
A Pragmatic Study of Generalized and Particularized Implicatures in “The Arrangers of Marriage” from Adichie’s *The Thing Around your Neck*

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ABSTRACT: *This investigation seeks to make sense of Adichie’s “The Arrangers of Marriage”. In fact, as Yule (2010) put it, “ Our understanding of what we read doesn’t come directly from what words and sentences are on the page, but the interpretations we create, in our minds, of what we read”, (p. 151). Following the foregoing quotation, the study scrutinizes conversational implicatures in the above mentioned narrative story to disclose the subtly implied messages therein from a pragmatic angle. The study is premised on the hypothesis that a number of important messages are implied in the short story through both generalized and particularized implicatures out of consideration of the readers’ scripts of the scenes and events presented within, (Mey, 2001: 237). To attain the aim of the investigation, the study appeals to the descriptive qualitative methodology. Via this method, the various scenes and events presented in the narrative are appraised and related interpretations carried out on the basis of their schemata and scripts. The study has made important findings. Among several others, it is uncovered that hasty marriage brings undesirable, irrevocable, unbearable, and deadly consequences to the newly wedded couple. Moreover, marriage shouldn’t be premised on materialism especially as not all that glitters is gold. Indeed, material comfort doesn’t guarantee a couple’s happiness. The change of the key characters’ native Igbo names to English ones in a host country is evocative of their acculturation. Chinaza Agatha Okafor’s refusal to forsake her native language in favor of American English only, is her rejection of self-denial and loss of identity in a foreign country. Furthermore, her resistance to the English name given to her by her new husband, is revelatory of the writer’s feministic trend and her position with regard to cultural alienation.*

KEYWORDS: Implicature, pragmatics, schema, script, study.

INTRODUCTION

In our daily interactions, we communicate with people in different ways. In this regard, we sometimes hold verbal or non-verbal conversations with our communication partners. Conversations are basically purposed to exchange information on a specific topic with a view to conveying messages. Very often, as observed by Paul Herbert Grice, father of the theory of conversational implicatures in the 1970s, what is meant in conversations often goes beyond what is said or written and this additional non-literal meaning is not only inferable but also predictable. From this perspective, Yule (2010) stated that “our understanding of what we read is not only based on what we see on the page (language structures) but also on other things that we have in mind (knowledge structures)”, (p.151). More to the point, people interacting in a conversation may for one reason or another choose not to express their minds explicitly leaving the task for their listeners or readers to infer the unsaid causing by so doing conversational implicatures. According to Paul Herbert Grice, (cited in Mey, 1998, p, 371) a conversational implicature is "A different pragmatic meaning of an utterance concerning the literal meaning expressed by the utterance." In fact, conversational implicatures are pragmatic inferences that arise from both contextual factors and the understanding that conventions are observed in conversations.

There are two types of conversational implicatures viz. generalized and particularized implicatures. Following Grice (1975), generalized conversational implicatures are inferences that refer to the non-explicit meaning that occurs by default in any type of context. To be more explicit, these types of implicatures are not or are only slightly context dependent and therefore inferable without reference to any particular context. Particularized conversational implicatures, on the contrary, are context dependent. They are inferences that require from the interlocutor knowledge in a very specific context during a conversation to understand what is being discussed or talked about. According to Suryadi and Muslim (2019) a particularized implicature is one in which “the interlocutors indirectly require more assistance to understand the meaning of a conversation because the context used in this type is not general in nature” (p.86). The present study scrutinizes both types of implicatures in “The Arrangers of Marriage” from Adichie’s *The Thing Around your Neck*. Our choice to carry out such an investigation after reading the selected short story stemmed from the observation that it is full of conversations that contain a lot of non-explicit pragmatically enfolded messages that a simple reading is not sufficient to grasp. As a result, the study aims at disclosing these encoded messages under the spotlight of conversational implicatures theory for a fuller understanding of the selected short story. The discussion in the present study is limited to the following formulated questions. First what are the different types of implicatures embedded in the selected short story? And second what key messages have been encoded through them by the writer? The study is premised on the hypothesis that Adichie has used both generalized and particularized conversational implicatures in her short story under study to enfold important messages for her readership.

The paper is organized into four sections. The first one deals with the theoretical framework and literature review where a summary of the theory underpinning the study has been recapped and related literature that account for the existing knowledge in the field reviewed to justify the relevance and validity of this study. The second section entitled methodology accounts for the

methods used for data collection and description. Ensuing this, is the third section dealing with data analysis. Here both generalized and particularized conversational implicatures have been identified in the short story paving the way for the fourth section entitled a pragmatic appraisal of conversational implicatures in the short story. It is under this section that the interpretation of the interpretable identified conversational implicatures has been carried out to uncover the writer's various encoded messages. A conclusion eventually comes in to round off the paper restating the rationale and objectives of the study, answering the research questions, validating the hypothesis, and highlighting avenues left by the study for further related investigations.

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

The summary of the theory underpinning the study at hand is provided here. The section also reviews a few literatures pertaining to the area of the study to see, from the existing scientific knowledge in the field, if any room is still left for the present study to justify its relevance and validity.

