

CYBERPRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF DIGITAL HUMOR IN WHATSAPP STICKERS

Clara Herlina Karjo¹, Akbar Satyono Rahmadhito²

^{1,2} Universitas Bina Nusantara, Fakultas Humaniora
clara2666@binus.ac.id¹; akbar.rahmadito@binus.ac.id²

ABSTRACT

With the growth of digital environment, social interaction between people, particularly university students, is also affected. Communication has become multimodal, meaning people not only send textual messages but also visuals such as videos, memes, stickers, or emojis. These multimodal communication forms are facilitated by digital communication platforms such as WhatsApp and Line. The use of stickers, specifically in WhatsApp, could suggest certain implicatures which are covered in humorous way. The present research aims to describe how the text and the image of WhatsApp stickers create humorous intention and to find out the implicit functions of digital humour of WhatsApp stickers in daily interaction. The data for this study were collected from university students' communications in their WA, in which 20 students were requested to submit 5 samples of stickers used in actual interactions. As a result, 100 stickers were gathered as the data. The collected data were analysed qualitatively using the theories of digital humour and cyberpragmatic approach. Cyberpragmatic is basically the use of pragmatic concepts in analysing digital data. The results show that WhatsApp stickers were used by the students to convey the feeling of sadness, anger, tiredness, concern, and eagerness, which were represented by the text and image of the stickers. For example, when a student complains about the number of assignments, he sent a sticker showing an ads for headache, where the brand name was changed into "Oh tugas" (oh assignment). The interrelatedness between the text and the image in this sticker can convey the pragmatic implicature in humorous way. Thus, the findings of this study implied that stickers could become an effective way to communicate the intended message of the speakers. Stickers can also be an alternative way of communicating in digital environments beside using other forms of multimodal communication forms such as texts, GIF, meme, and emoji.

Keywords: *WhatsApp stickers, cyberpragmatic, digital humor, multimodal*

ABSTRAK

Dengan adanya pertumbuhan lingkungan digital, interaksi sosial sehari-hari khususnya bagi masyarakat, juga terpengaruh. Komunikasi telah bersifat multimodal, artinya orang tidak hanya mengirim pesan berupa teks tetapi juga visual seperti video, meme, stiker, atau emoji. Bentuk komunikasi multimodal ini difasilitasi oleh platform komunikasi digital seperti WhatsApp dan Line. Penggunaan stiker, khususnya di WhatsApp, bisa menimbulkan implikasi yang dikemas secara humoris. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan bagaimana teks dan gambar stiker WhatsApp menciptakan kesan humor dan untuk mengetahui fungsi implisit dari humor digital dalam stiker WhatsApp dalam interaksi sehari-hari. Data untuk penelitian ini dikumpulkan dari komunikasi mahasiswa di WA mereka, di mana 20 mahasiswa diminta untuk mengirimkan 5 sampel stiker yang digunakan dalam interaksi nyata. Hasilnya, terkumpul 100 stiker sebagai data. Data yang terkumpul dianalisis secara kualitatif dengan menggunakan teori humor digital dan pendekatan cyberpragmatic. Cyberpragmatic pada dasarnya adalah penggunaan konsep pragmatis dalam menganalisis data digital. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa stiker WhatsApp digunakan siswa untuk menyampaikan perasaan sedih, marah, lelah, prihatin, dan bersemangat yang direpresentasikan melalui teks dan gambar stiker. Misalnya, ketika seorang siswa mengeluh tentang banyaknya tugas, dia mengirimkan stiker yang menampilkan iklan sakit kepala, di mana mereknya diubah menjadi "Oh tugas". Keterkaitan antara teks dan gambar pada stiker ini mampu menyampaikan implikatur pragmatis dengan cara yang humoris. Dengan demikian, temuan penelitian ini menyiratkan bahwa stiker bisa menjadi cara yang efektif untuk mengkomunikasikan pesan yang dimaksud dari pembicara. Stiker juga dapat menjadi alternatif cara berkomunikasi di lingkungan digital selain menggunakan bentuk komunikasi multimodal lainnya seperti teks, GIF, meme, dan emoji.

