

The Implicature and Maxim Violation on Kiky Saputri's Roasting in *Lapor Pak*

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the use of implicature and maxim violation as pragmatic strategies in political roasting, particularly in Kiky Saputri's roasting segments on the Indonesian television show *Lapor Pak*. A qualitative case study is conducted to analyze how indirect speech acts contribute to humorous yet critical commentary on political figures. The focus of this study is limited to Kiky Saputri's verbal interactions with former Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan in the "interrogation room" segment. Grice's (1975) theory of implicature and Cooperative Principle are applied to classify conversational implicature and identify violations of the four maxims: Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. The findings indicate that the most frequently flouted maxim is the Maxim of Relation, followed by the Maxim of Quality, while the Maxim of Manner is rarely violated and the Maxim of Quantity is not violated at all. These violations act as comedic tools that enable the speaker to critique without direct confrontation. The study concludes that implicature and maxim violations strengthen satire's rhetorical power in Indonesian media, functioning as both entertainment and political discourse.

Keyword : *Implicature, Maxim Violation, Political Roasting, Kiky Saputri, Indonesian Television Show*

ABSTRAK

Peneitian ini mengeksplorasi penggunaan implikatur dan pelanggaran maksim sebagai strategi pragmatik dalam roasting politik, khususnya dalam sesi roasting yang dilakukan oleh Kiky Saputri di acara televisi Indonesia Lapor Pak. Studi kasus kualitatif dilakukan untuk menganalisis bagaimana bahasa tidak langsung digunakan untuk menyampaikan komentar yang humoris namun kritis terhadap tokoh politik. Ruang lingkup penelitian ini dibatasi pada interaksi verbal Kiky Saputri dengan mantan Gubernur DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, dalam segmen "ruang interogasi". Mengacu pada teori implikatur dan Prinsip Kerja Sama dari Grice (1975), penelitian mengidentifikasi jenis implikatur serta pelanggaran terhadap empat maksim percakapan: Kuantitas, Kualitas, Relasi, dan Cara. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa implikatur partikularisasi paling dominan karena bergantung pada konteks dan pengetahuan bersama. Temuan juga menunjukkan bahwa maksim yang paling sering dilanggar adalah maksim relevansi, disusul oleh maksim kualitas, sedangkan maksim cara jarang dilanggar, dan maksim kuantitas tidak dilanggar sama sekali. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa implikatur dan pelanggaran maksim memperkuat daya retorika satire dalam media Indonesia, yang berfungsi sekaligus sebagai hiburan dan wacana politik.

Kata kunci: *Implikatur, Pelanggaran Maksim, Roasting Politik, Kiky Saputri, Acara Televisi Indonesia*

INTRODUCTION

Roasting is a distinct form of humour that plays an important role in human communication. It involves delivering humorous insults or exaggerations in a friendly and consensual setting. Rather than aiming to harm, roasting is designed to entertain both the audience and the individual being targeted. According to Dynel dan Poppi (2019), roasting operates as a form of "mock impoliteness," where offensive language is strategically used within a humorous frame to maintain social bonds rather than to break them.

Roasting employs a variety of rhetorical techniques such as irony, sarcasm, exaggeration, and implicature to convey meaning indirectly yet impactful. The speaker uses seemingly harsh language while relying on shared social understandings that the comments are not intended to cause real offense. In this way, roasting serves dual functions: it entertains and reinforces group solidarity by signaling trust and closeness among participants.

In the context of social and political discourse, roasting can act as a vehicle for critique, allowing individuals to address sensitive or controversial issues in a humorous manner. Dynel dan Poppi (2019) points out that, much like satire, roasting enables speakers to question social norms and authority figures while maintaining a humorous and non-confrontational tone. This aligns with the idea that indirectness, as explained by Grice's (1975) implicature theory, allows speakers to criticize or highlight societal flaws without direct confrontation, making the message more acceptable to broader audiences.

Roasting's persuasive power lies in its cognitive and linguistic complexity. The effectiveness of a roast depends heavily on the audience's ability to recognize implied meanings and understand contextual references. Dynel dan Poppi (2020) emphasizes that

successful roasting relies on the audience's familiarity with the social and cultural background, ensuring that the humour resonates and provokes thoughtful reflection while maintaining entertainment value. Thus, roasting is not simply an act of insult but a sophisticated communicative act that blends humour, social bonding, and indirect critique, making it a valuable subject of study in communication and discourse analysis. According to Castaldi (2021), the effectiveness of political humour depends on the audience's ability to interpret contextual cues and connect them to existing political and social knowledge. If the audience understands the references and context, they will find the humour more meaningful and thought-provoking. In the context of the television show *Lapor Pak*, the elements such as roasting, parody, and jokes intertwine to create a multifaceted and effective rhetorical effect, facilitating the delivery of social and political criticism in an engaging and thought-provoking manner.

