

## **SARCASTIC EXPRESSIONS IN MERIAQ-MERIKU DIALECT OF SASAK LANGUAGE: PRAGMATIC STUDY**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research aims at studying the pragmatic use of sarcasm in Meriaq-Meriqu dialect of Sasak language. This research is a qualitative research. The data are collected via two techniques – participant observation and unstructured interview. The data are then analyzed via interactive model which consists of three main points: data reduction, data presentation and data clarification. The results show that there are three kinds of sarcastic expressions in Meriaq-Meriqu – word form, phrasal form and clause form. In word form, the reference used as sarcastic word is mostly from animal, characters and parts of body while the reference in phrasal forms is mostly taken from part of body, animal and characters. The clause form of sarcasm is divided into two kinds- direct and indirect sarcasm. In terms of functions, sarcasms have five functions- expression of intimacy, informal address, expression of anger, insinuation and humiliation.

Keywords: Sarcasm; Pragmatic; Sasak language; Dialect; Meriaq- Meriqu

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Language is a very effective means of communication for human beings. It is used to express messages and feelings to someone. Along with social and cultural dynamics, language undergoes some developments in vocabularies, meaning and functions so the role of language functions not only as a means of communication but also individual's power symbol.

As a means of communication, the language certainly has a sense of language which is much influenced by culture of its native speakers. For example, if a word or phrase used in communication has a negative sense to addressee, the communication between the speaker and hearer will be disturbed or even falls in conflict. One form of language that can interfere with communication between individuals is called sarcasm. However, in other contexts, sarcasm may become a symbol of intimacy in association. According to Ismail (2015), if sarcasm is used in communication, it may have emotive function. Meanwhile, Leech (1983) claims that sarcasm has expressive function when the sarcasm is used in communication. The use of sarcasm in daily communication cannot be avoided as it is a part of feeling which needs expression.

In relation to this, many conflicts occur in both intracultural communication and intercultural communication which are caused by lack of understanding of sarcastic concept in a community. This study is conducted in central Lombok where Meriaq-Meriqu dialect of Sasak language is spoken. The people of Central Lombok are well-known as stubbornness so sarcastic

expressions as one of the conflict factors become main problem to investigate. This study investigates the sarcasm in Meriaq-Meriqu dialect based on two questions: (1) what are kinds of sarcastic expressions used in Meriaq-Meriqu dialect of Sasak language? (2) what are the functions of sarcastic expressions used by the speakers of Meriaq-Meriqu dialect?

## 2. THEORIES

### 2.1 Studies on Sarcasm

Nurhadi (2007) defines sarcasm as a figurative speech aimed at insinuating and offending someone or something. Sarcasm may include contempt expressing pique and anger using sarcastic utterances. The speakers tend to use the sarcastic utterance explicitly than to satirize the addressee. Armijo *et al* (2011) says that sarcasm is another type of irony which is openly aggressive utterance with clearer cues and a clear target. However, Armijo *et al* (2011) argues that no consensus between sarcasm and irony whether they have significant differences.

Tarigan (2013) says that sarcastic utterances contain more ugly words to hurt than the type of irony. It is usually expressed by those who involve in conflict because sarcasm aims at satirizing someone (Meilany and Rahayu, 2012). Sarcasm in its classification is equated irony and cynicism. These figurative speeches have slight difference among each other so they are difficult to distinguish. One point that emphasizes the characteristic of sarcasm is that the word meaning used is “very offensive” so it might reveal the conflict between speaker and hearer. Peters (2013) argued that Sarcasm often denotes to violation of social norms, current situational processes, and the action of others within a negative or positive context. In particular context, sarcasm may become the symbol of intimacy. It would seem peculiar when close friend converses each other using standard language.

Echoic Remainder Theory (Kreuz & Glucksberg, 1989 cited in Peter, 2013) proposes that speakers use sarcasm to remind an interlocutor that a social norm is under violation. For instance, in a condition when one friend (Person A) has made an appointment to meet another (person B) in a park and he misses the meeting or is late to the meeting, the sarcastic word used by person B is aimed to remind person A that he has violated the norm. However, Echoic Remainder Theory may not be appropriate for the situation in which it is beyond the social norm such as speaker’s personal judgment of another or individual differences in fashion style.