Keywords: *Stiker WhatsApp, cyberpragmatic, humor digital, multimodal*

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, communication among people is commonly done through digital devices. Hence the term digitally mediated communication (Vasquez, 2019) is used instead of computer mediated communication (Herring, 2019). Digital devices such as cellular phones have become indispensable in the life of modern people, especially young people to interact, socialize, and mark their existence in the world.

Digital communication is not only limited to the exchange of text messages, but it now becomes multimodal. Multimodal is defined by van Leuwen (2016) as the combination of language and picture in a given instance of discourse. Multimodality has become increasingly important nowadays due to the pervasiveness of media discourse that combine different modes of communication. Being multimodal means that communication can be in the forms of text, picture, videos, audio, GIF, and many others.

Understanding the meaning of multimodal message entails the need to understand all the modes of communication. Yus (2019) argues that understanding a multimodal message such as meme can be done by identifying the connotative meanings of text, image, and text-image combinations. Thus, it cannot be obtained from understanding each mode separately.

One sample of multimodal message is internet meme. Internet meme is also called image macro, which is defined by Dynel (2016) as “a captioned image that typically consists of a picture and a witty message or a catchphrase”. In short, internet memes cover a broad range of text picture combination found on the internet. In a smaller scale, a similar kind of meme can be found in stickers used in chatting application such as WhatsApp and Line. Unlike general memes, the use of stickers in interaction is contextual, depending on the topic of conversation between the interactants. Thus, without understanding the context, it is usually difficult to really understand the message of the stickers.

The underlying meaning or message of the stickers can be inferred through pragmatic analysis by studying the relevance between the text and the picture in the stickers. Yus (2011) used the term **cyberpragmatics** for this type of pragmatic analysis since the object of study are artifacts from the internet or digital devices. Yus (2011) defined cyberpragmatic as a pragmatic cognitive study of computer mediated communication that analyses how information is created and interpreted within the internet environment.

WhatsApp (WA) stickers can be categorized as digital artifacts; thus, they can be analysed using cyberpragmatic approach. In addition, WA stickers are usually used to convey message in humorous way to soften the harsh content or to avoid being too aggressive towards the receivers/interlocutors. Thus, WA stickers mostly contain humor, which also need to be interpreted from their text-picture combination.

Therefore, the present paper attempts to analyse the messages contained in WA stickers. We propose two research questions.

- (1) How are WA stickers categorized based on picture text relevance?
- (2) What are the implicit functions of humor in WA stickers?

To answer the above research questions, the researchers have analysed 100 WA stickers taken from the students’ actual conversation in Whatsapp. The paper will begin with the literature review of three broad topics: Internet memes and WA stickers, Cyberpragmatic approach of memes, and digital humor. Then, in the methodology section, the researchers will describe how the data were collected. The next part is the results and discussion, and finally the conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Internet memes and stickers

The ‘Meme’ word is a short term derived from ‘mimema’, an ancient Greek word which means ‘that which is imitated’ or ‘imitated thing.’ This example was founded by Richard Dawkins in 1976. The idea of the meme is based upon the principle of universal Darwinism, which argues that any information that is varied and selected will produce design, whether this is organic or cultural. Dawkins argued that those ‘viruses of the thoughts’ – which may be anything from the Happy Birthday song to religious beliefs – have a sure agency in their personal and propagate themselves to ensure their survival (Miltner, 2018).

People use the word meme to explain visual content like videos or photos or offbeat micro-celebrities, however, it is important to apprehend that the meme is the idea. A photo or video is probably just one execution of that concept among many. As memes evolve, they branch out in countless methods, shifting and merging with other mashed-up, mutated memes. Sometimes, a good way to understand a given iteration of a meme, one needs to also be familiar with dozens of others (Stryker, 2011).

Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green (2013) assert that internet memes, which they describe as ‘spreadable media’, are successful due to the fact they allow specific audiences to make their meanings from the identical media artifact; the particular element within each internet meme that moves a chord will differ from person to person. Similarly, Dawkins (2006) defines memes as different kinds of information (ideas, habits, figures) that spread, multiply, and change in the human-culture environment. In the same vein, Shifman (2014) defines memes as “a group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stands, which were created with awareness of each other, and were circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the internet by many users.” Meanwhile, Laineste and Voolaid (2016) describe memes as a relatively complex, multi-layered, and intertextual combination of (moving) picture and text that is disseminated by the active internet users and become popular among them.

While memes are mostly spread through internet, in a smaller scale, a similar type of memes can be spread through chatting application such as Whatsapp. Whatsapp has become the most used messaging app in more than 100 countries and installed on more than 90% of devices in 45 countries (Hakim Bobrov, 2018 in Gomez, 2021). The type of meme that is spreading through Whatsapp application is often termed as stickers. Stickers are usually smaller in size since they should fit into chatting platform and circulating among people who know each other. Moreover, Whatsapp stickers are used in certain regional area and not spreading globally as for Internet memes. For example, stickers found in Indonesia might not be found in other countries.

Cyberpragmatic analysis of stickers

Memes or stickers contain text and image. In pragmatic analysis, the eventual meaning of memes cannot be obtained from the partial meanings of the text or picture taken separately. Only from the picture-text combination that the implied meanings can be inferred (Yus, 2019). In other words, the meaning of a meme can be interpreted by identifying the connotative meanings of text, image, and text-image combinations.

Since the meaning of a meme can be identified from the combination of text and image, Yus (2019) groups memes into seven (7) different categories based on the relevance of text-picture combination. The concept of relevance is important in the interpretation of image macro in terms of their multimodal compositionality (Yus, 2019).

The first category is **Word Specific**. In this category pictures illustrate but do not significantly add to a largely complete text.

The second category is **Picture Specific**. In this category, the picture dominates, and words do not add significantly.

The third category is **Duo Specific**. In this category both pictures and words send essentially the same message.

The fourth category is **Additive**. In this category pictures elaborate the words or vice versa.

The fifth category is **Parallel**. In this category pictures and words follow different courses without intersecting.

The sixth category is **Montage**. In this category words become the integral parts of the picture.

The seventh category is **Interdependent**. In this category pictures and words together convey an idea that neither could convey separately.

Digital humor

Memes or stickers are easily spread among internet users or chatting participants in digital communication. Knobel and Lankshear (2007) found that the spreadability of memes were attributed to humor, intertextuality, and anomalous juxtaposition or incongruity. In the case of communication via WA, humor becomes the main reason for sending or spreading stickers.

The main purpose of including humor in stickers is to help brighten the mood, reduce the tensions, and to create social bonds between the interlocutors (Janes & Olson, 2015). Humor can also help people break the ice in conversation. Humorous stickers can help convey feelings, emotions, and impressions in a way that is not felt offensive to the receivers. However, to interpret the hidden meaning of the sticker, users or receivers must possess necessary exquisite background knowledge (Denisova, 2019).

Online humor or digital humor differs from traditional 'offline' ones pertain to the manner they are transmitted (Davison, 2012). Moreover, online humors are mostly multimodal, as exemplified by WA stickers. The exploitation of multimodality has become a major trend in online humor (Chovanec & Tsakona, 2018), because memes or stickers are creative blends of linguistic and semiotic elements.

In stickers or memes, humor can be created in various ways. Some previous studies focused on the linguistic elements or the texts in memes. For example, Zenner and Geeraerts (2018) explored different forms of wordplay in memes, namely homonyms, homophones, and paronyms. Meanwhile, Shiftman (2011) found three key features of humor in memes, those are playfulness, incongruity, and superiority. Similarly, Vasques et al. (2019) reveals multiple instances of wordplay, register based humor and voicing of recognizable figures in their study of 220 internet memes.