Theoretical Background

As stated in the title of this article, this study examines conversational implicatures in the "The Arrangers of Marriage" from a pragmatic perspective. As such, it is important to make a foray into what pragmatics is all about. Indeed, according to Morris (1981) pragmatics is the study of "the relation of signs to interpreters, the signs are applicable and syntactic as the study of the formal relation of signs to one another", (p.6). From Levinson's (1983) perspective, "Pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding", (p. 21). For Mey (2001: 6), "Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society". Moreover, Syal and Jindal (2016) defined pragmatics as "An attempt to relate meaning to context of utterance; it views language as action which is performed by speakers", (p.157). As for Fasold (1991), "Pragmatics is a study of context use to draw an inference of meaning", (p. 119). In this perspective Yule (2010) defined pragmatics as "the study of 'invisible' meaning or how we recognize what is meant even when it is not actually said or written" (p.128). From the above definitions it can be grasped that pragmatics deals with meanings inferences from what is said or written within its context in relation to the participants involved.

In other respects, implicature is the act of meaning or implying something by saying something else (Davis, 2007:5). It can be conventional or conversational. Yule (1996:45) considered a conventional implicature as one which is "associated with specific words that result in additional conveyed meanings when those words are used". Actually, in conventional implicature, what is conveyed is the conventional meaning of the word used. This type of implicature does not occur in the second type of implicature mentioned above. But what is conversational implicature all about? As a matter of fact, conversational implicature "concerns the way we understand an utterance in conversation in accordance with what we expect to hear" (Mey, 2001, p. 46). According to Ariel (2008), conversational implicatures are often generated when the encoded

meaning seems to flout the Gricean cooperative principle maxims of quantity, quality, manner, and relation.

There are two types of conversational implicature: Generalized Conversational Implicature (GCI) and Particularized Conversational Implicatures (PCI). Generalized conversational implicatures (GCI) are inferences that refer to the non-explicit meaning that occurs by default in any type of context (Grice, 1975). In simpler terminologies, the meanings implied in a generalized implicature are retrievable from the words of the utterance itself not from its context. More specifically, no reference to any specific context is needed to understand what is folded in a generalized implicature. Grice (ibid) identified a number of words and phrases that encode GCI. These include “some”, “not all”, and “most”. For instance, to decode the intended or implied meaning in “Most of my third year students attend their courses regularly” one doesn’t have to refer to any specific context of the uttered words, but rather has just to retrieve what is implied from the word “most” therein. In fact the utterance implies that “some of my students or not all of them attend their courses regularly”.

It is true that because they are the most common of all, particularized conversational implicatures are typically just called implicatures (Griffiths, 2006:134). But PCIs have certain specificities to know about. Also called *ad-hoc* implicatures, particularized conversational implicatures (PCIs) are closely linked to specific or particular contexts; that is to say, the success of these inferences is linked to knowledge about very specific contextual information. To get down to specifics, what is implied or intended in this type of implicature is retrieved from not only knowledge of or about the context of what is said but also from the flouting of any of the Gricean cooperative principle maxims. The following is an illustrative example of a PCI.

A: Did your son pass his Baccalaureate exam

B: He is drinking red wine with his close friends under the veranda

In the above example, B’s answer seems not exactly what A needs or expects. Alternatively put, B’s answer is not relevant to A’s concern. This entails that the maxim of relation has been flouted by B. However knowledge of the context of B’s answer clearly shows that B has remained cooperative in the conversation despite the flouting of the relation maxim. In fact drinking red wine among close friends implies celebrating, rejoicing, or merrymaking. Thus B saying that “*He is drinking red wine with his close friends under the veranda*”, is implying that A’s son has passed his baccalaureate exam and is celebrating his success with his close friends. As a result, B’s reply is an appropriate answer to A’s question and is a perfect example of what deserves to be called particularized implicature.

At this point it is important to elaborate on the four maxims supporting Grice’s (1975) cooperative principle. The quantity maxim requires to make your contribution as informative as required, but not more, or less, than is required. The maxim of quality recommends not to say that which you believe to be false or for which you lack adequate evidence. As for the relation maxim, it advises to be relevant. The manner maxim orders to be clear, brief and orderly. In everyday conversations, these maxims are either followed by the dot or flouted. It is important to highlight that the flouting of any of the four Gricean maxims gives rise to a particularized conversational implicature.

According to Cutting (2002) a number of strategies that imply meanings are implemented while flouting the Gricean maxims. For the maxim of quantity for example Cutting (ibid) identified two different strategies. These include giving too little or too much information. For the flouting of the maxim of quality, four strategies are used namely hyperbole, metaphor, irony and banter. Discontinuity in answering questions is the other strategy used to flout the maxim of relation. The strategy used in flouting the maxim of manner is ambiguity and lack of clarity despite the accompanying context.

Both GCIs and PCIs have one common defining characteristic feature: they are cancellable. This means that if the context changes or is enriched or modified, they can disappear. Examples (1) and (2) below are illustrative of a GCI and a PCI with their defining characteristic feature respectively.

1. Peter has bought a new car.
GCI: Peter has bought exactly one car that is not old, not more or less.
2. **Man:** do you like ice cream?
Woman: is the pope catholic?