Another theory of sarcasm called Mention Theory of Irony (Jorgenson and *et al*, 1984) suggest that not only the echoes of sarcastic utterance may become a method of intending an ironic, or sarcastic utterance but also echoes of emotion may offend addressees. Mention Theory of Irony claim sarcastic utterances may be easily resolved by the addressee but what becomes consideration is also the speaker’s attitude toward the topic. For instance, one considered to leave the room before others might raise questions whether he is offended by the topic discussed or other offensive factors caused him to leave the room.

## 2.2 Types of Sarcasm

Camp (2011) proposed four types of sarcasm; propositional sarcasm, lexical sarcasm, 'like'-prefixed sarcasm, and illocutionary sarcasm. *Propositional sarcasm* is the propositional form of sarcasm which functions to deliver an implicature that is contrast from the sincere utterance. This type of sarcasm is the most straightforward sarcasm because what is stated is in contrast with the reality (Camp, 2011 and Dinari, 2015). For example

- (1) James must be a real hit with ladies (Camp, 2011)

The example (1) seems not to have sarcastic utterance. However, the real situation occurred in the field is that James is not a popular man among ladies so it unlikely happens to James. The speaker in this case aims to express the meaning behind the proposition to mock James.

Camp (2011) argues that *Lexical sarcasm* delivers an inverted compositional value for a single expression. The speaker tends to use positive expression but often followed by negative effect (Dinari, 2015). What makes it different from the propositional sarcasm is on the evaluative scale in which the lexical sarcasm seems to have tighter connection and be natural and clear on its expressions like 'brilliant', 'inspired', 'genius', 'diplomat', and 'thrilled' in the first sentence and ends in negative meaning at last sentence (Camp, 2011) as in

- (2) If Alice is so brilliant, then she will be the perfect dupe for our little plan (Dinari, 2015)

The sentence (2) above seems to use positive expression in the initial sentence but it is accompanied by negative value on the phrase 'the perfect dupe' which shows the speaker pretends to honor the addressee.

'*Like*'-prefixed sarcasm makes the speaker produce clear denial expression in his focal content. Unlike the propositional sarcasm in which the speaker's intended meaning is contrast with the proposition, the 'like'-prefixed sarcasm makes use of clear expression so the hearer may quickly catch the meaning, it evokes disambiguate utterances.

### 2.2.1 Sarcasm and Grice's Maxim

In conversation, being cooperative is important. Therefore, when the speaker makes a conversation with the addressee, the speaker has to ensure that the addressee understand what the speaker is saying. Thus, mutual understanding indicates that the cooperative communication is achieved. This assumption is called Cooperative Principle which was proposed by H.P Grice (1975). According to Grice (1975), when a conversation takes place, a certain set of rules is in action. If the addressee finds something unclear in speaker's message, the addressee will search for the meaning. To analyze the cooperation in a conversation, Grice (1975) proposes four maxims: *quality*, *quantity*, *relation* and *manner* (Armijo, 2011)

Maxim of quantity requires the speakers to be as informative as is required. So, in conversation, the hearer needs to answer what is asked by the speaker. See for example<sup>1</sup> below

- (3) A: *Where are you going?*  
B: *I am going to the school*

In this example, the hearer B gives information as is needed by A without adding any other information. In example below, B's answer breaks the maxim of quantity because B gives more information than is required.

- (4) A: *Are you going to work tomorrow?*  
B: *I am on jury today, but I'll have to go to the doctor in the evening. I have asked the manager for permission*

Maxim of quality demands the speaker not to say what is believed to be false and for which the speakers lack adequate evidence. Here is the example of obeying maxim of quality

- (5) A: *Why did you come last night?*  
B: *The car was broken down*

The speaker B tells the truth of what has happened to him as he/she was late. The use of maxim of quality indicates that the speaker tells the truth and expresses anything with evidence.

This maxim is also called the maxim of relevance. It needs the speaker and hearer to have relevant contribution in a conversation. One is assumed to violate the maxim of relevance when a speaker or hearer breaks the principles of cooperation. The example (6) below obeys the rules of maxim of relation and another example (7) breaks the principles of the maxim of relation.

- (6) A: *Where is my jacket?*  
B: *It is in your room*

- (7) A: *Where is my phone?*

B: *I lost mine too*

The next is maxim of manner in which the speaker needs to be perspicuous. In this case, ambiguity and obscurity of expression must be avoided. The speakers should be brief and

<sup>1</sup> The examples are taken from Han (2012)

orderly in uttering words. In example (8), the B give a clear answer so the speaker gets the point while in example (9) A does not give a clear instruction and so does not the hearer B who gives answer with obscure expression.