Implied functions of WhatsApp stickers

In WhatsApp interactions, people often send stickers instead of just text messages. In a way, stickers are used to ‘talk’ or replace textual messages. Stickers communicate ideas just as words do because they carry mental pictures that express different ideas (Obiamalu, 2021). With stickers people can exchange symbols with each other, giving each other comments about what they are currently talking about, and also replying to another sticker message. Replying a sticker message with another sticker is often referred to as the “sticker war” (Bimo, 2021).

WhatsApp stickers have certain functions, such as to insult, to show appreciation, to show gratitude, to ask for help, and many others. However, to get the message across, the senders should have a similar point of reference with the receivers, so that the message remains the same for both parties. Otherwise, the receivers will misinterpret the message of the senders. To be able to send appropriate sticker messages, the sender should at least know about the addressee’s character or background, as well as their capability in processing the multimodal stickers message.

WhatsApp stickers basically contain a semiotic relation between picture and text. Thus, to get the message through, the receiver must decode the meaning of texts and the picture separately, and then find the correlation between them. When the intended meaning can be understood directly from the text or the image, then the explicature is clear. On the contrary, the eventual meaning of the meme cannot be obtained from the partial meanings of text or picture if they were taken separately. Only from their combined meanings of picture and text that can yield implications or implicature (Yus, 2019). Levinson (1983) defined implicature as something that is left unsaid, what people mean is left implicit. Grice coined the term ‘implicature’ to act for what a speaker implies, suggests, or means as opposed to the semantic meaning of the words.

The implied message can be in the forms of feelings that the sender is trying to convey. For some people, certain feelings or expressions can better be represented by stickers to make them more ‘inoffensive’ to the receiver. For example, to show that someone is upset or angry, he can send a meme to avoid offending his addressee or the target of his anger. In their study, Chukaokeke & Obiamalu (2021) found that memes/stickers can be used to express disappointment, dissolution, anger, sadness, guilt, mischief, indifference, disinterestedness, inquisition, surprise, fear, confusion, threat, warning, humor, and amusement.

METHODS

The data for this study are 100 WhatsApp stickers. To get the data, the researchers assigned 20 English Department students in Binus University to submit 5 samples of stickers they used in their interactions through WhatsApp. Beside the stickers, they should also provide the screen captures of the interaction in which the stickers were used. The interactions were needed to get the background context of the interactions. Thus, 100 stickers were gathered along with the interaction samples. Since the stickers should be from their actual conversation, all the texts in the stickers are in Indonesian.

The collected data were analysed quantitatively using the theories of digital humor and cyberpragmatic. Cyberpragmatic is the use of pragmatic concepts in analysing digital data. First, the stickers were grouped into seven categories based on the text picture relevance as proposed by Yus (2019). Within each category, the humor conveyed by the text and the picture was also discussed. After being grouped, the implied message or function of the stickers were analysed in terms of the emotional expressions they conveyed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Text-picture relevance

Out of the corpus of 100 stickers, the categorization can be seen in table

Table 1. Text-Picture category

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1.	Word Specific	16
2.	Picture Specific	5
3.	Duo Specific	10
4.	Additive	37
5.	Parallel	7
6.	Montage	15
7.	Interrelated	10



Figure 1. Word specific

The sticker in figure 1 exemplifies the category of word specific, in which the main focus is the text, not the picture. The text here says “*Masih gw liatin, blom gw fitnah*” (I’m still looking, I haven’t slandered you yet). The picture (a red sloth) seems to be unrelated to meaning of the text. There is no connection between the sloth (an animal that is usually related to laziness) to the act of slandering. It turns out that this sticker is an adaptation of a video game called “Among Us”, an online and local party game of teamwork and betrayal, in which the contents and the players should slander each other. People who are not familiar with the game might not understand the meaning of this sticker. Yet, the players of the said video game will understand it easily.



