conduct of participants. It was used to identify episodes of 'Newsline' that had the linguistic features to be studied and to collect data for the study. The units of observation were utterances and these were recorded via video cassette

recorder (VCR) during non-participant observation sessions. The data was later stored in compact discs (CDs) for easy accessibility.

After a second observation session, prompted by the need for accuracy, the verbal content of each recorded episode was transcribed for further reference. Such audio-visual recording and transcription afforded the researcher a closer and objective observation of the texts. Observation schedules were completed and contextualization notes made. This helped in recording background information on speakers and topics as well as the main non-verbal elements of conversation accurately.

To enhance reliability, additional information was gathered through face-to-face interviews with viewers of selected episodes of 'Newsline'. Interviews were conducted after the viewers were exposed to recorded episodes of the program. Interview schedules were availed to guide the interview process and to record the responses promptly and accurately.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedures

The unit for analysis was the utterance of a speaker. This is because the focus for analysis was interpretation of speaker's intended meanings during the process of communication between and among the presenter and panel members. The first level of analysis involved selection of relevant pieces of corpus for analysis.

The second level involved deriving and discussing implicatures from selected utterances. At this stage, contextual elements were detailed and non-verbal cues that influenced the recovery of the

particular implicatures were also incorporated. Context according to Levinson (1983:23) includes language user's "beliefs and assumptions about temporal, special and social settings; prior, ongoing and future actions (verbal and non-verbal) and the state of knowledge and attentiveness" of speakers. Features such as intonation and non-verbal aspects of speech such as gesture, posture and facial expression, that significantly had an effect on the way listeners interpreted meaning, were described. Jefferson's notation conventions were used to signify variations of intonation within the data that was presented for analysis. This is because pitch and tonal variation are an integral part of verbal communication. They were discussed in cases where intonation had significant effect on speaker's meaning.

The third stage involved an analysis of utterances under the CP and its maxims of quantity, quality, relations and manner. The purpose was to show interpretation procedures involved when meaning is conveyed by speakers during 'Newsline'. Finally, the researcher examined interview schedules which were later analyzed qualitatively and discussed. The findings from the three steps were integrated when the overall discussions and conclusion of the study were made.

3.8 Conclusion

The case study design and purposive sampling technique were useful in selecting the population for the study. The research instruments used were also well suited for prompt and accurate collection of data. Further, triangulation of non-participant observation and interview methods afforded the study sufficient data for in-depth analysis as presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data selected for the study, data analysis and discussions of findings. The data consists of talking turns that come in pairs such that one part of the pair requires the second part in response. This is because implicatures are based on cooperative efforts of both speaker and hearer in understanding/interpreting what a speaker intends to convey by uttering a string of words.

There are four sections incorporated in the chapter and set out on the basis of the three objectives of the study. The first section comprises an analysis of implicatures and a discussion of related implicature contexts. The role of context is emphasized. The second section is an analysis of implicatures within the parameters of Gricean CP and maxims and in the third section; the main findings from face-to-face interviews are presented and analyzed. The last section deals with discussions and integrates the three sections.

The transcription symbols used within the discourse are based on "Jefferson system" in Atkinson & Heritage (1984). They represent intonation and are discussed whenever they have a significant effect on speaker's meaning. Areas of interest in interpretation within the discourse are presented in bold. For the sake of precision and to avoid unnecessary repetition, contextual information forms part of the analysis.

4.2 Implicatures and Contextual Features

The first objective of this study was: to identify implicatures and to describe related aspects of context. To achieve this objective, various examples of discourse were selected from the corpora and analyzed while related elements of context were discussed. The term implicature covers any meaning that is implied, that is, meaning conveyed indirectly or through hints and understood implicitly without ever being explicitly. They can arise from rhetorical devices and also from non-verbal and context related aspects of communication. Grice (1975, 2002) characterizes it as an inference about speaker intention that arises from a recipient's use of both semantic, that is, logical meanings and conversational principles resulting in non-linguistic or conversational implicatures. They are read off the literal content, what is said. There are also conventional implicatures. These are based on linguistic understanding. For example, 'even Jack likes Jill' implies people other than Jack do like Jill, by virtue of the meaning of the word 'even'.

In the discourse below, a panel comprising religious leaders – a bishop representing the Evangelical Alliance of Kenya and an Islamic leader, the General Secretary, Supreme Council of Muslims (SUPKEM) – discuss the question of whether or not they should take a political stand and influence the voting pattern, given that this was the 2007 campaign period. Politicians visited churches and addressed believers afterwards in what was clearly an attempt to seize any available opportunity to sell their political agenda. Islamic leaders had also met the president and opposition leaders assuring them of their support.

1. Presenter: a politician who doesn't belong to your church and ↑even ↑your
faith will come to you because of your votes. would you entertain
hIM
2. Panelist: ( ) doors are open, we don't shut prayers from anyone demanding

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to be prayed for: wherever they come from ↑bible says that prayers should be made for all men:: we will attend to every person, >eh< equally.

<p align="right">(Episode 1, pg. 114)</p>

The response in example 2 above shows that the panelist interprets example 1 as a question; it asks for his opinion on how he (Bishop) would treat politicians who visit his church to solicit votes from a congregation that they do not belong to.

The conversational implicature recovered from example 1 is the question: **Would you accommodate a politician who attends your church in order to persuade the congregation to vote for him in the forth coming General Elections even though he is not a member of that congregation?** There is a conventional implicature arising from the use of the word 'even', by which the presenter describes the visiting politicians as being strangers in terms of their religious affiliations: **a politician …doesn't belong to your church and even your faith….**

In example 1, 'your' votes imply **the votes of the larger congregation** while 'entertain' implicates **to accommodate,** in this context. This speaker appears to convey his meaning implicitly and encourages the hearer to infer the intended meaning. The literal meaning of the word 'entertain' which is to interest and amuse somebody in order to please them, is discarded by the listener because the interlocutors mutually interpret it as an irrelevant meaning signified by the speaker's implication when he uses the word 'entertain'.

The conversational implicature recovered from example 2 is **yes, anyone who comes for prayers is welcome as this is Biblical.** The speaker uses the idiom 'doors are open' and 'don't shut prayers' to implicate that the church would welcome the politicians if only to pray for them.

The listener to example 1, infers the speaker's intended meaning by observing the Relations Maxim (be relevant) because the literal interpretation of 'open' and 'shut' as referring to physical objects would amount to irrelevancies. The debate here is on whether or not the church should permit politicians to seek votes from the Christian community by pretending to be members of the church. Apparently, the church is willing to accommodate politicians, under the guise of offering prayers to all in fulfillment of the Bible. This type of response is, in the social context, expected because the cleric must disguise his actual motivation behind acceptance of politicians, which is to identify with such politicians for future material gain. In an article entitled *'Church and State in Kenya'* published on line, Shikwati (ud) notes that in Kenya some churches have had a sort of established status by their association with the head of state, receiving 'gifts' like being allocated public land to support the government of the day and they seem to turn a blind eye to political rot.

Among the items of context shared by the interlocutors in examples 1 and 2 are: the familiar topics, the 2007 General Elections that was only a month away, and whether or not politicians should seek votes from the Christian community. References are made to the Bible and, the social profile of the bishop giving the response in example 2 restricts the boldness with which he can make his contribution; he prefers to be indirect as when he figuratively says 'doors are open' and applies caution by quoting the bible to justify his invitation to politicians. The linguistic context, for example previous discourse also enables the meaning of the referents 'your' in example 1 to be resolved and understood as referring to the larger congregation, and the votes as belonging to the congregation rather than the speaker as an individual. Examples 1 and 2 have

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clearly yielded conversational implicatures, that is, that which is meant without being explicitly stated (Grice, 2002). More utterances are analyzed from examples below.

The next discourse is an encounter between Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR's) chair and the Police Commissioner over alleged mass execution of youths suspected to be members of the 'Mungiki' sect. 'Mungiki' is the name of an illegal sect whose membership comprises youths mainly from Nairobi and Central Kenya. The sect is proscribed because it was associated with criminal activities such as killings that were witnessed in parts of Nairobi and Central province of Kenya.

The name 'Mungiki' means 'a united people' or 'multitude' in the Kikuyu language and the group, which originated in the 1980's, is also referred to as Kenyan Mafia. The sect was banned in 2002 but in 2007 'Mungiki' regrouped and embarked on a murderous campaign to instill fear by beheading matatu drivers, conductors and 'Mungiki defectors, drawing an armed response from the Kenya police. The KNCHR linked the police to alleged executions of five hundred Mungiki in the Ngong forest, in the outskirts of Nairobi. KNCHR was created by an Act of Parliament on March 12, 2003. The objectives of KNCHR as provided for in the Kenyan Constitution are: to protect and secure observance of democratic values and constitutionalism whose central pillar is the rule of law. The extracts in examples 3 to 7 capture the 'Mungiki' debate that ensued after internal security minister admitted that some 'Mungiki' youths had been gunned down by police.

3. Presenter: how do you **link it**, to poLICE?

4.Panelist: I don't think the 'Mungiki' would have the ability to **keep it hidden** from us. so **we are painting a picture**(   ).w e are trying **to link the dots and the dots are leading us** to how and **up to** the admission of the minister: **to the door step of the police.**

<div align="right">(Episode 4, pg.119)</div>

The panelist in example 4 understands example 3 as a question asking why he is accusing the police of the alleged extra-judicial killings of the 'Mungiki'. The implicature from example 3 is 'Why do you **accuse** the police of extra-judicial killings?' The speaker uses the phrase 'link it' figuratively to mean 'accuse' and 'it' to refer to the alleged mass killings by police. His question further implies that he thinks the police are not to blame. The response to example 3, which is example 4, is also implicit because the speaker makes-as-if-to-say, in the Grice's (2002) sense, but does not intend to convey the literal meaning, that is, 'the act of drawing on something and moving to some door'. Rather, he uses imagery – 'painting a picture', 'linking dots', 'dots leading us…to the door step'. The conversational implicature derived from example 4 is, that the police stand accused because if the 'Mungiki' had carried out the mass killings they wouldn't be able to conceal the act. Besides, all clues including the minister's admission of the killings, point to police involvement. There is also a scalar implicature signified by **'up to'**, as the panelist attempts to present evidence incriminating the police.

