

Gendered Pragmatics: Flouting of Maxims in Female Conversations in Tilik

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Abstract

This study investigates the ways in which female characters in the Indonesian short film *Tilik* flout Grice's conversational maxims and how these pragmatic deviations reflect gendered communication patterns. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach, eight selected utterances from the film's dialogue were analyzed, focusing on interactions involving characters such as Bu Tejo, Yu Ning, and Bu Tri. The analysis identified instances of flouting across all four Gricean maxims: quantity, quality, relevance, and manner, with the maxim of quality occurring most frequently. These pragmatic strategies generated conversational implicatures that conveyed implicit moral evaluations and social criticism, particularly toward the character Dian. To enrich the interpretative framework, the study incorporated Tannen's (1990) theory of gendered communication, emphasizing features such as indirectness, gossip, indirect criticism, and shared assumptions in women's discourse. The findings demonstrate that maxim flouting in *Tilik* corresponds closely with these gendered communicative strategies, serving as a means of reinforcing social solidarity while simultaneously negotiating social norms. Overall, the study reveals that flouting conversational maxims functions as a culturally embedded and gendered pragmatic practice through which women construct meaning and express judgment indirectly.

Keywords: Flouting maxims, Grice's maxims, implicature, gendered pragmatics, *Tilik*.

Introduction

Language functions as the fundamental medium through which humans communicate and construct social interaction (Amberg & Vause, 2009). It enables individuals to convey ideas, emotions, intentions, and experiences, thereby facilitating cooperation and mutual understanding within society (Mailani et al., 2022). As inherently social beings, humans rely on communication to exchange information and maintain interpersonal relationships. Communication refers to the process through which messages are transmitted between individuals or groups, involving both verbal and non-verbal elements (Laghadze, 2024). Successful communication occurs when the intended meaning of a message is accurately interpreted by the recipient, rather than merely when grammatically correct forms are produced (Alejandro, 2024). In this sense, effective communication requires shared understanding between interlocutors. Braga & Logan, (2018) emphasize that communication is complete only when the receiver understands the sender's intended message. Clarity relies on pragmatics, as it encompasses the social context and conversational norms that guide information exchange, ensuring proper interpretation and preventing miscommunication. One influential framework that explains these norms is Grice's cooperative principle, which outlines how speakers collaboratively contribute to meaningful interaction.

The cooperative principle plays a crucial role in maintaining coherence and minimizing misunderstanding in everyday conversations (LIU, n.d.). Grice (1975) proposed four conversational maxims that regulate effective communication. The maxim of quantity requires speakers to provide sufficient but not excessive information. The maxim of quality emphasizes truthfulness and discourages speakers from conveying information lacking evidence. The maxim of relation requires contributions to remain relevant to the topic of discussion, while the maxim of manner encourages clarity, brevity, and the avoidance of ambiguity. Together, these maxims function as practical guidelines that support cooperative interaction. Nevertheless, (Bi, 2019) in natural discourse, speakers often violate cooperative principles, either intentionally to achieve specific communicative effects or unintentionally due to various factors. These violations (Jegade, 2020) can lead to conversational implicature, enhancing the richness and complexity of verbal communication.

Beyond general conversational norms, communicative practices are also shaped by social factors, particularly gender. Gender differences influence how speakers observe or flout conversational maxims in interaction (Tran & Tran, 2020; Okamoto & Morimoto, 2022). Tannen (1990) argues that men and women typically develop distinct communicative styles due to differing social expectations and roles. Women's discourse often emphasizes relational connection, cooperation, and indirectness, whereas men's communication tends to focus on status, autonomy, and direct expression. According to Tannen (1990), women's conversational behavior is commonly characterized by four primary strategies: indirectness, gossip, indirect criticism, and shared assumptions.

Indirectness refers to the practice of expressing intentions or evaluations implicitly rather than directly. Speakers convey meaning through hints, narratives, or rhetorical expressions that allow listeners to infer the intended message. This strategy serves to maintain politeness, avoid confrontation, and preserve social harmony (Grainger & Mills, 2016). For instance, instead of explicitly accusing someone of infidelity, a speaker may allude to changes in behavior, enabling the listener to draw conclusions independently.

