The Universality of Gricean Interpretation

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1. Introduction

The notion of implicature is now about 23 years old—over 33 if you trace it back to its origins in Grice's paper "Meaning", which emphasizes the importance, even for so-called literal (or "non-natural") meaning, of the speaker's intention in having her communicative intentions recognized. This is a notion that has proven critical to progress observed not only in the field of semantics, which it was originally intended to contribute to, but also in syntax, which it freed from bonds to non-semantic (i.e., non-truth-conditional) meaning, and in the study of language behavior generally (e.g., studies of rhetoric and politeness).

Nonetheless, perceptions of the domain of the principles that Grice described in "Logic and Conversation" are widely varied and quite disparate. My purpose is to show that, first of all, Grice intended a broad rather than a narrow interpretation of conversation relative to possible kinds of language use, and that, strictly speaking, the basis of implicature is the more general Cooperative Principle (CP) rather than the more specific maxims, which are neither culturally prescribed standards, nor mere customs, but more like default instantiations of the CP. I will also argue that Grice saw the relevance of the CP to language use as just the linguistic reflex of its general relevance. He saw it as governing all rational behavior. If it does, we should certainly find it universally applicable with regard to language use, and I know of no genuine counterexamples. Finally, it should figure in the interpretation of language generally, not just clever talk, and indeed, should figure in the interpretation of behavior generally, whether communicative or not. I will suggest that a case can be made that it does just that.

2. Conversation

It seems logical to begin with the narrowest possible interpretation of the domain Grice might have intended for his analysis of implicature. A very large number of writers who claim familiarity with the proposals of "Logic and Conversation" appear to believe that they pertain exclusively to oral communication, and in particular, oral communication that involves two or more individuals exchanging information, that is, what we call casual conversation or small talk. They appear to believe that Grice's analysis is not intended to apply to non-interactive modes of language use, e.g., to the production and interpretation of narrative, expository, persuasive or didactic discourse (including labels and instructions).

Thus, Sperber and Wilson (1986:261), for example, assert that "Grice's theory is put forward as a theory of 'conversation'," going on to say that it has "been taken as a more general theory of verbal communication, and Grice has done nothing to correct that interpretation." Pratt (1981) and Schaubert and Spolsky (1986:116)
assume that the CP and the maxims do not cover situations in which only one person is talking.

Other writers seem to think that the scope of the theory is limited because it does NOT include small talk. Lyons (1977:593) appears to assume that the maxims do not apply to "utterances whose function is something other than that of augmenting the addressee's store of propositional knowledge," and so criticizes them for not relating to the "semantic information contained in everyday language-utterances" which he considers "social and expressive, rather than descriptive." Along similar lines, Stubbs (1989:101) expects different rules for social discourse ("small talk", "just chatting", "phatic communication") than for what he terms transactional discourse.

Despite the presence of the word conversation in the title of Lecture II, it is evident from examining the text that Grice was not referring exclusively to social conversation or small talk. As far as I can tell, Grice uses both conversation (seven tokens, excluding the title), and talk exchange (ten tokens) to refer to the same thing: the purposeful use of natural language. In fact, in one place (1975:49) he equates conversation and communication, and refers to "the goals that are central to conversation/communication." Perhaps more significantly, of the 15 examples of natural language implicature that Grice gives (see Table I), only two strike me as representing small talk particularly (examples a, c about jail, and about whether Smith has a girlfriend), though several (e.g., b, h, j, k, l, and o) are pretty "gossipy", and only the three (examples b, d and l) that involve getting petrol, divulging someone's friend's address in the south of France, and changing the subject when someone referred to as an "old bag" enters the room necessarily involve oral as opposed to written discourse, and interactive as opposed to monologic discourse.

a. He hasn't been to prison yet.

b. There is a garage round the corner.

c. He has been paying a lot of visits to New York.

d. Somewhere in the south of France.

e. Mr. X's command of English is excellent and his attendance at tutorials has been regular.

f. Women are women. War is war.

g. P. It is certain that P. The evidence for P is Q.

h. X is a fine friend.

i. You are the cream in my coffee.

j. He was a little intoxicated.

k. She is probably deceiving him this evening.

l. The weather has been quite delightful. ...

m. I sought to tell my love, love that never told can be.

n. Peccavi.

o. Miss X produced a series of sounds that corresponded closely with the score of 'Home sweet home'.

TABLE I: Examples of particularized conversational implicature from "Logic and Conversation"

Finally, in two places, Grice takes the CP as just a special case of talk exchange.

[The purpose or direction of a talk exchange, as to leave very considerable latitude for conversation. (1975:45)]

In characteristic talk exchanges, the quality of an over-the-wall chat, it is a second-hand should, for the time being, identify rational interests of the other. (G.)

Likewise, despite the ubiquitous reference to assume that Grice meant for his analysis the exclusion of written communication as such. Indeed, three or four of Grice's own examples in the letter of recommendation, Blake's line and the singing critique involve written comment on this fact.

Grice's use of written language example assume that he did not intend his analysis to cover as narrative, exposition, and persuasive literal exchanges of talk. Written language contents irrational behavior in the extreme if they intended addressee or class of addressees.

3. The nature of the maxims

The central mechanisms which drive the CP from the 1957 paper, that recognition of identifying what act the agent performs, a behavior is "such as is required, at the same purpose or direction" of the enterprise in which the notions imply that speaker and hearer are (usually not conscious) of what each other do, Grice described four categories of special difference of it to particular kinds of requirements), both linguistic and non-linguistic domain.

I speak quite deliberately in describing CP. They are not (contra Lycan 1984:75) they don't follow as necessary consequences of additional stipulations. They are not necessary. Rather, they are just particular instantiations of OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, comp all of them. When you can't conform to it, do the best you can.
Finally, in two places, Grice takes the trouble to single out casual conversation as just a special case of talk exchange.

[The purpose or direction of a talk exchange] ... may be so indefinite as to leave very considerable latitude to the participants (as in a casual conversation). (1975:45)

In characteristic talk exchanges, there is a common aim even if, as in an over-the-wall chat, it is a second-order one, namely, that each party should, for the time being, identify himself with the transitory conversational interests of the other. (Grice 1975:48; Italics mine)

Likewise, despite the ubiquitous references to “talk exchanges”, there is no reason to assume that Grice meant for his analysis to be an account of oral discourse to the exclusion of written communication as some writers (e.g. Pratt 1981) assume. Indeed, three or four of Grice’s own examples (examples e, m, n, o in Table I), the letter of recommendation, Blake’s line, the telegram from the British General, and the singing critique involved written language, and are described without any comment on this fact.