(8) A: *Where were you yesterday?*

B: *I was at school for studying*

(9) A: *please! Open it*

B: *wait! It still cold*

To recognize that sarcasm violates the maxims, Olsen (2015) proposes three markers that sarcasm violates the maxims;

#### 1. Self-contradiction

Self –contradiction refers to the use of sarcasm by using explicit expressions. It can be divided into two sub-types; lexical contradiction and sentimental contradiction. *Lexical-contradiction* describes an utterance in which the words used necessarily contradict one another (Olsen, 2015). Example below shows that there two things that are really different things. The words *hot* and *cold* contradict in meaning so the sentence below expressed regardless of context.

(10) *Hot and cold are absolutely the same*

Sentimental contradiction is based on the common social knowledge of the positive and negative connotation of a particular situation. The example below indicates that the word *love* is positive sentiment on the one hand, and the word *stall* is negative sentiment on the other.

(11) *I love when my car stalls*

#### 2. Hyperbolic combinations

*Hyperbolic combination* includes in exaggerated expressions such as *excellent*, *lovely*, *gorgeous*, *brilliant*, and *etc.* Commonly, the sarcastic utterances in hyperbolic combinations are in phrase *adverbs-adjectives* (Dinari, 2015). The example below shows hyperbolic expressions. The common situation is that most people feel that winter is unpleasant weather. He/she expresses contradicted expressions with the real condition.

(12) *This freezing day is just wonderfully perfect*

### 3. Manner - violation

*Manner – violation* is a sarcastic signal which is recognized by the appearance of the repeated words. The manner-violation violates the sub-maxim particularly “be brief”. For instance, the expression below shows many repeated expression. Instead, it can only be expressed “*I’m not mad*”. Another expressions that can be signal of manner-violation is “*it’s not like.....(or anything)*”.

(13) *I’m not mad. Nope. Not mad at all. Not even little.*

### 3. METHOD

This study includes in a qualitative research which aims at describing and explaining kinds of sarcastic utterances and their usages in daily communication in *Meriq-Meriqu* dialect of Sasak language especially in Setanggor village. Mahsun (2007) argues that the use of qualitative approach in linguistic study concentrates more on the meaning, description, clarification and data on their context than on the numbers. Berg (2001) confirms that qualitative research tries to answer by verifying the social phenomena on the community.

This study employs field linguistic method by which the informants from *Meriq-Meriqu* dialect are involved in the dialogue (Sukerti, 2013). In this case, the researcher uses two techniques in collecting data;

- a. Participant observation. The researcher in this technique involves directly in a conversation or daily activity of the informants. It aims at finding out the attitude, feeling and mindset of the object (Podesva and Sharma, 2013)
- b. Unstructured interview. This technique is used to discover all about sarcasm from the informants.

The data are analyzed via interactive model which consists of three main points: data reduction, data presentation and data clarification (Sutopo, 2003). In data reduction, the main data will be selected from the data obtained from the observation and interview. The data selected will be presented in the form of table. The last step is data verification in that it will be described.

### 4. DISCUSSION

There are two research questions concerning to this study: (1) the kinds of sarcastic expressions used by the speakers of *Meriq-Meriqu* dialect in Central Lombok and (2) the functions of sarcastic expressions. The results of participant observation and interview yielded that there are three kinds of sarcastic expressions used by the speakers of *Meriq-Meriqu* dialect: a) word form, phrasal form and clause form. the functions of sarcastic expression are expression of intimacy, informal address, expression of anger, insinuation, and humiliation.

#### 4.1 KINDS OF SARCASTIC EXPRESSIONS

Kinds of sarcastic expressions in *Meriq – Meriqu* dialect of Sasak language can be divided into three categories- word, phrase and clause.

#### 4.1.1 Word Form

The word forms of sarcastic expressions in Setanggor village are approximately 32 words with various references used. Here are the lists of sarcastic expressions in Setanggor village.