Gossip, in this framework, does not solely imply negative talk but rather involves discussing absent individuals as a means of sharing information and reinforcing social bonds. Within female groups, gossip functions as a mechanism for establishing solidarity, transmitting social norms, and constructing shared perspectives (Mohammad & Vásquez, 2015). Tannen (1990) describes gossip as a form of rapport talk, emphasizing its role in strengthening interpersonal connections rather than merely exchanging factual information.

Indirect criticism involves expressing disapproval implicitly rather than through overt judgment. This may occur through storytelling, comparisons, or ironic remarks that suggest evaluation without directly stating it. Such a strategy allows speakers to communicate criticism while minimizing social tension and maintaining relational harmony (Burgers, 2023). For example, Indirect criticism is prevalent in Japanese workplaces, utilizing strategies like suggestions, invitations, or questions to express disapproval subtly. This approach helps maintain politeness and relational stability, minimizing social tension while effectively addressing shortcomings without direct confrontation (Santoso et al., 2024).

Shared assumptions rely on collective knowledge and common cultural understanding among conversational participants. Speakers often make references that presume mutual

awareness, thereby conveying meaning efficiently and reinforcing group cohesion. Statements such as “You know how that kind of person is” exemplify this strategy, as they depend on shared social experiences for interpretation (Jiang, n.d.).

Supporting these perspectives, Lakoff (1973) notes that women’s language frequently includes hedges, tag questions, and polite expressions, reflecting a tendency toward maintaining interpersonal harmony. These linguistic features often shape how women manage conversational implicature and flout maxims in socially sensitive situations (Kamal & Mhamed, 2023). Furthermore, West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gendered communication patterns arise from differential socialization processes and power relations. Their social power theory suggests that individuals with less social authority are more likely to adopt polite and indirect communicative strategies, influencing how conversational norms are negotiated in interaction.

This study examines the flouting of Grice’s conversational maxims in the Indonesian short film *Tilik*, with particular attention to female conversational practices. It seeks to identify the types of maxim flouting that occur and to analyze the pragmatic meanings generated through implicature. Additionally, the study explores how these pragmatic strategies reflect gendered communication patterns as conceptualized by Tannen (1990). By integrating Grice’s theory of conversational implicature with gendered communication theory, this research highlights how indirectness, gossip, and shared assumptions function as pragmatic resources in female interaction.

While previous studies have explored maxim flouting and gendered discourse separately, limited research has examined their intersection within Indonesian cinematic contexts. This study addresses this gap by analyzing how pragmatic deviations from cooperative norms operate within culturally situated female conversations in *Tilik*. Through this integrated approach, the research offers empirical insights into the role of gender in shaping pragmatic meaning and contributes to a deeper understanding of conversational strategies in Indonesian social discourse.

Method

This study applies a qualitative descriptive research method to examine, describe, and analyze how female characters in the dialogue flout maxims and generate implicatures. The data source is the short film *Tilik*, released by Ravacana Films in 2018, which is available on YouTube. The data consist of eight utterances spoken by female characters that flout Grice’s conversational maxims. These utterances were selected for their clear examples of maxim flouting and potential implicatures, particularly instances reflecting gender-based conversational strategies.

Data were collected through documentary techniques. These techniques involved several steps. First, the researcher conducted multiple viewings of the film to understand the context of the female characters’ dialogue. Next, all spoken utterances were transcribed into written form, with a particular focus on conversations involving female characters. From these transcriptions, utterances showing signs of implicature and maxim violations were selected and categorized according to the type of maxim flouted. They were also marked with timestamps to ensure accuracy and accessibility. Finally, the utterances were classified, interpreted, and

analyzed using Grice's theory of non-observance maxims and the concept of implicature. Tannen's theories were also applied to identify gender-based pragmatic conversational patterns.