Grice’s use of written language examples also indicates that it is a mistake to assume that he did not intend his analysis to apply to non-interactive discourse (such as narrative, exposition, and persuasive speech) on the grounds that they are not literally exchanges of talk. Written language and monologues would be artifacts of irrational behavior in the extreme if they did not presuppose the existence of some intended addressee or class of addressees, or at least that there would be some such.

3. The nature of the maxims

The central mechanisms which drive the Gricean inference engine are the notion, from the 1957 paper, that recognition of an agent’s intention is part and parcel of identifying what act the agent performs, and the CP, the idea that rational language behavior is “such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction” of the enterprise in which the agent is engaged. Together these notions imply that speaker and hearer are constantly involved in the interpretation (usually not conscious) of what each other’s goals must be in saying what they say. Grice described four categories of special cases of this principle (i.e., applications of it to particular kinds of requirements), and gave examples of their application in both linguistic and non-linguistic domains.

I speak quite deliberately in describing the “maxims” as just special cases of the CP. They are not (contra Lycan 1984:75) logical consequences (corollaries), because they don’t follow as necessary consequences in all possible worlds. They are not additional stipulations. They are not necessarily an exhaustive list of special cases. Rather, they are just particular instantiations of ways of being cooperative; ALL OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, compliance with the CP involves conforming to all of them. When you can’t conform to all of them, as Grice discusses, you do the best you can.
It is important to understand that the maxims do not constitute the CP either, as some writers seem to think. On the contrary, the CP is a very general principle which defines, depending on the values shared by the participants, any number of maxims instantiating ways of conforming to it. Thus, Sperber and Wilson’s complaint [that Grice might need more than nine maxims] is beside the point:

Are there just the nine maxims Grice mentioned, or might others be needed, as he suggested himself? It might be tempting to add a maxim every time a regularity has to be accounted for. However this would be entirely ad hoc. (Sperber and Wilson 1980:36)

Equally important, the maxims are not rules or norms that are taught or learned, as some writers appear to believe. Thus, Pratt (1981:11) refers to “Grice’s rules”, and Brown and Yule (1983:32) describe the maxims as “norms speakers operate with” and Blum-Kulka and Lehtinen refer to them as “norms of conversation” (1988:174) and “normative rules of speech behavior” (1986:175). Allwood et al. (1977:37) refer to Grice (1975) as providing an account of “communicative norms which aim at making the exchange of information in a speech situation as effective as possible.” Similarly, Ruhl (1989:96) refers to the maxims as “normative rules of appropriateness, adequacy, and relevance.” Sperber and Wilson (1986:162) characterize Grice’s principle and maxims as “norms which communicators and audience must know in order to communicate adequately,”3 in contrast to their own principle, which they describe as a generalization about communication.4

Now, regardless of whether norms is understood as referring to prescriptive rules (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:32) or to customs (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:83), norms are not what Grice was referring to. It is really unfortunate that he articulated the maxims as imperatives, because there is nothing in Grice (1975) to suggest that he thought of them as statistical principles that people tend to conform to, or as ideals that people aspire to conform to. Rather, they are described as governing the communicative acts of all (sane) communicators.

That the maxims are just obvious ways of BEING cooperative, and not rules we have to learn, suggests that they may only come to our attention when we encounter speech which is hard to reconcile with the assumption that they are being observed, and this seems to be the case. Sperber and Wilson’s Principle of Relevance can be seen as not being effectively distinct from the claim, consistent with the CP, that the maxim of relevance is always assumed to be observed.

Perhaps I can illustrate the tenacity with which we assume that speakers observe the CP, and in particular the maxim of relevance, by examining what we might make of an apparently irrelevant speech act. Suppose a stranger were to approach me in a public place, and after introducing himself, ask the time. I would surely think this very strange, and wonder why he introduced himself.

1. Excuse me, I’m Sterling Ryznich. Can you tell me the time?

Why did he think I would care who he was, or only when we come across an utterance where we notice that we expect every utterance to be the participant’s goal which is at least mutually hearder assumes that the speaker is abiding by interpreting the speaker’s behavior as containing what propositions must be assumed in order to conform with the CP and the maxims.

Since the speaker (as a speaker-hearer society) expects the hearer to adopt this strategy, the speaker is free to exploit this fact, and speak interpreted according to it. If the speaker’s goal is to construct a sequence of inferences to achieve a goal.

In the case of (1), we have two choices: either irrelevant to any purpose of speaker; consider the stranger truly deranged, or assume stranger’s identity is relevant. Maybe it is an alibi (I’d certainly remember bizarre). He’s trying to terrorize me psychologically, as he said what he said. On the other hand, may be to me. Maybe he (mistakenly) thinks I am. Maybe he thinks he is such a celebrity that me again, I would want to know whom I know the time, but believes that the injustice, inhibit me from answering him unless he is a stranger. And so on. Only our imagination.

4. Purposes and rationality

One further point seems to require discarding by purpose and goal in “Logic and Con- than the intended referent of conversation” apparently been to take a fairly liberal approach numerous hedges and apologies (e.g.,, pp. and arriving, logically, at very narrow intr. (and Pratt and many others) seem to think exchanges which Grice refers to must be knowledge-oriented nature, like understanding out how to put together a pump.
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Can you tell me the time?

Why did he think I would care who he was if all he wanted was the time? It is
only when we come across an utterance whose relevance is not easily inferred that
we notice that we expect every utterance in a discourse to be relevant to some
participant’s goal which is at least mutually accessible, if not truly shared. If the
hearer assumes that the speaker is abiding by the CP, he must adopt a strategy of
interpreting the speaker’s behavior as conforming to the maxims, and considering
what propositions must be assumed in order to make that behavior patently in
conformity with the CP and the maxims.

Since the speaker (as a speaker-hearer of a natural language spoken in a society)
expects the hearer to adopt this strategy for interpreting speech behavior, the
speaker is free to exploit this fact, and speak in such a way that his behavior must be
interpreted according to it. If the speaker’s remark seems irrelevant, the hearer will
seek to construct a sequence of inferences which make it relevant to some assumed
goal.