This second example is taken from Yule (1996:43). As it can be noticed in the example above, the Woman has flouted the maxim of relation. In fact she has not been relevant to the Man's question. Nevertheless to make the conversation cooperative, the Man has to suppose that the Woman is still cooperating with him in the conversation. In the process, he needs to refer to his background knowledge about the specific context of the woman's statement. We all know from our local background knowledge that a pope is catholic. Going from this specific knowledge, if one were to answer the woman's question, the answer would obviously be "Yes". As a result, the woman indirectly implies that she likes ice cream via a PCI. In other respects, if the prior context changes, (for instance if the woman's question were "is the pope pagan?"), the inferred PCI would unquestionably change. On the contrary, no prior specific context or background knowledge is needed to reach GCI in the first example. Any reader would tend to infer by default the above encoded message unless additional information is provided to contradict this (for instance, *well the car is not 100% new it is a second hand car as the one he has been driving for five years now*).

Degen and Tanenhaus (2015) suggested two theoretical proposals that explain the way implicatures are processed. The Literal-First hypothesis argues that the inferred meaning has to be subsequently added to the literal meaning. This proposal includes two lines of research. The first (Levinson, 2000; Chierchia, 2004) assumes that processing GCIs does not involve a considerable additional processing cost. Given that they are inferences that occur from below, GCIs are computed immediately and with no effort. In fact, unlike PCIs, in GCIs the contextual information would not be relevant to their resolution. However, following Huang et al. (2010), the second line of research considers that GCIs and PCIs require some type of additional time and cognitive resources.

The second proposal viz. the Constraint-Based framework on the other hand denies the sequential nature of the processing. It states that inferences do involve a processing cost, but that this cost will vary depending on the relevance of the context. Hence, if the context provides little or no help

in the interpretation, the cognitive cost will be greater. The determination of the processing cost is then dependent upon the relevance of the context.

Processing implicatures also require carrying out interpretations of what is read or listened to using a lot more information than is presented in the spoken or written words. To achieve this appropriately, two theoretical concepts are appealed to i.e. schemas and scripts. As a matter of fact, Yule (2010) defined schema as “a general term for a conventional knowledge structure that exists in memory”, (p.150). A script on the other hand is essentially a dynamic schema that has a series of conventional actions which take place instead of the set of typical fixed features that a schema has (Yule 2010:150). For instance there is a script for “going to the concert”, and another script for “eating out in a restaurant”. These memory-embedded dynamic conventional knowledge structures are what, when activated any time, can help make sense of conversations or texts with implicatures that pertain to each of the above presented scripts.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A whole lot has already been done in the area of investigations related to conversational implicatures by both scholars and specialists of the field of pragmatics. This subsection of the paper reviews some of the works already carried out in the field of the study at hand to justify its relevance, validity and reliability.

Mustafa (2010) investigated: The Interpretation of Implicature: A Comparative Study between Implicature in Linguistics and Journalism. In this study, he explored implicature as a pragmatic inference in some journalist texts. The analysis of the selected texts has uncovered implicature in advertisements, news reporting, headlines, and human interest stories. For the researcher, Meaning is a recondite issue which needs pragmatic inferences like implicature to be appropriately understood. Thus the aim of his investigation was to help understand the journalist texts which were studied. To reach this aim, he used a descriptive qualitative methodology. Indeed, the content analysis of his selected texts has proved the existence of implicature in all types of news reporting. The study has also revealed that implicature is a vital pragmatic element which bridges the gap between what is literally said and what is intentionally meant in the process of communication. The researcher's investigation also unveiled that Implicature plays a vital role in media language by bridging the gap between different cultures. According to the researcher, implicature is a means of cultural transfer. More to the point, the study has shown to what extent implicature can be harnessed as an interdisciplinary system not only to illustrate linguistic and pragmatic theories but also to explain how media language works. The study has also allowed to understand how implicature is important for glossing the intended meanings behind the different glossary of media writing. Furthermore, he found that implicature helps journalists in their papers to appeal to the interests and the attitudes of the intended readers. It also helps these newspapers to be economical especially as regards headlines. Eventually, the researcher concludes that Journalism always benefits from implicature both in its style of variations and its causation to the pragmatic cultural transfer of political, economic and social new stories. The researcher would have made greater findings if he had looked into whether or not journalists succeed in reaching their targeted audience with the right messages by using implicatures in their texts

Rahayu and Safnil (2016) conducted a research work on types of implicature in informal conversations used by the English education study program students. The researchers aimed to analyze the types of implicature in informal conversations used by the English education study program students. Via their study, they also wanted to look into how implicature is carried out in informal conversations. For the attainment of these research objectives, they appealed to the descriptive qualitative method. Via this method, twenty-five students' conversations were recorded, transcribed and then analyzed by using a checklist instrument. The investigation revealed that the collected conversations embed three types of implicature namely, conventional implicature, generalized conversational implicature and particularized conversational implicature. They further discovered in their study that implicature, in the collected informal conversations, is carried out via the use of both generalized and particularized conversational implicatures. These types of implicatures are used by the students to imply meanings in their utterances. The researchers rounded off their research suggesting that the application of the theories about implicature be extended to such other areas as movies, dramas and others to enrich studies in Pragmatics. The researchers would have done better if they have gone further to show the impacts of the use of both conversational implicatures on the students' understanding of the informal communication initiated among themselves.