Results and Discussion

As Grice (1975) explains, flouting conversational maxims occurs when speakers purposely disregard the cooperative principle in order to imply a different meaning beyond the literal interpretation of their utterance. In this study, eight utterances from the short film *Tilik* were found to flout Grice's maxims. The analysis revealed that the characters flouted all four types of maxims. The researcher summarized the data findings as follows:

Table 1. Data of Flouting Maxims in *Tilik* Short Film

No	Types of Flouting Maxim	Total
1	Flouting the Maxim of Quality	5
2	Flouting the Maxim of Quantity	5
3	Flouting the Maxim of Relation/ Relevance	3
4	Flouting the Maxim of Manner	2
Total		15

The table above shows that the maxim of quality was flouted five times, maxim of quantity was also flouted five times, maxim of relation was flouted in three times, and maxim of manner was flouted two times.

1. Flouting the Maxim of Quality

This type of flouting occurs when the speaker makes a statement that is not true or expresses something that is believed to be false or misleading. The dialogue example below illustrates the flouting of maxim quality.

Data 1

Yu Ning : *Njenengan ki kok yo mbok ora waton nek ngendikan*
(You shouldn't just say things carelessly like that.)

Bu Tejo : *Waton pie lo Yu Ning ki, la saiki ngomongke Dian kabeh je, neng facebook we yo do rame ngono kui lo, deloken komen-komene*
(What do you mean carelessly, Yu Ning? The whole neighborhood's talking about her! It's all over Facebook too, just look at the comments.)

Bu tejo : *lo layo, neng saiki cobo do mikir aku ki bukane nyilikke bondone keluargane Dian lo yo, cetho ket cilik Dian ki ditinggal minggat karo bapakne, yo. Ibune we ndue sawah we rasepiroo, mulakno rampung SMA dewekne ora kuliah, nembe nyambut gawe, handphone anyar, motor anyar, hoooh ra?*

(Exactly. Now think about it for a second. I'm not trying to look down on Dian's family or anything, okay? But let's be real, her dad ran off when she was little, her mom only has that tiny rice field. That's why after high school, she didn't go to college. And now suddenly she's got a new phone, a new motorbike... right?)

(03:27)

In this segment, Bu Tejo makes several assumptions and speculative statements about Dian's background and financial situation. Although she presents her statements with confidence, the statements are not supported by verified facts. In the dialogue, Yu Ning warns Bu Tejo not to speak carelessly: "You shouldn't say things so carelessly." This suggests that Bu Tejo has made a serious accusation. However, instead of responding with evidence or clarity, Bu Tejo justifies her statements by referring to Facebook gossip: "The whole neighborhood is talking about her! It's all over Facebook too, just look at the comments. She then continues with a series of unverified personal accusations about Dian's family history, implying that Dian's new phone and motorcycle must have come from morally questionable means: "her father ran away...her mother only has a small rice field...she didn't go to college...and now she has a new phone, a new motorcycle."

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This conversation illustrates a clear for the maxim of quality, as Bu Tejo presents speculation as if it were fact, without providing any real evidence. She uses social media gossip and assumptions based on her own observations as justification, which do not meet the standard of truthfulness required by this maxim.

The implication behind Bu Tejo's words is that she suspects Dian of doing something inappropriate or immoral to afford a lifestyle that doesn't seem to match her background. Even though Bu Tejo doesn't say it directly, her use of background information and suggestive questions leads others to think that way. By not saying it directly, she delivers a strong judgment in a casual way, showing how people can use indirect language to criticize others without directly accusing them.

Data 2

Bu Tejo : *Eh yu sam kiro-kiro menurutmu dian ki nganggo susuk ora?*
(Yu Sam, do you think Dian might be using *susuk*?)