Figure 2. Picture specific

This sticker is included in category 2 picture specific where picture dominates, and the words do not significantly add to the meaning of the picture. The sticker depicts a boy smiling in bed, while the text says “*reaksiku*” (my reaction). Why the boy is smiling or whether he is smiling because he is happy or whether his smile conceals his true feeling cannot be inferred from the sticker itself, but it should be related to the context. This sticker was sent when student A student asked student B whether he had a morning class on Monday. Student B replied with this sticker, indicating that he was unhappy that he had to wake up early on Monday to get to class. The humor is built by showing the boy’s ironic expression of happiness while he was still in bed.



Figure 3. Duo specific

There are a number of stickers involving homonymic relation of the word ‘tahu’. In Indonesian ‘tahu’ can have two meanings, the first one is its literal meaning ‘tofu’ or soybean cake and the second one is a verb ‘tahu’ means ‘to know’. Thus, the humor is built based on this homonym, with the picture of tofu. This sticker is classified into duo specific because both picture and text relay the same message, although the picture conveys literal meaning and the text conveys connotative meaning. The text says, “aku tahu” and the picture also shows “aku tahu”.



Figure 4. Additive

This sticker shows a number of men who are playing tug of war. In this game, two teams have to pull the rope in different directions. The team who can pull the rope to their base and make the other team release their rope will win the game. So, every member of the team should use their strength to pull the rope. However, in the picture, one of the team members does not pull the rope (shown in the red circle). The text says “tidak menarik”. Literally “tidak menarik” means ‘does not pull’ which refers to the man in the picture who does not pull the rope. However, the humor is built by homonymic relation of the word ‘menarik’. Besides its literal meaning, ‘menarik’ can also be mean ‘interesting’. Thus, this sticker is used when someone is not interested in an idea, concept, or suggestion. So, they can say that the idea is not interesting (tidak menarik) by sending this sticker.



Figure 5. Parallel

We put this in the category of parallel, where words and picture follow different courses. The text says “*Ihh gemes deh km*”. It means, “You are so adorable”. Meanwhile, the picture shows two hands pinching two kidneys. So, how can pinching kidneys be related to the cuteness of someone (particularly a girl)? The word ‘gemes’ does not have an English equivalent; it shows a feeling of being overcome by someone’s cuteness, so they want to pinch (the cheeks or the waists) of that cute person. Among youngster nowadays, the sentence “*Gemes deh, cubit nih ginjalnya*”, (So cute, I’ll pinch your kidneys) turns out to be a common phrase to show this feeling. The humor is created by making the kidney as the object to pinch as the kidneys are located inside the waist.

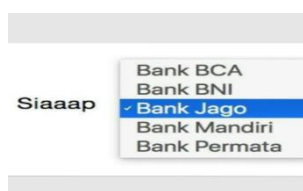


Figure 6. Montage

This sticker is included in montage category, since the words are treated as integral part of the picture. In other word, there is no picture, but the words become the main content. The text shows the word “Siap” (Ready) then followed by the names of the bank, bank BCA, bank BNI, bank Jago, bank Mandiri, bank Permata. One particular bank is highlighted ‘bank Jago’. Bank Jago is the real name of a bank, owned by Gojek. The humor created in this sticker is by using homophone. ‘Bank Jago’ is pronounced the same as ‘*bang jago*’. ‘*Bang jago*’ is a slang word to refer to someone who is dominating in a conversation. So, to end the debate with him, the interlocutor will say “*siap, bang jago*”. However, this term is also used as a mockery for that domineering person.



Figure 7. Interdependent

There is a picture of a posing crocodile on the floor and the text “*Hai ukhti*” (Hi, girl). This sticker is categorized as interdependent because the message can be conveyed by understanding both the picture and the text. The picture is showing a land crocodile, i.e. it is not living in its natural habitat in the water. In Indonesian, land crocodile or “*buaya darat*” is a metaphor for a male who likes to tease women. The word ‘*ukhti*’ is an Arabic word for calling a young girl. Taken together, the message of this sticker is that a playboy is showing his interest toward a girl of the photo of a girl. The humor is created by choosing the picture of crocodile on the floor so that it is immediately associated with the metaphorical term ‘*buaya darat*’

Implied Meaning of the Stickers

Internet memes, particularly Whatsapp stickers can express or affect emotions such as rage, anger, or joy in reaction to real world events (Denisova, 2019). From our data, we chose several stickers that convey different emotional reactions.