Lubis (2015) investigated conversational implicatures of Indonesia lawyers club program on TV one. His objectives in this research were to observe the types of maxim violation that potentially cause conversational implicatures, to ascertain the maxim violation that dominantly causes conversational implicatures, and finally to give the reasons for the dominant type of violation that causes conversational implicatures on Indonesia Lawyers Club program by using the Gricean theory of Cooperative Principle. To reach the above mentioned objectives, he used the qualitative content analysis methodology. Among the findings that he arrived at, he found that there are four types of maxim violations in lawyers' club program on TV one chiefly the maxim of quantity, the maxim of quality, that of manner, and the maxim of relevance. The dominant type of maxim violation appeared in the study is the maxim of quantity. The reasons of the dominant type, according to the researcher, deal with, showing up pain and core of the problem to the audience, saving one face, defending certain groups and blaming the government.

Though a very interesting research work, this study has failed to reveal the types of conversational implicatures caused by the flouting of the Gricean cooperative principle maxims in lawyers' club program on TV one. It has also failed to uncover the various meanings encoded by the conversational implicatures resulting from the flouting of the maxims in the TV program. The study at hand takes all these details into account for deep meaning unveiling in the selected short story.

In their co-publication, Suryadi and Muslim (2019) carried out an investigation entitled An Analysis of Conversational Implicature Strategy in a Drama "The Bear" By Anton Chekhov and Its Application in ELT. In this article, the researchers' aim was to identify the different types and functions of conversational implicature in Anton Chekhov's drama "The Bear" and examine their application in English language teaching. To reach this aim, the researchers used a descriptive qualitative method. The studied data from the script of the above mentioned drama were analyzed

following Grice (1975), Yule (2006), Levinson (1992), Mey (1998) and Paltridge (2000). The findings of their analysis show that all Grice's (1975) proposed conversational implicatures apply to the drama. Their study revealed that twenty-eight utterances of the drama consist of nine types of generalized conversational implicature, five types of particularized conversational implicature, two functions of self-protections, six functions of power and politeness, three functions of giving information, one function of audience entertainment and two functions of lack of specific information. The researchers concluded that knowledge of conversational implicatures is helpful for both teachers and students in the teaching and learning process especially as far as the speaking skill is concerned. This research is a significant contribution to knowledge in the area of pragmatic studies. However, the researchers would have added to their findings if they had gone further exploring which maxims of the cooperative principle are flouted in the drama, why, and to what extent this state of affairs influences readers' understanding of Anton Chekhov's conveyed messages thereby. These non-scrutinized aspects of their analysis are going to be explored in the data from the selected short story in the light of the theory being applied in the study at hand.

As it can be witnessed from the literature review carried out so far, so many scientific studies have already applied the theory of conversational implicatures to various texts ranging from newspapers, to transcribed informal conversations, talk shows, movies, dramas, and narrative texts. No research work, to my best knowledge, has applied the conversational implicatures theory to a short story even less to the one chosen for the study at hand. This state of affairs is evidence that there is still room for the investigation at hand to be conducted for the expansion of knowledge within the area related to implicatures in pragmatics. As a result, the present research is not only valid, but also reliable.

METHODOLOGY

For the attainment of this study objective, a descriptive qualitative method has been appealed to. In fact, following Allison et al (1996), "Descriptive research sets out to seek accurate and adequate descriptions of activities, objects, processes, and persons", (p. 14). Indeed, the descriptive method applied here has nothing to do with numerical description. In this study, the adopted descriptive method actually deals with the verbal description especially as it matches with the objective of this research, that is, to describe pragmatic phenomena mainly implicatures in Adichie's "The Arrangers of Marriage". The qualitative method is also used because the data in this study are in the form of words and are analyzed based on their natural setting or context. As Levinson (1983) said, "Communication processes always involve the notion of intention and agency", (p. 15). Thus, no doubt, a lot has been left unsaid in the selected short story. As a result, the descriptive qualitative method has been adopted to help understand what is intended from what is said using such mechanisms as pragmatic inferences to interpret the most interpretable utterances of the selected text. To start with, "The Arrangers of Marriage" is carefully read between lines. Then dialogues containing conversational implicatures are collected from it to constitute the data to be analyzed. Next, both Generalized and Particularized conversational implicatures are subsequently identified there from in the order of their occurrence and numbered. In truth, conversational implicatures theories are used as the source of information in getting the appropriate data. Following the adopted research design, the detailed collected data are described, analyzed, and interpreted from the

pragmatic angle. The above mentioned short story has been selected for the study especially because it falls in with the type of investigation being conducted. The short story has been taken in its entirety for the investigation for the reason that the intended data to be collected are not just in some parts of it but scattered all though it.

Data Analysis

Under this section, data are collected from the selected short story and analyzed. To be more specific, conversational implicatures viz. generalized and particularized implicatures are respectively identified in the chosen text.

Identification of Generalized Conversational Implicatures in the Short Story

The following are the generalized implicatures imbedded in “The Arrangers of Marriage.”