In the case of (1), we have two choices: either assume that the introduction is
truly irrelevant to any purpose of speaker or hearer, in which case we should con-
consider the stranger truly deranged, or assume that there is some goal to which the
stranger’s identity is relevant. Maybe it is a goal of his: maybe he wants to use me
as an alibi (I’d certainly remember bizarre behavior like uttering (1)). Maybe he
is trying to terrorize me psychologically, and just wants me to worry about why he
said what he said. On the other hand, maybe it is relevant to some goal he impu-
tes to me. Maybe he (mistakenly) thinks I am someone who was supposed to meet him.
Maybe he thinks he is such a celebrity that even though he never expects to see
me again, I would want to know whom I had befriended. Maybe he just wants to
know the time, but believes that the injunction against speaking to strangers will
inhibit me from answering him unless he introduces himself, making him no longer
a stranger. And so on. Only our imagination limits the goals, and beliefs about
my goals, that we might attribute to the speaker. The point is that if we reject the
assumption that the speaker is irrational, then we must at the very least assume
that there is some goal to which his introduction is relevant in the context of asking
the time, even if we can’t imagine what it is.

4. Purposes and rationality

One further point seems to require discussion here. What Grice intended to refer
to by purpose and goal in “Logic and Conversation” is apparently even less clear
than the intended referent of conversation and talk exchange. Others’ strategy has
apparently been to take a fairly literal approach to both questions, investing Grice’s
numerous hedges and apologies (e.g., pp. 47, 49) with a great deal of significance,
and arriving, logically, at very narrow interpretations. Thus, Sperber and Wilson
(and Pratt and many others) seem to think that the purposes of participants in talk
exchanges which Grice refers to must be mutual, cooperative purposes, and of a
knowledge-oriented nature, like understanding the economy of Rumania, or figuring
out how to put together a pump.
Grice assumes that communication must have ‘a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction’ (Grice 1975:45) over and above the aim of achieving successful communication. We do not mean to deny that this is very often true, particularly in conversation. In a talk exchange, a seminar or a book, there may well be a mutually manifest purpose or direction. (Sperber and Wilson 1986:161-162)

Now, I have read “Logic and Conversation” a number of times over the last 23 years. Since I have been unable to arrive at a coherent, consistent literal interpretation, my strategy has been to assume that Grice’s ability to say clearly what he meant just did not match his vision, and therefore, to interpret problematic terms in such a way as to arrive at a consistent and explanatory theory. To me, this beats accepting either of the alternative conclusions: that Grice’s goal (and thus the scope of his analysis) must be very narrow, or that he was short-sighted (to put it politely), and simply did not think through the consequences of the propositions constituting his analysis. I do not claim credit for the interpretation I support here, since I think it is at least implicit in what he wrote, and since I am sure I have been influenced in its favor by others, but if it should turn out to be not what Grice meant at all, I should still prefer it.

Grice indicates at several points that he sees discourse as purposive behavior. That is, he presumes that participants have goals in participating (apparently since otherwise they wouldn’t be participating). This is the gist of the first passage referring to purposes:

Each participant recognizes in [talk exchanges], to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction. (Grice 1975:45)

Grice is very vague about these purposes: how many there are, how shared they have to be. With twenty years of hindsight, and close attention to this question, we can say that the purposes are first of all not unique. Conversants typically have hierarchically embedded goals. Taking the most transparent sort of case, Martha may say “X” to George, with the immediate goal that George understand that Martha has said “X”, and mean some transparently derivable proposition p by it, so that George will believe that Martha believes that p is true, so that George, respecting Martha’s opinion, will come to believe p himself. Presumably Martha has a reason for wanting George to believe p (another goal), and probably reasons (and goals) behind that. If we were to assume that only one of these was “Martha’s goal”, I don’t know what grounds we could use to decide which one it was, that is, which was the unique correct level of analysis.

Second, goals are not so much shared or mutual, as they are mutually modelled (Cohen and Perauld 1979, Cohen and Levesque 1980, Green 1982, Appelt 1985, Cohen and Levesque 1990, Perauld 1990): for George to understand Martha’s utterance of “X” to George, George must have beliefs about Martha which include Martha’s purpose in uttering “X” to George, which, in turn includes Martha’s model of George, including George’s model of Martha, etc.6 Grice’s comment (1975:48) that “in characteristic talk-exchanges, there is no order one, namely, that each party should inform the transitory conversational interests of the other party, nor is it a question of the CP exchanges that the CP governs. The participants, agendas, but given Grice’s (1957) character of the conversation to occur, for each participant, each must make assumptions about the ontological goals. This is the sense in which when the assumptions participants make this affects non-trivial beliefs about each other’s purposes”, precisely because of the same goals.

Finally, and I think Grice’s recognition of the passage on p. 45, and from remarks thereon, exchange may be directing her behavior toward, and these may be independent of each other.

This purpose or direction may be first person’s own personal proposal of a question for discussion: it may be fairly definite, or it may have considerable latitude to the participant. (1975:45)

The participants have some common agenda; their ultimate aims may; or they may be conflict— (1975:48)

Thus, S may have as a goal to get H to understand the proposal of a question for discussion: it may be fairly definite, or it may have considerable latitude to the participant. (1975:45)

Grice’s references to discourse as purposes, and how these purposes relate to the rationality of human behavior. analogues in three separate places on pp. 45-48 invites us to understand the CP as some level of rational intentional behavior generally.

Our last exchanges of these paragraphs are based on connected remarks, and would not be understood characteristically, to some degree at least. Each exchange of these paragraphs are based on connected remarks, and would not be understood characteristically, to some degree at least. Each participant recognizes in, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes... at each stage, SOM...
must have 'a common purpose or set accepted direction' (Grice 1975:45) for successful communication. We do, therefore, particularly in conversation. (book, there may well be a mutually
acceptor or Wilson 1986:161-162)

"in characteristic talk-exchanges, there is a common aim even if...it is a second-order one, namely, that each party should, for the time being, identify himself with the transitory conversational interests of the other" can be interpreted along these lines. The idea that participants will at least temporarily identify with each other's interests, i.e., infer what each other is trying to do, is what allows quarrels, monologues, etc. (pace Pratt and Schaub and Spolsky9) to be included in the talk exchanges that the CP governs. The participants may have different values and agendas, but given Grice's (1957) characterization of conventional meaning, for any communication to occur, for each partici-pant to understand what the other means, each must make assumptions about the other's goals, at least the low-level communicative goals. This is the sense in which participants recognize a "common goal". When the assumptions participants make about each other's goals are incorrect, and this affects non-trivial beliefs about each other, we say they are "talking at cross-purposes", precisely because of the mismatch between actual goals and attributed goals.

Finally, and I think Grice's recognition of this is clear from the continuation of the passage on p. 45, and from remarks three pages later, each individual in a talk exchange may be directing her behavior towards a multitude of goals (or purposes), and these may be independent of each other, or hierarchically linked.