The process of interpreting the utterance involves observation of Relations maxim (be relevant) where the interlocutors mutually discard the literal sense by drawing inferences. This is because the literal meaning of example 4, for instance, is 'the act of drawing on something and moving to some door', which is irrelevant and differs from the inference made, what the speaker communicates by the utterance, that is, 'clues that the police were involved in 'Mungiki, killings'. By using such indirect language the speaker also flouts the quality maxim that requires

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truthfulness and so the two interlocutors call on each other to interpret their utterances figuratively.

Example 4 is relevant to example 3 because it provides the reason for accusing the police, citing the minister's admission of police involvement and doubt that the 'Mungiki' themselves would have performed the mass executions of their own lot and left dead bodies in the Ngong Forest. The 'Mungiki' are exonerated. As such, the utterance shows that the speaker adheres to the first sub maxim of the CP's Quantity Maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required). Indeed, the speaker gives the reason for KNCHR's suspicion of the police. In this discourse, 'Mungiki' is part of the shared knowledge, being the topic that informs the discussion and a household name in Kenya at the time. More implicatures derived from example 5 to 7 are also analyzed below. The conversation is also based on the issue of 'Mungiki'.

5. Panelist1: (angrily) ↑INvestigations are serious legal processes – who Gave
          YOU the authority to point fingers at other PEOple?

6. Presenter: (pointing at panelist 1) ↑he is talking about KNCHR. ↑it has adopted an
          activist tendency ↑Not really going through the due process but
          shouting at every available rooftop on any allegation.

7. Panelist 2: for us we said if five hundred people have been shot dead: it's not
          about activism. It's about bringing the conspiracy of silence to an end.
          think that we cannot as a country: **we must not bury our heads in the
          sand on this one.** It is not Us who have said it:: it is **the police register
          in the mortuary saying this** (   ) all we have done is **put a mirror** on
          these facts to <them>

                                                              (Episode 4, pg. 119)

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In example 5, the speaker who appears offended, accuses KNCHR of acting outside its mandate, by conducting investigations and leveling accusations against police. Here the intonation changes to indicate the speaker's anger. The gesture of pointing reinforces his annoyance and defensive attitude. This meaning is inferred from the rhetorical question posed alongside the idiom 'to point fingers at other people'. Example 6 proceeds with the speaker's complaint that KNCHR publicizes any allegations at the slightest opportunity, as inferred from 'shouting at every available rooftop on any allegation'. The message in example 5 and 6 is the speaker's complaint that KNCHR's tends to carry out investigations that it is not mandated to do and to publicize their reports.

The idiomatic expressions, 'point fingers' and 'shouting at every available rooftop' in example 5 and 6, respectively, appear unrelated to the ongoing dialogue, if taken literally and point to flouting of the quality maxim. However, the listener expects his interlocutor to be cooperating and observing both the Quantity Maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required) and Relations Maxim (be relevant). The indirect references alert him about the need to infer meaning. There is also a scalar implicature seen in the use of 'every', by which the presenter expresses the previous speaker's displeasure at their accusers who go to every length to reveal police involvement in the killings.

The conversational implicature that is recovered from example 7 is that, KNCHR must reveal that as many as five hundred people have been victims of extra-judicial killing, as evidenced by Police Register at the mortuary. The use of 'five hundred', by which the actual number of bodies is emphasized, makes it a scalar implicature. To 'bury the head in the sand', in example 7,

implies hiding while 'putting a mirror...' is the speaker's way of reiterating that they made revelations concerning 'Mungiki' killings. The fact that the evidence of the killings was in the police register is inferred from the speaker's use of personification when he refers to the police register as 'saying...' By using non-literal forms like 'bury our heads in the sand', 'police register saying this' and 'put a mirror on these facts and reflect', the speaker flouts the Quality maxim and invites his listeners to infer meaning by only making-as-if-to-say the truth conveyed by the literal sense of these utterances. He observes both the Quantity maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required) and Relations maxim (be relevant) while exploiting the Quality maxim.

Exploitation of Quality maxim, observation of the CP's Quantity and Relation maxims, and shared knowledge of the subject of discussion are some of the pragmatic and contextual elements that have yielded the conversational implicatures recovered from examples 5, 6 and 7 above.

The discourse in examples 8, 9 and 10 focuses on the debate about 'Majimbo', that is, a devolved system of government, which began when Kenya attained independence in 1963. The debate gained momentum with the formation of Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) which had the legal mandate to gather views from Kenyans on a new constitution. Its work culminated in the 'Bomas' draft constitution which was later modified but failed at the 2005 referendum when it was voted out. The 'Majimbo' debate was to re-emerge as an election agenda prior to the 2007 General Elections. In the following excerpts, the presenter engages two of the CKRC commissioners who also make reference to the first president of Kenya, Jomo

Kenyatta, and KANU (Kenya African National Union), the ruling party then. It was to remain in power even under Daniel Moi, the second president of the Republic of Kenya.

8. Presenter: **in other words – Kenyatta was opposed to IT?**

9. Panelist: when KANU got into power they decided not to implement it. so when they had to **KIll Majimbo**: they had to give it a bad name: the way you say you: **give a dog a bad name before you kill IT**.

10. Presenter: one of the issues (pointing) she's talking about is (   ) balkanization. It's going to be a balkanization of this country into ethnic regions. **if you are not a Kikuyu you will not stay in the Rift Valley. If you are a *'M-Bara'* you will not stay at the coast. hh**

(Episode 2, pg. 115)

In example 8, the presenter questions whether Kenyatta's government was opposed to 'Majimbo' government. The response in example 9 is not a yes/no answer that the listener expects from the direct question. Instead, the panelist blames KANU (government) for failing to implement 'Majimbo'. Thus he observes Quantity maxim while avoiding violation of the Quality maxim; he remains non-committal. The speaker is cooperating and working with the first sub maxim of the Quantity maxim.

Example 9 proceeds to elaborate the speaker's earlier claim that 'KANU decided not to implement 'Majimbo' but instead maligned it. He elaborates his claim by using the analogy about giving 'a dog a bad name before you kill it', to reinforce this argument that the KANU government scuttled the quest for 'Majimbo' type of governance. The utterance is, in effect, conveying the speaker's meaning indirectly by juxtaposing the idea of killing a dog after giving it a bad name even if it doesn't deserve it, and, the manner in which KANU dismissed the idea of 'Majimbo' even before trying it out. The presenter must understand example 9 as a suggestion

that Kenyatta government was indeed opposed to 'Majimbo'. The speaker flouts the quality maxim by using an analogy.

In example 10, 'If you are a *'M-bara'*, you will not stay at the coast; the speaker uses the Kiswahili word *'M-bara'*. This attests to code switching, perhaps as a pragmatic strategy to enhance clarity in conformity with the Manner maxim (be perspicuous). Valdes-Fallis (1977) defines code switching as the use of two languages simultaneously or interchangeably. He characterizes it as a communicative strategy adding that where it is exceptional rather than the norm, it is perceived as marked, purposeful and emphasis oriented. The speaker in example 10 intends to stress the likelihood of conflict among the people if 'Majimboism' sees the light of day. The conflict, in the speaker's view, would arise from the fact that those living in the Coastal region would not tolerate people from the mainland, *'M-bara'*; just like the Kikuyu would not be allowed in the Rift Valley as the presenter suggests. Since *'M-bara'* is a divisive and discriminatory term that stresses the geographical separation between the Coastal and Inland peoples, its use enables the speaker to emphatically oppose the idea of 'Majimbo' by indirectly hinting at such a serious repercussion as the possibility of tribal conflict if 'Majimboism' is embraced. The implicature derived from example 10 is that there was fear that 'Majimboism' as a system of governance would probably cause division along ethnic and regional lines.

The aspects of context or shared background knowledge in this extract include references to 'KANU', 'Majimbo', 'Kenyatta', Moi, and *'M-bara'*, which are familiar to the speakers. In example 8 'Kenyatta' implies the Kenyatta regime while 'KANU' in example 9 implies the ruling party, in the context of the discussion. All the speakers in examples 8, 9 and 10 are aware

that the notion of 'majimbo' had been distorted to mean balkanization of the country into ethnic regions. It is against this wider social context that the speaker of example 10 prefers to resort to code switching and use the term *'M-bara'* to differentiate between people from the mainland and those from the Coastal region.

The excerpts in examples 11 and 12 below are based on HIV/AIDS pandemic at a time when National Aids Control Council (NACC) was conducting voluntary testing and counseling for managers. In Kenya where the first HIV case was diagnosed in 1984, the pandemic remains a major concern to the government. The NACC has helped in creation of awareness about Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT), and Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMCT). Employers have initiated policies that are expected to reduce stigmatization of people living with HIV/AIDS at their places of work. It is against this background that 'Newsline' hosted members of NACC to discuss control of the pandemic.

11. Presenter: from your personal perspective (   ) do you think that the country
has **made much in-roads** in the fight against <u>HIV/AIDS</u>?

12. Panelist:(shaking her head) we are not **where we were** quite a while back; let's
say 10 years back but I would want to say issues of stigma and
discrimination are still prevalent. We need to do a lot in terms of
support and care and targeting all pockets of society: those in informal
settlements: the rural areas. Nairobi. We are doing quite well **but what
about those in the rural commuNITY**?

