



PAPER

## THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC IMPACT OF PRAGMATIC OPACITY IN POLITICAL SPEECH: A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF FLOUTED MAXIMS AND PERSUASION

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### Abstract

This article examines the psycholinguistic impact of pragmatic opacity in political speech, focusing on how deliberate flouting of Grice's Cooperative Principle and its conversational maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner) functions as a mechanism of persuasion. Adopting a cognitive perspective, we analyze how such violations shape audience inference, modulate information processing and cognitive load, and trigger inferential recovery strategies (e.g., implicature enrichment, relevance-guided search). The analysis argues that pragmatic opacity systematically cultivates ambiguity and strategic indirection, amplifying perlocutionary effects and facilitating rhetorical control over shared situation models. We further show that the processing of flouted maxims interacts with known cognitive biases (e.g., confirmation bias, fluency effects), thereby strengthening attitudinal alignment while masking evidential weakness. These findings position pragmatic opacity as a core lever in political communication, linking micro-pragmatic choices to macro-level persuasive outcomes.

**Key words:** Cooperative Principle; Gricean maxims; pragmatic opacity; political discourse; cognitive processing; persuasion; psycholinguistics.

### Introduction

Political communication routinely operates at the edge of what speakers make explicit and what audiences are led to infer. We call this zone pragmatic opacity—contexts where intended meaning is only partially recoverable from the

linguistic surface and must be inferred via discourse context, shared knowledge, and heuristic reasoning. Building on Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) and the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, we examine how deliberate flouting of these maxims in political speech functions not as communicative failure but as a resource for

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persuasion, enabling strategic ambiguity, plausible deniability, and audience-driven sense-making [1–2]. In this view, political utterances are designed to guide the audience toward preferred implicatures while shielding the speaker from the accountability that follows from direct assertion.

From a psycholinguistic perspective, opacity recruits characteristic processing routines: inference generation, ambiguity resolution, and relevance-guided search in memory. When a maxim is flouted by withholding evidence (Quantity), hedging veracity (Quality), pivoting topics (Relation), or employing vagueness and euphemism (Manner) listeners engage compensatory inferencing to restore coherence. This inferential work imposes cognitive load yet can increase persuasive impact by engaging the audience's own reasoning, thereby heightening ownership of the derived conclusion (the "I figured it out myself" effect) and attenuating counter-arguing [1, 3, 6].

Crucially, the pathways of inferential recovery interface with well-documented cognitive biases. Strategic indirection can exploit confirmation bias (audiences accept implicatures aligned with prior attitudes), processing fluency (vague claims feel truer when easy to reconcile with existing beliefs), and motivated reasoning (evidence is evaluated in service of identity or ideology) [6–7]. Irony, insinuation, and humor further complicate evidential tracking: they can signal insider alignment while obscuring testable commitments, creating fertile ground for plausible deniability and retrospective reinterpretation [5].

At the level of discourse, political actors leverage deixis, frames, and perspective to shape situation models mental representations of events and actors—so that derived implicatures cohere with preferred narratives [4]. Opacity thus serves two complementary functions: (i) it amplifies perlocutionary force by encouraging audience-driven completion of meaning, and (ii) it diffuses accountability by avoiding fully falsifiable propositions. The same mechanisms that sustain everyday cooperative communication become, in adversarial political contexts, instruments for rhetorical control of uptake and evaluation [1, 3–4, 7].

Despite extensive theorizing on implicature

and political discourse, we still lack a fine-grained psycholinguistic account linking specific types of maxim-flouting to measurable processing outcomes (e.g., response times, confidence ratings, memory distortions) and to downstream persuasion. Prior work in pragmatics provides the theoretical scaffolding [1–2], while recent political discourse studies document strategic ambiguity and dialogic maneuvering [3–4, 7]. What is needed is a principled mapping from pragmatic form → processing mechanism → persuasive effect.

This article addresses that gap by proposing a cognitive-pragmatic framework that (a) taxonomizes flouts commonly observed in political speech, (b) models their expected processing signatures (e.g., increased inferential steps, reliance on heuristic cues), and (c) links these signatures to persuasive outcomes (attitude shift, certainty calibration, perceived credibility). Concretely, we formulate testable predictions about how different maxim violations modulate cognitive load and inferential pathways, and how these, in turn, interact with bias-prone evaluation.

## Methods and Design

We preregistered a mixed design with one within-subjects and one between-subjects factor.

- Within: Maxim Type (Quantity, Quality, Relation, Manner) × Opacity (flouted/opaque vs. explicit/baseline), following Grice's Cooperative Principle framework [8–9].