Satire, as a rhetorical device, plays a crucial role in subtly critiquing political figures and policies by using irony, exaggeration, and sarcasm to expose contradictions and injustices. Satire helps point out flaws in the government or society without directly attacking anyone, making it a clever way to encourage change. It allows people to see problems from a different perspective and think critically about issues they might otherwise overlook. However, Castaldi (2021) further suggests that individuals may interpret political humour differently, either accepting, negotiating, or rejecting its underlying message based on their perspectives. This means that while some people find political jokes funny and insightful, others might see them as offensive or misleading, depending on their beliefs.

Political satire is one of the most effective uses of roasting, in which jokes are used to criticize political figures and

societal issues. Political humour allows criticism to be delivered subtly, reducing the risk of backlash while conveying a powerful message. This approach is particularly useful in places where direct political criticism may lead to controversy or even legal consequences. In many cases, roasting works by implying a meaning rather than explicitly stating it, which makes it more appealing to viewers. By hiding criticism within roasting, comedians can engage audience's attention who might avoid political discussions, making important issues easier to understand. For that matter, Grice's (1975) concept of implicature is essential for understanding roasting in political conversations.

Implicature refers to the implicit meanings that listeners must deduce from context and shared knowledge. Grice (1975) introduced the concept as a component of pragmatics, which investigates how meaning is conveyed beyond literal words. He introduced the Cooperative Principle, which states that conversations should adhere to four maxims, which is Maxim of Quantity - Say as much as necessary, but not too much; Maxim of Quality - Be truthful; Maxim of Relation - Be relevance; and Maxim of Manner - Be clear and organized.

However, roasting frequently works by deliberately breaking these rules in order to convey indirect meanings. For example, a comedian might provide excessive or insufficient information (violating the Maxim of Quantity), make obviously false statements (violating the Maxim of Quality), introduce unrelated topics (violating the Maxim of Relation), or use ambiguous phrasing (violating the Maxim of Manner). These violations enhance the comedic effect while subtly delivering political commentary (Bavetsia, 2023). This technique is particularly prevalent in Indonesian stand-up comedy, where performers like Kiky Saputri use indirect language to critique

political figures while maintaining humour. In violating conversational maxims, comedians create a layered form of communication where humour serves not only as entertainment but also as a means of resistance, engagement, and public discourse. This strategic use of implicature in political humour reflects the power of language to subvert dominant narratives while keeping audiences critically engaged (Alam et al., 2022).

Several studies have been conducted in the field of implicature. First of all, Kinasih & Marsella (2023) conducted an in-depth analysis of television satire in *Lapor Pak!* by examining Kiky Saputri's roasting of Anies Baswedan, a segment that gained viral attention for its sharp political humour. The study explored how satirical presuppositions and discourse structures shape the effectiveness of roasting comedy on television. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Jones' (2015) heuristic structures of television satire, the research examined the elements that make Kiky Saputri's satire widely accepted and impactful. The study found that Kiky's humour relies on pragmatic presuppositions, irony, and indirect criticism, allowing her to critique political figures while maintaining a humorous and socially acceptable tone. Additionally, the research highlighted how television provides a safe space for political satire, where figures like Anies Baswedan can engage in their own satirization while managing public perception. The findings suggest that roasting in political satire serves both as entertainment and as an alternative form of public discourse, allowing citizens to engage with political criticism in a more accessible way. Their study provides a framework for understanding how humour, satire, and linguistic strategies intersect in televised political discourse, reinforcing the role of media as a platform for both comedy and political engagement.

Additionally, Nugroho & Liemantara (2024) examined how Indonesian EFL students understand implicature in memes, particularly regarding gender representation. The study looked at how verbal and visual elements in memes interact and how well students could pick up on implied meanings related to gender stereotypes. Using theories of implicature and multimodality, the researchers gave a questionnaire with seven “men vs. women” memes to 30 English majors. Although students felt that the text and images in the memes helped them grasp the messages, the results showed that most interpreted the memes literally and missed the deeper meanings. The study found that while students recognized multimodal cues, they didn’t have enough pragmatic skills to understand implicatures. As Nugroho (2024) stated in his previous study, he claimed that in order that readers correctly interpret the implied meaning, they must fully understand the messages and contexts. Additionally, the study also found that many students agreed with the gender roles shown in the memes, even though the memes came from Western cultures. Their research highlights the potential of using memes to teach pragmatics and implicature, while also pointing out the difficulties EFL learners encounter when interpreting complex multimodal content.