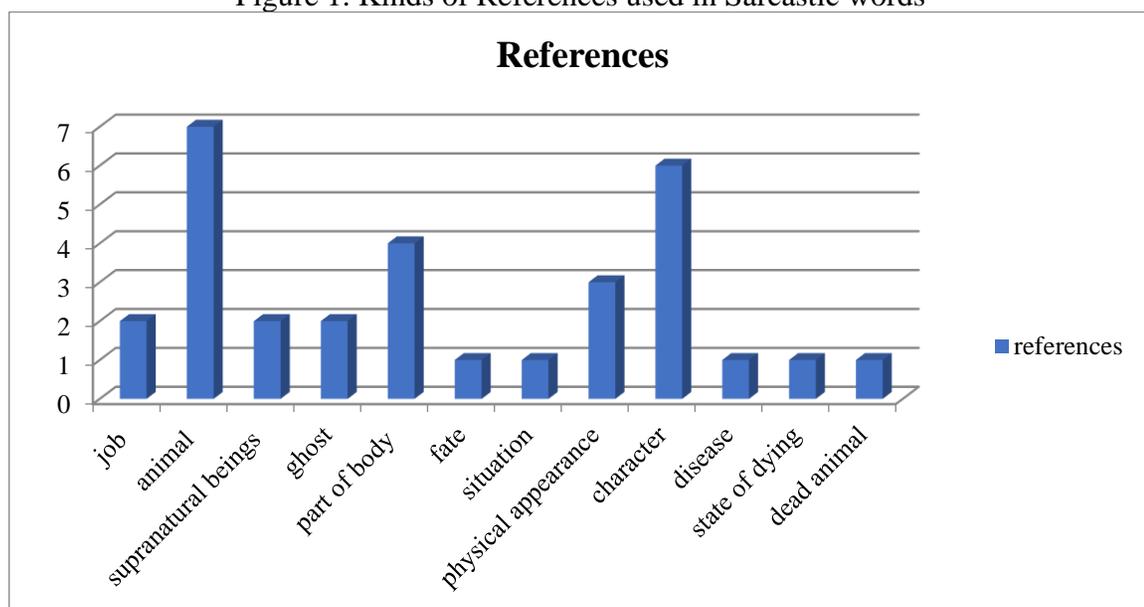
Table 1. Word form of sarcastic expressions

No	Word	Phonetic symbols	Reference	Meaning
1	<i>Sundel</i>	/sundəl/	Job	Adulterer/prostitute
2	<i>Ubek</i>	/ubek/	Job	Prostitute
3	<i>Setan</i>	/setan/	Supranatural beings	Jinn
4	<i>Iblis</i>	/iblis/	Supranatural beings	Demon
5	<i>Tuselak</i>	/tuselak/	Human	Ghost
6	<i>Tele</i>	/təle/	Part of body	Clitoris
7	<i>telor</i>	/təlor/	Part of body	Penis
8	<i>Elak</i>	/Elak/	Part of body	Tongue
9	<i>Tai</i>	/tai/	Dunk	Dunk
10	<i>Bawi</i>	/bawi/	Animal	Pig
11	<i>Basong</i>	/basong/	Animal	Dog
12	<i>Godek</i>	/godek/	Animal	Monkey
13	<i>Sampi</i>	/sampi/	Animal	Cow
14	<i>Ulah</i>	/ulah/	Animal	Snake
15	<i>Melak</i>	/Melak/	Character	Greedy
16	<i>Bongol</i>	/bongol/	Character	Polish
17	<i>Pelit</i>	/pəlit/	Character	Stingy
18	<i>Kikit</i>	/kikit/	Character	Very stingy
19	<i>Bedel</i>	/Bədel/	Physical appearance	Distended stomach
20	<i>Bangke</i>	/baŋke/	Dead animal	Dead animal

21	<i>Binjat</i>	/binjat/	Animal	Dog
22	<i>Jadah</i>	/Jadah/	Human	Illegal child
23	<i>Melut</i>	/məlut/	Character	Mad
24	<i>Plot</i>	/plot/	State of dying	Dead
25	<i>Bucung</i>	/bucunɣ/	Physical appearance	Nozzle lips
26	<i>Cucuk</i>	/cucuk/	Part of body	Lips
27	<i>Borot</i>	/borot/	Disease	Penis disease
28	<i>Jogang</i>	/jogaŋ/	Character	Mad
29	<i>Loncong</i>	/Lonconɣ/	Physical appearance	Oval head
30	<i>Sialan</i>	/sialan/	Fate	Unlucky fate
31	<i>Ore</i>	/ora/	Situation	Mass
32	<i>Kao</i>	/kao/	Animal	Buffalo

From the table I above, the word form of sarcastic expressions can be taken from various references. Below is the figure of references used in sarcastic word.