1. Ofodile: “Now that you’re here, we’ll get more furniture. I didn’t need that much when I was alone,”
Chinaza: “ Okay,”
2. Chinaza: “ *Ike agwum*,” I said placing my handbag down on the bedroom floor
Ofodile: “Yes, I’m exhausted, too,”. “We should get to bed.”
3. Chinaza: “*Ezi okwu?* All that?”
Ofodile: “Yes. International dialing code first and then Nigeria’s country code”
4. Ofodile: “Did you get through?”
Chinaza: “It’s engaged,”
Ofodile: “Busy. Americans say busy, not engaged,”. “We’ll try later. Let’s have breakfast.”
5. Ofodile: “ Americans don’t drink their tea with milk and sugar”
Chinaza: “Ezi okwu? Don’t you drink yours with milk and sugar?”
Ofodile: “No, I got used to the way things are done here a long time ago. You will too, baby.”
6. Shirley: “How did your wedding go? Is your wife here?”
Ofodile: “Yes, come and say hello.”
7. Shirley: “I’m Shirley from 3A. Nice to meet you”
Chinaza: “You are welcome”
8. Ofodile: “It doesn’t work that way here. Everybody says hi.”
Chinaza: “O di mma. Okay.”
9. Ofodile: “I’m not called Ofodile here, by the way, I go by Dave. The last name I use here is different, too. Americans had a hard time with Udenwa, so I changed it.”
Chinaza: “What is it?” I was still trying to get used to Udenwa, a name I had known only a few weeks
Ofodile: “It’s Bell”
- 10 Ofodile: “You don’t understand how it works in this country. If you want to get anywhere, you have to be as mainstream as possible. If not, you will be left by the roadside. You have to use your English name here”
Chinaza: “I never have, my English name is just something on my birth certificate. I’ve been Chinaza Okafor my whole life.”

- Ofodile: "You will get use to it baby" reaching out to caress my cheek, "You will see"
11. Chinaza: "When you become a consultant?"
Ofodile: "Yes, but it's called an Attending here, an Attending Physician."
12. Ofodile: "It's an elevator, not a lift. Americans say elevator."
Chinaza: "Okay"
13. Shirley: "What are you cooking?"
Chinaza: "Coconut rice."
Shirley: "A recipe from your country?"
Chinaza: "Yes"
Shirley: "It smells really good. The problem with us here is we have no culture, no culture at all"
14. Shirley: "Would you come take a look at my air conditioner, Dave? It's acting up again and it's so hot today"
Ofodile: "Sure"
15. Nia: "You are Dave's new wife. I've been meaning to come over and meet you. I'm Nia"
Chinaza: "Thanks. I'm Chinaza...Agatha"
16. Nia: "What was the first thing you said?"
Chinaza: "My Nigerian name."
17. Nia: "It's an Igbo name, isn't it?" she pronounced it E-boo."
Chinaza: "Yes."
18. Nia: "What does it mean?"
Chinaza: "God answers prayers."
Nia: "It's really pretty. You know, Nia is a Swahili name. I changed my name when I was eighteen. I spent three years in Tanzania."
19. Nia: "But Dave has filed for you?"
Chinaza: "Yes."
20. Nia: "It shouldn't take long; at least you should have it before winter... so let me know as soon as you do"
Chinaza: "Thank you"
21. Chinaza: "The Jug?"
Ofodile: "Pitcher. Americans say pitcher, not jug."
22. Chinaza: "I deserved to know before we got married."
Ofodile: "It wouldn't have made a difference. Your uncle and aunt had decided. Were you going to say no to people who have taken care of you since your parents died?"
23. Chinaza: "Why did you marry me?"
Ofodile: "I wanted a Nigerian wife and my mother said you were a good girl, quiet. She said you might even be a virgin... I probably should tell her how wrong she was."
24. Chinaza: "It's not about that."
Nia: "I know. Just trying to be fucking positive here."
25. Nia: "Was there someone back home?"
Chinaza: "There was once, but he was too young and he had no money."
26. Nia: "You never say his name, you never say Dave. Is that a cultural thing?"
Chinaza: "No."

27. Nia: "I had to be honest with you, get everything out."
Chinaza: "Yes."

As it can be noticed, the examined short story contains a lot of generalized conversational implicatures. They add up to an aggregate number of twenty-seven on the whole. As typical to these types of implicatures, the implied meanings are inferable virtually irrespective of the context. None of the Gricean cooperative principle maxims is flouted therein. As a result, no conversational breakdown has been witnessed. A close look into the above generalized conversational implicatures show that the cooperative presumption, determinacy, as well as mutual knowledge conditions among the conversational partners involved actually hold. This large recorded number of generalized conversational implicatures in the selected text is revelatory of the fact that a lot of information has been implied by the novelist. These encoded meanings are going to be uncovered in the fourth section of this paper. Emphasis is going to be laid on the conversational implicatures that actually encode concealed meanings especially as not all of them do. But before getting down to nitty-gritty the different particularized implicatures contained in the selected short story are going to be identified in the subsection hereafter.