This study aims to investigate how Kiky Saputri employs conversational implicature in her jokes when interacting with Anies Baswedan on Lapor Pak. Thus, the research problems formulated are:

1. What are the implied meanings of Kiky Saputri’s roastings when addressing Anies Baswedan?
2. What types of maxims are flouted in Kiky Saputri’s interaction with Anies Baswedan?
3. How is implicature related to maxim violation in Kiky Saputri’s interaction with Anies Baswedan?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Grice (1975), implicature is an embedded meaning that must be interpreted based on various contextual factors, including the speaker’s culture, religion, and beliefs. This signifies that understanding an utterance’s true intent often requires considering the speaker’s background and social environment, as these elements influence how meaning is conveyed and perceived. Grice’s theory of implicature suggests that effective communication is governed by the Cooperative Principle. This principle is based on the idea that participants in a conversation work together to achieve understanding.

Grice categorized implicature into two main types: conventional implicature and conversational implicature. While both involve implied meaning, they differ in their dependence on context. Conventional implicature is tied to specific words, whereas conversational implicature is derived from the context and interaction between speakers (Rhamadani et al., 2022).

He also introduced the Cooperative Principle, which suggests that effective communication follows four conversational maxims:

- a. Maxim of Quantity: Providing the right amount of information.
- b. Maxim of Quality: Being truthful and avoiding falsehoods.
- c. Maxim of Relation: Staying relevant to the topic.
- d. Maxim of Manner: Being clear and orderly in communication.

Roasting is a form of communication that blends sarcasm, humour, and criticism. It is the art of criticizing or mocking someone in an exaggerated way, but it is delivered with humour. Although it may appear harsh and sometimes biting, the primary purpose of roasting is to create laughter rather than to cause harm or degradation (Dyner & Poppi, 2019). Roasting is often

considered a form of harsh humour. In roasting, maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner are often deliberately flouted to create a more powerful humorous effect. For example, the maxim of quality, which focuses on honesty, is frequently violated in roasting to produce sarcastic or untrue statements that are still meant to mock in a humorous way (Dyner & Poppi, 2020)

METHODOLOGY

This research adopts a qualitative approach, using descriptive and interpretive methods to analyse the use of conversational implicature and maxim violations in political roasting.

The primary source of data in this research is the verbal discourse of Kiky Saputri, particularly from her appearances in the television program *Lapor Pak*, specifically in the interrogation room, where Anies Baswedan, the political figure who held powers and authority as a governor of Jakarta in 2017-2022. The data were in the form of spoken utterances that were transcribed and analysed linguistically. Contextual information such as audience reactions and situational background was also involved to better understand the meaning of the utterances.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The study examines how implied meanings are created by her encounters with politicians, showing how satire works as a mode of communication through which she expresses criticism of broader social and political issues in an indirect but powerful way. Furthermore, it also traces how the conversational maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner) and the norms of communication that contributes to convey both the humor and an underlined deeper and often critical meaning are violated

FINDINGS

Excerpt 1

Kiky Saputri : “Kita kedatangan tamu luar biasa? Seorang Gubernur, sosok pemimpin hebat? Tepuk tangan dong buat Pak Ahok.”

Audience : [Tawa] [31.15 – 31.25]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
Suggesting that Anies does not fits the description of “a great leader” and “an amazing guest”, and indirectly questioning Anies’s worthiness of such praise	Quality and Relation

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri opens with a performatively exaggerated introduction, “*Kita kedatangan tamu luar biasa? Seorang Gubernur, sosok pemimpin hebat? Tepuk tangan dong buat Pak Ahok.*” The rising intonation and use of rhetorical questions (“*tamu luar biasa?*”; “*sosok pemimpin hebat?*”) build an expectation that she is about to formally welcome Anies Baswedan. The strategic pauses between each phrase heighten the sense of anticipation, inviting the audience to clap and affirm the supposed grandeur of the guest. However, instead of naming Anies, she delivers the punchline with sudden emphasis on “Pak Ahok.” The pause before the name works as a timing device, allowing the audience to process the buildup and then feel the disjuncture when the expected reference is subverted. This manipulation is consistent with Attardo’s (2008) framework on humor, where timing is essential in generating laughter. The audience’s immediate laughter confirms that they recognized the misdirection and caught the implicature behind the joke.