Figure 1. Kinds of References used in Sarcastic words



The figure 1 above shows the names of animal become the highest source of sarcastic words used in Setanggor village. It indicates that the people of Setanggor village do not want to be equalized with the animal especially the animals that they assumed as very dirty animals like *pig* and *dog*. Additionally, the people of Setanggor village are mostly Muslims who assume the animals like *pig* and *dog* profane so if the word *pig* and *dog* are expressed toward them, they may get very angry. The second position is bad character. Every person need to be considered as a good man with good characters. This is naturally occurred to every person even bad person so if the he/she is called with the word containing bad image, he/she may also get angry. The third position is occupied by the word expressing part of the body. The words showing parts of the body are mostly related to genitals for man and woman. Commonly, these words are taboo to express so when the words are expressed toward someone, he/she will get angry to the speaker. The last high position is related to physical appearance. The physical appearances often become objects of sarcastic word are head form and stomach as shown in the chart above. Other references that at least contribute to the sarcastic words made by the people of Setanggor are jobs, human, situation, fate, and etc. Most of the words have semantically bad connotation.

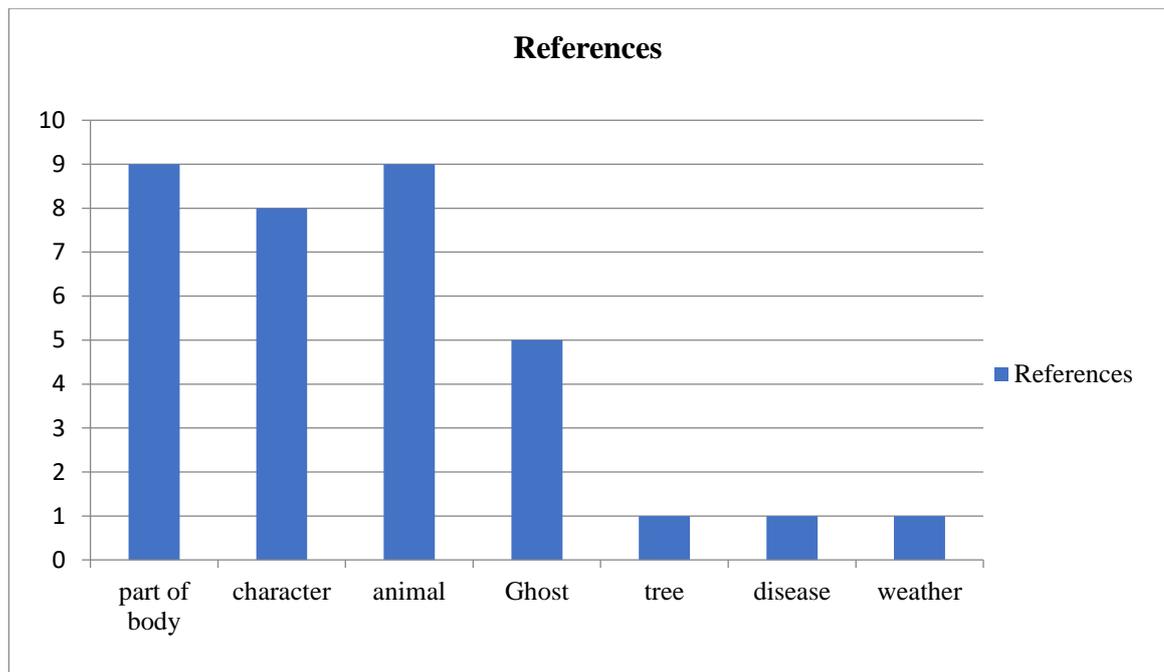
#### 4.1.2 Phrasal Form

Phrase is a combination of two or more words that have a meaning and do not consist of subject and verb. In term of sarcasm, phrasal sarcasm is a combination of two or more words that contain sarcastic meaning. Table II below shows the phrasal sarcastic expressions that are often used in daily communication.