(Episode 9, pg. 128)

The panelist in example 12 interprets 'making in roads' as the progress made so far to control HIV/AIDS. She shakes her head to suggest that the efforts to control HIV/AIDS have not been completely successful. This is the implicature that she stresses by using the rhetorical question

'but what about those in the rural commuNITY?' She raises her voice to achieve that emphasis on lack of proper interventions to help the larger community. When she begins by saying '**quite a while back, let's say** twenty years back', the speaker alerts the hearer to the fact that she is not about to provide the expected information with utmost accuracy. She begins by only hedging the Quantity maxim and observes the CP's Relation maxim (be relevant) because she focuses on HIV/AIDS. She also observes the first sub maxim of the Quantity maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required, for the current purposes of the exchange) by giving appropriate details to fulfill the listener's need for information on the progress made so far, as asked in example 11 '…do you think the country has made much in roads in the fight against HIV/AIDS?'

Both examples 11 and 12 use indirect expressions, specifically the idioms 'made much in-roads' implying progress and 'targeting all pockets of society' implying the entire society, whose literal meanings are different from the recovered implicatures indicated. They therefore flout the Quality maxim and invite the hearers to infer meaning under the assumption that they (the speakers) are cooperating and making their 'conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs' according to the CP's Quantity maxim. Apart from the assumption of cooperation, the speakers also share in the knowledge of the subject that informs the discussion, that is, HIV/AIDS control and effects through the NACC.

4.3 The Cooperative Principle (CP) and its maxims

The second objective of this study was to analyze implicatures within the Gricean CP and maxims. According to Grice (1975, 2002) the CP refers to the general conversational principle which speakers are expected to observe since talk exchanges are viewed as joint actions in which each partner recognizes a common purpose. The CP is supported by four norms or maxims, namely; the Quantity, Quality, Relations and Manner maxim which require a speaker to be sufficiently informative, truthful, relevant and orderly, respectively. If there is a general agreement of cooperation between participants in conversation, then each participant can expect the other to conform to the stated maxims or conventions (Brown and Yule, 1983). The following data illustrates utterances that reflect varied degrees of adherence to the CP and each of its four maxims and sub maxims.

4.3.1 Quantity maxim (Quantity implicatures)

The Quantity maxim can be summarized as the expectation that during cooperative talk exchanges, interlocutors always purpose to provide sufficient information. The maxim has two sub-maxims: 'Make your contribution as informative as is required' (for the current purposes of the exchange) and 'do not make your contribution more informative than is required' (Grice, 2002: 27).

The following examples derived from the data illustrate the Quantity maxim. The excerpts in examples 13-16 are based on the practice of conducting opinion polls. These were commonly conducted just before the 2007 General Elections in Kenya in order to help the public gauge the likely outcome of elections. Since poll results inevitably reflected the popularity of candidates

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and were widely believed to influence the voting patterns, those who were not favored by them criticized and wanted them stopped.

13. Presenter:(spreading arms) for how long shall ↑we continue having opinion polls (   ) until the day of ↑ELEctions? Have you thought about thAT?

14. Panelist:(nodding) <u>Yes</u> – we have. If our desire is to inculcate an informed political process: an informed citizenry (   ) telling politicians what the facts are: then **I think** ↑We should continue. **I don't think** it would do any damage to go until the day of the poll because **I don't think** that would change much. However hh: if we are polling people who are not registered voters then that would **show some large swings and the result is that they may influence some fence sitters–**

(Episode 3, pg. 117)

In example 14 the speaker understands example 13 as a question asking for his opinion on the duration of opinion polls. Example 14 is a response in two stages: First, it affirms, when he says 'yes', that 'they' – pollsters – have thought about 'it', that is, the duration of opinion polls. The use of 'yes' here yields a conventional implicature. Second, the speaker provides more information when he states his belief that those opinion polls 'should continue' until the day of elections and adds that little difference would be made by extending opinion polls unless the population being polled comprised unregistered voters. Only then would there be 'large swings', which implicates significant changes that may influence some 'fence sitters', which implicates undecided voters. He observes the Quality maxim when he responds by saying what he believes should be the duration of polls, as signified by 'I think/don't think….' He believes 'we should continue …until the day of the poll'. Even when he outlines the reasons for the need for extension of the polls, that is, 'to inculcate an informed process, informed citizenry, telling politicians what the facts are' – the speaker also operates within the quantity maxim as he gives the information that he believes satisfies the presenter's question in example 13.

In providing information utterance 14 uses idioms whose meanings the hearer must infer. For instance, by saying 'large swings', the speaker implicates changes in voting patterns (and not huge swings) while 'fence sitters' means the undecided voters (and not people sitting on the fence). When the non literal meanings are resolved example 14 is seen to conform to the Quality maxim (try to make your contribution one that is true). The non-literal forms alert the listener to the need to infer meaning pragmatically instead of relying solely on the conventional meanings of what is said. Ultimately, the responses in example 14 yield quantity implicatures.

The excerpt below is also focused on opinion polls and will be used to illustrate the Quantity maxim.

15. Presenter: how expensive is this exercise and who pays for this REsearch?

16. Panelist:↑**just** one thing on the cost. these are charged based on geographical location of the constituency. **To do a national poll: we are talking about 1.5 to 2 million shillings.**

(Episode 3, pg 117)

The panelist, in example 16, puts the cost of conducting an opinion poll at between 1.5 and 2 million shillings in response to the first part of example 15, which he understands as a question asking how expensive it is to conduct such a poll. In example 16, the speaker is working with a Quantity maxim when he provides such quantitative information. A Q-scalar implicature (a word from the scale that is the most informative and truthful) is derived here. The last part of example 15, 'who pays for this research?' has not been addressed. Withholding information is perhaps a violation of the quantity maxim.

The following excerpt from a discussion on women candidates in the 2007 General Elections in Kenya also illustrates the CP's Quantity maxim as follows.

17. Presenter: women in THis country are 52% of the population. ↑how is it that this does not translate to VOTES? we still don't see the women folk **ganging up behind one of their own.**

18. Panelist: women are **52% of registered voters** in this country. THey have a strong ally in the youth (   ) what we need to do is for the women to make a choice because there is no need to complain all the time. **I think** where we've missed the point is that women almost always want to be **given on a silver platter.hh** the country's democracy is so competitive − let them go out and FIGHT for it.

<div align="right">(Episode 7, pg. 125)</div>

In example 18, the panelist understands the presenter in example 17 as asking why it is that women do not vote for fellow women candidates in spite of the large number of women voters, 52% of the population, when the latter says 'we still don't see the women-folk ganging up behind one of their own'. Example 18 adheres to the first sub maxim of the Quantity maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required, for the current purposes of the exchange) because the utterance is a response implicating that women have not made up their mind to rally behind fellow women candidates despite having support from the youth and that in a male dominated parliament women have not worked as hard as they should to compete in politics. Thus the speaker is cooperating and has provided enough information to answer the speaker of example 17. At the same time example 18 conforms to the Quality maxim (do not say what you believe to be false) because the figurative sense of the phrase 'women always want to be given on a silver platter', which is being handed food on a silver platter, is relevant to the topic of 2007 General Elections women candidates, which is under discussion here.

By using this idiom, the speaker implicates that the women do not work hard in politics and in so doing provides another reason why women appear not to support one another. This is a suitable response to the speaker in example 17, a sign that example 18 employs the Quantity maxim. The Relations maxim (be relevant) is also observed because example 18 centers on women voters and is therefore relevant to the prevailing subject, which is the women civic and parliamentary candidates in 2007 General Elections.

The question of HIV/AIDS prevention mechanisms was also a source of data that was used to illustrate the Quantity maxim for this research as follows:

19. Presenter: Kenya's first HIV case was diagnosed in 1984 – if we can just evaluate where we are today: where are we toDAY?

20. Panelist: ↑I would **just** say we've **made tremendous strides.** OUR prevalence rate stands at 5.1%. ↑remember in the early 1980s-84 up to 1986: we were already having 14%.

(Episode 9, pg 128)

In utterance 19 the speaker intends to find out the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS since the first case was diagnosed in 1984. The first part of example 20, 'we've made tremendous **strides**' implicates that much has been achieved with regard to the fight against HIV/AIDS. Its figurative sense that there has been a marked improvement in the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate points to a flouting of the quality maxim. It also serves as a preamble to the latter part of example 20, where a direct response is given. This puts the current HIV/AIDS prevalence rate at 5.1% down from 14% in the 80s. Thus the panelist directly observes the Quantity maxim. A Q-scalar implicature (5.1% and not less, 14% and not less) is evident here in response to example 19 where the presenter asks 'where are we today'? It is notable that the Quantity maxim is hedged before it is later observed in utterance 20 when the speaker uses the word 'just' to alert her listener on the

limited extent to which she will satisfy the hearer's demand for information. This is perhaps due to lack of accurate information and therefore to avoid contravening the CP's Quality maxim that demands truthfulness.

The Quantity maxim is further illustrated by examples 21 and 22 below. The subject of discussion is the role of women in politics from the perspective of youth leaders.

21. Presenter: you are the chief executive of the youth agenda. DOEs your
          organization have an agenda for young WOmen?

22. Panelist: (nodding) ↑YEs we do have an agenda. (   ) we see a lot of energy
        being used by women **in trying to catch the eye of the older people:**
        when they have the numbers. ↑WOmen and young people must start
        joining political parties: demanding that political parties be
        institutionalized and **make party manifestoes** their BIbles.
                                      (Episode 7, pg 124)

Example 21 is understood as a question asking what agenda the Chief Executive of the youth has for young women. In example 21, the panelist initially nodes in affirmation as he says, 'yes, we do have an agenda'. However, having realized that pragmatically he was expected to provide more than a 'yes' or 'no' answer, proceeds to give more information. The quantity implicature derived from this is that women and youth can only champion their rights from functional, 'institutionalized', political parties. This is therefore the agenda of their leaders. Thus the speaker observes the Quantity maxim (make your contribution as informative as is required, for the current purposes of the exchange) when he provides such a response to elaborate his initial 'yes' response.