From the perspective of Grice’s Cooperative Principle (1975), Kiky achieves her humor by deliberately flouting both the Maxim of Quality and

the Maxim of Relation. The Maxim of Quality is violated because her utterance is literally false; Ahok is not the guest present on stage. Yet, as Grice argued, violations in comedy are not intended to deceive but to invite the audience to infer a deeper meaning. Here, the implicature is that Ahok, rather than Anies, better deserves the titles of “great leader” and “extraordinary guest.” At the same time, the Maxim of Relation is also flouted. The audience, primed to hear praise directed at Anies, is confronted with a reference that is contextually irrelevant to the situation. This sudden irrelevance forces them to reinterpret her words at an implied level, recognizing that the joke critiques Anies’s worthiness in comparison to his predecessor.

The strength of Kiky’s roasting in this excerpt also lies in how she balances the Cooperative Principle with its playful violation. As Thomas (1995) explains, speakers rely on the assumption of cooperation even when deliberately breaking maxims, because listeners will search for an alternative interpretation consistent with intent. Kiky appears to be cooperating, formally introducing the guest, but her tone, emphatic pauses, and final twist invite the audience to search beyond the literal words. This aligns with Dynel’s (2011) view of humor as “cooperative non-cooperation,” where the audience engages in decoding the hidden critical message. In manipulating quality and relation simultaneously, Kiky transforms a routine act of guest introduction into a layered act of satire. The surface message seems respectful, but the implicated meaning ridicules Anies’s political stature. Thus, the humor works not only as entertainment, but also as political commentary, revealing how roasting operates at the intersection of pragmatics, implicature, and performance.

Excerpt 2

Kiky Saputri : “Karena pasti bapak tau ini cuma komedi. Cuma buat nyenengin musuh-musuh bapak.”

Audience : [Tawa] [32.00 – 32.06]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
These roasting may seem harsh, but they’re just comedy, although Anies’s enemies might love hearing them because there’s some truth in them.	Quality

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri frames her roast with a seemingly disarming disclaimer, “*Karena pasti bapak tau ini cuma komedi. Cuma buat nyenengin musuh-musuh bapak.*” The delivery is crucial, her tone is light, almost playful, and the brief pause between the first and second sentence (“*cuma komedi*” ... pause ... “*cuma buat nyenengin musuh-musuh bapak*”) creates a layered effect. At first, the audience is invited to interpret her words as reassurance to Anies that everything is harmless. Yet, it can be seen that, with the sudden addition of “*musuh-musuh bapak*,” she shifts the tone, hinting that the jokes have teeth and may indeed please those critical of Anies. Furthermore, the audience’s laughter signals that they recognize this rhetorical twist; what starts as a protective statement quickly flips into a veiled jab, a hallmark of political roasting where tone and timing guide interpretation.

From the perspective of Grice’s conversational maxims (1975), this utterance clearly flouts the Maxim of Quality. Kiky claims “it’s just comedy,” but the implicature is that her jokes contain underlying truths or criticisms that would resonate with Anies’s political opponents. Grice explains that when a speaker deliberately violates Quality. By saying something not fully true, the listener searches for an alternative,

implied meaning. Here, the audience understands that Kiky is not entirely truthful when downplaying her roast as “just comedy.” Instead, her words function as what Dynel (2011) calls “humor-as-critique,” where false reassurance masks pointed criticism. The laughter is triggered by this recognition; the surface statement says one thing, but the satirical subtext says another.

Kiky’s strategy also reflects the Cooperative Principle in its playful subversion. While appearing cooperative, reassuring Anies and softening her intent, she simultaneously undermines that cooperation by embedding irony. As Thomas (1995) argues, humor often relies on “cooperative violation,” where the speaker breaks a maxim but in a way that the audience recognizes as purposeful and interpretable. By saying her jokes are “just for fun,” Kiky signals to Anies and the viewers that the roast is harmless, but by adding “to please your enemies,” she reorients the meaning towards satire. The implicature is double-edged, the roast is entertaining, but it also highlights the fact that Anies has enemies who might find truth in her criticism. This layering of reassurance and irony exemplifies what Attardo (2008) identifies as humor’s ability to blend incongruity with social commentary. In this way, the Maxim of Quality is not simply broken for laughs but strategically flouted to deliver both entertainment and political critique simultaneously.

Excerpt 3

Kiky Saputri : “Nggak mungkin dong, saya nggak tahu DKI 1... Bapak Haji Anies Rasyid Baswedan, S.E., M.Pp., Ph.D.”

