

ADHERENCE TO LEECH'S (2014) POLITENESS MAXIMS IN ILLOCUTIONARY SPEECH ACTS IN THE MINANGKABAU FILM ONDE MANDE!

Fatimah Azzahra^{1*}, Djatmika², Miftah Nugroho³

¹Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

²Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

³Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: Fatimah Azzahra, E-mail: fatimahazzahra@student.uns.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: 23-05-2026 Revised: 17-07-2026 Accepted: 23-07-2026 Published: 03-09-2026 Volume: 10 Issue: 3 DOI: 10.33019/lire.v10i3.633	This study examines the forms of adherence to Leech's (2014) politeness maxims as realized through illocutionary speech acts in the Minangkabau regional film <i>Onde Mande!</i> . The study is motivated by the limited application of Leech's (2014) revised framework in existing literature, particularly in the context of regional Indonesian cinema. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach with a single case study design, this study draws on a pragmatic framework that integrates illocutionary speech act theory with Leech's (2014) politeness principles. Data were collected through non-participatory observation of the film's dialogue using note-taking and repeated playback techniques, and analyzed using the interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The analysis identified 84 instances of politeness maxim adherence throughout the film's dialogue. From these data, 10 representative instances were selected for in-depth analysis. The findings reveal that seven of Leech's ten politeness maxims are present in the film's dialogue, namely the Generosity Maxim (M1), Tact Maxim (M2), Approbation Maxim (M3), Obligation of S to O Maxim (M5), Obligation of O to S Maxim (M6), Agreement Maxim (M7), and Sympathy Maxim (M9). These maxims are realized through four types of illocutionary speech acts, including expressive, directive, commissive, and assertive acts. The Tact Maxim and Obligation Maxims emerged as particularly prominent, reflecting the deeply rooted cultural values of respect, reciprocity, and communal harmony that characterize Minangkabau society.
KEYWORDS <i>Politeness Maxims; Leech; Minangkabau; Onde Mande!; Pragmatics</i>	The study concludes that politeness adherence in the film is not limited to a single speech act type or social context, but manifests across varying interactional situations, ranging from family interactions to host-guest exchanges and community deliberations. The application of Leech's (2014) framework, as opposed to the earlier 1983 version, proves particularly valuable in capturing the full range of politeness forms present in the dialogue, especially through the differentiation of the Obligation maxims into M5 and M6. This study contributes to the growing body of research on linguistic politeness in regional Indonesian film and offers a replicable analytical model for future studies in this area.



1. INTRODUCTION

Politeness in language plays an important role in maintaining good relationships between people. It works as a communication strategy to avoid saying things that might offend or threaten others (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In pragmatics, politeness is not simply about using polite words, it is more about choosing the right way to speak depending on the situation. Leech (2014) explains that politeness is essentially about reducing rude expressions and increasing polite ones so that communication can run smoothly.

This idea becomes especially relevant when looking at interactions in the film *Onde Mande!*, which reflects how people in Minangkabau society communicate in real life. The film shows a wide range of language use, from formal to informal situations, making it a useful source for studying how politeness works in practice. This study focuses on how speakers manage their words carefully to express their intentions without damaging social relationships. Applying a universal politeness theory such as Leech (2014) to a regional language like Minangkabau is particularly worthwhile given its distinct linguistic and cultural characteristics. The film *Onde Mande!* serves as the data source for this study, as its dialogues authentically capture everyday Minangkabau speech across a range of social contexts. This makes the film a suitable foundation for examining how politeness strategies are naturally realized in conversation. Several previous studies support the relevance of Leech's (2014) framework. Ronan (2022) found that speakers of Irish English tend to use indirect strategies more often in formal situations. Alabdali, T. (2025) similarly found that advice-giving in Arab TV programs was mostly delivered indirectly, particularly through the Approbation maxim. Yuryeva (2019) also showed that how people choose address forms in British and Canadian English is strongly influenced by cultural norms, which reflects an awareness of politeness.

Leech's (2014) theory has been widely used to study language behavior across various cultural and media contexts. Despite this, its application to regional Indonesian films that reflect local cultural values remains largely unexplored. *Onde Mande!* represents one such gap, as the film contains meaningful interactions shaped by Minangkabau social and cultural traditions that have yet to be examined through this lens.

Minangkabau culture has its own unique way of communicating, encompassing a wide range of interactional contexts from formal community deliberations to informal family exchanges. These varied social settings shape the way people express respect, give criticism, or show disagreement, and consequently influence how politeness maxims are realized in everyday interaction. Adherence to these maxims, in this context, is not merely a matter of surface-level courtesy but often reflects deeper social strategies rooted in local kinship norms.

Therefore, this study examines the forms of adherence to Leech's (2014) politeness maxims as realized through illocutionary speech acts in the film *Onde Mande!*. In doing so, the study contributes to a broader understanding of how politeness is linguistically realized within the Minangkabau cultural context as represented in regional cinema.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on the principles of linguistic politeness have been widely conducted using Leech's (1983) theory as well as its revised version, Leech (2014). These studies generally demonstrate that adherence to politeness maxims is highly influenced by cultural context, communication



medium, and the interactional purposes underlying each exchange. Nevertheless, research specifically applying the Leech (2014) framework remains limited, and thus the present study aims to address this gap through an analysis of speech acts in the film *Onde Mande!*, which is rich in Minangkabau cultural values.

Setiawan (2017) examined the communication patterns of elementary school teachers during classroom learning. The study found that teachers' utterances generally reflected educationally motivated linguistic politeness, serving as a form of encouragement to foster greater student discipline and active participation in learning. Agustina and Pristiwati (2019) conducted an analysis of character dialogue in the film *Yowis Ben*. The study found that the dialogue effectively reflected strong character portrayal through the use of regional language, while simultaneously illustrating politeness norms within a distinct local cultural context. Ni'am and Utomo (2020) investigated the application of linguistic politeness principles in debating activities among senior high school students. The findings revealed that adherence to politeness maxims dominated the course of the debates, indicating students' awareness of linguistic norms in formal contexts.