The same speaker, in example 22, flouts the Quality maxim by describing women as 'trying to catch the eye of the older people and yet they have the numbers'. The implicature is that women spend much time in seeking undue attention from experienced people in the field instead of taking advantage of their numbers to better their lot. The young women are also advised to 'make party manifestoes their bibles', which implies that party principles rather than older people should set for them their agenda. Here the image of the bible its role of providing moral guidelines is evoked in order to emphasize the significance of political parties as a bargaining tool for marginalized groups such as women and youth in Kenya.

The Relations maxim (be relevant) is also observed because the response in example 22, which implicates that instead of seeking attention from those already experienced, young people must join political parties, demand that those parties be institutionalized and follow those party manifestoes closely, is a relevant response to the issue of the agenda for women that the speaker in example 21 seeks to know from his informer, who is the chief executive of women and youth affairs.

4.3.2 Quality maxim (Quality implicatures)

The CP's Quality maxim requires that interlocutors be sincere in their contributions. It states: Try to make your contribution one that is true:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.

2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. (Grice, 2002:27)

The following examples derived from the data illustrate the Quality maxim. The discourse in examples 23 and 24 is centered on The Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) and its dismal performance in arresting and charging corrupt government officials.

23. Presenter: You are of the opinion that the anti-corruption body – <u>KACC</u> has not **lived up to expecTAtions**. why do you say THAt?

24. Panelist: ↑I **believe** there is no political will hh unless we come up with a radical change:: and for the membership of the commission to be vetted by parliament.

<div align="right">(Episode 10, pg 130)</div>

Example 24 is a response to example 23 in which the speaker seeks to get a justification for his hearer's' assertion that KACC 'has not lived up to expectations' of the public, implicating that KACC has been a disappointment. In example 24, the speaker observes the Quality maxim (do not say what you believe to be false) when he uses the words 'I believe', as he gives his sincere contention that KACC 'has not lived up to expectations'. The implicature derived from example 24 is that KACC has failed and ought to be vetted but the government is not willing to do so. The words 'I believe' foreground the speaker's sincerity as he supports the allegation in example 23 that KACC 'has not lived up to expectations'. Thus the speaker in example 24 directly observes the Quality maxim and also makes a relevant contribution to the discussion on KACC, a sign of adherence to the Relations maxim (be relevant).

Examples 25 and 26 also illustrate the CP's Quality maxim as shown below. The examples are based on discussions on the proposed Media Bill 2007. Through this bill, the Government of Kenya intended to regulate media instead of empowering Media Council to do the same.

25. Presenter: ↑how can we give the <u>Media council</u> the **teeth** to regulate the ↑media?

26. Panelist: by giving them statutory − legal powers (   ) Media Council should take a different role: not **more teeth: more biting.**

(Episode 8, pg.127)

In example 25, the presenter appears to violate the Quality maxim (make your contribution one that is true*)* by using a non literal form when he asks how the media council can be given 'the teeth'. This is because its literal meaning is irrelevant and must be discarded. 'The teeth' is an idiom which the hearer must interpret figuratively to mean the power to regulate media output.

Example 26 gives a straight forward answer in compliance with the Manner maxim (be perspicuous) by stating in clear and precise terms that the media council need not have more power, as inferred from 'not more teeth, more biting'. Instead, the speaker suggests that media be granted 'statutory/legal powers' and that it should 'take a different role' altogether.

The question of whether or not Western Kenya would provide the swing vote in the 2007 General Elections was widely debated. This is the topic of discussion in the following discourse that is presented to further illustrate the CP's Quality maxim.

27. Presenter: Western Kenya was shortchanged in ministries

28. Panelist: When my colleague says that we have   ministries that are **toothless, I don't agree** with him. I really **take with a pinch of salt** what my colleague is saying. That while the people of Nyanza and Western Kenya were bickering the others were developing. Just look at the armed forces, look at the administration police, and look at the prisons. **Very little is left for the rest of Kenya   to share and the lion's share is given to one region alone.**   (Episode 6, pg. 123)

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In example 27 the presenter of this episode of 'Newsline' is soliciting responses from members of the discussion panel on distribution of ministries in Western Kenya. He does this by making his sincere assertion that the region was shortchanged in ministries. By asserting what he believes to be true, the speaker is clearly working with the CP's Quality maxim which emphasizes on sincerity. In example 28, the speaker takes the audience back to a, presumably, previous allegation made to the effect that the ministries were 'toothless' and that he takes with ' a pinch of salt' such an allegation. He refers to what is given to 'one region' as 'the lion's share' compared to what 'the rest of Kenya got'.

Example 28 appears to violate the CP's first sub maxim of Quality (do not say what you believe to be false). The hearers while searching for relevance in this utterance must interpret the expressions 'toothless', 'lion's share' and 'a pinch of salt' as metaphors and idiom and then infer the speaker's intended meaning. The conversational implicature derived from example 28 is, therefore, that the panelist disagrees with the claim that the ministries given to (ministers from) Western Kenya were less prestigious, as inferred from 'toothless', and that he considered such a claim an exaggeration, as inferred from 'with a pinch of salt,' The speaker attributes lack of development in Western and Nyanza not to idle talk as inferred from 'bickering' but to lack of equity in resource allocation as can be inferred from 'very little is left' and 'the lion's share, more resources, is given to one region alone'. It is worth noting that the speaker remains pragmatically informative and relevant. He observes the Quantity and Relations maxim as well as the Quality maxim.

More examples derived from the data are presented to illustrate the Quality maxim as shown below. The question of whether to retain a centralized government or adopt a devolved system of governance became a campaign issue in the run up to the 2007 General Elections in Kenya.

29. Presenter: ju:st tell Kenyans why they should **vote with a particular idea in mind: a particular government** that should be put in place.

30. Panelist: you centralize in a person in our country called the president ↑who controls both economic and political power. so he can **dish out things** as he pleases and that's why Every tribe is fighting **'it is our turn'**. ↑the people know that when **you have a president** you can even choose **to take the whole cake** and leave others with NOthing absolutely.

(Episode 2, pg 116)

In example 30 the speaker embarks on an explanation in response to example 29 where the speaker genuinely seeks to know why people would vote 'in a particular way', implying vote for specific candidates or parties. (If the hearer did not assume it was genuine, he would not respond. This is the Gricean sense of cooperation). He initially works with the Manner maxim when he systematically explains how a centralized system of governance works – 'the president controls both economic and political power, and so distributes resources as he pleases among members of his tribe, leaving others disgruntled'. The orderly account contains a number of non-literal forms whose meanings must be inferred. For example, reference is made to the powerful president who 'can dish out things', meaning that the president distributes resources as he pleases and that his tribe can decide 'to take the whole cake', meaning to benefit maximally. Such a scenario, the speaker notes, has caused every tribe to engage in 'fighting for their turn' implying scramble for leadership, so as to position themselves to gain.

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The instances of figurative language observed in example 30 constitute observance of the Quality maxim (do not say what you believe to be false) once the hearer is able to interpret the non literal sense of the expression. The meaning conveyed figuratively through the idioms as specified above and recovered by the hearer on the assumption that the interlocutor is cooperating and trying to provide both appropriate and relevant information.

The CP's Quality maxim is also illustrated by examples 31 and 32 below. The excerpts in examples 31 and 32 (a) and (b), respectively, form part of the discussions on HIV/AIDS pandemic at a time when National Aids Control Council (NACC) was conducting voluntary testing and counseling for managers. In Kenya where the first HIV case was diagnosed in 1984, the pandemic remains a major concern to the government. The NACC has helped in creation of awareness about Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT), and Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMCT). Examples 31 (c) and 32 (c) are based on the topic 'How people living with disability perceive themselves'. The discourse arose from the concern by sections of the public that such people are marginalized.

31. (a). Presenter: do **you think.** though: that enough is being done to destigmatize
            AIDS at the work PLAce?

32. (a). Panelist 1: ↑**I don't think** that enough is being done. ↑I know that re are
            organizations that have adopted this policy. ↑I think some have
            achieved results: others have still a long way to go − And >**think**<
            a lot more can be done.

31. (b). Presenter: if we look at where we are coming from as a nation in
            1990s: ↑**do you think** there is a strong political will. a strong
            will from NGOs to ensure that the trends in the pandemic are
            reVERsed?

32. (b). Panelist 2:certainly from NGOs <yes> and ↑**I think** the Ministry of Health in the last 3 years has been positive. We've received quite a lot of support from them (   ) and I must say that support has been mostly positive. There is already a policy – and I stand to be corrected – which says that employers cannot discriminate against <u>Positive</u> applicants and↑**I think** that's where the government needs to come a little more strongly: because if they do then the company is forced to come up with a program to manage the problem. So <u>YES</u> **I think** a lot more can be done but I must say that we implemented our policy in the year 2002.in the first year it was all very experimental — but in the last 3 years we made tremendous progress and that's all. ↑thanks to NGOs and help from the ministry.

31. (c) Presenter: ↑are people living with disability hindered from exercising their democratic rIGHTS?

32. (c) Panelist:they are not allowed to go with a person to assist in   cases where they know their candidate but do not understand. They CANNOT express   themselves: so no one knows about them (   ) **not offered a chance to express themselves. ↑GEtting an ID (identity card), employment and   voting is an issue. (   ) THEy have no opportunity to access information on ↑voting.**

(Episode 9, pg 129)

The first panelist in example 32 (a) understands example 31 (a) as a yes-no question from the presenter. He therefore gives his sincere answer when he says; 'I don't think that enough is being done… I think a lot more can be done'. His sincerity which is a sign that he is directly observing the Quality maxim (do not say what you believe to be false) can be confirmed from the use of the words 'I think'. He adds that only a few 'organizations' may have adopted the necessary policy on stigmatization of HIV/AIDS victims.