This purpose or direction may be fixed from the start (e.g., by an initial proposal of a question for discussion), or it may evolve during the exchange; it may be fairly definite, or it may be so indefinite as to leave very considerable latitude to the participants (as in a casual conversation). (1975:45)

The participants have some common immediate aim, like getting a car fixed; their ultimate aims may, of course, be independent and even in conflict— (1975:48)

Thus, S may have as a goal to get H not to vote for Sun. Foghorn, but she may also intend to maintain good social relations with H, and therefore intend to flatter H (or boost his positive face) in order to get H to believe that not voting for Foghorn was his own idea.

Grice's references to discourse as purposeful behavior, are regularly linked with references to the rationality of human beings, and it is this fact, along with the analogues in three separate places on pp. 47 and 48 to non-linguistic behavior, that invites us to understand the CP as something that governs not just discourse, but rational intentional behavior generally.10

Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes... at each stage, SOME possible conversational moves are excluded as conversationally unsuitable. (1975:45)
one of my avowed aims is to see talking as a special case or variety of
purposive, indeed rational, behavior (1975:47)

one feels that the talker who is irrelevant or obscure has primarily let
down not his audience but himself. (1975:48-49)

Insofar as the first and last passages are equally true of agents and interactants gen-
erally, not just talkers, they support the interpretation of the CP and the attendant
maxims as descriptive of and relevant for interactive behavior generally, not just
discourse.

The discussion of example (1) indicated that interpreting the communicative
behavior of other human beings as intentional, and relevant, necessary, and sufficient
for the achievement of a presumed goal seems to be unavoidable—maybe we are born
to do it. This is equally true of behavior that isn’t intended as communicative. For
example, Morgan (1978) described a situation where someone is standing at a door,
gripping a key that is inserted in a lock, and making partial rotary motions with
his wrist and forearm. It is very difficult to describe this without prejudicing the
interpretation, but that only strengthens my point: no matter how I describe it, if
we imagine it, we impute some purpose to the person, and it involves the key and the
lock—probably using the key to lock or unlock the door, but it could be something
less usual, like an isometric exercise. My point is that we do not seem to entertain
the idea that he might be doing it for no reason. That alternative, along with the
possibility that he isn’t even doing it, that it’s just happening to him, is one that
I think we are very reluctant to accept without any independent support, such as
knowledge that people do that sort of thing as a nervous habit, like drumming their
fingers on a hard surface, or playing with their hair.

The understanding of social meanings in casual conversation may work similarly.
When Martha asks how George is, or states the obvious to make social conversation,
it isn’t so much the propositional content of what Martha says that informs George
and contributes to a mutually accessible goal. Rather, it is the fact that Martha
has gone to the trouble to ask the question, or evoke the happy or commiserable
thought, that is interpreted as intentional behavior. Interpreting it as intentional,
George unavoidably tries to infer why it was intended (e.g., to cause him to believe
that Martha cares enough to go to the trouble to make small talk). As with other
sorts of meaning, such inferences about intentions are intended to be made. Thus,
the sharing of “social and expressive” information in small talk seems to be governed
by the same general principles of interpretation that govern the interpretation of
other intentional and communicative acts.

I hope I have made it clear that “cooperative” in the sense of the Cooperate
Principle does not entail accepting your interlocutor’s goals as your own and
helping her to achieve them. Rather, it is most usefully understood as meaning no
more—and no less—than “willing to try to understand the interaction from the other
participants’ point of view”, i.e., to try to understand what their goals and assump-
tions must be.

5. The geographical generality of Grice’s maxims

In talking about the observance of the CP it implies that he takes it and the maxims
in human society. Grice does not explicitly discuss the maxims, but if they are to explain
discourse, they have to be universal (barring societal differences a consequence of some property of
just of familiar English-speaking cultures, and not just instantiations in a context of the CP).
The fact of the maxims was not universal would require the Principle was universal.

However, attempts to show that one or another society usually end up showing something
less than universal to the maxims is constrained by cultural variation. For example (as
indirect or noncommittal (to protect one’s status), to an information elite, protecting the “face
from making personal references or other (1975:49). Thus, being cooperative in making
the stage at which it occurs” to accomplish such principles as well, such as:

A. Assigning responsibility for a state of affairs undesirable is counterproductive.
B. Making the addressee diselected uncomfortable to (uncomfortable) is counterproductive.
C. Maintaining social advantage is usual

What counts as an undesirable state of affairs and as constituting social advantage, are
cultural.

Thus, cultures can be expected to differ in the behavioral and matters of avoiding
to interact with these, since the behavioral and matters of avoiding to interact with these, since the behavioral
regarding to status are well-known to be defined. I would astonish me to find a culture in
observed, and required for the interpretation of other things being equal, routinely explored.

6. The behavioral generality of the CP

If the CP and the maxims are used as principles defining rational behavior, or the
interactions of all sorts, not just “clever”
5. The geographical generality of Grice’s principles

In talking about the observance of the CP as rational, Grice (1975: 47, 49) implies that he takes it and the maxims to represent values universally assumed in human society. Grice does not explicitly claim universality for the CP and the maxims, but if they are to explain discourse phenomena as a function of rationality, they have to be universal (barring societies of irrational beings), and hence potentially a consequence of some property of human nature or human society, and not just of familiar English-speaking cultures. Consequently, to the maxims are only instantiations in the context of the CP, and not corollaries, discovering that one of the maxims was not universal would not invalidate claims that the Cooperative Principle was universal.

However, attempts to show that one or other of the maxims is not valid in some society usually end up showing something a little different, namely that conforming to the maxims is constrained by cultural values, such as deferring to superiors, being indirect or noncommittal (to protect one’s “face” (or cover one’s ass)), belonging to an information elite, protecting the “negative face” of others (e.g., by refraining from making personal references or otherwise imposing, and from assigning blame, etc.). Thus, being cooperative in making one’s contribution “such as is required at the stage at which it occurs” to accomplish one’s goal(s) may involve following other principles as well, such as:

A. Assigning responsibility for a state of affairs that could be construed as undesirable is counterproductive.
B. Making the addressee disinclined to cooperate (e.g., by making the addressee uncomfortable) is counterproductive.
C. Maintaining social advantage is useful.

What counts as an undesirable state of affairs, as making someone uncomfortable, and as constituting social advantage, are of course defined relative to a particular culture.