Table 2. Phrasal sarcastic expressions

No	Phrasal sarcasm	Phonetic symbols	Meaning
1	<i>Tain tele</i>	/tain tələ/	Genital feces
2	<i>Panas lenteng</i>	/panas lenteng/	improvident
3	<i>Telen inak</i>	/təlen inak/	Mother's genital
4	<i>Bak baduk</i>	/baq baduk/	Swollen stomach
5	<i>Selak medol</i>	/selaq mədol/	Greedy ghost
6	<i>Basong ngambar</i>	/basoŋ/	Wild dogs
7	<i>Selak nyale</i>	/selak nyalə/	Glowing ghost
8	<i>Cucuk bawi</i>	/cucuk bawi/	Pig's mouth
9	<i>Cucuk ulah</i>	/cucuk ulah/	Snake's mouth
10	<i>Pemuak teleng</i>	/pemuaq tələŋ/	Strange face
11	<i>Pemuak lukap</i>	/pemuaq lukap/	Sleepy face
12	<i>Blakong embus</i>	/blakoŋ embus/	A rotten bark of banana tree
13	<i>Sampi nenes</i>	/sampi nənəs/	A very thin cow
14	<i>Tau selak</i>	/tau selaq/	Ghost
15	<i>Tau ceringus</i>	/tau cəriŋus/	A naughty boy
16	<i>Tian karung</i>	Tian karuŋ/	Greedy
17	<i>Marak basong godek</i>	/marak basoŋ godek/	Cannot get along with
18	<i>Meong garong</i>	/Meoŋ garoŋ/	Wild
19	<i>Tau koras kojeng</i>	/tau koras kojeŋ/	Stubborn
20	<i>Tau tele</i>	/tau tələ/	A naughty boy
21	<i>Tau jogang</i>	/tau joŋaŋ/	Mad man
22	<i>Tau melut</i>	/tau məlut/	Insane
23	<i>Tau cine bereng</i>	/tau cine berəŋ/	Very stingy
24	<i>Raos caleg</i>	/raos caleg/	A liar
25	<i>Raos jogang</i>	/raos joŋaŋ/	Slur
26	<i>Tau jadik</i>	/tau jadiŋ/	Betrayer
27	<i>Jadah oros</i>	/Jadah oros/	Bastard
28	<i>Lekak tunggak elak</i>	/lekak tuŋgak elak/	A big liar
29	<i>Aten basong</i>	/aten basoŋ/	A bad man
30	<i>Aten bawi</i>	/aten bawi/	A bad man
31	<i>Anget-anget tain manok</i>	/aŋet-aŋet tain manok/	Inconsistent
32	<i>Bulat letak</i>	/bulat letaŋ/	Ugly
33	<i>Borek koreng</i>	/borek koreŋ/	Smallpox
34	<i>Belek baduk</i>	/bəleq badok/	Swollen stomach
35	<i>Belek bacot</i>	/bəleq bacot/	Talkative
36	<i>Marak bukal</i>	/maraq bukal/	Evening person

Figure 2. References of Phrasal Sarcastic Expressions in Meriaq-Meriqu



Different from the first chart in which animal becomes the highest reference for sarcastic words, the phrasal sarcastic expressions show that part of body and animal become references that are used often in sarcasm. There are nine phrases related to the part of the body and so are animals. In case of animal, the animals used as references are various because the animals' characters are used in this phrase, for instance, *marak bukal* which refers to those who do activities at night. The next position is occupied by character and the third one is ghost. Ghost in chart I has very low position and it occupies higher position in figure 2. This is because many modifiers attaches to the ghost such as *selaq medol* (greedy ghost).

#### 4.1.3 Clause Form

According to Kartawijaya (2014), sarcasm in the form of clause can be divided into two types- rude sarcasm and smart sarcasm. Rude sarcasm relates to the use of sarcastic expression directly. In contrast, smart sarcasm denotes to the use of sarcastic expressions indirectly. It tends to express positive expression to mock or satirize the hearer. In this case, I would prefer to call *direct sarcasm* for rude sarcasm and *indirect sarcasm* for smart sarcasm. Here are the examples for clause form of sarcasm

##### a. Direct sarcasm

(14) *Basong kaem*

Dog. 2sg

“You are dog”

(15) *Bawi kaem,,demenm paling*

Pig 2sg like.2sg steal

*barang dengan*

goods people

“You are pig,,you often  
steal other’s goods”

(16) *Mulem tamaq,,selapuqn*  
INT.2sg greedy all

*wahm kaken doang*

PAST.2sg eat INT

“You are very greedy, you have eaten all things”

b. Indirect sarcasm

(17) *Kedalemn buwun nini taoqn iyeh*  
INT.deep.3sg well. Here.3sg. INT

The well is very deep here, isn’t it!”