Example 31 (b) is also understood as a yes-no question asking if there is a strong political and NGO will to ensure the pandemic is reversed. The second panelist gives an affirmation admitting that both the Ministry of Health and NGOs have been involved in HIV/AIDS work. Thus, he observes the quality maxim, like the previous speaker in example 32 (a), by saying what he

believes to be the exact state of affairs as signified by the use of 'I think', for example, 'I think the Ministry of Health in the last 3 years has been positive'. 'I' indicates personal commitment to what one says and so the hearer assumes it is sincere. In example 32 (b) the speaker provides information in accordance with the Quantity maxim when he adds that, 'there is already a policy ... which says that employers cannot discriminate against positive applicants....'

Example 31 (c) is a sincere question that the presenter asks to genuinely assess whether people living with disability are hindered from exercising their democratic rights. That element of sincerity, perceived to be so by the hearer, shows that the speaker is working with the Quality maxim, which emphasizes sincerity during conversation. In example 32 (c), the speaker responds in the affirmative, though indirectly, by explaining what he believes to be the practice, which attests to the fact that 'people with disability are hindered from exercising their democratic rights?' By so doing, he adheres to the second sub maxim of the Quality maxim (do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence). He intends to say that the people living with disability are not only denied assistance during voting but they also lack 'opportunity to access information'. Besides, they have a problem getting IDs and securing employment. Utterance 32 (c) is therefore understood as a 'yes' answer to the question, 'Are people living with disability hindered from exercising their democratic rights?', posed in example 31 (c). Apart from the Quality maxim, the speaker in example 32 (c) also observes both the Quantity and Relations maxim because he is not only informative but he also makes relevant contributions as he responds without deviating from the topic of discussion.

In the corpus presented in the sub section above, the CP's Quality maxim was either observed directly when speakers gave their direct and honest thoughts, signaled by use of such expressions as 'I believe or I think' as in examples 24 and 32 (a) and (b). Apparent violations of the maxim are witnessed in cases of non literal forms of language as exemplified in utterances 26, 30 and 32 (c). The violations occurred whenever speakers chose to convey meaning implicitly by expressing meaning figuratively. It is also notable that speakers engaged other maxims, for instance the Quantity and the Relations maxim, alongside the Quality maxim. This was mainly because the participants were always conscious of the need to be cooperative and to make their contributions not only sufficiently informative but also relevant. The extent to which participants worked with the Manner maxim was also studied as shown below.

4.3.3 Manner maxim (Manner implicatures)

The CP's Manner maxim requires that speakers communicate with clarity. It has four sub-maxims that state: "avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, and be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity) and orderly" (Grice, 2002:27).

In the run up to the 2007 General elections in Kenya, Political Parties did their nominations in order to elect their candidates to vie for parliamentary, civic, parliamentary seats. The exercise was marred by scenes of violence and allegations of election malpractices such as locking up candidates or snatching their certificates so that they fail to turn up for the nomination exercise. The chaotic party nominations became the focus of much discussion, part of which was captured in the following discourse derived from the data.

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33. Presenter: violence − chaos − characterized party nominations. YOU were
            overwhelmed. Clearly − what haPPEned?

34. Panelist:we were overtaken by events. (Counting fingers) One, we
            made preparations (   ) Things we put in place did not take place as
            expected,we had other problems: counting was **elections process
            continued late into the night: ↑the weather was not in our favor
            marred (   ). We said elections would take place from 6.30 to 2 pm,
            that wasn't the case and so it made 'wananchi' very apprehensive:
            some of them took matters into their Hands.** ↑some thought that
            taking SHORTcuts would get them what THEY wanted.

                                                            (Episode 5, pg 121)

Example 33 is understood by the hearer as a question that seeks to find out what happened

during the chaotic party nominations. In example 34, the speaker responds by first giving an

overview of the events before mentioning the specific activities. He states that 'they', officials,

were overwhelmed because even though preparations had been done, elections ended late and

vote counting was delayed. As a result, voters became impatient and unruly in the hope of

forcing election results out. Thus, the speaker observes the maxim of manner (be orderly) when

he presents his listener with an overview and then gives an orderly and detailed account of the

events of the nomination day and yields a manner implicature.

He claims that the delay in completion of vote casting, vote counting and release of election

results, in that order, led to chaotic scenes. For him, this was a sign that officials had been

'overtaken by events', meaning that they were overwhelmed by the task. This is a sequence that

the listener considers acceptable since it is logical and relevant to the interpretation that is

appropriate to the context. The Relations and Quantity maxim are also observed simultaneously

because the speaker's response is not only relevant but it is also adequately informative.

Example 34 appears to contravene the Quality maxim when the speaker makes-as-if-to-say that the officials were 'overtaken by events' and, some voters 'took matters into their hands' and 'took shortcuts ', implicating that they were overwhelmed as voters became unruly during party nominations. However, the speaker observes the quality maxim because the implicature shows that he is making a relevant and sincere contribution by using the idioms.

The following examples from a discussion on opinion polls held prior to the 2007 General Elections also illustrate the Manner maxim.

35. Presenter: do all these opinion polls go until the ↑Elections DAY?

36. Panelist: In a winner-take-it-all situation (   ) is it not a disservice to deny
people ↑INforMAtion? There is the question of **the bandwagon
effects:** that there are people who are likely to vote in a certain way to
support the person the polls are saying is the winner.hh And there is
also − of course:: the question of ↑**the underdog effect**. The underdog
effect is that people would sympathetically vote for the person lagging
behind. (Making gestures)

(Episode 3, pg 118)

In example 36, the speaker works with the Manner maxim when he explains the meaning of 'the bandwagon effect' as well as 'the underdog effect' as voting in favor of a popular candidate and voting in favor of a weak candidate, respectively. In so doing, he defines the expressions with such clarity that he 'avoids ambiguity' or any possibility of miscommunication. He is also able to justify the position that he takes – that 'in a winner-take-it-all-situation' opinion polls should go on until the elections day since it would enable the public to gauge candidates. This response is inferred from the speaker's rhetorical question, 'is it not a disservice to deny people information?' which confirms his feeling that the polls should not be restricted. He is therefore not only informative but also rationalizes what he believes indirectly through the rhetorical question. This is in accordance with the Quantity and the Quality maxims, which require

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speakers to be sufficiently informative and truthful, respectively. He also works with the

Relations maxim (be relevant) because example 36 is a suitable response to the yes-no question

posed in example 35 as to whether opinion polls should go on until elections are held. More

illustrations of the Manner maxim are presented below.

Nairobi Province had consistently elected opposition candidates since the inception of multiparty

politics in Kenya in 1991. It was speculated that a similar scenario would be witnessed in the

2007 General Elections. Part of this discourse is captured in examples 37 and 38. Politicians who

belonged to parties other than the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU) were

considered opposition politicians. The discussants included a 'Newsline' presenter and two

former Members of Parliament within Nairobi Province.

37. Presenter: It was noted that in **1992 – 1997 and 2002** they voted for opposition
candidates in your constituency. SHE has always **given you a range** in
your constituency.

38. Panelist: I have always defeated her (pointing) and she **has always stood.** ↑**in
1992 she stood – in 1997 she stood.** ↑**in 2002** she wanted to stand: but
maybe we were in the same party that's why we agreed that she steps
down: AND this time she **has stood.**

(Episode 6, pg 123)

In example 37, the speaker presents the pattern of voting in Nairobi in a chronological order. He

gives the trend from 1992, 1997 to 2002; before challenging the listener that one of the

candidates has always 'given him a range in his own constituency' implicating that the speaker

has always faced considerable challenge from this opponent. Example 38 also outlines the

performance of the candidate being discussed. The speaker says the female candidate has always

'stood', that is, vied for elections in 1992, 1997, 2002. She was doing the same 'this time', that

is, in 2007. Thus, the speakers observe the Manner maxim by giving an orderly account of events as their interlocutors would have expected. In the utterance 'I have always defeated her and she has always stood', the speaker uses 'and' to mean 'and then', which denotes some sequence. He intends to show how persistent his opponent has been over the years and that he has consistently won as an opposition candidate in Nairobi. The word 'stood', which implies to contest a parliamentary seat, is directly translated from vernacular and implies vying for elections. Indeed, the speaker observes the Quality maxim because the hearer expects a sincere contribution under the assumption of cooperation. Direct translation here is a pragmatic strategy that enhances communication. The speaker gives the discussion a local or Kenyan taste by directly translating from the local language.

The examples presented in the sub section above show that the Manner maxim is observed by speakers in a straightforward way, yielding conventional implicatures. It enables them to meet their interlocutors' expectation of relevance because only an acceptable sequence of events can lend itself to a correct interpretation. This is shown in example 34 where the speaker talks of the chaotic scene during nominations as having been preceded by vote casting and not vice versa. The chronological account given in example 37 can, however, be altered without changing the speaker's intended meaning; starting with 2007 would not alter the truth of the matter under discussion. It was also noted that the Manner maxim was observed alongside the other three maxims, that is, Quantity, Quality and Relations maxims. The speakers make informative, sincere and relevant contributions in accordance with the Quantity and Relations maxims, respectively. Thus, they cooperate with their interlocutors during the conversation. The sub

section below attempts to illustrate the level of adherence to the Relations maxim during the talk show, 'Newsline'.

4.3.4 Relations maxim (Relevance implicatures)

The Relations maxim, which states, 'Be relevant' is derived from Grice's (2002) CP's fourth maxim or convention. The term 'relevance' generally refers to the expectation of maximum relevance of conversational contributions during cooperative talk exchanges. Since Grice (1975, 2002) does not elaborate on the simple instruction 'Be relevant', this study adopts the version, 'Make your contribution relevant according to the existing topic framework', where 'topic framework represents the area of overlap in knowledge which has been activated and is shared by participants at a particular point in a discourse' (Brown and Yule, 1983: 83-84). Relevance has been characterized as speaking topically, that is, when a discourse participant makes his contribution fit closely to the most recent elements incorporated in the topic framework. Brown and Yule (1983) also observe that participants may, while speaking topically, concentrate their talk on one particular entity, individual or issue. This has been described as speaking on a topic.