Yu Sam : *Ketoke hoo, iso mungkin iso ora sih bu, la ncen dian kan bocahe wes ayu, kan akeh seng seneng to?*
(Maybe. It could be true, or maybe not. She is already pretty, and many people are attracted to her)

Bu Tejo : *nek modal ayu ki ra cukup, iyo ra? wong lanang kabeh dadi seneng ki yo pesti nganggo susuk barang.*
(Just being pretty isn't enough, right? So many men are interested, she must be using *susuk*)

(16:34)

In this dialogue, Bu Tejo starts the conversation by asking Dian if she uses *susuk*, a mystical practice believed to make a person more attractive. Although Yu Sam responds carefully, stating that it may or may not be true, Bu Tejo immediately strengthens the assumption, saying that physical beauty is not enough to attract many men and implying that Dian must be using *susuk*. Bu Tejo flouts the maxim of quality by presenting an unverified

belief and cultural myth as a reasonable explanation. Her claim lacks factual evidence and is based only on speculation and social stereotypes. The implicature created suggests that Dian's attractiveness is unnatural and morally questionable. This implies negative judgments about her character while Bu Tejo avoiding a direct accusation.

Furthermore, according to Tannen's (1990) theory of gendered communication, these utterances reflect a pattern of indirect criticism through implicature. In this pattern, female speakers imply judgment without direct confrontation. This aligns with women's tendency to maintain politeness and social harmony while expressing criticism. Additionally, Bu Tejo's statements function as part of gossip for social bonding, a feature of female communication that strengthens group cohesion by sharing morally ambiguous narratives. Her criticism is grounded in shared assumptions and culturally familiar examples, which reinforce group solidarity while indirectly marginalizing Dian. According to (Tannen, 1990), women tend to maintain social relationships by using indirect communication, such as implicature, instead of direct confrontation.

2. Flouting the Maxim of Quantity

The quantity maxim is flouted when the speaker provides too much information. It is also flouted when the speaker provides too little information that does not meet the needs of the conversation. The dialogue example below illustrates the flouting of maxim quantity.

Data 3

Bu Tejo: *Dian ki gaweane opo yo? Kok jare tau omong yen gaweane ra genah ngono kui. Kan mesakke bu Lurah to, yen nganti ndue mantu gaweane ora nggenah ngono kui lo yo. Ono seng tau ngomong yen gaweane Dian ki mlebu metu hotel ngono kui lo. Terus neng mall karo wong lanang barang ki hahaha gawean opo yo?*

What does Dian actually do for a living? I've heard people saying her job isn't exactly respectable. If Bu Lurah ends up with a daughter-in-law whose job is like that, it'd be such a shame. Some people say she's always in and out of hotels, you know. And she goes to the mall with different men too. So really, what kind of job does she have?)

(01:21)

This utterance flouts the maxim of quantity because the speaker provides more information than necessary to answer the first question. The question "What does Dian actually do for a living?" could be answered with a simple response. Instead of seeking explanation, Bu Tejo adds speculative and negative details about Dian, such as rumors of her going in and out of hotels and being seen at the mall with men. These details are unnecessary for identifying Dian's job, but Bu Tejo uses them to expand the topic into a negative narrative. By providing too much information, Bu Tejo directs the listener toward suspicion and judgment. This over-informative response violates the maxim of quantity and functions pragmatically to construct a negative social image of Dian through implication rather than direct accusation.

Data 4

Yu Ning: *Bu tri, lawong saiki mlaku-mlaku neng mall salahe opo to?*

(Bu Tri! What's wrong with just hanging out at the mall)

Bu Tri: *Loh wong mlaku-mlakune ceto karo om-om yo bu tejo?*

(Well, she's clearly hanging out with some older guy. Right, Bu Tejo?)
Bu Tejo: *Yo ramungkin mung mlaku-mlaku tok karo nyambi to kui*
(There's no way it's just hanging out, she's definitely doing something on
the side too)
(15:53)

The conversation begins with Yu Ning questioning the assumption that hanging out at the mall is suspicious in itself: "What's wrong with just hanging out at the mall?" However, instead of providing a direct and proportional response, Bu Tri escalates the issue by inserting a specific but vague claim: "She's clearly hanging out with an older guy. This statement introduces an unnecessary detail that shifts the narrative from an innocent activity to something morally questionable without any real evidence. Then Bu Tejo further exaggerates by saying: "There's no way she's just hanging out, she's definitely doing something on the side too" Here she adds more information than the situation requires and puts it in a way that invites suspicion and judgment.