Anies Baswedan : “Siap”

Kiky Saputri : “Mon maaf pak, PHD nya lagi promo apa engga, Pak?” [32.00 – 32.14]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
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How politicians often present their credentials, and suggests (in a teasing way) that titles alone don’t always impress or carry weight with the public.	Relation
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In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri begins in a formal, respectful register, reciting Anies Baswedan’s full name and academic titles, “*Bapak Haji Anies Rasyid Baswedan, S.E., M.Pp., Ph.D.*” The tone here is ceremonious, and the deliberate listing of credentials carries a performative weight, signaling deference. Anies responds briefly with “*Siap*”, reinforcing the formal yet light atmosphere. However, Kiky immediately subverts this seriousness with her punchline: “*Mon maaf pak, PHD nya lagi promo apa engga, Pak?*” The pause before the question, coupled with her deliberately casual and playful intonation, sharpens the humor. The audience laughs not simply because of the wordplay, but because of the contrast between reverence and ridicule from acknowledging an esteemed doctorate to equating it with a discount at “*Pizza Hut Delivery.*” This tonal shift, from serious respect to satirical mockery, is central to how political roasting works, using contrast and timing.

From Grice’s framework (1975), the humor arises from a clear violation of the Maxim of Relation, since Kiky unexpectedly shifts from the academic context to a commercial fast-food brand. On the surface, the question is irrelevant to the prior topic of honorifics and degrees, but this deliberate irrelevance creates implicature. The audience infers that Kiky is mocking the inflated use of academic titles by politicians, suggesting that titles can be cheapened or trivialized. As Levinson (1983) explains, implicature often depends on background knowledge shared between speaker and audience. Without knowing that Anies holds a Ph.D. and that “PHD” is also a pizza chain, the joke would not land.

This moment also illustrates how the Cooperative Principle is playfully subverted. Kiky appears to cooperate by formally acknowledging Anies's credentials, but then undercuts that cooperation by embedding an ironic twist. Thomas (1995) notes that such playful violations maintain the cooperative spirit of conversation while simultaneously undermining it for humor. The joke also resonates with Attardo's (2008) theory of humor as incongruity; the incongruity between an academic degree and a pizza discount creates cognitive dissonance, which the audience resolves through laughter. Furthermore, as Dynel (2011) argues, humor often functions as "mock impoliteness," where teasing masks critique. Furthermore, Kiky's roast is not an outright insult but a strategic use of irrelevance and wordplay to challenge the symbolic value of academic prestige, highlighting how easily political status symbols can be undermined in public discourse. In this way, the flouting of Relation is not accidental. It is a calculated rhetorical move that blends satire, cultural references, and audience complicity to transform respect into ridicule.

Excerpt 4

Wendy Cagur : "Gue deg-deg an."

Kiky Saputri : "Sebenarnya gue juga deg-deg an, tetapi ancaman kontrak diputus."

Wendy Cagur: : "Tapi kelihatan kok deg-degan, tuh menciut."

Audience : [Tawa]

Kiky Saputri : "Oke, Kak, tapi kalau ketemu Gubernur itu enggak bisa ketemu kayak ketemu orang biasa."

Audience : [Tawa]

Kiky Saputri : "Pak Anies, Formula E apa kabar?"

Anies Baswedan: [Tertawa] [32.44 – 33.25]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
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Referencing a controversial issue surrounding the Formula E event during his leadership.	Relation and Manner
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In Excerpt 4, the most striking moment occurs when Kiky Saputri suddenly shifts the conversation from casual banter about nervousness to a politically loaded question, "*Pak Anies, Formula E apa kabar?*" This abrupt change in topic makes her utterance appear irrelevant to the flow of conversation, thus clearly demonstrating a violation of the Maxim of Relation. Precisely because the statement seems off-topic, the audience is pushed to search for an implied meaning behind it, and this is where the implicature emerges, a subtle critique of the Formula E controversy during Anies Baswedan's governorship. In other words, the humor and roasting come from intentional irrelevance, since the public is familiar with the political issue.

Moreover, the way Kiky frames her utterance in the form of a short, polite question, "How is Formula E doing?", illustrates a deliberate violation of the Maxim of Manner. On the surface, the statement sounds harmless and straightforward, but in fact it carries ambiguity and an indirect meaning. Kiky is not truly asking for an update about the event; instead, she uses the ambiguity to disguise her critical intent. The satirical undertone becomes clear only when the audience connects the polite question with the wider political context and the controversy linked to Anies's leadership. Furthermore, this indirectness serves two functions at once; it shields the comedian from sounding openly confrontational, while at the same time making the critique sharper and more humorous for those who understand the reference.

In contrast, a violation of the Maxim of Quality would require Kiky to deliberately say something false or factually inaccurate, which is not the case

here. Her statements about being nervous and her question about Formula E are not untrue; rather, they are strategically redirected and given double meanings. For this reason, it is more accurate to classify the violations in this excerpt as concerning the Maxim of Relation, reinforced by the Maxim of Manner. The comedic effect is achieved not by lying, but by manipulating relevance and clarity to produce humor that conceals pointed political criticism. This shows how Kiky’s roasting style often relies on contextual knowledge and conversational play rather than outright falsehoods, enabling her to deliver roasting in a way that feels clever, indirect, and acceptable.