Wulansafitri and Syaifudin (2020) analyzed language use in the film *My Stupid Boss* with a focus on politeness principles. The study demonstrated that the linguistic strategies employed by the characters functioned to construct a dynamic and entertaining communicative interaction, reflecting creativity in the application of linguistic norms. Mahmudi et al. (2021) examined patterns of teacher-student interaction in classroom learning activities using a pragmatic approach. The study indicated that adherence to politeness maxims tended to dominate these interactions, as the learning context demands the use of respectful language that acknowledges the roles of each participant. Alabdali, T. (2025) investigated linguistic politeness practices in a talent show broadcast on Arab television. The study found that the judges tended to deliver feedback to contestants using specific politeness strategies aimed at preserving the contestants' face and fostering constructive communication. Alawiyah et al. (2022) examined language use in the film *Keluarga Cemara* by analyzing the fulfillment of politeness principles among characters. The study found that the film represented adherence to politeness maxims, particularly in terms of tact and modesty in interactions among family members. Based on these findings, *Keluarga Cemara* was considered relevant as instructional material for teaching linguistic politeness in schools.

Fitriya (2023) analyzed speech acts in Habib Rizieq's religious lectures using a pragmatic approach to identify the politeness patterns employed. The study revealed that politeness in the context of religious sermons can be negotiated and adjusted to suit the persuasive goals the speaker seeks to achieve in order to convey the message effectively. Safira and Yuhdi (2022) examined the use of politeness strategies in the film *Ali dan Ratu-Ratu Queens* with a focus on character interaction. The study revealed that the characters extensively employed politeness strategies to strengthen interpersonal relationships, particularly in family and friendship interactions. The politeness strategies used reflected the characters' efforts to maintain social harmony amid differences in cultural backgrounds. Aji et al. (2023) examined language use in the YouTube channel Main Hakim Sendiri from the perspective of linguistic politeness. The study demonstrated that the utterances in the content served as a form of critical communication reflecting social awareness, conveyed through a direct and straightforward digital



communication style. Asra et al. (2024) investigated the application of linguistic politeness principles in the film *Ngeri-Ngeri Sedap* with a focus on character interaction. The study demonstrated the dominance of politeness maxim adherence within the family domain, particularly in intergenerational interactions between younger and older characters. This pattern of adherence reflects the strong cultural values that position respect for elders as a fundamental aspect of politeness norms. Azizah and Prayitno (2024) analyzed politeness patterns in WhatsApp communication among junior high school students. The study found that adherence to politeness maxims was evident in digital conversations, applied flexibly in accordance with the more fluid and spontaneous nature of digital communication. Naimah et al. (2024) examined language use in debates uploaded to the YouTube channel X OTKP 2 using a politeness principles approach. The study found that adherence to politeness maxims was predominant, with the maxims of tact, approbation, and modesty being the most prominent. This dominance indicates that the debate participants demonstrated a strong awareness of maintaining linguistic politeness even in highly argumentative situations.

Sari et al. (2024) examined the application of linguistic politeness principles in the novel *Merdeka Sejak Hati* with the aim of evaluating its potential as instructional material. The study confirmed that adherence to politeness maxims dominated the utterances among characters in the novel. Based on these findings, *Merdeka Sejak Hati* was deemed appropriate as instructional material for negotiation text learning in senior high school, as it represents a model of polite and constructive communication.

The aforementioned studies collectively suggest that adherence to politeness principles is inherently contextual. Films, novels, debates, religious lectures, and digital media each present distinct patterns of politeness strategy adherence, with compliance tending to dominate in formal, educational, and familial contexts. Cultural differences also shape the realization of politeness norms, both at the local and international level. Nevertheless, the majority of existing studies still employ Leech's (1983) theory, while research utilizing the more comprehensive Leech (2014) framework remains scarce. Therefore, the present study emphasizes the application of Leech's (2014) theory to the film *Onde Mandel!* as a new contribution toward broadening the understanding of politeness in cross-cultural communication, particularly within the Minang language context.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design/Type

This study adopts a qualitative paradigm with a descriptive nature and employs a single case study design. The qualitative paradigm was selected because this study is oriented toward understanding meaning and process, rather than numerical measurement or generalization. The descriptive approach was employed to depict and explain linguistic phenomena as they naturally occur, based on authentic data that emerges within its context. Meanwhile, the single case study design was applied because this study focuses on one primary object, namely the film *Onde Mandel!*, which serves as the sole data source for understanding linguistic politeness practices within the Minangkabau cultural context.

This study employs a pragmatic approach with a focus on illocutionary speech acts and Leech's (2014) politeness principles. Through this approach, the study examines the adherence to



the ten politeness maxims that appear in the dialogue among characters, as well as identifies the illocutionary functions (assertive, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative) that shape social relations. The analysis centers on how politeness strategies are employed and realized by the speaker in relation to the interlocutor, thereby revealing the social implications underlying each utterance.

The object of this study is the film *Onde Mande!*, which simultaneously serves as the contextual setting and the primary data source. This film was selected because it offers a rich portrayal of everyday spoken interaction among the Minangkabau community, making it well-suited for examining politeness in practice. The research data consist of the characters' utterances within the film, which are subsequently analyzed based on the social and cultural context in which they occur. Accordingly, this study is expected to provide an in-depth portrayal of the application of linguistic politeness strategies within a local cultural context through the medium of film.

3.2 Data Sources and Data

The data source refers to the origin of information used to obtain research data (Santosa, 2021:62). Data sources encompass the research object that serves as the primary focus, including the settings, participants, and events associated with that research object (Santosa, 2021:63). In this section, the researcher elaborates in detail on the origins of the data sources as well as the form of data that serves as the basis for analysis, in order to ensure the clarity and completeness of the data employed in the study.