Bu Tejo strengthens this implication by saying: "There's no way she's just hanging out, she's definitely doing something on the side, too." This statement amplifies suspicion without directly accusing Dian, leading the listener to assume immoral behavior on her. The indirect comment creates a strong implicature, conveying a negative assumption about Dian's actions without stating it explicitly. This strategy enables Bu Tejo to influence others' perceptions while avoiding direct responsibility for the accusation.

From a gendered pragmatic perspective, this conversation illustrates several features of the female conversational style, as described by Tannen (1990). First, the interaction demonstrates indirect criticism through implicature, both Bu Tri and Bu Tejo avoid directly accusing Dian but still imply a strong moral judgment. This indirectness is a face-saving strategy that maintains social harmony while expressing criticism. Second, the conversation reflects the use of gossip for social bonding, as the discussion about Dian takes place among women and serves to affirm shared values and reinforce group cohesion. Finally, shared assumptions such as "older guy" and "something on the side" rely on shared assumptions that are culturally understood by the participants. These indirect, suggestive statements depend on mutual cultural knowledge and unspoken norms, making them effective tools for covertly conveying criticism and building group solidarity without overt conflict. This segment illustrates how female conversational strategies, shaped by pragmatics and gendered norms, create social meaning within a cultural context.

3. Flouting the Maxim of Relation

The relation maxim is being flouted when the speaker responds in a way that is not relevant to the current topic by giving responses that are unrelated or off-topic. The dialogue example below illustrates the flouting of maxim relation.

Data 5

Bu Tejo: *oh saiki aku ngerti kenopo Bu Lurah ki nganti ngeblak meneh*
(Ah, now I understand why Bu Lurah is sick again.)

Yu Sam: *la ngopo?* (Why's that?)

Bu Tejo: *Mesti goro-goro mikirke anake yen due hubungan karo Dian yo ra?*
(She's probably sick from worrying about her son getting involved with Dian. Right?)

(14:33)

In this example, Bu Tejo says, "Ah, now I understand why Bu Lurah is sick again," to which Yu Sam responds by asking, "Why's that?" However, instead of offering a medically or contextually relevant answer, Bu Tejo responds with a personal speculation: "She's probably sick from worrying about her son getting involved with Dian. Right?" Her response does not directly address Bu Lurah's illness in any factual or health-related way, but instead changes the subject to gossip about Dian's rumored relationship with Bu Lurah's son.

This is a clear flouting of the relation maxim, as the response is not appropriate or relevant to the original concern, which is Bu Lurah's physical health. Instead, Bu Tejo uses the moment to insert her own assumption, linking Bu Lurah's condition to Dian's presence, which is a personal and speculative topic.

The implication behind Bu Tejo's statement is that Dian is a negative influence and a source of trouble for others, even someone as respected as Bu Lurah. Although this is never directly stated, her unrelated response creates the impression that Dian is the cause of trouble, supporting negative assumptions about her character.

Data 6

Yu Ning : *Bu Tejo ki nopo e? gor meneng wae. Wes mau ra gelem ngewangi nyurung trek. Saiki mong meneng wae. Ojo-ojo bener mau ki duit seng dikei gotrek kui mau duit seng ra berkah yo to?*

(What's wrong with you, Bu Tejo? You've been silent the whole time. First, you didn't want to help push the truck, and now you're just being quiet. Could the money Gotrek gave you earlier have been dirty money?)

Bu Tejo: *Astaghfirullah, Ya Allah.*

Yu Ning: *Seng ngarani Dian nganggo susuk barang. Ki, marakke trek e Gotrek mau mogok to?*

(You were the one accusing Dian of using *susuk*. Maybe that's why Gotrek's truck broke down, huh?)