Identification of Particularized Conversational Implicatures in the Short Story

A careful reading of "The Arrangers of Marriage" has allowed to identify the particularized conversational implicatures listed hereafter:

1. Auntie Ada: "He will be home in early June; you will have plenty of time to get to know each other before the wedding."
Chinaza: "Yes Auntie." "Plenty of time" was two weeks.
Auntie Ada: "What have we not done for you? We raise you as our own and then we find you an ezigbo di! A doctor in America! It is like we won a lottery for you"
2. Ofodile: "Boil some water for tea"
Chinaza: "Is there some dried milk?"
3. Ofodile: "You should say 'Hi' to people here, not 'You're welcome.'"
Chinaza: "She's not my age mate."
4. Chinaza: I had heard about a Waturuocha that changed to Waturu in America, a Chikelugo that took the more American-friendly Chikel, but from Udenwa to Bell? "That's not even close to Udenwa."
Ofodile: "You don't understand how it works in this country."
5. Chinaza: "Can we buy those biscuits?"
Ofodile: "Cookies. Americans call them cookies."
6. Ofodile: "Get the store brand. They're cheaper, but still the same thing"
Chinaza: "Okay." I no longer wanted the biscuit, but I put the store brand in the cart...
7. Chinaza: "What did it matter that you could or could not take the carts out? The point was, there were carts."
Ofodile: "Look at the people who shop here; they are the ones who immigrate and continue to act as if they are back in their countries."
8. Ofodile: "Do you like the pizza?"

- Chinaza: "The tomatoes are not cooked well."
9. Ofodile: "Winter is coming. It's like being inside the freezer, so you need a warm coat"
- Chinaza: "Thank you."
10. Chinaza: "We could go home so I can cook."
- Ofodile: "I like to eat this once in a while."
11. Chinaza: "Nno, did you work well?"
- Ofodile: "You have to speak English at home, too, baby. So you can get used to it"
12. Chinaza: "She a black American, had chosen an African name, while my husband made me change mine to an English one."
- Nia: "You must be bored to death in that apartment; I know Dave gets back pretty late"
13. Chinaza: "What do you do?"
- Nia: "I own a hair salon"
14. Chinaza: "I Thought I would have my work permit by now."
- Ofodile: "The American woman I married to get a green card is making trouble." "Our divorce was almost final, but not completely before I married you in Nigeria. Just a minor thing but she found out about it and now she is threatening to report me to immigration. She wants more money."
15. Chinaza: "You were married before?" I laced my fingers together because they had started to shake
- Ofodile: "Would you pass that, please?" pointing to the lemonade I had made earlier.
16. Chinaza: "You were married before?"
- Ofodile: "It was just on paper. A lot of our people do that here. It's business, you pay the woman and both of you do paperwork together but sometimes it goes wrong and either she refuses to divorce you or she decides to blackmail you."
17. Chinaza: "Ofodile, you should have let me know this before now"
- Ofodile: "I was going to tell you"
18. Chinaza: "Did you ever meet the woman he married? Or did you know any of his girl friends?"
- Nia: "I fucked him, almost two years ago, when he first moved in. I fucked him and after a week it was over. We never dated. I never saw him date anybody."

Noticeably, the short story contains a considerable number of particularized conversational implicatures. The writer has implied a whole lot of messages via them that are going to be laid bare in the upcoming subsequent section.

A Pragmatic Appraisal of Conversational Implicatures in the Short Story

This section deals with the interpretive appraisal of the recorded conversational implicatures. To be more specific, the main concern in this section is to uncover Adichie's folded messages in the various recorded implicatures via interpretation. For a well structured development, we are going to begin with the generalized conversational implicatures (GCIs). In truth, not all the recorded generalized conversational implicatures enfold non-explicit meanings. Those taken into account

under this section are the ones that really wrap messages that only a close look into their contexts and functions together with the scripts of the scenes they describe can help unveil.

To begin with, the first GCI implies that the bride Chinaza is newly arriving to the place being referred to by the place deixis 'here' which is but the bridegroom's house that is going to host the newly wedded couple. It further reveals that the bride is from elsewhere but is henceforth going to settle in this place being introduced to the readers. In fact reading down the page where this GCI is collected from indicates that Chinaza is from Lagos in Nigeria but has freshly moved to New York her new husband's country after wedding. More to the point, the GCI shows that the bride's presence is going to bring about positive changes to the environment of the new place. This highlights the bridegroom's concern to provide his new wife with comfort; sign that Ofodile is going to be a dutiful husband. Chinaza's acceptance that Ofodile should add some more furniture to the existing one is her claim for a more comfortable living place as a bride. In a nutshell, this generalized conversational implicature has been used by the writer to introduce the topic of the selected short story viz. "The Arrangers of Marriage."