To achieve the research objectives, the selected data sources must be relevant and capable of supporting an in-depth analysis. In this study, the data sources were derived from documents, namely the script and dialogue of the film *Onde Mande!*, which capture the interactions among characters across a range of social situations and relationships.

The data in this study take the form of verbal dialogues among characters in the film *Onde Mande!*, selected from each narrative stage. The data were analyzed to identify the forms and functions of adherence to politeness maxims based on Leech's (2014) theory. The following presents examples of data organized according to the narrative stages.

Data Example (1)

Da Am: "*Baa ka batanang?*"

"How can I be calm?"

Ni Ta: "*Ka paniang bana ndak ado gunonyo. Sudah tu kito pikian baa caro mambelokan urang-urang tu.*"

"Panicking won't help. After this, we will figure out how to distract those people."

Da Am: "*Yo, lah. Da masuak dulu. **Batanang, beko se awak bahas liak.***"

"All right. I'm going inside first. **To calm down, then we will discuss this again.**"

Context: S's (Da Am) utterance is categorized as a commissive speech act because the speaker commits to taking a follow-up action with O (Ni Ta), specifically by calming down first and then discussing the solution together. Through this utterance, S not only defuses the situation but also demonstrates a willingness to be actively involved in resolving the ongoing problem. Furthermore, S's utterance reflects compliance with the generosity maxim, as the speaker



attempts to reduce the tension experienced by O and prioritizes their collective interest. By proposing to calm down and discuss the issue collectively, S exhibits a cooperative and empathetic attitude, which is the primary characteristic of applying the generosity maxim.

3.3 Method of Collecting Data

Data collection in this study employed the observational method (*metode simak*), a method carried out by observing language use as proposed by Sudaryanto (1993). This method was selected because it aligns with the nature of the research data, which consists of utterances found in the script and screening of the film *Onde Mande!*. Through this method, the researcher gathered data by carefully observing the forms of language use that reflect adherence to politeness maxims.

As the foundational technique of the observational method, the note-taking technique was employed, whereby every relevant utterance was recorded based on the context of the utterance and the type of speech act present. In addition, the researcher also applied the advanced technique of non-participatory observation (*Simak Bebas Libat Cakap/SBLC*), given that the researcher was not directly involved in the speech events occurring within the film. The researcher assumed the role of an observer who carefully monitored the conversations among characters through both the script and the film screening.

To further support precision in the observation process, the recording technique was also utilized, involving the repeated playback of the film *Onde Mande!* to ensure the accuracy of the utterances that were noted. This technique enabled the researcher to re-examine the intonation, situational context, and socio-cultural background underlying each utterance.

3.4 Data Analysis Methods

The data analysis in this study was conducted based on the interactive analytical framework developed by Miles and Huberman (1994). This framework encompasses four main components, namely data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The analytical process is cyclical and interactive in nature, whereby all four components operate simultaneously, are interconnected, and recur throughout the stages of the research.

The selection of this analytical framework was based on its alignment with the characteristics of qualitative research. The qualitative approach emphasizes the researcher's efforts to uncover meaning, interpret data contextually, and comprehensively understand linguistic phenomena in accordance with the situations that surround them. In the context of the present study, the application of interactive analysis provided the researcher with the space to thoroughly trace, identify, and interpret the linguistic politeness strategies employed by the characters in the film *Onde Mande!*. This interpretive process was carried out with reference to Leech's (2014) politeness theory as the primary framework for understanding the pragmatic and social dimensions of each utterance.

3.5 Translation Procedure

The dialogue data in this study underwent a two-stage translation process. First, utterances originally spoken in Minangkabau were translated into Indonesian by a native speaker



of the Minangkabau language, ensuring that dialectal expressions and culturally specific meanings were accurately captured at this initial stage. Second, the Indonesian translations were rendered into English by the researcher, who holds a Diploma IV (D4) degree in English from Universitas Gadjah Mada. Throughout this process, particular attention was given to preserving the pragmatic force of each utterance, rather than producing a strictly literal translation, so that the illocutionary meaning intended by the speaker remained intact in the English version used for analysis. Culturally specific terms, particularly kinship terms and honorifics (e.g., Apak, Uda, Angku, mamak), were retained in their original form in the English translation, as no direct equivalent exists in English that fully captures their sociocultural connotations.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Results

Based on the analysis of characters' utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, a total of 84 data instances were identified as reflecting adherence to Leech's politeness maxims. From this corpus, 10 data instances were selected as the most representative of each maxim identified. The selection was based on the diversity of illocutionary speech act types represented, ranging from directive and expressive to assertive speech acts. The following presents the results of the analysis.

4.1.1 Generosity Maxim (M1)

The generosity maxim requires the speaker to maximize benefit to the interlocutor while minimizing benefit to themselves. Leech (2014) explains that offers, invitations, and promises are speech forms that typically reflect a speaker's generous disposition toward their interlocutor. Adherence to this maxim was identified in six utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, one of which is presented below.

Data (1)

Context: Maryam (S), Da Am, and Ni Ta (O) are engaged in a conversation about Angku Wan and his deep affection for their village. The conversation develops into a shared aspiration to direct the competition prize money toward the benefit of the community.

Maryam: "*Hebat Angku Wan tu mah.*"

Maryam: "Angku Wan is truly remarkable."

Da Am: "*Yo itu lah.*"

Da Am: "Yes, indeed."

Maryam: "*Sangaik sayang bana jo kampung wak.*"

Maryam: "He really loves our village dearly."

Da Am: "*Iyo.*"

Da Am: "Yes."

Maryam: "*Kalo ba itu awak sato lo lah mausahoan Apak pitih sayembara tu untuak kampung awak.*"

Maryam: "If that is the case, I will help Father obtain the competition prize money for our village."