The following examples derived from the data illustrate the Relations maxim. The topic under discussion in examples 39 and 40 is Women Civic and Parliamentary Candidates in the 2007 General Elections.

39. Presenter: as a member of parliament: can you just **paint us a picture** of how
the **playing ground** IS for both MEn and WOmen.

40. Panelist: **being in parliament: is like being a girl in a boys' school.**

(Episode 7, pg 124)

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In example 39 the presenter wants the speaker, a female member of parliament, to discuss how fair the competition is for both men and women who present themselves to be elected as members of parliament during the upcoming 2007 General Elections. He uses the images, 'paint us a picture' and 'playing ground'. In example 40 the panelist observes the CP's Relations maxim (be relevant) when he reveals the level of masculinity that pervades parliament. He uses a simile, 'like being a girl in a boys' school', to emphasize the gender disparity in parliament where men dominate the house in terms of their numbers and influence. Another conversational implicature here is that the female gender is not only weaker but it is also marginalized compared to their male counterparts. The speaker contributes in terms of the existing topic framework and the discussion topic when he refers to parliament. Once the inference is made, the literal sense of the utterance, which evokes a school environment and is completely at variance with the subject of women civic and parliamentary candidates that is being discussed is, discarded by the hearer as irrelevant.

Example 41 and 42 also illustrate the Relations maxim. The discourse recorded is based on the issue of politicians attending church services under the guise of seeking prayer and using such opportunities to articulate their political agenda. This was common in the run up to the 2007 General Elections in Kenya. 'Newsline' brought on board church representatives from National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) for discussions.

41. Presenter: Are **you** under pressure from any political side to ↑Vote in a particular

wAY?

42. Panelist: **The position** of NCCK (National Council of Churches of Kenya) and the churches it represents is clear:: we provide education: we allow individuals to make their choice when the day comes. ↑In any case even **a block commitment** means nothing because the vote is secret.

(Episode 1, pg. 113)

In example 41 the speaker asks a question that requires a yes or no answer. He wants to know whether his listener (you), that is, church minister and his Christian community, is under pressure to vote for a particular political side. The response in the first part of example 42 outlines the role of the church, in an attempt to respond to the question posed. When he states that individuals 'will be allowed to make their choice' and that voting is a secret affair, he is speaking topically and his contribution to the issue of voting by Christians is relevant. He means that the church will educate the voters and then let them vote as they wish. Here, the speaker in example 42 observes the Relations maxim (be relevant) by providing that relevant response even though it is not a direct yes or no answer. The Quantity and Manner maxims are also observed because the contribution is not only relevant but it is also informative and well ordered – 'we provide education' and then 'we allow them to make their choice when the day comes'. The assertion that 'the position of the church...' can be assumed to indicate sincerity on the part of the speaker in compliance with the Quality maxim. The implicature derived from the assertion that 'even a block commitment means nothing because the vote is secret', is that it would be futile for the church to persuade voters to elect particular candidates because at the end of the day the vote is by secret ballot, that is, a personal affair.

Below are more examples from the data presented to illustrate the maxim of Relations. The subject matter that informs the discussion here is Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

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(KNCHR)'s allegations that the Kenya Police were responsible for the massacre of nearly five hundred youths belonging to the proscribed 'Mungiki' sect and that their bodies had been dumped at the City Mortuary. The panel member is the then chair of KNCHR.

43. Presenter: Do you see a situation where there is a political push behind some of these acTIONS?

44. Panelist: I (pointing at himself) don't know whether politics is (to play). May be some policemen are part of this thing. (   ) but we are a country that **lets the big fish get away** and focuses on **the small fish.** and Then – we say – we are working. ↑Until we get **the big fish,** we are going to have problems of crime – of insecurity.

(Episode 4, pg. 120)

'These actions' in example 43 refers to the alleged massacre and the entire utterance is understood as a question asking whether the massacre was politically motivated or not. Therefore, when the speaker says in example 44 that he doesn't know, and suggests that some police officers are probably part of the conspiracy, he is not only making a relevant contribution to the discussion topic but he is also saying what he believes to be true in the prevailing context. That is, he observes the CP's maxims of Relations (Be relevant) and Quality (do not say what you believe to be false).

In the second part of the discourse, the speaker in example 44 metaphorically refers to instigators of crime as 'the big fish' and criminals as 'the small fish'. He uses non literal forms and although he appears irrelevant, the hearer must assume that this speaker is cooperating and a relevant interpretation, more precisely figurative meaning, must be inferred. The assertion in example 44 is relevant as it is understood in the light of an earlier suggestion that the police are

part of the menace and so they comprise the so-called 'big fish' while the murdered youths are the 'small fish' who are also criminals. The speaker is working with the Relations maxim which emphasizes relevance.

The following discourse from a discussion on the validity of opinion polls on the 2007 General Elections further illustrates the Relations maxim.

45. Presenter: the question I'm asking is about sampling. ↑IS there a standard
            number that YOU USE?

46. Panelist: really I don't think any of these polling companies will go out to bring
            results that they are cooking. fortunately nobody has attempted to ask us
            to ↑COok REsults for him or her because if they <did>: we would say
            NO. since 1997 we've been doing polls and (   ) if we did that we'd be
            out of business by now –

                                                  (Episode 3, pg.117)

At a glance, utterance 46 is totally unrelated to example 45 which requires a yes-no answer. It seeks to find out if there is standard number of voters that is sampled during opinion polls, that is, whether the results are reliable or not. Example 46 appears to be in violation of the Relations maxim because it fails to provide a straightforward answer but refers to cooking results. However, the hearer assumes that the speaker must be cooperating and a relevant interpretation must be sought. That nobody ever 'asked us to cook' results, is to implicate that the sampling procedure is acceptable and that the poll results have always been reliable since 1997. This is the most appropriate interpretation of utterance 46 because the speaker is assumed to be cooperating and observing the Relations maxim (be relevant).

The idiom 'cooking results' is semantically odd because its literal meaning is unrelated to the prevailing context. The speaker apparently contravenes the Quality maxim which emphasizes truthfulness and only its figurative sense, which is, meddling with results, can be relevant as a response to the question posed in example 45 about the validity of opinion poll results. There is also evidence of adherence to the Manner maxim when the speaker gives an orderly presentation of facts: that 'cooking results' and meddling with poll results would have taken them out of business. The Quantity maxim is also observed considering that the speaker gives information in response to example 45 to ward off any doubt about poll results and justify the company's existence.

The following examples derived from the data are also presented to illustrate the Relations maxim. The discussion is on the massacre of the 'Mungiki' adherents as alleged by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR). As mentioned in 4.2.1, 'Mungiki' is an illegal sect whose membership comprises youths mainly from Nairobi and Central Kenya. The sect is proscribed because of its association with criminal activities. It was suspected that the Kenya Police, in their attempt to control the so called 'Mungiki' menace, shot down quite a number. The conversation ensued when KNCHR chairman got alarmed after he allegedly found dead bodies in Ngong forest, in the outskirts of Nairobi.

47. Presenter: these killings YOU are saying – (   ) they were targeting suspected
        'Mungiki' ADHErents?

48. Panelist: they do not have ↑A RIGHT to use illegality to resolve a problem. **If
        you steal something from me: I don't resolve it by stealing from
        you. I resolve it by going to the police and reporting you - and then
        I can get the thing back I don't come to you because you have stolen
        my water and say I will steal your water.we don't break the law to
        bring security. (   ) How do you shoot a foot soldier but the
        criminal says ↑my people are being killed so let me lie low. why has**

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'Mungiki' survived since the nineTIES through the clashes peRIOD? Who was proTEcTing It? ↑who were protecting It? Who were the politicians who were giving solace and financial support to 'Mungiki'? Why have they not been arrested? ↑you don't solve crime by getting the foot soldier. YOu solve crime by getting the godfather: and we have never seriously gone for the godfather.

<div align="right">(Episode 4, pg.119-120)</div>

Utterance 47 is a question that requires a yes or no answer. The response in example 48 is in the affirmative because it implies that the police are indeed targeting those 'Mungiki' adherents but that their action is 'illegal'. The speaker is therefore cooperating and observing the CP's Relations maxim when he makes that relevant contribution. He however, violates the Quantity maxim by providing more information than the question he is responding to apparently requires; he maintains that the police cannot eradicate crime or insecurity by applying a criminal act such as extra judicial killings. For him this amounts to dealing with the symptoms and ignoring the problem. This is implied in the speaker's metaphorical reference to 'Mungiki' as the 'foot soldiers', by which he means symptoms of the problem, and the actual criminals or perpetrators of crime as the 'godfathers'.

The speaker also uses the analogy of 'stealing water from one who steals your water' to indirectly express the futility of targeting the 'Mungiki'. He flouts the quality maxim that expects truthfulness. The conversational implicature is that the extra-judicial killing of the 'Mungiki' was morally wrong, a punitive act rather than a corrective measure.

4.4 Effectiveness of communication

The third objective of this study was to establish opinion of viewers of 'Newsline' about aspects of effective communication such as clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance during selected episodes of the program. To achieve this, a sample of viewers was contacted for face-to-face interviews. The main questions asked and the responses received are presented and discussed in the sub sections below.

4.4.1 Nature of Communication

When the researcher sought opinion of viewers on nature of communication (Appendix I, pg.106) their responses showed that most viewers recognized that not all meaning was explicitly communicated during the talk show. For example, when asked specifically to rate the extent to which they considered the message explicitly conveyed in the episode they had watched, most respondents disagreed. They recognized indirect language forms, that is, meaning conveyed implicitly in various episodes of 'Newsline'. To elaborate this view, respondents singled out some rhetoric devices employed by speakers. These included non-literal forms such as metaphors, similes, proverbs, analogies, idioms and rhetorical questions, for example one respondent said:

Several idioms – "shouting at every available rooftop, bury our heads under the sand put a mirror, point fingers at others". Analogy – "if you steal from me, I don't resolve it by stealing from you but by reporting to the police. Or if you steal my water, I don't steal your water in return." Indirectly condemning police killing criminals (the Mungiki), to restore security.