The generalized conversational implicatures in the fourth, fifth, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and twenty-first short conversations held by the newly wedded couple introduced to the readership by the writer enfold crucial messages that deserve highlighting. From his introduction by the novelist, readers know that Ofodile is an African not an American. Indeed, judging from his name on his wedding invitation cards (Ofodile Emeka Udenwa) one knows that he is a Nigerian especially an Igbo. His new wife is also an Igbo as one can easily judge from her name: Chinaza Agatha Okafor. A couple with such a culturally standardized foundation as theirs is expected to use their native language at least at home. But it is surprising that once back in USA Ofodile identifies himself with Americans and doesn't want to speak or hear his newly wedded wife use any other language than American English. He keeps on correcting Chinaza every single time she speaks British English as it can be noticed in the fourth, eleventh, twelfth, and twenty-first recorded generalized conversational implicatures. He even changed his lifestyles and name renaming himself with another one that sounds American like 'Dave Bell' inviting his new wife to do so. The fifth, eighth, ninth and tenth GCIs account for this. In fact, presenting the narrative scenes via the GCIs as Adichie has done in this short story through the character of Ofodile is depictive of acculturation. Adichie has artistically portrayed a social plague undermining Africans living abroad. This is a real threat to Africans' cultural values that will easily decline and vanish if Africans are not made aware of the fact. If Chinaza were to behave like Ofodile, it entails that their offspring would be culturally uprooted. They would pick a language (culture vehicle per excellence) that is not their parents' one though both of them are ingrained in the same Igbo culture and tradition: a real problem for African posterity.

On the other side of the world, Chinaza would not blindly follow her new husband. She refused to let her lifestyle go in favor of a foreign one. In the thirteenth GCI for example, she cooked coconut rice, a recipe from her country. Moreover she vehemently refused to change her name when her husband asked her to. This is what she said via the tenth GCI having the function of a representative speech act: "I never have, my English name is just something on my birth certificate. I've been Chinaza Okafor my whole life." Designing the character of Chinaza to resist change as done by

Adichie in this GCI is her struggle against the crumbling of African traditional and cultural values. In fulfillment of her role as a writer Adichie is no doubt calling her readership's attention to the danger that await Africa if nothing is done to hold back the phenomenon of acculturation that so many Africans are victim of once out of their continent. Adichie's other message via Chinaza's opposition to change her name in the above mentioned GCI is that Africans should raise their consciousness and avoid giving in to acculturation no matter what the social constraints of the foreign countries they find themselves in might be. Rejecting one's culture in favor of other people's ones is not only denying oneself but it also has detrimental effects over generations.

Chinaza is not the only female character Adichie has designed to resist to cultural change in the short story. The writer has also designed the character of Nia in the short story for almost the same purpose. As a matter of fact Nia, a black American, changed her name and chose an African name. Valuing Chinaza's African name she said the following in the eighteenth GCI: "It's really pretty. You know, Nia is a Swahili name. I changed my name when I was eighteen. I spent three years in Tanzania. Additionally, in the twenty-sixth GCI Nia stated: "You never say his name, you never say Dave. Is that a cultural thing?" Adichie's choice of female characters to fulfill this role of preserving cultural values via the above mentioned GCI is not a trivial matter. As an African, the writer knows quite well that children's education weighs essentially on women in Africa. So choosing female characters to fulfill such roles as the ones being described via these GCIs is unquestionably her sensitizing message to raise African women's consciousness for the preservation of African cultures and traditions especially as the onus is basically on them to perpetuate these social values handing them down from generation to generation. A careful look into the examined GCI so far uncovers Adichie's message that women and mainly African women in particular should at all costs take up the challenge of never giving in to any foreign culture to engulf theirs no matter how hard that might be for them as it is the case with Chinaza in this short story. Unlike Ofodile's beliefs, immigrants can succeed in their host country without losing their cultural identity, disguising themselves or contracting false marriages to get official papers. They can also achieve great dreams in the foreign countries hosting them without having to pass themselves off as the natives of their host countries. In this vein, Nia's case in the short story is a vivid example. No doubt, this is the essence of Adichie's various messages encoded in the GCI of the short story examined so far.

In other respects, the writer has implied serious messages via the twenty-second and the twenty-third GCIs. Chinaza's utterance, "I deserved to know before we got married" in the twenty-second GCI implies that Ofodile her new husband hid part of his private life as a single from her before their wedding which she is blaming. This statement that functions as a representative speech act has been purposefully used by the writer to indicate that the social problem being castigated here is a general one to fight against especially as Representative speech acts are assertions about a state of affairs in the world. Through this GCI which is a bride's legitimate claim, Adichie is certainly claiming that serious issues be discussed between fiancées before marriage to avoid traumatic trickery like the one being witnessed by Chinaza in this short story.

Ofodile's retort to Chinaza's claim in the same twenty-second GCI poses another problem related to marriage. In fact instead of recognizing his fault and asking his wife to forgive him for hiding