Ni Ta & Da Am: "*Alhamdulillah.*"

Ni Ta & Da Am: "Alhamdulillah."



Analysis: The utterance produced by the speaker is categorized as a commissive speech act, specifically a promise, as it demonstrates the speaker's commitment to participate in the plan proposed by the interlocutor. The speech "*awak sato lo lah*" ("I will") functions as an explicit illocutionary marker that binds the speaker to a future course of action. This utterance simultaneously reflects adherence to the generosity maxim (M1), as the speaker prioritizes the interests of her father and the village community above her own, thereby maximizing benefit to others while minimizing personal gain. Maryam's voluntary commitment to assist her father and contribute to the village reflects a broader disposition toward collective well-being over individual interest.

4.1.2 Tact Maxim (M2)

The tact maxim requires the speaker to minimize impositions on the interlocutor while maximizing their comfort. Leech (2014) explains that this maxim is typically realized through indirect and tentative directive speech acts that preserve the interlocutor's freedom to respond. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, two of which are presented below.

Data (2)

Context: Ni Ta (S) has just finished speaking with Da Am. She then approaches her child, Afdhal (O), instructing him to bathe before conveying an important message to Da Nas and Da Dodi at the village office on behalf of their father.

Ni Ta: "*Dhal, mandi lah lai. Sudah tu pai ka kantua wali nagari. Kecekan ka Da Nas jo Da Dodi, Apak manyuruah kamari abis ashar ado nan di kecekan terkaik kampuang awak.*"

Ni Ta: "Dhal, go and take a bath first. After that, go to the village office. Tell Da Nas and Da Dodi that Father asks them to come here after Asr prayers. There is something to be discussed regarding our village."

Afdhal: "*Kok barek tadanganyo ko ma, Mak.*"

Afdhal: "That sounds rather burdensome, Mother."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes a directive speech act that reflects adherence to the tact maxim (M2). Rather than delivering the primary instruction immediately, S prefaces it with the instruction to bathe, thereby sequencing the directives in a way that gradually introduces the more demanding task. This staged delivery minimizes the perceived imposition on O. Ni Ta's use of a gentle, staged directive demonstrates a considerate approach to managing family tasks without provoking resistance from her children.

Data (3)

Context: O accepted S's invitation to attend a deliberation meeting. Upon O's arrival, S welcomed him warmly and invited him to be seated before the meeting commenced, demonstrating the host's respect toward the guest by prioritizing O's comfort before proceeding with the discussion.

Da Am: "*Terimo kasih lah tibo Pak Haji.*"

Da Am: "Thank you for coming, Pak Haji."

H. Ilyas: "*Ha, iyo.*"

H. Ilyas: "Ah, yes."



Da Am: "**Duduk lah duluan.**"

Da Am: "Please, have a seat first."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes a directive speech act that reflects adherence to the tact maxim (M2). The invitation to be seated, conveyed through the utterance "**Duduk lah duluan**" ("Please, have a seat first"), was delivered concisely yet respectfully. Rather than immediately initiating the deliberation, S first ensured O's comfort, thereby minimizing imposition and prioritizing the interlocutor's well-being. This is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M2, which requires the speaker to minimize self-interest and maximize consideration for the interlocutor. The utterance thus functions not merely as a directive, but as an expression of courtesy that reflects the speaker's awareness of the social and relational dimensions of the interaction.

4.1.3 Approbation Maxim (M3)

The approbation maxim requires the speaker to maximize positive evaluation of the interlocutor while minimizing negative assessment. Leech (2014) explains that this maxim is typically realized through sincere and measured expressions of praise or appreciation, as excessive flattery is itself considered a violation of politeness norms. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, one of which is presented below.

Data (4)

Context: Da Am (O) inquired about the number of packages sent by Angku Wan (S). S provided the answer while simultaneously expressing appreciation to O for his assistance in storing the packages. O responded with a statement of acceptance.

Da Am: "*Bara Angku kirim bungkuh nyo?*"

Da Am: "How many packages did Angku send?"

Angku Wan: "*Tigo puluh duo. Untuang lai si Am tolong manyimpan bungkuh nyo.*"

Angku Wan: "Thirty-two. It is fortunate that you helped store the packages."

Da Am: "*Dari pado jadi sarok dek, Angku. Elok ado gunonyo.*"

Da Am: "Better than having them go to waste, Angku. It is good that they were of use."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the approbation maxim (M3). Through the utterance "*Untuang lai si Am tolong manyimpan bungkuh nyo*" ("It is fortunate that you helped store the packages"), S directly acknowledges and appreciates O's contribution. Rather than simply answering the question posed, S incorporates a sincere expression of gratitude that maximizes positive evaluation of the interlocutor's actions. This is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M3, which requires the speaker to maximize approbation directed at the interlocutor. The utterance thus functions not only as an informational response but also as a means of reinforcing interpersonal harmony through genuine acknowledgment of the interlocutor's role.

4.1.4 Obligation of S to O Maxim (M5)

The obligation maxim (M5) requires the speaker to place high value on their obligations toward the interlocutor. Leech (2014) explains that this maxim is typically realized in two forms: apologies for wrongdoing and expressions of gratitude for kindness received from the interlocutor. Both forms reflect the speaker's awareness of their social responsibilities toward others. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, two of which are presented below.



Data (5)

Context: Da Am (S) invited Pak Haji Ilyas (O) to gather at his place. Upon O's arrival, S welcomed him warmly and expressed gratitude for O's willingness to accept the invitation. O acknowledged the expression of thanks briefly as a sign of acceptance.

Da Am: "**Terimokasih lah tibo, Pak Haji.**"

Da Am: "Thank you for coming, Pak Haji."