1. Expression of sadness

In a conversation, when someone suddenly delivers bad news, the interlocutor might send some melancholy stickers or stickers that express sadness to empathize with the sender. From the data, there are five stickers that can represent the expression of sadness. Here are three of them.



Figure 8. Sadness

In these stickers, the images already show sadness expression. Picture 1a and 1b show characters from Spongebob movie whose face clearly look unhappy. Picture 8c shows a cat in front of a window, ready to jump. The images are augmented by the texts in each picture. In picture 8a, the text says, “*kok kamu gitu sih*” (why are you like that?) indicating a feeling of disbelief that the other person can treat her in certain manner, in this case she was being left out. The second picture says “*ya Allah*” (Oh my God). This phrase is usually said as a lamentation when someone feels anguished, especially when someone is being disrespected by their friends. The last picture says, “*pokoknya aku ngambek*” (the main thing is, I sulk). The cat in this picture represents someone who is upset, so she sulks and is ready to jump from the window.

2. Expression of concern

A friend is someone who is able to bring comfort and reveal each other's real identity. In interactions among friends, many stories are being exchanged. Some of the stories might cause concern or sympathy from the hearers. These concerns were represented in the following stickers.

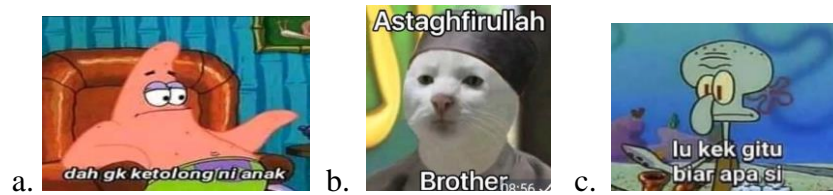


Figure 9. Concern

The expression of concern might not be conveyed by the image alone. Hence, with the help of the captions, the message of these stickers can be identified. The contexts for figure 9a, 9b, and 9c are similar, that is the first speaker told a strange or unusual thing that they have done. Their addresses then send these kinds of picture to show their concerns about the others' unusual behavior. Picture a shows Patrick, a friend of Spongebob, sitting on a sofa with a confused expression. He said, "dah gk ketolong nih anak" (This boy can't be helped anymore). This sentence is usually stated when someone has already given up on something, in this case probably his friend's behavior. Picture b shows a confused looking cat wearing a hat. The text says, "Astaghfirullah Brother". Astaghfirullah is an Arabic exclamatory word which is usually uttered when a person is surprised or shocked. It can be equalised to "Oh my God" in English or "Astaga" in Indonesian. While the word "brother" is just an address term for the receiver. The last picture also shows Squidward, another Spongebob's friend, who naturally has sad and grumpy face. The caption in this picture says, "lu kek gitu biar apa si?" which can be loosely translated as 'why are you doing that?' In general, the expression of concern in these stickers can be implied from the captions, while the pictures function as the illustration of the senders' feelings.

3. Expression of tiredness

Everyone has their own problems that they have to face no matter when or where. But as human beings, there will be a time when they will feel exhausted. University students, who are in the range of 17-21 years old, have unique ways to lighten up the mood and comfort each other when they are feeling tired, such as by sending these stickers in their interactions.