Excerpt 5

Kiky Saputri : “Tapi it’s okay, tidak ada hasil yang mengkhianati proses. Kita lihat sekarang Pak Anies berdiri sebagai seorang Gubernur DKI Jakarta dengan banyak prestasi, programnya banyak, kebijakannya banyak, banyak yang menghujat.”
Anies Baswedan: “Untunglah reshuffle, coba kalau enggak.” [35.03 – 35.17]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
Regardless of his so-called accomplishments, Anies still faces heavy public criticism.	Quality

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri begins with a seemingly complimentary tone, “*Tidak ada hasil yang mengkhianati proses*” (“No result betrays the process”), which is framed as a motivational, almost solemn remark. Her intonation here mimics sincerity, setting up what appears to be a respectful acknowledgment of Anies Baswedan’s achievements. She lists, with deliberate rhythm, “*banyak prestasi, programnya banyak, kebijakannya banyak*” (“many achievements, many programs, many policies”), using repetition to amplify the

sense of praise. However, after a pause, she delivers the punchline: “*banyak yang menghujat*” (“many criticize him”). The tone shift is immediate; her cadence drops into a more casual register, and the sudden reversal undercuts all prior compliments. The humor stems from where exaggerated praise collapses into a biting jab. The audience, attuned to her rhythm, bursts into laughter not because of the compliments, but because the twist exposes their hollowness.

From the perspective of Grice’s (1975) framework, this utterance clearly flouts the Maxim of Quality, as the excessive compliments are insincere and serve a rhetorical purpose rather than a literal one. Grice notes that when speakers deliberately say something they do not fully believe, they invite listeners to search for an alternative meaning, generating implicature. Here, the implicature is that regardless of Anies’s supposed “achievements,” his tenure was riddled with controversies, and public criticism outweighed his accomplishments.

This rhetorical strategy also reflects Grice’s Cooperative Principle, which in comedy is frequently subverted. Kiky appears to cooperate by aligning her utterance with conversational norms, offering praise to an honored guest, but her insincerity invites the audience to reinterpret her words. As Thomas (1995) emphasizes, listeners assume that speakers are still being cooperative even when maxims are broken, which is why the audience looks for meaning behind the contradiction between praise and critique. The layered effect of flouting here also resonates with Attardo’s (2008) Incongruity Theory of humor. The incongruity between lofty praise and the undercutting remark creates cognitive tension, which the audience resolves through laughter. In addition, as Dynel (2011) argues, roasting often works through “mock impoliteness”, the

superficial facade of politeness hides sharp critique.

Excerpt 6

Kiky Saputri : “Tapi Pak Anies, ini yang saya ngga setuju, karena banyak yang menghujat ini pak. Di mata masyarakat Pak Anies selalu salah, terutama soal banjir, padahal kita tau banjir sudah ada sebelum Pak Anies menjabat sebagai Gubernur betul? Banjir, Pak Anies salah, sampenya Pak Anies kesel dan beliau buat statement ‘Banjir bias surut satu hari dan hujan bias dikendalikan, sekarang saya tau Pak Anies bukan Gubernur, tapi Avatar pengendali air.”

Anies Baswedan: [Tertawa] [35.50 – 36.20]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
Taunting Anies’s public statement that controlling rain or managing floods with that level of precision is as improbable as being a fictional superhero.	Quality

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri begins with what seems like a defensive tone on behalf of Anies Baswedan, “*banyak yang menghujat ini pak... banjir sudah ada sebelum Pak Anies menjabat sebagai Gubernur betul?*” This part is delivered with a measured tone, mimicking fairness and empathy. She positions herself briefly as someone acknowledging that the problem of floods in Jakarta predates Anies’s leadership. However, a slight pause follows, after which Kiky abruptly shifts her tone, quoting Anies’s controversial statement about floods receding in a day and rain being controllable. The shift is crucial; it signals to the audience that the setup is moving from defense to critique. Finally, the punchline comes in a louder, emphasized delivery, “*Sekarang saya tau Pak Anies*

bukan Gubernur, tapi Avatar pengendali air.” The absurdity of this claim, delivered with deliberate exaggeration, provokes audience laughter. The humor thus relies on tonal shifts and a carefully staged pause.