H. Ilyas: "*Ha iyo.*"

H. Ilyas: "Ah, yes."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the obligation maxim (M5). The utterance "**Terimokasih lah tibo, Pak Haji**" ("Thank you for coming, Pak Haji") represents a sincere acknowledgment of O's willingness to honor the invitation. Through this utterance, S demonstrates a sense of social responsibility as the host, recognizing that O's presence warrants genuine appreciation rather than being taken for granted. This is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M5, which requires the speaker to acknowledge and honor the goodwill demonstrated by the interlocutor. The utterance therefore functions not as a mere social nicety, but as a meaningful expression of the speaker's moral obligation toward the interlocutor, thereby strengthening the interpersonal bond between both parties.

Data (6)

Context: Pak Haji Ilyas (O) urged his children to immediately travel to Jakarta due to a pressing matter that could not be delayed. Huda (S) initially doubted the urgency of the request, which provoked O's anger as he felt his authority as a parent was being disregarded. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, S apologized to O as an acknowledgment of having shown disrespect toward his parent.

H. Ilyas: "*Kan alah dikecekan dari tadi tadasak. Lai mangarati kato tadasak nak? Penting, mendadak. Ndak bisa ditunda-tunda lai ko.*"

H. Ilyas: "It has been said repeatedly that this is urgent. Do you not understand the word urgent? It is important, it is sudden. This cannot be postponed any further."

Hadi: "*Uda lai yang buek berang Apak.*"

Hadi: "It is Uda who has made Father angry."

Huda: "**Maaf Huda, Pak. Iyo lah. Barangkek lah kami kok iyo mode tu.**"

Huda: "Forgive me, Father. Very well. If that is the case, we will depart."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the obligation maxim (M5). The utterance "**Maaf Huda, Pak**" ("Forgive me, Father") represents a genuine acknowledgment that S's failure to heed O's instruction had caused offense. Rather than a perfunctory apology, this utterance reflects S's full awareness of his moral responsibility as a child who had acted disrespectfully toward a parent. This is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M5, which requires the speaker to sincerely acknowledge wrongdoing and express remorse toward the aggrieved interlocutor. The utterance therefore functions not merely as an apology, but as a means of de-escalating tension and restoring relational harmony, reflecting a high degree of linguistic politeness rooted in the cultural value of filial respect.



4.1.5 Obligation of O to S Maxim (M6)

The obligation maxim (M6) requires the interlocutor to place low value on the obligations owed to them by the speaker. Leech (2014) explains that this maxim is typically realized as a response to apologies or expressions of gratitude, wherein the interlocutor tends to downplay the mistake or the service rendered, often through utterances that frame the action as inconsequential. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, one of which is presented below.

Data (7)

Context: Angku Wan (O) implicitly expressed appreciation to Da Am (S) through a statement of gratitude for the assistance provided in storing the packages. Rather than simply accepting the appreciation, S responded by downplaying his own contribution, framing his action as a practical measure to prevent the packages from going to waste rather than as a significant act of assistance.

Da Am: "*Bara Angku kirim bungkuh nyo?*"

Da Am: "How many packages did Angku send?"

Angku Wan: "*Tigo puluh duo. Untuang lai si Am tolong manyimpan bungkuh nyo.*"

Angku Wan: "Thirty-two. It is fortunate that you helped store the packages."

Da Am: "*Dari pado jadi sarok dek, Angku. Elok ado gunonyo.*"

Da Am: "Better than having them go to waste, Angku. It is good that they were of use."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the obligation maxim (M6). Through the utterance "Dari pado jadi sarok dek, Angku. Elok ado gunonyo" ("Better than having them go to waste, Angku. It is good that they were of use"), S deflects the appreciation directed at him by reframing his contribution as a matter of practical necessity rather than a noteworthy act of generosity. This pattern of self-minimization is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M6, which requires the interlocutor to avoid foregrounding their own merits when responding to expressions of appreciation. By redirecting the focus from personal credit to functional outcome, S demonstrates genuine humility that serves to preserve relational equality and sustain the harmony of the interaction.

4.1.6 Agreement Maxim (M7)

The agreement maxim requires the speaker to place high value on the opinions and perspectives of the interlocutor. Leech (2014) explains that in responding to another's viewpoint, agreement is the preferred response over disagreement. This maxim is typically realized through utterances that express alignment between the speaker and the interlocutor, often reinforced through intensification to convey a more sincere and courteous impression of consensus. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, two of which are presented below.

Data (8)

Context: Ni Ta (S) offered sour durian curry to Angku Wan (O) as an expression of hospitality. O politely declined by explaining that he had already eaten food brought by others earlier that day. The refusal was conveyed in a manner that acknowledged and honored S's offer, thereby avoiding any impression of impoliteness.

Ni Ta: "*Iko ado gulai asam durian.*"

Ni Ta: "There is sour durian curry here, if you would like some."



Angku Wan: "*Sabananyo Angku nio, tapi sabananyo la datang lo paja-paja maantaan pragede rinuak jo samba lado limau. Lamak bana makan Angku.*"

Angku Wan: "Actually I would like some, but earlier today some people came bringing rinuak fishcakes and chili lime sambal. It was a wonderful meal."

Ni Ta: "*Iyo, lah.*"

Ni Ta: "I see, alright."

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an assertive speech act, as S conveys a statement describing an actual condition he experienced. This utterance is categorized under M7 because the refusal is not delivered bluntly but is accompanied by a logical and comprehensible explanation. S does not decline because he dislikes the food, but because he is genuinely full. This indirect refusal, accompanied by a clear justification, preserves interpersonal harmony and shows respect toward the host, avoiding any impression of ingratitude.

Data (9)

Context: Pak Haji Ilyas (S) and Huda (O) were sharing a meal when S issued a directive for O to retrieve a box after eating and assist in unpacking it. The directive was delivered in a relaxed tone suited to the informal dining context. O responded indirectly through an implicature, with the utterance "*Aman tu*" signaling agreement and willingness to carry out the instruction.