Thus, cultures can be expected to differ in the values they assign to various ways of being cooperative, and matters of avoiding offense and losing face can be expected to interact with these, since the behaviors that count as offensive and as contributing to status are well-known to be defined differently in different cultures. But it would astonish me to find a culture in which Grice’s maxims were not routinely observed, and required for the interpretation of communicative intentions, and all other things being equal, routinely exploited to create implicature.

6. The behavioral generality of the principles

If the CP and the maxims are understood as principles of rational behavior—or as principles defining rational behavior, one would expect to find them involved in interactions of all sorts, not just “clever” uses of language, like the gossipy or catty uses Grice cites (e.g., examples a, d, e, l, n, o in Table 1). To begin with, the case
Nunberg (1978) argued (cf. also discussion in Green (1989)) that the maxims and the CP are involved in a process paralleling conversational implicature in determining the reference in context of uses of ordinary nouns and verbs such as newspaper or run, and proper names, as in (3-5).

3. Rupert bought another newspaper.
4a. Ronnie is running.
4b. The engine is running.
4c. The program is running.
4d. The electricity is running.
5a. The population of Chicago is over 5 million.
5b. Chicago beat Dallas 44-0.

Nunberg argues that such terms are not in general lexically ambiguous, but vague, and their interpretation in context is a matter of inferring first, what class of referents the speaker takes to be normal for that term in that speech situation (i.e., making assumptions about the hearer’s beliefs about the world), and second, what derivative function relates the referent she intends to that class. Understanding the contextually indicated reference of metaphors and other extensions of “literal” meaning, for example, a spark of anger, to sail a report across a desk, follows as a particular subcase, under Nunberg’s analysis (Nunberg 1988).

Whether or not Grice realized the variety of examples that could be explained by analyses along the lines he suggested for and and or is not really important, and whether one should characterize interpretation of non-obvious purposive behavior generally as implicature seems to me an arid question of nomenclature, not a question of analysis.

In any case, a further consequence of the CP, and of the maxim “Be relevant” in particular, that Grice never discussed, is that it provides the basis for a natural account of the problem of the coherence of texts, that is, of elucidating what it is that makes (6) a plausible discourse, in contrast to (7), which appears to be just a string of sentences related only by temporal or spatial order.

6. The following days were unlike any others.

7. The sun climbed higher, and with it the heat. There was nothing Lucy liked so much as the cool of the shade of the trees. One evening, after dark, she crept up to the gate, but swing and tug as she might, she could not open it.

If we assume that the underlying organization of the passage is an assumption that the sequence of sentences in order to achieve some goal in accordance with the maxim of the contrary, that each sentence plan to achieve that goal and conforms to the plan intended to say something necessary and true about the world and their individual relations to the various enterprises understood to be involved.

Coherence, in this approach, depends on the way in which the speaker’s plan with reasonable certainty, but not with absolute certainty, and their individual relations to the various enterprises understood to be involved.

There are, of course, all sorts of other ways in which participants in talk exchanges, and these implicatures (1975:47).

The CP would seem to entail politeness toward the speaker are essential to the social and Levinson (1987) recognize a number of “conversational maxims” (Quantity, Quality, Author, Manner) in the service of politeness strategies.

I want to suggest that more generally, we can say that non-polite, impolite act must be attributed to the speaker in accordance with the CP and the various practice in using politeness to refer to what
(Belnap and Sperber and Wilson (1986)) that the
manifestations in general involves the same mecha-
nism. Though Grice came close to recognizing this in
his original formulation, the notion of implicature
as involved in examples like

6. The following days were unlike any that had gone before. There
wasn't a man on the ranch who didn't know of Saturday's race and
the conditions under which it would be run. They gave any excuses
to get near the black stallion's corral. [Walter Farley, The Black
Stallion, p. 199. New York: Random House (1953)]

7. The sun climbed higher, and with its ascent the desert changed.
There was nothing Lucy liked so much as the smell and feel of air.
The one evening, after dark, she crept away and tried to open the first
gate, but swing and tug as she might she could not budge the pin.11

If we assume that the underlying organizational principle for discourse is simply the
assumption that the sequence of sentences at issue is produced by an individual
in order to achieve some goal in accordance with the CP, then it follows, given no
indication to the contrary, that each sentence is uttered in the execution of some
plan to achieve that goal and conforms to the maxims that instantiate the CP, and is
thus intended to say something necessary, true, and relevant to accomplishing that
goal. Then, a coherent text is one where the interpreter can readily reconstruct the
speaker's plan with reasonable certainty, by inferring relations among the sentences,
and their individual relations to the various subgoals in the inferred plan for the
enterprise or enterprises understood to be at hand.

Coherence, in this approach, depends not on properties of the text components
themselves, either individually or in relation to each other, but rather, on how great
an effort is required to construct a reasonable plan to attribute to the text-producer in
producing the text. This in turn depends on how hard or easy it is to take each
sentence as representing a true, necessary, and relevant contribution to that plan.

interpreted the CP and the attendant maxims as constituting a theory of informative
behavior, which they see as generally contrasting and/or conflicting with principles
governing politeness, apparently assuming that the goals of being polite and being
informative tend to conflict. Grice himself implies that “Be polite” ranks as a maxim
of the CP along with Quantity, Relevance, etc.:

There are, of course, all sorts of other maxims (aesthetic, social, or moral
in character), such as “Be polite”, that are also normally observed by par-
ticipants in talk exchanges, and these may also generate nonconventional
implicatures. (1975:47)

The CP would seem to entail politeness whenever the addressee's positive feelings
toward the speaker are essential to the speaker's accomplishing her goals. Brown
and Levinson (1987) recognize a number of ways in which what they call Grice's
“conversational maxims” (Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner) are exploited
in the service of politeness strategies.

I want to suggest that more generally, a large measure of what makes any
linguistic act polite must be attributed to the assumption that participants are acting
in accordance with the CP and the various maxims. I follow Brown and Levinson's
practice in using politeness to refer to whatever means are employed to display con-

...
sideration for one's addressee's feelings (or face), regardless of the social distance between the speaker and addressee. Insofar as being polite, on this interpretation, involves a wide variety of strategies depending on estimates of the social distance between speaker and addressee, the relative social status of speaker and addressee, and the extent to which the act contemplated is considered to be an imposition in the culture which speaker and addressee are members of, when I refer to "a politeness maxim", I will have in mind something like maxim B above.

Politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) is trade in a commodity they call face. FACE is defined as consisting of two components, first, the freedom to act unimpeded (negative face) and second, the satisfaction of having one's values approved of (positive face) (Brown and Levinson 1978:67). To engage in normal interaction is to risk losing face, since being asked to do something implies disapproval of your not having done it already, and puts pressure on you to act in a certain way. Similarly, telling someone something implies that they did not know it already, and drawing attention to that ignorance threatens the face of the addressee, since it may amount to implicit criticism of their values and choices. Just talking to someone constitutes something of an imposition on their time.

Since face is defined in terms of approval by others, and absence of interference from others, maintaining face requires the cooperation of others, at least insofar as it requires that they show approval and refrain from acts that would constrain one's own activity. Since threatening the face of the addressee is likely to make him less willing to cooperate with the speaker in maintaining her face, and in any other goals he imputes to her, one would expect all enterprises which require cooperative interactions to involve the assumption that interactants are guided by the CP. Thus, interactants trade in face, paying face whenever in the course of accomplishing their goals, they must perform a face-threatening act such as conveying information that may be interpreted as implying a criticism, or making a request for goods or services, or even for the time that it takes to share information.

The supposed conflict between the "conversational" maxims and a politeness maxim is assumed to be obvious insofar as it is assumed to be common knowledge that it is impolite to be direct about certain things: making critical remarks, asking personal questions, bossing people about. But observed conflicts are between two kinds of goals: those that have to do directly with sharing information and inducing action, and those that have to do with preserving or enhancing the social status quo, by preserving or enhancing one's own "face" or that of one's addressee. Conflict between these goals is not a necessary consequence of anything; learning something from someone does not ENTAIL feeling threatened by that knowledge. Listening to someone is not a waste of time if you profit by it. Indeed, attaining goals that involve sharing information or inducing action regularly depends on success in keeping the addressee happy and cooperative by maintaining his face. Consequently, making one's contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs will involve whatever is necessary to secure the cooperation of the addressee (cf. Maxim B). Frequently this will involve satisfying face wants, and avoiding threats to the face of the addressee. Thus, Maxim B, and such submaxims as "Don't impose", "Offer options", and "Make the addressee feel good", follow from the CP in the same way that "Be brief" and "Be orderly" do. The contribution "such as is required, at the proper purpose or direction of the talk exchange is. At the same time, politeness displays concern, and wants concerning the relationship between the move--relatively drastic in Brown and Levinson (1978:65)--of going off-record by implicating the addressee. The relation between being polite and regulated by the CP, not one of antagonism, on the order of "Encourage cooperativeness."

We can examine a couple of cases as a way to a politeness strategy (making the addressee fed gesture, forms, such as formal second person pronominal affixes on nouns and verbs, as in Japanese) use of deferential forms indicates the speaker or bystander; it is customary to use them, and it is expected to show deference, for example. Consequently, they are typically employed in high addressee's ego, by explicitly acknowledging the face threat by implying that since the addressee's reaction to the speaker, the speaker is not in a high reaction from the addressee. Here, it is possibly comparatively obscure manner of face threat by implying that since the addressee's reaction to the speaker, the speaker is not in a high reaction from the addressee. Here, it is possibly comparatively obscure manner of politeness effect. As one might expect, to exploit this rich system in sarcasm and implication that the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, or that it should change to the relation in English- speaking cultures, status in an intimate relationship (e.g. insurance salesmen) positive politeness tactics to imply that the speaker is asking questions about the addressee's family and "you tonight? And how is Mr. Green?" to themselves at the beginning of the interaction, speaking as if you should know who they are and what politeness behavior.

Avoiding imposing by employing humble speech also amounts to performing a strategy which also involves an implicature, according to which the speaker took the trouble to go through the addressee's face. Furthermore, as Lakoff and Lakoff say, "Don't impose" entails "Don't waste time", being considered as being be considered by conforming to all of them.

Finally, a third strategy consists of going obliquely the opinions and wants that the
way that "Be brief" and "Be orderly" do. They are additional ways of making your 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 1975:45).

At the same time, politeness displays convey information about the speaker's beliefs and wants concerning the relationship between speaker and addressee, and consequently, implicature is a key component in a number of politeness strategies, not just the move–relatively drastic in Brown and Levinson's hierarchy (Brown and Levinson 1978:65)–of going off-record by implicating rather than speaking in a more direct fashion. The relation between being polite and being informative is one of symbiosis regulated by the CP, not one of antagonism between the CP and a politeness maxim on the order of "Encourage cooperativeness".

We can examine a couple of cases as illustration. A common positive politeness strategy (making the addressee feel good) involves the use of special deferential forms, such as formal second person pronouns in German and Spanish, and deferential affixes on nouns and verbs, as in Japanese and Korean. By convention, the use of deferential forms indicates the speaker's respect for the addressee, referent, or bystander; it is customary to use them when addressing a person to whom one is expected to show deference, for example, teachers, parents, grandparents. Consequently, they are typically employed 1) to mitigate face threat by feeding the addressee's ego, by explicitly acknowledging his or her superior status, or 2) to minimize face threat by implying that since the addressee is so superior in status and authority to the speaker, the speaker is not in a position to demand or force any action or reaction from the addressee. Here, it is particularly implicatures from the formal, possibly comparatively obscure manner of speech that create the intended positive politeness effect. As one might expect, speakers of Korean and Japanese further exploit this rich system in sarcasm and in switching levels of honorific implication to implicate that the relationship between the speaker and the addressee has changed, or that it should change to the relation implied by the honorific morphemes. Similarly, in English-speaking cultures, strangers who want to reserve the privileges of an intimate relationship (e.g. insurance salesmen and telephone solicitors) often use positive politeness tactics to imply that that relation already exists, asking personal questions about the addressee's family and state of mind (Good evening. How are you tonight? And how is Mr. Green?). Often telephone solicitors don't identify themselves at the beginning of the interaction, and address you by your first name, speaking as if you should know who they are and reciprocate with intimate, positive politeness behavior.

Avoiding imposing by employing hedges and euphemism and conventional indirect speech also amounts to performing a linguistic act in a particular way. Thus it also involves an implicature, according to the maxim of manner, from the fact that the speaker took the trouble to go through the motions of attempting to protect the addressee's face. Furthermore, as Lakoff (1973:305) pointed out, insofar as "Don't impose" entails "Don't waste time", being polite according to this strategy entails being considerate by conforming to all of the so-called informativeness maxims.