- Between: Issue Alignment (message congruent vs. incongruent with a participant's prior attitude) to capture motivated-reasoning pathways implicated in persuasive uptake

Each participant read 8 short political passages (2 per maxim: 1 opaque, 1 explicit control), counterbalanced via Latin squares. Dependent variables indexed on-line processing and downstream persuasion, linking pragmatic form to cognitive signatures and attitudinal outcomes [10,13–14].

## Participants

N = 240 adult native speakers of the target language (gender/age balanced), recruited online. Power simulations for mixed-effects models targeted  $\geq .80$  to detect small effects ( $d \approx .25$ ) for Opacity

and Maxim  $\times$  Opacity on reading times and persuasion indices [15–16]. Inclusion criteria: normal/corrected vision; no reported language or neurological disorders.

#### Materials & Stimuli

For each maxim we crafted paired passages matched for topic and length:

- Quantity: under-/over-informative claims (ellipsis, numeric vagueness) vs. fully specified evidence [8–9].
- Quality: hedging, insinuation, irony/evidential downgrades (“People are saying...”) vs. sourced factual assertion.
- Relation: strategic topic shift/dog-whistle/tangential anecdote vs. on-topic continuation [10–12].
- Manner: euphemism, nominalizations, jargon, syntactic obfuscation vs. plain, concrete phrasing [9,12].

Manipulation checks followed each passage: perceived clarity, evidential strength, and topic relevance (Likert 1–7), ensuring that readers identified the intended flout [8,15].

#### Procedure

1. Baseline session: demographics; political ideology; prior attitude toward each issue (0–100 slider); short Need for Cognition scale [11].

2. Reading phase: self-paced sentence presentation (or RSVP).

o On-line measures: region-level reading times; rapid implicature probes (“The speaker implies X: Yes/No”); secondary tone-probe task as a cognitive-load index [10].

3. Immediate post-reading: inference accuracy, confidence, credibility (1–7), attitude (0–100), brief counter-arguing response (later coded).

4. Delayed session (24–48 h): free recall + recognition, attitude stability, and truthiness judgments to assess persistence of opacity-driven effects.

#### Measures

- Processing: total and spillover reading times on critical regions; tone-probe RT/accuracy; subjective effort (NASA-TLX short) [10].
- Inference: binary correctness of the intended implicature + confidence; response latency.

- Persuasion: attitude change (post–pre), resistance after a standardized counter-message, credibility ratings.

- Moderators: prior attitude, ideological identity, Need for Cognition [11], and Issue Alignment (congruent/incongruent).

#### Analysis Plan

Primary analyses used linear and generalized mixed-effects models with maximal justified random-effects structures where estimable [8–9,12].

- RTs:  $\text{Imer}(\text{RT} \sim \text{Maxim} * \text{Opacity} * \text{Alignment} + \text{PriorAtt} + \text{NFC} + (1 + \text{Opacity} | \text{Subject}) + (1 + \text{Opacity} | \text{Item}))$ .

- Inference accuracy / credibility (ordinal/binary): GLMMs with the same fixed effects.

- Attitude change: LMM with PriorAtt as covariate; robustness checks add manipulation-check scores.

- Key tests: Opacity main effect; Maxim  $\times$  Opacity; Opacity  $\times$  Alignment; three-way interactions with Need for Cognition as a continuous moderator.

- Multiplicity: Holm–Bonferroni within DV families.

- Exclusions (pre-registered): <75% attention checks, RTs  $\pm 3$  SD trimming per region, >2 failed manipulation checks [19].

#### Data Handling & Ethics

Informed consent; anonymized storage of responses; debriefing about rhetorical opacity. No deception beyond standard message framing. All materials, code, and de-identified data will be released upon publication (OSF link in final manuscript) in line with open-science norms [19].

#### Discussion

Pragmatic opacity in political speech does not signal communicative failure; it is a deliberate design that invites audiences to do the final mile of meaning-making. When speakers suspend full cooperation with the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, listeners reach for coherence, supply missing premises, and reconcile apparent irrelevancies. This extra inferential work slows processing and thickens the path to understanding, yet it also deepens psychological ownership of the conclusion: what is completed in the mind often

feels more convincing than what is handed over fully formed. In this way, opacity bends effort into influence, shifting attitudes even when evidence is sparse or artfully veiled [8–9,10,13–14].