H. Ilyas: "*Huda, beko siap awak makan ko ambiak an kardus tu. Sudah tu tolongan Apak mambongka-bongka kardus tu yo.*"

H. Ilyas: "Huda, once we have finished eating, please bring that box over. After that, help Father unpack it."

Huda: "*Aman tu.*"

Huda: "Sure, no problem."

Analysis: O's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the agreement maxim (M7). The response "*Aman tu*" ("Sure, no problem") conveys implicit agreement without the use of an explicit verbal marker of consent. The use of implicature here reflects a natural and context-appropriate mode of expressing compliance that is mutually understood by both interlocutors. The adherence to M7 is further evident in the absence of any resistance or objection to S's directive. O responds in a cooperative and affirmative manner, thereby maximizing agreement and minimizing discord. This is consistent with Leech's (2014) formulation of M7, which requires the speaker to minimize disagreement and maximize alignment with the interlocutor. The utterance thus functions not merely as consent, but as a reflection of linguistic politeness that sustains the flow and harmony of the conversation.

4.1.7 Sympathy Maxim (M9)

The sympathy maxim requires the speaker to place high value on the feelings of the interlocutor. Leech (2014) explains that this maxim is realized through the speaker's disposition to understand and share in the emotional state of the interlocutor, whether in joyful or difficult circumstances. Speech forms that reflect this maxim include congratulatory utterances, expressions of condolence, and questions that demonstrate genuine concern for the interlocutor's condition. Adherence to this maxim was identified in several utterances in the film *Onde Mande!*, one of which is presented below.



Data (10)

Context: Da Am (O) expressed doubt about whether the village elders would approve of the plan under discussion. In response, Ni Ta (S) suggested that the plan first be deliberated within the family before being brought to wider parties, while affirming that O would not face the endeavor alone.

Da Am: "*Pandai-pandai Ta se tu nyo. Tapi, iyo ka satuju ninik-mamak tu, Ta?*"

Da Am: "That is merely a clever plan, Ta. But do you think the village elders will agree, Ta?"

Ni Ta: "*Heh di musyawarahan se dulu, namonyo kaluarga. Mudah-mudahan lai satuju. Ndak ka surang Uda ka mausahaan tu do!*"

Ni Ta: "Let us first bring it to a family deliberation. Hopefully everyone will agree. Uda will not face this struggle alone!"

Analysis: S's utterance constitutes an expressive speech act that reflects adherence to the sympathy maxim (M9). Rather than offering unfounded reassurance, S responds to O's doubt by expressing a measured and empathetic stance that aligns with the interlocutor's concerns. Adherence to M9 is further reinforced through the closing affirmation that O will not face the struggle alone. By proposing that the matter be deliberated within the family first, the speaker demonstrates a collaborative approach to handling challenges, reinforcing a sense of shared responsibility rather than placing the burden on a single individual.

4.2 Discussion

The findings of this study reveal that adherence to Leech's (2014) politeness maxims is consistently present throughout the film's dialogue, manifesting through a range of illocutionary speech act types including expressive, directive, commissive, and assertive acts. Seven of Leech's ten maxims were identified in the data, namely the Generosity Maxim (M1), Tact Maxim (M2), Approbation Maxim (M3), Obligation of S to O Maxim (M5), Obligation of O to S Maxim (M6), Agreement Maxim (M7), and Sympathy Maxim (M9). This distribution reflects the breadth of politeness realization in Minangkabau communicative culture as captured through the film's dialogue.

These findings are broadly consistent with prior studies that have identified the dominance of politeness maxim adherence in familial and communal interaction contexts. Asra et al. (2024), in their analysis of the film *Ngeri-Ngeri Sedap*, similarly found that adherence to politeness maxims predominated within the family domain, particularly in intergenerational interactions. The present study extends this pattern to the Minangkabau cultural context, where the strong value of communal solidarity is reflected in how speakers consistently select politeness strategies that minimize imposition and maximize consideration for the interlocutor. This is most evident in the realization of the Generosity Maxim (M1) through commissive speech acts, where speakers explicitly bind themselves to actions that benefit the community rather than the self.

The dominance of the Tact Maxim (M2) in directive speech acts aligns with findings from Alawiyah et al. (2022), who identified tact and modesty as the most prominent maxims in the film *Keluarga Cemara*. However, whereas Alawiyah et al. focused primarily on family-internal interactions, the present study demonstrates that tact is also realized in host-guest interactions, where a host prioritizes the comfort of a guest before initiating formal deliberation. This finding



suggests that the Tact Maxim in Minangkabau speech extends beyond domestic settings into broader community-level social rituals.

The realization of the Approbation Maxim (M3) through expressive speech acts further supports the findings of Naimah et al. (2024), who identified approbation as one of the most prominent maxims in formal debate contexts. In the present study, however, approbation is realized not in a competitive setting but in everyday communal exchange, demonstrating that positive evaluation of the interlocutor is a pervasive form of politeness adherence that operates across varying contextual registers in Minangkabau speech.

The Obligation Maxims (M5 and M6) represent a particularly notable finding of this study. While previous research such as Safira and Yuhdi (2022) addressed politeness strategies in interpersonal relationships in Indonesian film, the specific pairing of M5 and M6 as distinct yet complementary forms of politeness adherence has received limited systematic attention in prior literature. The present study demonstrates that these two maxims are realized through expressive speech acts in the form of apologies, expressions of gratitude, and self-minimizing responses, forming a paired pattern of politeness behavior that is particularly visible in hierarchical relationships such as parent-child interaction.

The realization of the Agreement Maxim (M7) through both assertive and expressive speech acts further enriches the existing literature. Alabdali, T. (2025) found that indirect strategies were commonly used to preserve participants' face in Arab television programs. A comparable pattern is observed in the present study, where both refusals and expressions of compliance are conveyed indirectly (through reasoned explanation or implicature) rather than through direct assertion. This indirectness constitutes a consistent form of M7 adherence that prioritizes face preservation within the communicative norms of Minangkabau culture.