Finally, a third strategy consists of going off-record and implicating even more obliquely the opinions and wants that the speaker would like to convey without the
threat to the addressee’s face that direct expression might imply. Going off-record involves just hinting at what you want or think, for example, saying I wish I didn’t have to walk home instead of asking for a ride, or saying That style is also available in a size 14 instead of saying You’ll split the seams of that size 12 if you try to put it on. Both the politeness aspect of hints and the communicative aspect work the same way as such politeness formulae as hedges: the content intended to be communicated must be inferred via the assumption that what was said is relevant to salient concerns; its politeness value is a function of the recognition of the fact that direct expression was intentionally avoided.

My point has been that the basic principles of Gricean inference are universal, and far from being specific to particular kinds of language use, are not even specific to language, but rather are part of the human condition; people of all cultures cannot help interpreting each other’s actions in terms of a background assumption that the actions are rational according to the CP and whatever “maxims” follow from it IN THAT CONTEXT. I have tried to show that this does not preclude cultural differences on a grand scale. I claim that such differences are not random or arbitrary, but follow in a principled way from cultural differences in values. Because of the nature of the basic principles, it follows that they develop (as opposed to being learned) in all individuals who understand the rest of their species to be goal-directed planning organisms that act autonomously. Values, of course, have to be learned. Sometimes they have to be taught. And there is apparently a lot of individual variation in how well they are learned. Individuals also differ in their ability to correctly classify situations. And only a few may excel in developing a repertoire of techniques for balancing conflicts among goals and values—this is a fine art.

I would like to conclude by suggesting that one of the major values of implicature and exploitation of the CP in general13 is that it allows us to mean what we say at a number of different levels, and that as speakers and hearers, it is a source of enjoyment to do so. The typical implicature (I exclude sarcasm as a very special case) involves a more or less literal meaning of what is said. When you say It’s cold in here to get someone to do something about it, you do mean that it’s cold where you are. You wouldn’t say it if you thought it was false. The typical implicature also involves a chain of inferences leading to the intended understanding; in this case: ‘I’d like you to do something to make it warmer’. And typically, the fact that there is a difference between what was said literally and what was intended to be conveyed is also significant, and intended to be understood: ‘I have spoken in this oblique fashion out of consideration for your feelings’—an inference involving the manner maxim.

Verbal art is the most obvious example—pun’s and higher rhetorical figures such as metaphor. The sign that says “Centipede Crossing: 100 feet” is funny/satisfying/irritating because it is literally true on two interpretations. It is deliberately ambiguous, and you’re supposed to recognize that it is and that you are supposed to recognize that.

Political art, both in the sense of persuasive rhetoric and in the sense of diplomacy, including being diplomatic generally, involves saying things in such a way that they will be interpreted in different-same audience (Myers 1984). Yasir Arafat in 1988 is a good example of this, except in the art of diplomacy involves the art of research for the intentions behind intentions.

My final example involves graphic art and the way something is represented in visual euphoric demonstrations following the occupation of West Germany, the following sign was designed:

\[\text{WIEDERVERB} \text{\textunderscore} \text{\textunderbrace{\text{GESCHADE}}} \text{WIEDERVERB} \text{\textunderscore} \text{\textunderbrace{\text{GESCHADE}}}\]

Nothing I can do with my vocal apparatus is as persuasive as essence of this sign. To understand its meaning between the token of ‘reunification’ (Wiedervereinigung in roman capitals and the token in brown Roman, komplex (gegen) old-style, Third Reichian, brown capital style reunification, involving the environment of “Reds”—or on another reading, the Socialists—and to recognize the different typestyles and other conventions recognize them, and attribute significance, in a certain way it is, and not some other way, and for those reasons, and intended to recognize the logic of “Logic and Conversation”, and of

The spirit of Grice’s theory is that being goal-directed and is correctly interpreted, is intended to be so interpreted. The fact that Grice is not diminish its explanatory power.

FOOTNOTES

1 Three other expressions, natural language counterparts occur in the introductory pages, system, as opposed to utterances in a language, and conversation to refer to.

2 Stubbs (1983:95) may recognize this as a case of co-operativeness, but he does not discuss how it might be related to the more general prin
expression might imply. Going off-record think, for example, saying I wish I didn’t side, or saying That style is also available the seams of that size 13 if you try to say this and the communicative aspect work as hedges: the content intended to be assumed that what was said is relevant a function of the recognition of the fact avoided.

Principles of Gricean inference are universal, uses of language use, are not even specific human condition; people of all cultures use in terms of a background assumption CP and whatever “maxims” followed to show that this does not preclude in that such differences are not random or an cultural differences in values. Because allows that they develop (as opposed to understand the rest of their species to be autonomously. Values, of course, have to taught. And there is apparently a lot of learned. Individuals also differ in their and only a few may excel in developing a facts among goals and values—this is a fine that one of the major values of implicature is that it allows us to mean what we say is speakers and hearers, it is a source of (I exclude sarcasm as a very special of what is said. When you say It’s cold out it, you do mean that it’s cold where it was false. The typical implicature that to the intended understanding; in this make it warmer. And typically, the fact as said literally and what was intended intended to be understood: I have spoken for your feelings—an inference involving puns and higher rhetorical figures such as Crossing-100 feet” is funny/satisfying/ir- interpretations. It is deliberately am- that it is and that you are supposed to

ive rhetoric and in the sense of diplomacy, involves saying things in such a way that they will be interpreted in different-favorable-ways by different groups in the same audience (Myers 1984). Yasser Arafat’s ambiguous denunciation of terrorism in 1988 is a good example of this, except that it didn’t fool anybody. Consequently, the art of diplomacy involves the art of minimizing the depth to which hearers will search for the intentions behind intentions.

My example involves graphic art, in the sense of communicative effects of the way something is represented in visual rather than verbal terms. In one of the euphoric demonstrations following the opening of the borders between East and West Germany, the following sign was displayed.

![Sign](image)

Nothing I can do with my vocal apparatus or my typewriter can reproduce the essence of this sign. To understand its message, you have to notice the difference between the token of ‘reunification’ (Wiedervereinigung) that is in green and red roman capitals and the token in brown Fraktur. The sign-bearers are opposed to (gegen) old-style, Third Reichian, brownshirt reunification. They favor a modern-style reunification, involving the environmentalist Greens and the communists (the “Reds”)—or on another reading, the Social Democrats, whose color is red. You have to recognize the different typetyles and colors, and realize that you are intended to recognize them, and attribute significance to them, inferring reasons why each is the way it is, and not some other way, and assume that you are intended to infer just those reasons, and intended to recognize that you are so intended, etc. Precisely the logic of “Logic and Conversation”, and of Grice (1957) as well.