Figure 10. Tiredness

For the majority of students, the main source of exhaustion is their academic responsibilities. They have to do the assignments, exams, socializing, and many more. They cannot avoid these responsibilities, what they can do is complaining through the use of stickers. Figure 10a, for example, shows an illustration of a man holding his head. This picture is adapted from a medicine for curing headache. The original brand of the medicine is changed into the word "Oh tugas", meaning 'oh assignment'. Then, it is followed by the tagline "bikin sakit kepala" (causing headache) and "Isi 4 tugas" (contains 4 assignments). The captions in figure 10a use an irony to create humor, that is if the medicine can cure headache while the assignment can cause headache. Figure 10b shows a student (labelled as "gue" – me) lying unconscious on the floor. The other persons in the picture are trying to wake him up. They say "bangun euy" (hei, wake up). The interesting thing is that the other persons are labelled with the words "tugas" (assignment). This picture can be interpreted as a student who has already felt exhausted for doing assignments but there are still many assignments that he has to do. Figure 10c shows a child who want to flush himself through the toilet to dissappear from this world. The text says "dahlah capee" (That's it, I'm tired), which directly conveys that he can no longer endure the hardship. The last figure,

however, is more flexible, it can be used to talk about any problems, not limited to students' assignment problem.

4. Expression of anger

While texting, one cannot easily express their feeling of anger in words without causing the others being offended. The other way to convey one's intended emotion is by sending stickers. Stickers, especially to express anger or frustration, can soften the impacts on the receivers, thus both parties can still maintain their friendship. The following stickers show this function.



Figure 11. Anger

Figure 11a shows Jerry on the bed calling someone, probably Tom. The picture itself does not convey an angry tone, but the captions say “Sini deketan, biar enak nampolnya” (Come closer, so I can easily slap you). This sticker indicates that the sender is probably angry or annoyed with the addressee. Although the text contains the intention to hit /slap the other, it is not a serious threat but a humorous way to convey his anger. Figure b is sent by someone who is quite soft or calm. It shows a smiling character with red cheeks. Although smiling is usually connected with happiness, the anger is conveyed by the text, which says “tahan, tahan, jangan ngatain” (hold, hold, don't swear). The message is that the sender has restrained herself from swearing at the addressee, and her self-restraint was represented by a smiling character. Figure 11c shows Upin (a famous cartoon character) ready to throw a sandal. He says “Bismillah, kena pala”. “Bismillah” is an Arabic word said before doing something, it is a kind of pray for Muslim. “Kena pala” means ‘hit the head’. So, the meaning of the sticker is the sender's intention to throw something to his friend's head, indicating that he is quite angry at his friend.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Throughout the paper, we have discussed about the meanings and functions of Whatsapp stickers using cyberpragmatic approach. From the data of 100 stickers, we found that 37 % of the stickers belong to additive category, which means that the pictures add the comprehension of the texts or vice versa. The category with the least frequency is picture specific in which the interpretation of the sticker is helped by the picture while the texts do not contribute to the meaning.

The humor contained in the stickers can also be attributed to the pictures, the texts, or the combination of both. Yet mostly the humors were conveyed through the texts, for example through word play, homophones, homonyms, and other lexical relations.

Finally for the functions or the intentions, we found that these stickers were mainly used to convey the feeling of sadness, concern, tiredness, and anger. These results occur since all of the stickers were related to university students' life. Thus, it might be possible that other functions exist if the participants were of different age range.

For future research, it will be interesting to compare the use of stickers between different groups of participants. Moreover, a deeper analysis of textual as well as visual aspects of digital humor in different platforms can be a fruitful research topic.