Beyond identifying which maxims are present, it is also useful to examine why certain maxims recur more frequently than others. Across the data, the Tact Maxim (M2) and the Obligation Maxims (M5 and M6) consistently emerge in hierarchically structured relationships, such as parent to child (Data 2, Data 6), whereas the Generosity Maxim (M1), Approbation Maxim (M3), and Sympathy Maxim (M9) tend to surface in more horizontal, relationship-oriented exchanges among community members (Data 1, Data 4) and between spouses (Data 10). This distribution suggests that adherence to Tact and Obligation is closely tied to the management of asymmetrical social relationships, where speakers of higher status mitigate the imposition of directives through staged or softened delivery (M2), while speakers in subordinate positions adhere to Obligation through apology and acknowledgment (M5, M6). Politeness adherence in this film thus appears relationship-specific: hierarchical family relationships generate Tact and Obligation, while horizontal peer, spousal, or community relationships generate Generosity, Approbation, and Sympathy.

This relationship-specific pattern also helps explain a notable gap in the findings: the Modesty, Opinion-reticence, and Feeling-reticence Maxims were not identified anywhere in the data. This absence is unlikely to be incidental. These three maxims are fundamentally oriented toward self-restraint (minimizing self-praise, withholding personal opinions, and suppressing the expression of one's own feelings). The dialogue in *Onde Mande!* by contrast, is driven by a narrative structure centered on open family conflict and its resolution, in which characters are consistently required to voice their concerns, doubts, and emotional states in order to move the



plot toward reconciliation, as seen in Data 10, where Ni Ta directly voices her intention to support her husband rather than withholding it. This suggests that within this particular filmic representation of Minangkabau communication, directness in expressing one's own feelings and opinions is not treated as a threat to politeness, provided it is accompanied by other-oriented maxims such as Sympathy or Tact. Self-restraint maxims may therefore be absent not because they are culturally irrelevant, but because the narrative and relational context of this film consistently favors emotional transparency over self-effacement, a pattern that merits further investigation using naturally occurring, non-scripted Minangkabau conversation.

These patterns also raise the question of whether indirectness itself should be equated with politeness in this dataset. While the Agreement Maxim (M7), as discussed above, is realized through indirect strategies such as implicature and reasoned explanation, the Tact Maxim (M2) is in several instances realized through directive speech acts that are direct in illocutionary force but staged in delivery (Data 2), where the imposition is softened not by indirectness but by sequencing. This indicates that politeness adherence in Minangkabau speech, as represented in this film, does not depend on indirectness as a necessary condition. Directness accompanied by relational sensitivity can equally constitute adherence to a politeness maxim. This suggests that the correlation between indirectness and politeness assumed in much of the existing literature does not hold uniformly in this context, and that mitigation strategies other than indirectness, such as sequencing and staged delivery, deserve greater analytical attention in future studies of Minangkabau politeness.

Building on these patterns, this study also addresses a gap identified across the reviewed literature: the limited application of Leech's (2014) revised framework as opposed to the more widely used Leech (1983). The present study demonstrates that the 2014 framework, with its expanded set of ten maxims including the distinct Obligation maxims (M5 and M6), provides a more precise instrument for identifying the full range of politeness forms present in regional Indonesian film. The differentiation of M5 and M6 as separate maxims, for instance, allows for a more granular description of how obligation-based politeness is realized in speech, a level of analytical precision that the earlier framework does not afford.

The integration of illocutionary speech act classification with politeness maxim identification further distinguishes the analytical approach of this study from much of the prior work reviewed. By specifying the illocutionary type through which each maxim is realized (whether directive, expressive, commissive, or assertive) this study provides a more complete account of the forms through which politeness adherence manifests in the film's dialogue, contributing a replicable analytical model for future studies of politeness in regional language film contexts.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion

This study has examined the forms of adherence to Leech's (2014) politeness maxims as realized through illocutionary speech acts in the film *Onde Mandel!*. Based on the analysis of 84 data instances, seven of Leech's ten politeness maxims were identified, namely the Generosity Maxim (M1), Tact Maxim (M2), Approbation Maxim (M3), Obligation of S to O Maxim (M5), Obligation of O to S Maxim (M6), Agreement Maxim (M7), and Sympathy Maxim (M9). These



maxims are realized through four types of illocutionary speech acts, namely expressive, directive, commissive, and assertive acts, which collectively reflect the diverse ways in which politeness is linguistically expressed in Minangkabau communicative culture.

The findings demonstrate that politeness adherence in the film is not limited to a single speech act type or a single social context, but rather manifests across varying interactional situations ranging from family interactions and host-guest exchanges to community deliberations. The Tact Maxim (M2) and Obligation Maxims (M5 and M6) emerged as particularly prominent, reflecting the strong cultural values of respect, reciprocity, and communal harmony that characterize Minangkabau society. The deeply rooted *adat* norms of the community are shown to shape the way speakers select and deploy politeness strategies in everyday interaction.

This study also demonstrates the analytical value of applying Leech's (2014) revised framework, which offers a more comprehensive and granular set of maxims compared to the earlier Leech (1983) theory. The differentiation of the Obligation maxims into M5 and M6, for instance, enabled a more precise identification of how obligation-based politeness is realized in speech, a level of detail that prior studies employing the 1983 framework were unable to capture. In this regard, the present study contributes to filling the gap in existing literature by offering one of the few analyses of regional Indonesian film using the Leech (2014) framework.