(18) *Ceketm bae pinaq acare iyeh, laguk anget – anget tain manok*  
Smart.2sg INT make agenda INT. but inconsistent

You are great in making agenda but inconsistent”

(19) *Kesolah baum nulis marak ruen manok ngaeh*  
INT.good catch.2sg write like seem chicken track

You have a good handwriting as if it is a chicken track”

In sentences *a*, direct sarcasm, the sentences use the taboo words which can hurt the addressee. For instance, *basong kaem* (you are a dog). If this sentence is expressed toward any men or women, they will feel very angry because it may equalize them to the dog and every one does not accept that. The sentence( 16), *mulem tamaq, selapuqn wahm kaken doang*, contains negative words such as *tamaq* which refer to one’s bad character and no one will accept that.

In indirect sarcasm, the sentences make use of a positive word such as *ceket* (smart) and *solah* (good) but at the end of the sentences there is a word or sentence that indicates negative meaning. For instance, in sentence (19) *Kesolah baum nulis marak ruen manok ngaeh* (you have a good handwriting as if it is a chicken track), the main sentence has positive meaning and the second sentence has negative meaning. The first sentence *kedalem buwun nini taoqm iyeh* (the well is very deep here, isn’t it!) makes use of figurative speech. The situation is that the speaker visits the addressee and along the visit the speaker feels thirsty and said *kedalem buwun nini taoqm iyeh* to give signal that the speaker needs water to drink.

## 4.2 Functions of Sarcasm

Functions of sarcasm found in Setanggor village fall into four major functions- expression of intimacy, informal address, expression of anger, insinuation, and humiliation.

### 4.3 Expression of Intimacy

Sarcasm can be used to show intimacy between speaker and hearer. Intimacy can be measurement that one has close relationship with others. This is because the speaker and hearer are cooperative. The cooperative principles enables a participant in a conversation to talk to the other participant on the assumption that the other participation is being cooperative (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The speaker and hearer shared background knowledge and values for the purpose of putting hearer at ease (Brown & Levinson, 1987). For instance, when one meets stranger or someone with negative intimacy, he/she will never express sarcastic expression that can offend the addressee. In contrast, positive intimacy between speaker and hearer will produce no gap because they are cooperators. See the conversation below

(20) A short conversation

A. *Mbe HP eto?*

Where HP that

“Where is the HP?”

B. *Lupakq jauqh, madeq lek bale*

Forget.1sg bring.3sg leave at home

“I forgot it, I left at home”

A. *Lueq raosm doang kaem ni*

Many talk INT 2sg this

“You are talkative”

In the conversation above, the speaker and addressee have positive intimacy so sarcastic utterances may not influence their relationship. It also aims at easing each other so any sarcastic expressions uttered by both speaker and addressee are not taken seriously (Mahyuni, 2006).

### 4.4 Informal Address

The sarcastic utterances often become informal address for those who have close intimacy. Sasak people usually have their informal addressing system (Mahyuni, 2006). For instance, the name *muhammad* in Sasak may have informal address *nyambot*, the name *Mahudi* may become *odek* or *budek*. Besides informal addressing system, sarcastic word may also become alternatives to address someone when the addressee has close intimacy to the speaker but it will not happen to the older one. It may happen to the same age or younger. However, when the intimacy becomes measurement, any other background including age may be abandoned and usually this occurs to the uneducated people. See for examples below

(21) A short conversation

- A. *Ee jogang melut, embe uah laim kance penyayangm?*  
2sg. crazy mad where PAST go.2sg with girlfriend  
“Melut,,where did you go yesterday with your girlfriend?”
- B. *Uahq laiq Kerandangan*  
PAST.1sg go Kerandangan  
“I went to Kerandangan”
- A. *Kegeaqm aran kaem*  
INT. stylish.2sg name 2sg.  
“You really overact, don’t you?”
- B. *Melengqh*  
want.1sg  
(It’s not your business!)

In the conversation above, the speaker A calls the addressee B by using sarcastic word *melut* (insane) whereas his name is *Adi*. He is actually known by his character which likes to have a joke so his friends often call him *melut*. However, *Adi* does not take it personal so he feels convenient with that address.

#### 4.5 Expression of Anger

Expression of anger identically relates to the sarcastic expression. Sarcastic expression is a part of anger because it is hard to hold anger without expression sarcastic utterances. In fact, many people can arrest anger but, to my view, very few people can control the sarcastic utterances, at least expressing indirect sarcasm, because someone who is controlled by anger has a tendency to produce direct sarcasm. here is an example of sarcastic expression in anger situation.