From Grice’s framework (1975), audience can understand that viewers must know about Jakarta’s recurring floods, Anies’s controversial public statement, and the popular reference to the animated series *Avatar: The Last Airbender*. Without this shared knowledge, the humor and critique would collapse. According to the Maxim of Quality, speakers are expected not to say what they believe is false. In comparing Anies to a fictional superhero who can control the weather, Kiky deliberately violates this maxim, producing a humorous implicature. As Grice notes, such flouting forces listeners to search for a deeper meaning. Here, the implicature is that Anies’s rhetoric about flood control was unrealistic, bordering on fantasy, and thus deserving of ridicule. The laughter signals the audience’s recognition of this deeper meaning.

The rhetorical strategy also highlights the Cooperative Principle, which is playfully subverted in comedic discourse. While Kiky appears to cooperate with conversational norms by first acknowledging a reasonable defense of Anies, she suddenly disrupts this cooperation with exaggeration, inviting the audience to reinterpret her words as satire. Furthermore, it can also be seen that this aligns with Thomas’s (1995) observation that even when maxims are violated, hearers still assume cooperation and thus infer hidden meanings. Furthermore, the humor in this excerpt can be understood through Attardo’s Incongruity Theory, which argues that laughter often arises from the clash between expectations and absurdity. Furthermore, the difference here lies in mixing a real political leader with a supernatural fictional character, a

collision of registers that transforms political discourse into comedy.

Excerpt 7

Kiky Saputri : “Dan juga banyak orang-orang yang menutup mata gitu, memandang sebelah mata Bapak Anies Baswedan, padahal Pak Anies sudah membangun satu hal yang sangat hebat, Jakarta International Stadium. Stadium olahraga terbesar dan termewah di Jakarta.

Audience : [Tepuk Tangan]

Kiky Saputri : “Itu yang orang-orang liat gitu loh. Pak, kalo bapak bias membangun stadium megah, kenapa bapak gabisa membangun kepercayaan masyarakat, Pak?”

[36.26 – 36.52]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
Anies has failed to gain public trust despite his physical and infrastructural achievements.	Relation

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri begins with a seemingly respectful and celebratory tone, “*Pak Anies sudah membangun satu hal yang sangat hebat, Jakarta International Stadium. Stadium olahraga terbesar dan termewah di Jakarta.*” Her voice here is slightly raised, accompanied by applause from the audience, which reinforces the impression of praise and acknowledgment of a concrete achievement. Yet, after a short pause that allows the applause to settle, Kiky abruptly shifts her delivery with a pointed rhetorical question: “*Pak, kalau bapak bisa membangun stadium megah, kenapa bapak gabisa membangun kepercayaan masyarakat, Pak?*” The sudden transition from praise to critique creates a humorous but biting effect, as the emphasis on “*stadium megah*” contrasts sharply with the repeated “*kepercayaan masyarakat*”. The deliberate pause before posing the question intensifies the

punchline, ensuring the audience processes the irony in her words.

On the surface, Kiky’s words celebrate Anies’s infrastructural success, but the real meaning is that despite these grand projects, he has failed to secure public trust and political credibility. This indirectness exemplifies Grice’s (1975) theory of implicature: what is said and what is meant diverge, and the audience is required to infer the hidden critique. The humor here functions through irony, where praise for tangible achievements is undercut by highlighting intangible failures. Moreover, the difference between constructing a massive stadium and the inability to “construct” public trust illustrates Attardo’s (2008) Humor; laughter arises from the clash between two mismatched ideas. The applause after the initial praise also plays a role, as it sets the stage for the unexpected reversal that follows, intensifying the comedic effect through contrast.

From a maxim perspective, this excerpt clearly demonstrates a flouting of the Maxim of Relation. According to the Cooperative Principle (1975), speakers are expected to stay relevant to the topic of conversation. Kiky begins by staying “on topic” with infrastructural praise but immediately shifts to a seemingly unrelated matter, public trust. This deliberate irrelevance, however, is what produces the implicature. In setting up an expectation of sustained praise and then redirecting the focus to a political critique, Kiky not only violates relevance but also engages in what Dynel (2011) calls mock impoliteness. Her words outwardly maintain a polite structure (phrased as a respectful question), but the implicature delivers a sharp critique, one that resonates with the audience’s awareness of Anies’s contested reputation.

Excerpt 8

Kiky Saputri : “Ya udah, sebenarnya Pak, saya nyiapin buat Bapak satu jam, tapi saya bawainnya sedikit aja, nggak nyampe selesai, biar kayak program Bapak banyak yang nggak selesai.”