Bu Tejo: *Eh Yu Ning, lek mu ngomong ki ati-ati lho ya.*

(Hey, Yu Ning, you should be careful when you talk)

(18:25)

In this dialogue, Yu Ning flouts the maxim of relation. The first problem is that Bu Tejo doesn't say anything and won't help push the truck. This is a practical and situational problem. However, Yu Ning suddenly changes the subject by linking these actions to moral causes, such as dirty money that she gave to Gotrek and her accusations of Dian uses *susuk*. These assumptions are irrelevant to the mechanical problem of the truck breaking down. By introducing these unrelated moral issues, Yu Ning violates the maxim of relation.

From Tannen's (1990) perspective on gendered communication, Bu Tejo's utterance shows patterns often seen in female discourse. First, she uses implicature to indirectly criticize Dian, implying that she is the cause of stress and illness without making a direct accusation. This strategy enables her to express her opinion while maintaining surface-level politeness and social harmony. Second, the conversation serves as an act of gossip for social bonding as Bu Tejo builds rapport with the other women by sharing morally charged commentary about a mutual acquaintance. Finally, her use of the rhetorical question "Right?" and her assumption that others will understand her implication relies on shared assumptions. Female speakers often draw on collective cultural knowledge to communicate implicitly in this way. These gendered strategies highlight how Bu Tejo indirectly conveys negative perceptions of Dian without confronting her, making the gossip appear casual yet powerful in shaping listeners' interpretations.

4. Flouting the Maxim of Manner

This kind of flouting happens when the speaker uses expressions that are unclear or ambiguous. The dialogue example below illustrates the flouting of maxim manner.

Data 7

Bu Tejo: *Heh, aku ki dadi kelingan to, aku ki pernah nyonangi Dian muntah-muntah pas kui ki wayah bengi.*

(I remember seeing Dian throwing up late at night.)

Bu Tri : *tenan ora e bu?*

(Seriously?)

Bu tejo: *Heh tenan! Paskui aku ki bali seko pengajian, hooh to? Neng cedak omahe mbah Dar kae lo, nggon enggok-enggokan kae, kae lak petengan to? Nah ono wong muntah-muntah seko nduwur motor, bareng tak cedaki, la kok Dian. Bukane aroh-aroh aku malah nginggati cobo, hih kui ki nak ora mergo muntah meteng nopo kok dadak nginggati aku cobo, hooh ra?*

(Yes, it is. I was on my way home from religious gathering, near the dark corner in Mbah Dar's house. I saw someone throwing up on a motorbike. When I got closer, it turned out to be Dian. Instead of greeting me, she immediately left. If it was not because of pregnancy, why would she leave so suddenly? Right?)

(05:51)

This dialogue can be categorized as a flouting of the maxim of manner because Bu Tejo delivers her message in an indirect and ambiguous manner. She never explicitly states her accusation, instead ends her utterance with a rhetorical question: "If it was not because of pregnancy, why would she leave so suddenly?" This forces the listener to infer the intended meaning. Such ambiguity violates the maxim of manner, which requires speakers to be clear, orderly, and unambiguous. By avoiding direct accusation and relying on implication, Bu Tejo guides the audience toward a specific conclusion. This lack of clarity enables her to express suspicion without taking explicit responsibility for the accusation. Thus, flouting the maxim of manner functions as a pragmatic strategy to convey judgment indirectly.

Data 8

Yu Sam: *Bu Tejo, emange nak muntah-muntah ki mergo meteng opo piye? La iki*

buktine, Yu Nah mutah-mutah to mau ngene yo ora meteng.