(Appendix II, pg. 108

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Another respondent illustrated indirect language use as follows:

"Idioms – neck-down politics, lip service: women want to be given on silver platter. Simile – being a woman in parliament is like being a girl in a boys' school"

(Appendix II, pg. 109)

4.4.2 Clarity of Information and Presentation

It is notable that even though listeners may have had to put in extra effort to work out the speaker's intentions whenever meaning was conveyed implicitly, by inferring meaning as discussed in 4.4, indirectness did not hinder communication. This was reflected in the responses to the question on clarity of information (Appendix I, pg. 106). Most respondents considered the information conveyed during the episodes they watched clear. This meant that viewers felt that the information was understood. The main reason for this was given as the fact that topics of discussion were already well known and viewers were able to "link odd expressions to the topic of discussion, describing issues without going out of topic" (Appendix II, pg. 109).

This further attests to the significance of shared background knowledge in effective interpersonal communication. Of the few who said the message was not clear, the reasons given were that some speakers did not respect each other's speaking turns. This is a sign that some speakers dominated the conversation and that the host failed to moderate such sessions fairly and firmly as indicated by the statement: "Others are too serious (formal) and use abstract language and jargon and don't bother to clarify points" (Appendix II, pg. 111).

When asked whether there were any presentation weaknesses in the episodes watched (Appendix I, pg. 107) most viewers disagreed except a few who concurred and made the following comments.

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Yes, like speakers not respecting each other's speaking turns. Let each one
wait for their turn to speak. They irritate. Why does the presenter allow this?
unnecessary interruptions should not be allowed (Appendix II, pg.110).

Such responses showed that organization of discussion sessions is important in effective

communication.

4.5 Discussion

The first objective of this study was to identify implicatures in KTN's 'Newsline' program and

describe related aspects of context. It is evident from the analysis above that listeners of

'Newsline' (as recorded) are prompted to infer meaning not only because of the speakers'

indirectness when they use language but also because of shared background knowledge and the

expectation that conversational partners are cooperating in recovering speaker's intended

meanings.

According to Martinich (1996) such inferences that the audience draws in order to understand

what has been implicated constitute conversational implicatures. For instance, when in example

2 the panelist who is a bishop says 'Doors are open; we don't shut prayers from anyone

demanding to be prayed for... Bible says that prayers should be made for all men....' The

conversational implicature is that the church was willing to work with everybody no matter what

their political affiliation was, during the campaign period just before the 2007 general elections.

He justifies this willingness by quoting the Bible. According to Grice's (2002) conversational

maxims, this speaker is sincere and informative because he is cooperating with the

conversational partners. He is also informative and therefore can be said to employ the Quality

and Quantity maxims as observed earlier. However, socially, his wider Kenyan audience doubts

his sincerity because of their knowledge of the tendency of the local clergy to accommodate politicians for financial gain. The bishop invokes the bible and only feigns spiritual concern probably because of the need for him to protect his social image, which the media puts under scrutiny by posing the type of questions that this speaker responds to, that is, 'politicians will come to you…will you entertain them?' By accepting to host them his intention is to endear himself to the political class perhaps to ensure he gets an occasional 'offering' that a contrary response would deny him.

Frawley (2003) notes that in conversational implicature the addressee is entitled to draw certain inferences about the speaker's beliefs and intentions based on non-truth functional components of the utterance, that is, inferences that are not deducible from what is said. The inferences are based primarily on what was said, that is, the conventional meaning of the words uttered, the context and shared background knowledge as well as the CP and maxims. These are the conditions that Grice's (1975, 2002) CP and maxims framework propose should precede the formation of implicatures. Those conversational implicatures derived from examples 1 to 12, are attached to the semantic content arising from the conventional meaning of what is said and contextual assumptions. 'Changing the words of the utterance for synonyms would not give the same implication' (Levinson, 1983:126).

According to Fiske (1982) the audience wrests control from the producers by making meaning and pleasures for themselves. The audiences of KTN's 'Newsline' episodes must have been able to make meanings by drawing inferences and deriving the existing implicatures. Socially, the speaker in example 7 is able to convince the audience that KNCHR is not merely engaging in

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activism but that the police are responsible for 'Mungiki' executions. As the chair KNCHR at the time, he decides to be judgmental and thus angers Police Commissioner who accuses his organization of activism and dishonesty as inferred from, 'it has adopted an activist tendency ... shouting at every available rooftop on any allegation'. KNCHR accuses the police of extra-judicial killings of the 'Mungiki' and the speaker provides what he believes is tangible evidence when he says, 'five hundred people have been shot dead... I think... we must not bury our heads in the sand on this one ... the police register in the mortuary saying this (   ) all we have done is put a mirror on these facts to reflect them'. This quantitative as well as documentary evidence proves that the speaker is genuine and sincere in his judgment. The scalar implicature in the use of statistics: 'five hundred', not less, can also show compliance with the Gricean CP's Quality and Quantity norms.

The topic of discussion is an important aspect of the shared implicature context and speakers will endeavor to remain as relevant as possible. For this study this was a sign of cooperation between the speaker and addressee. From the discourse presented above, it is notable that although the content of 'Newsline' is oriented toward issues of important controversy such as opinion polls and more serious issues such as HIV/AIDS, interpretations of discussions on these critical issues are partly based on relevance arising from shared knowledge of physical and linguistic context. Levinson (1983) refers to the latter as the place of the current utterance within the utterance that makes up the discussion.

Relevance was a key component in inferring meaning or deriving implicatures. The relevance theorists, Sperber and Wilson (1986) advance the view that human cognition is relevance

oriented and explain that every utterance or overt act of communication creates an expectation of relevance. However, for them, an utterance has only one relevant interpretation, and that is the first one that requires the least processing time of contextual effects. The interpretation does not depend on mutual cooperation, which for them is not delimited. This view is a departure from Grice's (1975) CP and maxims and has been faulted for not defining how the least processing effort is arrived at to achieve optimal relevance. Topic relevance is a major consideration to speakers in making their contributions.

The second objective of the study was to analyze implicatures under the Gricean CP and maxims. During the talk show 'Newsline', participants expect nothing short of cooperation. Garman (1990) advances three views adopted in interpretation: 'the independence' view, by which the literal meaning is arrived at by computational processes, which do not extend to supplying referential and real world knowledge; 'the constructivist' view, by which elaborate mental edifices are built up for the situation a sentence describes (artistic meaning); and, 'the intentional' view, by which comprehension is perceived as a process by which people arrive at the interpretation the speaker intended them to grasp for that utterance in that context. Considering the latter, it was evident that hearers always search for a relevant interpretation of what their interlocutors utter even when such utterances seem out-rightly irrelevant. Indeed, speakers always maintain the Relations maxim (be relevant) by speaking topically and contributing to the topic of discussion. They also work with the maxims of Quantity, Quality and Manner appropriately while maintaining relevance in their conversational contributions as a sign of cooperation as envisaged in Grice's (1975, 2002) CP and maxims.

The analysis also reveals that there are conventional implicatures within 'Newsline' discourse. These are not derived through 'the use of pragmatic principles and contextual knowledge but rather, they are given by convention' (Levinson, 1983: 128). For example it is clear that speakers can employ the CP's Quantity maxim by conveying information directly, as shown in example 16 where the speaker puts the cost of conducting opinion polls at 'between one and a half and two million' Kenya shillings, when he is asked how expensive it is to conduct opinion polls. This is a conventional implicature because the intended meaning is read off the linguistic rather than the pragmatic sense of the words.

More conventional implicatures are particularly evident when the Manner maxim is exploited to achieve orderliness. For instance, in example 34, the speaker gives an account of events that took place during a nomination process that the media had described as chaotic. He says, 'We were overtaken by events. One, we made preparations(   ) things we put in place did not take place as expected, **elections process continued late into the night, the weather was not in our favor, we had other problems, counting was marred (   ). We said elections would take place from 6.30 to 2 pm, that wasn't the case and so it made 'wananchi' very apprehensive, some of them took matters into their hands,** some thought that taking shortcuts would get them what they wanted.

It is worth noting that while it is common for speakers to either adhere to or flout the Quality, and Quantity maxims, instances of contravention of Manner maxim were rare in the data. They are only observed in cases of repetition as in example 46 where the expression 'cooking results' is repeated, perhaps for emphasis. There were no obvious cases of ambiguity. The Relations

maxim on the other hand is only violated superficially during instances of figurative use of language as in examples 41, 44 and 47 when meaning is expressed indirectly. The Quantity maxim was mostly adhered to in a straight forwarded manner to provide accurate information. However, occasionally speakers who were not bold enough or lacked accurate information merely hedged the Quantity maxim, as a sign that they did not fully comply with the maxims. This is illustrated in example 20 where the speaker uses the word 'just' to signify either lack of confidence to provide a detailed response to the question posed, 'where are we today?' in terms of HIV/AIDS prevalence, or simply yielding to the demands of the context of situation. The maxims were either observed directly or violated and both cases were sometimes seen in a single utterance showing the complexity of the discourse in 'Newsline'.

The third objective of this study was to establish opinion of viewers of 'Newsline' about aspects of effective verbal communication such as clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance during selected episodes of the program. Analysis of responses from face-to-face interviews showed that viewers can recognize most non-literal forms whenever they are used by speakers to enhance meaning so long as speakers share background knowledge. They are able to understand the information conveyed by inferring meaning. According to Levinson (1983:21) language understanding involves a great deal more than knowing the meanings of the words uttered. It 'involves the making of inferences that will connect what is said to what is mutually assumed or what has been said before'. This is evident from responses such as "link odd expressions to the topic of discussion" (Appendix II, pg. 109) which suggests that viewers of 'Newsline' may not be perfect in language but they understand the information conveyed by drawing on contextual

elements such as the shared knowledge of their world. Indeed this is a similar process of deriving speaker's meaning as discussed earlier.