the marriage he arranged on papers with another woman before their wedding, Ofodile rather said the following: “It wouldn’t have made a difference. Your uncle and aunt had decided. Were you going to say no to people who have taken care of you since your parents died?” via this GCI Adichie is unquestionably highlighting the problem of forced marriage and the negative effects of some African cultural bondages that can be detrimental for wedding. Ofodile’s utterance in this GCI clearly indicate that Chinaza’s uncle and Aunt made the choice of the man she got married with in her place. More to the point, following Ofodile’s statement in the GCI, Chinaza could not say no to that determinant choice imposed on her. Ofodile’s statement that “It wouldn’t have made a difference” implies that she had to bear with her relatives’ choice whether she wanted it or not. The writer is depicting via this the reality that up to now, in some African families, women are not free to choose their husbands themselves owing to a number of reasons among which cultural and traditional dictates. Actually, Ofodile’s utterance in the GCI has the function of a representative speech act. This means that the social problem being discussed here by the writer is not endemic but rather pandemic. Adichie, via this depiction of marriage that is not without unfortunate consequences for the couple is no doubt castigating a social practice that has to stop in African societies for happier families. Although parents and relatives have important roles to play in their descendants’ marriage process, mature children, should be allowed to arrange their wedding as they want in the total openness of their minds and hearts without any impositions from their parents’ side. This is what Adichie is highlighting in Ofodile’s reply to Chinaza’s question in the twenty-third GCI. In fact Ofodile’s reply in this GCI implies his regret of his mother’s choice for him because his expectations of that choice were not met. The other key message implied in the twenty-third GCI is that the choice of a fiancé should be based not only on true love but also on more objective, rational and reliable criteria than those evoked in the above mentioned GCI by Ofodile.

In other respects, marriage is so delicate that it shouldn’t be arranged hastily. This is what the writer implies as message in the first particularized conversational implicature (PCI) wherein the maxims of quality and relation have been flouted through such strategies as irony, hyperbole, metaphor and discontinuity. In this PCI, Chinaza actually complains about the great haste she witnessed in the process of her marriage arrangement when she said: “Yes Aunty.” ‘Plenty of time’ was two weeks. Indeed, it is not a trivial matter that Adichie has designed a female character not a male one to complain about violent hurry in marriage arrangement process. In truth, it is because when it happens so, women are the more victimized. It is also revelatory of the female writer’s feministic approach to defend the female gender. Thus Chinaza’s complaint here is indirectly Adichie’s cry from the heart about what the female gender is victim of in African societies today as regards married life.

The writer has used many particularized conversational implicatures to enfold the same message. As a matter of fact, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, the eleventh, and the twelfth PCIs have all been used to emphasize cultural alienation. Insisting on the same message a number of times as Adichie has done in her studied short story via both generalized and particularized conversational implicatures testifies to the importance she lends it. Indeed, culture is what identifies and distinguishes every single one of us from others not pertaining to our social community. From that perspective, alienating it is denying one’s identity. By insisting on

the fact so many a time, Adichie is calling her readership's attention to the potential danger that cultural alienation represents for societies in the present, and in long run.

The fourteenth particularized implicature underlines, the difficulties pertaining to illegal immigration. Illegal immigrants are not authorized to work in the USA. For that reason, some arrange false marriage with Native American women to obtain a green card that allows them to work in the same way as American citizens, but it usually turns out badly. Such is Ofodile's case in this PCI threatened to be reported to immigration by the American woman he arranged marriage with on papers because she found out about his marriage with Chinaza. In this implicature, Ofodile's reply to Chinaza implies that the latter's work permit is not ready. It further implies that Chinaza won't have her work permit unless he pays more money to his wife on papers to bring her to accept to finalize their divorce. What if that American woman takes a tougher line? Chinaza would spend her lifetime in America in deception without blossoming with a job. Adichie is certainly implying via this PCI that immigrating to one's dream countries is good, but legal immigration is far better for one's security and thriving living conditions on the foreign land.

CONCLUSION

This study has explored both generalized and particularized conversational implicatures in "The Arrangers of Marriage" from Adichie's *The Thing Around your Neck* from a pragmatic approach. The choice of conducting such a research work stemmed from the remark that a lot of non-explicit pragmatically enfolded messages that a simple reading is not sufficient to grasp have been pragmatically enfolded in the short story by the writer after reading it. In fact, the investigation aims at unveiling these encoded messages under the spotlight of the conversational implicatures theory for a fuller understanding of the selected short story. To achieve this, a descriptive qualitative method has been employed. This method has not only allowed the collection of all the generalized and particularized implicatures embedded in the short story but it has also permitted to describe the pragmatic phenomena of implicatures via the interpretation of the collected data. The study has made important findings. Among several others from the foregoing section, a large number of generalized and particularized conversational implicatures have been used to enfold cultural alienation in the short story. These conversational implicatures have helped unveil one of Adichie's encoded key messages that Africans especially those living abroad should get aware of the phenomenon and do their best to avoid the crumbling of African traditional and cultural values holding back acculturation. In the same vein, Adichie's choice of such female characters as Chinaza and Nia to rise in rebellion against the giving up of African traditional and cultural values in the examined generalized conversational implicatures is the writer's sensitizing message to raise African women's consciousness for the preservation of African cultures and traditions especially as the onus is basically on them to perpetuate these social values handing them down from generation to generation. The writer has also implied via generalized and particularized implicatures that forced marriage in African communities should come to an end. The other implied message via particularized conversational implicatures by the writer is that Africans should be encouraged to legal immigration to avoid being in trouble in their host countries. As it can be witnessed, the above few highlighted findings make the hypothesis the present investigation was premised on valid.

The study has opened up avenues for further investigations. Indeed, exploring speech acts, implications as well as conventional implicatures in the same short story would help reach a deeper level of the writer's core encoded messages therein. Such other pragmatic inferences as ironies, metaphors, references, deixis, and presupposing which have not been examined in the present study are also potential areas for further investigations that would undoubtedly help add to the findings arrived at in this paper.

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