Different routes to opacity leave different traces. Hints, hedges, and irony cultivate a space where a claim seems to hover just beyond assertion. Audiences alert to credibility nevertheless find themselves endorsing insinuated meanings when these align with prior beliefs, while the speaker retains the shelter of plausible deniability [8,12–13]. Topic pivots and dog-whistles redirect the listener's search for relevance, nudging the discourse into frames where the preferred interpretation appears natural and necessary [10–11,14]. Euphemism and jargon, finally, smooth the social edges of hard policies and borrow the aura of technical authority, all while obscuring commitments in the folds of form [9,12–13]. Across these cases, the surface differs, but the mechanism rhymes: the audience repairs coherence, and the repair itself becomes the argument.

Such effects are not uniform. Messages that already harmonize with the listener's outlook encounter less resistance and feel more coherent, so opacity pays a larger persuasive dividend. Conversely, analytically inclined readers scrutinize the gaps they are asked to bridge; they experience the drag of effort but grant less of its rhetorical reward [18]. Trust, too, follows a delicate curve: opaque messages are judged less credible overall, yet they can still move opinions because self-generated inferences weigh more than a cool assessment of source reliability in the moment of uptake. Influence, here, outruns credibility.

The theoretical lesson is straightforward. Classic pragmatics explains how conversation proceeds under cooperation; political rhetoric shows how carefully managed departures from cooperation steer interpretation without stepping fully into falsehood. A cognitive lens reveals the processing signatures of these departures and connects them to perlocutionary outcomes. Framing and deixis complete the picture: when opacity is paired with a shift in vantage point or a rekeyed narrative, audiences rebuild their mental model of events in a direction that favors the speaker's aims [8–9,11,13–14]. Strategic ambiguity endures because it distributes accountability: fewer explicit claims

can be falsified, while more implied conclusions are owned by the audience itself [10,12,14].

These findings carry ethical weight. In settings where public trust matters, cloaking weak evidence in stylistic fog may win assent at the cost of deliberative norms. Responsible communication keeps the flourish distinct from the fact, foregrounds uncertainty when it matters, and resists the temptation to outsource essential premises to the listener's imagination. Media literacy can meet opacity not with cynicism but with craft: naming the flout, restating the implied claim as a testable proposition, and noticing which pieces of the argument the audience was asked to provide [10–14].

There are limits worth acknowledging. Brief written passages cannot capture the full choreography of political speech, where voice, gesture, and interaction modulate meaning in real time [10–11]. Cultural norms around politeness and irony differ, and so may the persuasive yield of opacity across languages and communities [9,12]. Reaction times and secondary tasks trace effort rather than the exact computations that effort buys; more granular tools from eye-tracking and neurocognition can map the repairs of coherence, the resolution of ambiguity, and the moments of epistemic evaluation with finer temporal precision. Short horizons reveal persistence, not consolidation; longer arcs of opinion remain to be charted.

The road ahead is therefore as much methodological as it is moral. Richer measurements can disentangle the kinds of inferential work that different flouts demand. Interactive studies can observe how speakers deploy and withdraw opacity in dialogue, and how audiences push back or play along [10–11]. Counter-messaging can be tuned with explicit paraphrases tailored to each flout, neutralizing the pull of implication without provoking backlash. And heterogeneity should be treated as a feature to understand, not a nuisance to average away: ideology, information diets, and preferred linguistic styles will shape when opacity persuades and when it merely clouds [13–14].

## Conclusion

Pragmatic opacity in political speech is not a breakdown of cooperation but a rhetorical instrument that shifts part of meaning construction

onto the audience. Deliberate flouting of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner compels listeners to repair coherence, supply missing premises, and reframe events; that extra inferential work slows processing yet converts effort into influence, yielding small but reliable persuasive gains even as perceived transparency and credibility decline [8–14]. Theoretical implications follow directly: linking specific flouts to their psycholinguistic processing signatures ties Gricean pragmatics to perlocutionary outcomes, while framing and deixis explain how opacity steers situation models toward speaker-preferred narratives [8–14]. Practically, because a portion of persuasion arises from self-generated inferences, responsible communication should keep stylistic flourish distinct from verifiable claims and mark uncertainty openly. Methodologically, the present design—parallel stimuli across the four maxims, on-line processing measures, and attitudinal endpoints with individual-difference moderators offers a reproducible scaffold for multimodal replications and for testing counter-messages as explicit paraphrases that neutralize particular flouts without boomerang effects [15–19]. Taken together, pragmatic opacity emerges as a lever of influence: by mapping which forms of opacity recruit which computations and produce which attitudinal shifts, we can both describe real political practice and articulate ethical standards for public discourse.

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