The behavior of interlocutors may enhance or obscure meaning. For example, speakers must be allowed fair chances to take their speaking turns. The manner in which some participants dominated discussions was considered 'irritating' (Appendix II, pg. 110) and conversationally inappropriate, perhaps because it interfered with the objectivity of the message. This provides insights into the role of conversational organization elements such as turn taking, as essential features of effective communication, though this was outside the scope of this study. Viewers' expectations of a well ordered discussion session in 'Newsline' was sometimes dashed by the clamor for interactive space perhaps for personal display. Viewers felt that the program host could moderate discussions more firmly to ensure clarity of the message. According to Burton (2000) the viewer as public has the opportunity to become part of political and social processes, not just an onlooker for information and debates which are staged and controlled by the institution.

4.6 Conclusion

The data presented and analyzed in this chapter exhibits the discrepancies that can exist between the literal meanings of words uttered and the meaning intended to be conveyed by uttering them during discussions in 'Newsline'. This happens when speakers resort to the use of rhetorical devices such as idioms as shown in examples 2, 11 and 12; imagery in examples 3 and 4, analogy in example 9, code switching in example 10, direct translation from vernacular in example 38 and rhetorical questions in examples 36 and 48, when responding to their

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interlocutors. Such indirectness sensitizes the listeners to the need to infer meaning, which gives rise to implicatures. These instances of indirectness invite hearers to interpret the speaker's intentions by inferring meaning thereby yielding conversational implicatures.

The analysis also reveals that implicatures derive part of their pragmatic sense from contextual elements such as the background information shared by participants. These include the topics that formed the subject matter informing the discussions and time/period. Body language also contributes to implicature. Some utterances, as illustrated in examples 8 and 9 depend on specific contexts, such as the particular topic of discussion, for the kinds of implicatures that can possibly be recovered. Such implicatures are examples of 'particularized implicatures which do require specific contexts' (Levinson, 1983:126). Most of the other implicatures are the generalized conversational implicatures that arise without any special context being necessary.

It is also evident in this chapter that the conversational participants shared the assumption that each one of them was cooperating and being regulated by conversational principles, which they adhere to unconsciously, though this is evident in language. Thus, their contributions are always expected to be adequately informative (Quantity maxim), sincere (Quality maxim), maximally relevant (Relation maxim) and even orderly (Manner maxim), in accordance with the Grice's (1975, 2002) CP and its four maxims.

The analysis from face-to-face interviews shows that information from the discussions is well understood by most viewers of 'Newsline', who also confess that meaning is sometimes

conveyed implicitly. Organization of conversation is also important and may affect meaning

assignment. Hence the need for presenters/hosts to moderate talk shows such as 'Newsline'.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of findings based on investigations of corpus and responses from face-to-face interviews with viewers of selected episodes of 'Newsline'. The conclusions arrived at after data analysis and discussions were also presented. Finally, it gives an outline of recommendations and suggestions made for further studies.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study investigated implicatures using data from KTN's discussion program 'Newsline'. The purpose of the study was to establish the pragmatic mechanisms that underlie interpretation and subsequent recovery of implicatures in discourse from KTN's 'Newsline'. This was in relation to the statement of the problem: that in interpersonal communication, there may be gaps between what a speaker says and the actual message he or she intends to convey by uttering specific words. It was observed that this linguistic phenomenon often leads to misunderstanding. Moreover, the literature review revealed that "the way listeners determine what is said is different, in principle, from the way they work out what is implicated" (Clark, 1996: 142).

The study specifically sought to answer the following questions: one, what implicatures and related aspects context can be derived from KTN's 'Newsline' program? Two, what pragmatic properties of the interpretation process contribute to recovery of implicatures during 'Newsline'? Three, what is the opinion of viewers of 'Newsline' about effectiveness of information

communicated during the program. There were three objectives, as stated earlier, that would enable the researcher to answer these research questions.

With regard to the first objective, that is, to identify and describe implicatures and related aspects of context, the following were the main findings of the study. Participants in 'Newsline' cooperated with each other in the sense that they interpreted utterances and responded appropriately depending on the background assumptions about the shared knowledge or context: their sole purpose was to maintain the talk rather than to antagonize their conversational partners or disrupt the direction of talk. As such, whenever a speaker did not express meaning explicitly but chose to convey information indirectly or through hints, the addressee was immediately alerted to an implicit meaning and the need to negotiate meaning and arrive at a common understanding. Speakers, therefore, made inferences thereby deriving implicatures because of the expectation of genuine cooperation and optimal relevance from their conversational partners. Apart from particularized and generalized conversational implicatures, scalar and conventional implicatures were also observed in 'Newsline' discourse.

On the second objective, that is, to analyze implicatures under Grice's CP and maxims, it was noted that mutual expectation of cooperation and relevance regulated participants' talk such that speakers felt obliged to provide accurate information (Quantity maxim) and to be sincere (Quality maxim). They also had to present information in the most logical and natural sequence or expected order. Besides, speakers had to maintain clarity (Manner maxim) and sustain the relevance of their utterances in the prevailing contexts (Relation maxim). This was revealed during pragmatic interpretations of speakers' meanings as shown in the analysis. The degree of

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adherence to the CP and maxims was notably varied with participants sometimes observing the maxims in a straight forward way, willingly violating maxims or working with more than one maxim at ago. Instances of hedging the Quantity Maxim were also noted when speakers who were presumably lacking confidence or simply lacked accurate information as expected by hearers, chose to only give hints instead of complete information.

Concerning the third objective, which was to establish viewers' opinion about aspects of effective communication such as clarity, rhetorical strategies and relevance during 'Newsline', findings from face-to-face interviews indicate that viewers of 'Newsline' recognized indirectness in communication. They singled out rhetorical devices such use of figurative language and idiomatic expressions within the discourse. This did not hinder effective communication of intended information as far as they were concerned because they inferred meanings. Organization of conversational conduct came into focus though, as viewers suggested that speaking turns should be fairly distributed to enhance objectivity of the message.

5.3 Conclusion

In view of the discussion in chapter four on the data, this study now makes the following conclusions based on the research objectives. The first of which was to identify implicatures and describe related implicature contexts. It can be concluded that conversational implicatures are part and parcel of the discourse in 'Newsline'. The need to infer meaning or derive implicatures is prompted by the cooperative nature of the discussions: speakers rely on hearers not only to decode the meaning of the words uttered but also to muster their shared knowledge about the conversational situation to fill in any information gaps in the utterance itself. That is, interlocutors

apply pragmatic inference to interpret the intentions of the addressees whenever meaning is not explicitly stated (Frawley, 2003). The use of non-literal forms is a common feature of utterances in 'Newsline'. It is evident from the wide use of rhetorical devices such as idiomatic expressions, metaphors, similes, rhetorical questions and analogies within the discourse. This invites hearers to infer meaning/work out implicature on the basis of contextual elements such as shared knowledge of the discussion topic and socio-cultural concerns of the day. Context is significant in interpretation of speaker-intended meanings.

The second objective was to analyze implicatures from the recorded discourse within the Gricean CP and maxims. From the analysis, it can be concluded that it is possible to explain discourse arrangements and speaker meaning using the CP and its maxims. Speakers in 'Newsline' work with the CP and its maxims to various degrees, though unconsciously. The central tenet of the CP, "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 2002: 26) simplified as cooperation, formed the first shared assumption for all the speakers. Since speakers were cooperating, hearers assumed that all the utterances were relevant even when they appeared irrelevant (as when speakers conveyed information implicitly) hence, the extra effort by interlocutors and viewers to make pragmatic inferences. The degree of adherence to the Quality, Quantity and Manner maxims was not only determined by the need to contribute cooperatively and relevantly but also by the context obtaining.

The third objective was to establish opinion of viewers about aspects of effective verbal communication such as clarity of information, rhetorical strategies and relevance during selected

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episodes of 'Newsline'. The study can conclude that the audience at home understood the message since most of them considered the information clear and relevant to the topics discussed. Information was effectively communicated in spite of the fact that some meanings were implicitly conveyed. However, conversation organization norms such as turn taking should be adhered to so as to enhance effectiveness of communication.

The study takes cognizance of the fact that the phenomenon of the CP and its maxims as applied in explaining the pragmatic interpretation of speaker's intentions is a highly psychological activity observable in language and as noted earlier, speakers in 'Newsline' employ them unawares. What they are conscious of is the need to cooperate with their interlocutors and remain relevant to the context. Finally, the study notes that speakers play an important role in assigning meaning in the same way that the audience does in order to convey what the producer of 'Newsline' intends for them to communicate to the target audience. By making inferences based on what is said, the audience is able to fill in the gaps between what was said and what was meant and to ward off any misunderstanding or confusion that would otherwise arise.

5.4 Recommendations

In view of the foregoing, the study recommends the following for improved communication: that when the television producers engage panelists to discuss issues of public interest, early preparation should be encouraged. This would ensure that the discussions are objective and meaningful; speakers should not feel that others dominated the discussions. The presenter can do this by moderating discussions firmly and fairly to ensure, for instance, that participants take their speaking turns fairly and non-literal forms are elaborated for clarity. This is because, as responses

from interviews revealed, organization of conversational conduct can enhance communication as much as linguistic and contextual factors can affect understanding.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

This study has examined the pragmatic mechanisms that underlie interpretation in conversational discourse from KTN's 'Newsline'. It suggests an analysis of conversational norms in similar pragmatic studies. A conversation analysis would show the extent to which meaning assignment can be constrained by conversational organization norms such as turn taking.

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