(Bu Tejo, come on... just 'cause someone throws up doesn't automatically mean she's pregnant, right? Look at Yu Nah, she threw up too, and no one's calling her pregnant)

Bu Tejo: *Oalah yu Sam, Yu Sam koyo aku ki ora tau meteng wae, yo jelas bedo toyo, wong mutah mergo meteng karo wong muntah mergo masuk angin ki. Hoooh ra? Bedo banget kui*

(Oh please, Yu Sam.. like I don't know what pregnancy feels like. I've been through it, okay? Pregnancy puke and regular puke? It's totally different)

(06:39)

In this segment, Bu Tejo responds to Yu Sam's logical observation with a response that lacks clarity and relies on subjective, experimental ambiguity. Yu Sam doubts Bu Tejo's assumption that throwing up is a sign of pregnancy by pointing out that Yu Nah also threw up, but no one accused her of being pregnant. Instead of giving a clear, logical response, Bu Tejo responds with an emotionally charged and ambiguous comparison: "Pregnancy throwing up and regular throwing up? It's totally different." However, she fails to explain what the difference actually is, nor does she provide any evidence to support her claim. The statement is based on her own personal experience and assumes that others will simply agree without questioning the logic.

This goes against the principle of manner because Bu Tejo's statement is unclear, lacks specificity, and cannot be objectively verified. Instead of clarifying the difference between types of throw-up, she uses emotional emphasis ("you act like I've never been pregnant") to shut down the argument without proper reasoning. Her language creates an impression of certain knowledge while avoiding explanation.

The implication here is that Dian is probably pregnant, based simply on the symptom of throwing up, but Bu Tejo avoids stating this directly. Instead, she uses an ambiguous justification based on her "motherly instinct" and life experience to imply a serious claim without taking full responsibility for it. This tactic makes the gossip seem more credible while maintaining a level of pragmatic justification. Through this flouting, Bu Tejo indirectly validates her narrative that Dian is morally questionable, continuing the pattern of judgment without factual clarity.

This moment clearly reflects several features of female conversation. First, Bu Tejo uses implicature to indirectly criticize, expressing judgment without stating it directly. Second, she expects the other women to accept her reasoning based on mutual cultural understanding about pregnancy and morality, reflecting shared assumptions. Finally, this interaction is an example of gossip as social bonding because her statement contributes to a collective narrative about Dian, strengthening the group's moral viewpoint. Through her ambiguous language, Bu Tejo not only strengthens her social role, but also continues to label Dian as a socially problematic figure all without providing any concrete evidence.

Conclusion

The analysis of the dialogues in the short film *Tilik* shows that the characters frequently flout Grice's conversational maxims in order to convey implicit messages and social judgments. A total of eight utterances were identified as flouting maxims. Among these, the maxim of

quality and the maxim of quantity were most frequently flouted. There were five such instances each. The maxim of relation was flouted three times. The maxim of manner was flouted twice.

These floutings were often intentional, used as rhetorical strategies to express suspicion, criticism, or implication without making direct accusations. Most of the floutings served to question or implicate Dian's character, reflecting how gossip and indirect language work in social interactions. The implicatures created by these utterances reveal underlying assumptions, judgments, and power dynamics between characters, especially in how information is shared and interpreted in a social setting.

In addition to Grice's theory, the study employed Tannen's (1990) gender-based pragmatic framework to examine how female characters create meaning through implicit conversational strategies. The analysis revealed that the characters consistently employed gendered features, including indirect criticism, gossip as a means of bonding, shared assumptions, and indirectness. Indirect criticism through implicature was the most frequent pattern observed in all analyzed data segments. It was often accompanied by gossip as a form of social bonding that helped maintain group cohesion and shared moral judgments. Shared assumptions were also commonly used, particularly in ambiguous or culturally specific statements that relied on implicit understanding among the women.

These gendered strategies aligned with the flouting of maxims, creating nuanced forms of communication in which meaning was shaped more by implication than by direct expression. The female characters' speech patterns reflect personal attitudes and wider social norms related to femininity, morality, and relational communication in Indonesian culture. Overall, the combination of flouting Gricean maxims and gender-based pragmatic patterns highlights how the women in Tilik negotiate power, solidarity, and judgment through layered, indirect communication. This underscores the importance of examining both linguistic principles and gendered contexts to fully understand how meaning is constructed in everyday conversation.

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