REFERENCES

- Azira, W.N. and, Maslina, Y. 2021. Lakuan Bahasa Meme dalam Komunikasi Internet Gen Z. *Jurnal Melayu*, 20(1): 1-18
- Bateson, G. 2017. *The position of humor in human communication*. Gregory Bateson: Taylor & Francis.
- Bimo, A., Huseini, M., and Subarsa, K.Y. 2021. Pemakaian stiker Whatsapp sebagai ekspresin milenial. *Acta Diurna*, 17(1).
- Bou-Franch, P. and Garces-Conejos Blitvich, P. 2019. *Analysing Digital Discourse: New insight and future directions*. Cham-Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, G. & Yule, G. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Chovanec, J. & Tsakona, V. 2018. *Investigating the dynamics of humor: Towards a theory of interactional humor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Chukaoekeke, C. and Obiamalu, G. 2021. Conversational implicatures of WA stickers in chats of Unizik students. *Preorçjh*, vol. 6: 32-51.
- Dawkins, Richard. 2006. *The Selfish Gene: 30th Anniversary Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dynel, Marta. 2016. I have seen image macros! Advice Animals memes as a visual-verbl joke. *International Journal of Communication*, 10(29): 660-688.
- Edgar Gomez Cruz and Ignacio Siles. 2021. Visual Communication in Practice: A texto-material approach to Whatsapp in Mexico City. *International journal of communication*, 15: 4546-4566.
- Herring, Susan. 2019. The coevolution of computer-mediated communication and computer mediated discourse analysis. In *Analysing Digital Discourse* by Patricia Bou-Franch and Pilar Carces Conejos Blitvich. Cham Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Knobel, M., and Lankshear, C. 2007. Online memes, affinities, and cultural production. In M. Knobel & C. Lankshear (eds) *A new literacies sampler*, pp. 199-229. New York: Peter Lang.
- Laneiste, L., & Voolaid, P. 2016. Laughing across borders: Intertextuality of internet memes. *European Journal of Humor Research*, 4(4): 26-29.
- Levinson, Stephen. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Listyorini, A. 2017. Wacana humor dalam meme di media online sebagai potret kehidupan sebagian masyarakat Indonesia. *Litera* , vol 16(1): 64-77.
- McGhee, Paul E., 1977. *Humor: Its Origin and Development*. San Francisco-Reading: Freeman.
- Miltner, K. 2017, November 3. *Chapter 22: Internet memes*. SAGE Knowledge. Retrieved January 6, 2022, from <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473984066.n23>
- Qasim, H., and Younus, Lina. 2022. Implicature in internet memes: A cyberpragmatic approach. *International Journal of Early Childhood Special Education*, vol. 14(05): 6225-6235.
- Ruch, W., & Heintz, S. 2019. Humor production and creativity. *Creativity and Humor*, 1–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-813802-1.00001-6>
- Shifman, L. 2014. *Memes in Digital Culture*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Stokl, H. 2004. In between modes: Language and image in printed media. In
- Van Leuwen, T. 2015. Multimodality. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, by Deborah Tannen, Heidi Hamilton & Deborah Schiffrin (eds.), pp. 447-465. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. In *Perspectives on Multimodality* by E. Ventola, C. Charles & M. Kaltenbacher (Eds.), pp. 9-30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vasquez, C. and Aslan, E. 2021. “Cats be outside, how about meow” : Multimodal humor and creativity in an internet meme. *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 171: 101-117.
- Venour, C., Ritchie, G. & Mellish, C. 2011. Dimensions of incongruity in register humor. In *The Pragmatics of Humour Across Discourse Domains* by M. Dynel (ed.), pp. 125-144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wiggins, Bradley E. 2019. *The discursive power of memes in digital culture: Ideology, semiotics, and intertextuality*. Routledge: New York.
- Yus, Francisco. 2011. *Cyberpragmatics: Internet-Mediated Communication in Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yus, Francisco. 2016. *Humour and relevance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yus, Francisco. 2017. Relevance-theoretic treatments of humour. In S. Attardo, *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Humour*, pp. 189-203. New York: Routledge.
- Yus, Francisco. 2019. Multimodality in Memes: A Cyberpragmatic Approach. In *Analyzing Digital Discourse*, eds.
- Zenner, Eline and Geeraerts, Dirk. 2018. One does not simply process memes: Image macros as multimodal constructions. In E. Winter-Froemel & V. Thaler (Eds.) *Cultures and traditions of wordplay and wordplay research* (pp. 167-194). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

RIWAYAT HIDUP

Nama Lengkap : Clara Herlina Karjo
Institusi : Universitas Bina Nusantara
Pendidikan : Doktor Linguistik Terapan
Minat Penelitian: digital discourse, translation, phonology