Audience : [Tepuk tangan] [37.20 – 37.27]

Implicature	Maxim Violated
Failures in Anies’s political performance. Suggesting that many of his government programs were left incomplete or did not meet public expectations	Relation

In this excerpt, Kiky Saputri begins with a calm and conversational tone, saying she had prepared a one-hour roast for Anies Baswedan but will only deliver a small portion. The audience initially processes this as a modest or even polite gesture. However, after a calculated pause, she adds the biting punchline “*biar kayak program Bapak banyak yang nggak selesai.*” The pause is crucial, because it allows the first statement to settle as a neutral remark before the twist reframes it into a direct critique of Anies’s governance. The stress placed on “*banyak yang nggak selesai*” adds weight to the punchline, making the shift from reflexive commentary (about her own performance) to political roasting unmistakably clear. The audience’s immediate applause indicates that they recognize the implicit criticism.

Without awareness of public criticisms regarding Anies’s programs and policies, the line could easily be misunderstood as simply about Kiky’s performance timing. According to Grice’s (1975) framework, the implicature arises because Kiky’s literal statement, that she is cutting her performance short, cannot be the full meaning. The cooperative audience automatically searches for

relevance, interpreting the utterance as a metaphorical jab at Anies’s incomplete programs. This illustrates the Cooperative Principle in action, even when the maxim is flouted, listeners assume communicative intent and work to uncover the hidden message. Furthermore, the humor, in this case, also operates through incongruity, as Attardo (2008) theory suggests; the mismatch between the mundane act of shortening a comedy routine and the grand scale of unfinished government programs creates cognitive dissonance.

From a maxim perspective, Kiky clearly violates the Maxim of Relation. Instead of staying relevant to the conversational context of her performance, she introduces a seemingly unrelated comparison between her shortened roast and Anies’s governance record. This deliberate irrelevance is strategic, enabling her to use a harmless personal remark as the beginning for political critique. The move also exemplifies Dynel’s (2011) concept of mock impoliteness. Outwardly, Kiky’s tone remains light and respectful, but the implicature conveys an unflattering message about Anies’s leadership. In doing so, she maintains the appearance of politeness while simultaneously ridiculing her subject, which is a trademark of political roasting. The layered effect, combining timing, pauses, ironic praise, and metaphorical critique, demonstrates how maxim flouting in humor is not merely a linguistic trick but also rhetorical strategy for political commentary within entertainment.

DISCUSSIONS

The results of the eight selected excerpts show the nature of satirical roasting is highly dependent on context, which mean implicatures require the same background knowledge between the speaker and the audience.

In terms of maxim violations, the Maxim of Relation is the most frequently violated, appearing in five excerpts. The

Maxim of Quality is followed by four violations, while the Maxim of Manner is only violated once. Interestingly, the Maxim of Quantity is not violated at all in the excerpt analysed. Many violations of the Maxim of Quality show that Kiky relies on irony, sarcasm, and deliberate lies to make people laugh while providing deeper meaning. These violations are a sign for the audience not to take the words literally, but to look for hidden meanings that contain criticism.

From the results, we can conclude that implicature and maxim violation cannot be separated. In all the excerpts analyzed, implicatures emerge precisely because maxims are violated. Through this violation, Kiky gives a signal to the audience not to just take the words literally but to look for the implied meaning. Therefore, it is emphasized that, in this comedic framework, maxim violation is not just a stylistic choice, but a functional necessity for implicatures to emerge.

Another result shows that a single utterance can violate more than one maxim. In other words, multiple violations are not only possible, but often intentional. In piling up violations, Kiky makes her utterance more ambiguous and complicated, which ultimately forces the audience to actively grasp her meaning. This technique makes the humor deeper and the roasting effect stronger, while also providing protection from direct confrontation.

There are several reasons of why there would be multiple violations of maxims in one utterance. First, it makes the humor multi-layered. Violating Quality, Relation, and Manner simultaneously creates sarcasm, subtle allusions, and diversions, all of which are an important element in implicature. Second, it is a strategy to make the utterance ambiguous. In sensitive political situations, comedians often use indirect language to stay safe but still get the message across. Third, this double

violation also invites the audience to think more deeply. Therefore, as they have to decipher many clues, the audience, in this context becomes more involved in the process of the utterance, making the roasting feel more satisfying and the criticism more immediate.

CONCLUSIONS

The results reveal that Kiky Saputri's comedic discourse relies heavily on the audience's shared sociopolitical background knowledge. Across all excerpts, what becomes evident is that satirical comedy, especially in a political context, is not just about entertainment but also about resistance, critique, and commentary. Kiky Saputri utilizing the mechanisms of implicature and maxim flouting is not just to make people laugh, but also to challenge power, expose contradictions, and articulate public sentiment in a digestible way. Additionally, implicature and maxim violation are inseparable, since implicatures appear when maxims are flouted. This study shows three types of maxims were flouted, namely Relation, Quality and Manner.

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