Future research may expand upon these findings by examining a wider range of Minangkabau films or by incorporating comparative analyses across different regional language films in Indonesia. Studies that integrate both adherence and non-adherence to politeness maxims within the same analytical framework would also provide a more complete picture of how politeness operates as a dynamic and context-sensitive phenomenon in regional cinema.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

This study is subject to several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the data are drawn from a single film, *Onde Mande!*, and the findings should therefore not be generalized as representative of Minangkabau politeness practices as a whole. Second, as film dialogue is scripted, the utterances analyzed reflect a constructed representation of communication rather than spontaneous, naturally occurring speech, which may affect the variability of the politeness strategies observed. Third, this study focuses exclusively on adherence to politeness maxims; instances of violation or non-adherence, while conceptually relevant, were not systematically analyzed and thus fall outside the scope of the present findings. Fourth, the cultural interpretations offered in this study are based solely on the scenes represented in the film and should not be read as comprehensive claims about Minangkabau social or communicative practice in general. Fifth, the classification of utterances according to Leech's (2014) politeness maxims involved a degree of interpretive judgment on the part of the researcher, and therefore some subjectivity in classification cannot be entirely ruled out. Sixth, the English translation of the dialogue, though carefully produced through a two-stage process involving a native Minangkabau speaker and the researcher's formal training in English translation, was not independently cross-validated by a second native speaker or professional translator, which may have influenced the precision of the pragmatic meaning conveyed. Finally, this study does not examine how audiences interpret the film's dialogue, nor does it draw on naturally occurring Minangkabau conversation outside the cinematic context; the findings should therefore be



understood as reflecting patterns within this particular filmic representation, rather than as a comprehensive account of politeness in everyday Minangkabau communication.

REFERENCES

- Agustina, N., & Pristiwati, R. (2019). Pelanggaran prinsip kesantunan dalam film Yowis Ben karya Bayu Skak. *Jurnal Profesi Keguruan*, 5(2), 162–168.
- Aji, C. A. I., Asyhar, M., & Hidayat, R. (2023). Pemuatan dan pelanggaran kesantunan berbahasa dalam akun YouTube Main Hakim Sendiri. *Jurnal Bastrindo*. 6(1), 1-19. <https://eprints.unram.ac.id/47877/>
- Alabdali, T. (2025). Politeness pragmatic orientation in the production of advice-giving speech acts in Arab TV talent shows. *International Journal of Arabic-English Studies*, 25(1), 61–80. <https://doi.org/10.33806/ijaes.v25i1.687>
- Alawiyah, S. A., Sumarno, S., & Ningsih, N. M. (2022). Kesantunan berbahasa dalam film Keluarga Cemara sutradara Yandy Laurens sebagai alternatif bahan ajar di sekolah menengah atas. *Stilistika: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra*, 15(2), 337–348.
- Asra, F. A., Charlina, C., & Sinaga, M. (2024). Pemuatan kesantunan berbahasa dalam film Ngeri-Ngeri Sedap. *JlIP-Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*, 7(1), 284–290.
- Azizah, I., & Prayitno, H. D. (2024). Kesantunan komunikasi digital dalam grup WhatsApp pada siswa sekolah menengah pertama. *Journal of Education Research*, 5(3), 3575–3592.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Vol. 4). Cambridge University Press.
- Fitriya, L. (2023). Pemuatan dan pelanggaran prinsip kesantunan berbahasa kebijaksanaan dalam ceramah Habib Rizieq yang diunggah pada online YouTube: Kajian pragmatik. *Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi*, 18(2), 77–95.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. Longman.
- Leech, G. N. (2014). *The pragmatics of politeness*. Oxford University Press.
- Mahmudi, A. G., Irawati, L., & Soleh, D. R. (2021). Kesantunan berbahasa siswa dalam berkomunikasi dengan guru (kajian pragmatik). *Deiksis*, 13(2), 98–109.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Naimah, S., Pratiwi, L., & Anggraini, T. (2024). Prinsip kesantunan Leech dalam debat digital: Studi pada kanal YouTube X OTKP 2. *Jurnal Bahasa dan Pendidikan*, 13(1), 14–29.



- Ni'am, S. T. F., & Utomo, A. P. Y. (2020). Analisis pematuhan dan pelanggaran prinsip kesantunan berbahasa pada kegiatan praktik debat siswa kelas X SMA Negeri 1 Pecangaan. *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, 9(2), 116–122.
- Ronan, P. (2022). The use of please in the expression of (im)politeness in the language of London teenagers and adults. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 190, 15–30.
- Safira, S. D., & Yuhdi, A. (2022). Analisis kesantunan berbahasa dalam film *Ali dan Ratu-Ratu Queens* serta implikasinya terhadap pembelajaran bahasa Indonesia di SMA. *Jurnal Bahasa & Sastra Indonesia*, 2(1), 35–51. <https://doi.org/10.47709/jbsi.v2i1.1499>
- Santosa, R. (2021). *Dasar-dasar metode penelitian kualitatif kebahasaan*. UNS Press.
- Sari, A., Muhtarom, I., & Nuraini, C. (2024). Kesantunan berbahasa tokoh-tokoh dalam novel Merdeka Sejak Hati karya Ahmad Fuadi serta pemanfaatannya sebagai bahan ajar pembelajaran bahasa Indonesia di SMA. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 10(1), 87–102.
- Setiawan, D. (2017). Wujud kesantunan berbahasa guru: Studi kasus di SD Immersion Ponorogo. *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa*, 8(1), 88–99.
- Sudaryanto. (1993). *Metode dan aneka teknik analisis bahasa: Pengantar penelitian wahana kebudayaan secara linguistik*. Duta Wacana University Press.
- Wulansafitri, I., & Syaifudin, A. (2020). Kesantunan berbahasa dalam tuturan film My Stupid Boss 1. *Jurnal Sastra Indonesia*, 9(1), 21–27.
- Yuryeva, K. (2019). Address forms as a reflection of ethno-cultural style of communication: Evidence from British and Canadian English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 146, 67–80.