(22) A short conversation

- A. *Basong, niaq laim maeh q-tujak tunggak elak e*  
Dog come here.2sg come 1sg.pound base tounge.2sg  
“dog..come here I will pound your tongue”
- B. *Yaok, arak ape jeqn*  
Exc. There what Exc.  
“haa what’s the matter?”
- A. *Kembeqm jaet sepedah arim*  
Why.2sg break bicycle little brother.2sg.POSS  
“Why did you break your little brother’s bike?”
- B. *Nie lasing jangkong-qh mok terik-q laik telabah*  
3sg INT give ride.1sg then fall.1sg to river  
“He gave me a ride and fell into the river”

In the example above, it is likely that the speaker A is very angry. It can be seen from the sentences initiated by speaker A. the first sentence uttered by the speaker A is in the form of clause sarcasm. It indicates that the speaker A is angry.

#### 4.6 Insinuation

This function of sarcasm is often be used in daily communication when someone has something to say or has a wish but he cannot express it directly. Sarcasm becomes alternatives to express this feeling. This function can also be used when someone is in anger but feel doubt to express his/her anger because of some factor such as age, position and education or may be he/she wants to maintain the relationship between her/him and the addressee. See below for the examples of insinuation

(23) *Ke-dalem buwun nini yeh*

INT.deep well here Excl.

“the well is deep here, isn’t it!”

(24) A. *Atong-q sendak enteh laik tu Mataram Ton*

Accompany.1sg a moment lets to Mataram friend

“accompany me for a moment to Mataram my friend”

B. *aok, nane-ng-q bait aik juluk jari bensin*

Yes now.Linker.1sg

take water for fuel

“yes, I will take water for the fuel”

Sentence (23) is usually used when someone visits his/her friends and his/her friend does not serve or forget to serve a drink, then the speaker feels thirsty and needs a drink. The speaker can say “*Ke-dalem buwun nini yeh*” to insinuate the addressee. It usually happens to those who have close relationship. In sentence (24), the addressee B use sarcasm to ask for the money to buy fuel. This is because the speaker A may never give money when he needs a help so the addressee B reply using sarcasm saying “*aok, nanengq bait aik juluk jari bensin*”

#### 4.7 Humiliation

Humiliation is usually occurred to two basic contexts; first, informal context, and second formal context. Informal context is often used to humiliate someone using sarcasm although this situation may not impact to the addressee such as joke. It usually happens among friends who share backgrounds with positive intimacy. Formal context relates to context in which the speaker and addressee are separated by factors that produce gap such as age, position in job, education, kinship and etc. for instance, a position in a job can influence the way one speaks to others. If the speaker has higher position but younger than the addressee, he may use sarcasm to express his anger or feeling toward the addressee. See for the example below

(25)

*Segerahm meriaq doang endengm tao gaweqh,*

Sure. 2sg like that INT unable.2sg can do

“

You cannot do such easy thing”

*marak dengan endeq uah sekolah bae*

like someone not PAST school INT

“as if you are not educated”

(26) *Maeh tepade bareng-bareng bgoyan aden endek telat bae*

Let.1pl plural together work in order not late INT

“Let’s work together in order that we are not late

*sengak ite doang jari te-silik isik bos*

because we INT be PASS-warn by boss

“Because the boss always warns us”

In sentence (25), direct sarcasm is used because the speaker is older and he has higher position in a job than the addressee. This context makes the speaker dare to use sarcastic utterances. Meanwhile, sentence (26) indicates different context from the first sentence. The speaker has higher position in a job but in term of education, he has lower education than the most of addressees so he tends to use polite sentence or indirect sarcasm to insinuate addressee.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the definition, sarcasm is bad expressions used to insinuate or mock others. It is used to make the addressee angry or inconvenient so using sarcasm may evoke conflict between the speaker and addressee. In addition, intonation and gesture in using sarcasm can also influence the situation in the field. This study finds many functions of sarcasm which may be highly based on the context. There are five main functions – expression of intimacy, informal address, expression of anger, insinuation, and humiliation. From these functions, there are three kinds of expression often used by the people of Setanggor – word form, phrasal form, and clause form. Word form is dominated by the references from animal, character, part of body and physical appearance. Phrasal form on the other side is dominated by the references from part of body, animal, character and ghost. The reference *ghost* appears to be the forth ranking because it has many adjectives that modify it. In clause form, sarcasm is divided into two kinds; direct and indirect sarcasm.

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