The spirit of Grice’s theory is that behavior, communicative and otherwise, is goal-directed and is correctly interpreted only by acknowledging that it is intended to be so interpreted. The fact that Grice did not clearly articulate its breadth does not diminish its explanatory power.

FOOTNOTES

1 Three other expressions, natural language and natural speech or natural counterparts occur in the introductory pages. They all seem to refer to language as a system, as opposed to utterances in a language, which is what I take talk exchange and conversation to refer to.

2 Stubb’s (1983:95) may recognize this in referring to the maxims as “maxims of co-operativeness”, but he does not discuss how the individual maxims he invokes might be related to the more general principle.
In general, it seems to me, Sperber and Wilson's criticisms (see especially p. 37) are based on the false assumptions that communication is always perfect and that its perfection is what must be explained. Although they reject the code model of communication embodied by the conduit metaphor exposed by Reddy (1979), they do not consider his tools makers' metaphor, which treats fully successful communication as comparatively rare, and generally the result of hard work by both speaker and addressee. They retain the conduit metaphor premise that if communication is unsuccessful, blame lies squarely at the feet (mouth?) of the speaker, in saying (1986:251) that "the first interpretation consistent with the Principle of Relevance will be selected, and the speaker who wants to be correctly understood must make sure that the interpretation she wants to convey is the first one consistent with the Principle of Relevance." Sperber and Wilson do not explain how this might be done with as little effort as seems to be generally expended in informal language use.

4Grice suggests (1975:49) "that anyone who cares about the goals that are central to conversation/communication (e.g., giving and receiving information, influencing and being influenced by others) must be expected to have an interest, given suitable circumstances, in participation in talk exchanges that will be profitable only on the assumption that they are conducted in general accordance with the maxims." This seems to me as much a generalization as Sperber and Wilson's Principle of Relevance: "Every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance" (1986:158).

5And all the maxims, unless this absolutely cannot be reconciled with the speaker's behavior.

6There is some circumstantial evidence supporting this. First, there are the ubiquitous hedges and the apologies (pp. 47, 49) pronounced upon by those who would circumscribe the scope or significance of Grice's programme. Second, there is the fact that Grice (apparently) was himself unsatisfied with the account, and had to be cajoled into letting lectures II and III be published 8-10 years after they were written.

7My understanding (or interpretation) has benefited in ways I am sure I cannot trace, from discussion with Jerry Morgan, and from his work and that of Robin Lakoff, Larry Horn, and Penelope Brown and Steve Levinson. No ideas represented here that would wish to disclaim should be attributed to them.

8For a non-technical discussion of this recursion, see Green 1989:13-15, et passim.

9Careful reading of "Logic and Conversation" shows that Grice cited quarrels and letter writing as instances that did not fit an interpretation of the CP that he rejected (Grice 1975:48), not one that he supported.

10For a discussion of the relevance of the CP and the maxims to feline behavior, see Davison (1990).

11These sentences are from Walter Farley's The Black Stallion Revolts (New York: Random House, 1953), C.S. Lewis's The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe (New York: Macmillan, 1950), and Mary Norton's The Borrowers (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1952) respectively. They were chosen to match the excerpt in (6) for syntax, anaphora, and introduction of noun phrases with definite articles.

12Cf. Lakoff (1973) and Brown and Levinson (1987:2).

13Cf. Green (1988) for an extended discussion of the role of colonialism, which in all its forms, and at the same time, the way in which their discussion of the role of colonialism, were accused of terrorism by...

14Addressing the UN in Geneva on 13 November 1987, Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, said that the world community was failing to live up to its promise to eliminate poverty. "The gap between the rich and the poor is growing day by day," he said. "We must act now to prevent the developing world from being pushed into the abyss of despair."

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Wilson’s criticisms (see especially p. 37) of communication is always perfect and that... Although they reject the code model of metaphor exposed by Reddy (1979), they... which treats fully successful communication as the result of hard work by both speaker and metaphor premise that if communication is to be correctly understood must make... (1982) notes that what is consistent with the Principle of Relevance certain to make a move that is different from the move prescribed by the Principle of Anti-relevance. (Colletta, 1982) observes that the model of communication is not a description of the way people communicate, but a model that can be used to understand the process of communication. It is important to keep in mind that the model is a simplification of the complex process of communication, and it is not intended to replace natural language understanding.

Who cares about the goals that are central for encoding and receiving information, influencing who is expected to have an interest, given suitable changes that will be profitable only on a sustained manner. "Or, as Sperber and Wilson’s Principle of Relevance states, "the act of communication communicates the presumption that the addressee will respond to the speaker's intention" (1986).

I cannot be reconciled with the speaker... the one supporting this. First, there are the... a model inferred from his work and that of Robin N. Smith and Steve Levinson. No ideas represented in the model could be attributed to them. A recent... shows that Grice used metaphors that... is the metaphor of the C&P that he supported. From the C&P and the maxim to define behavior, Grice’s (1989) The Black Stallion Revolts (New York: The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe) and Norton’s The Borrowers (New York: Harcourt) were chosen to match the excerpt of noun phrases with definite articles. (H. C. Franklin (1987:2)).

Cf. Green (1988) for an extended discussion of this.

Addressing the UN in Geneva on 13 December 1988, he said, “I condemn terrorism in all its forms, and at the same time salute those sitting before me in this hall who, in the days when they fought to free their countries from the yoke of colonialism, were accused of terrorism by their oppressors.”

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Conversational Cooperativity

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The many recent linguistic studies in this field can roughly be grouped into two general concerns: (1) empirical socio-linguistic studies that concentrate on formal models of speech acts and (2) empirical sociolinguistic studies that analyze specific conversational maxims through specific theories and processes of conversational inference at the level of speech exchanges. The basic understanding, which—by contrast to what has always rested, as I want to argue, on informal conversation—cooperation, assumptions that seem unanalyzable are nevertheless implicature-like, or equivalent.

Although Grice is quite clear about the assumptions about conversational cooperation, he has no way of describing what is meant by conversational cooperation highly suggestive since it is the major step towards the development of a general understanding. Discourse analysts however have the advantage of this linkage and what it is in questions and do our analyses.

Let me begin, then, by elaborating on the idea of repeating what everyone already knows, I mean, what is meant by implicature. He refers to inquiry into the general conditions that in such as such, irrespective of its subject matter, a discussion of conversational implicatures, in

Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of connected remarks, and would not be recognized, to some degree at least, by a listener, in them, to some extent, purposes, or at least a mutually acceptable may be fixed from the start (e.g., for discussion), or it may evolve during the process, or be definite, or it may be so indefinite as