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Don't Rich People Difficult: Bilingual Puns on Indonesian Truck Graffiti

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Abstract

Most studies discussed puns in a single language or code-switching, which can be understood in the language. This study analysed different puns, in which the readers can only understand the intention of humour in a different language. It aims to determine the types of bilingual puns, their forms and how to interpret them. It is a qualitative study, and the data were obtained through field and virtual observation. This study found two different types of bilingual puns: English-Indonesian puns (EIPs) and English-Javanese language puns (EJLPs). The puns were written in English, but the meaning can only be understood in *Bahasa Indonesia* or the Javanese language. The analysis also showed that EIPs and EJLPs are bilingual puns comprising colloquial languages of Indonesian people rewritten in English. Syntactically, both are composed of ungrammatical English word orders with the syntactic forms reflected in Indonesian (BI) or Javanese (JL) languages. The interpretation processes involve word-to-word translation and sound pairing translations. The first technique typically involves EIPs/EJLPs – word-to-word translation – ambiguity. The second way involves EIPs/EJLPs – sound pairing translation – sound ambiguity/similarity. Further studies can discuss humour evaluation of bilingual puns, such as im/politeness or gender perspectives.

Keywords: *bilingual puns, humour, truck graffiti*

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INTRODUCTION

This study analyses unique bilingual puns, in which the meaning must be understood in another language. This study focused on bilingual visual puns on Indonesian truck graffiti and examined the forms and meanings. Most studies discussed the ambiguous meaning or sound in a single language.

(1) "I used to be a banker, but I lost #interest#" (Diao et al., 2020).

The readers or hearers can understand the English first or second meanings of 'interest' (1). The 'interest' means part of banking activities or a desire to know and carry out an activity.

Another example can be found in visual puns on Indonesian trucks.

(2) Bercandanya bikin sayang tapi sayangnya   cuma bercanda
    Joke   her make love   but unfortunately only joke
    Gloss: 'Her jokes make me love her but unfortunately, it is only a joke'

Example (2) is a wordplay found on truck containers. Sentence (2) is an ironic monolingual humour in Bahasa Indonesia (BI) comparing *bercanda* 'joke' and *sayang* 'love' of the first clause to the same words in the second.

Puns, also known as *pelesetan* in Indonesia, are part of a humorous wordplay (Attardo, 2018; Bobchynets, 2022, p. 23), where the speaker intentionally utters ambiguous words, phrases, clauses, or discourses to create humour (Coulson & Severens, 2007, p. 174; Kana & Wadsworth, 2012, p. 78). Historically, humour and puns have attracted scholars since Plato and Aristotle identified both (Attardo, 1994, pp. 18-19; Kao et al., 2015, p. 2). According to Attardo (1994), puns have been "the interdisciplinary contacts between linguistics and humour studies". Over the years, it has been linked to the human brain and comprehension (Coulson & Severens, 2007; Kana & Wadsworth, 2012; Summerfelt et al., 2010), translation (Aleksandrova, 2020; Díaz-Pérez, 2014), as well as computational linguistics (Diao et al., 2020; Kao et al., 2015). Some studies have also related humour to gender (Branner, 2005; Cantor, 1976; Gloor et al., 2021).

Puns can be in the form of "spoken jokes", where the signifier refers to its phonological representation and "visual puns" (Attardo, 1994, p. 109). The second type of pun includes Charlie Chaplin humour (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2019, p. 104) and digital joke illustration (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2019, p. 131).

Another medium of visual puns is truck containers (Wijana, 2020). Apart from its primary function of moving heavy articles, the truck's body is also a medium for artists to publish paintings or other literary works and punsters to entertain people. Sudaryanto et al. (2019) found that, in general, graffiti texts on truck containers in Indonesia are written in *Bahasa Indonesia* (BI), Javanese (JL), as well as English in the form of prayer, flash rhymes, idioms, and song titles. Wijana (2020) illustrated the poetic functions of graffiti, namely similes, metaphors, contradictions, hyperboles, literary variety words, and rhythmic formulas. Wicandra (2007, p. 36) reported that paintings of women on trucks represent their subordinate position in social relations. Linguistics analysis of truck graffiti indicates that women were negatively represented in money, love, and sex (Andalas & Prihatini, 2018).

Some graffiti texts are wordplay, which can be monolingual humour (see example (2)) or bilingual puns involving two languages. Some works on bilingual puns discuss how to translate puns from one dialect or language to another, as well as related issues in transferring semantic and cultural meaning. Hedrick (1996, p. 146) showed that bilingual pun connects translation and wordplay, bridges two languages, and even situates a language "in the midst of a hybrid or mixture of languages in the bilingual text". Díaz-Pérez (2014) approached translation using relevance theory and showed that translators usually translate a pun literally and assess its relevant content or effect. Using a semiotic approach, Aleksandrova (2020) discovered that "quasi-glocalisation" involves the need to preserve the culture of the pun, adapt the translation to the target culture and reproduce the shared reality of the perceiver as well as the perceived.

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BILINGUAL VISUAL PUNS

Puns can be audio, visual, or audiovisual jokes. Audio puns are "spoken jokes" (Attardo, 1994, p. 109) or "verbal jokes" involving the meaning of texts and their phonological realisation (Attardo, 1994, p. 95). Visual puns refer to jokes delivered through images, pictures, drawings, or objects Klein (2014, p. 204), as well as silent and action movies (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2019, p. 104). Meanwhile, audiovisual pun combines audio and visuals to create humour. These three types of puns can be mediated through posters, radio, movies, drama, TV comedy, computer, and internet-mediated communication.

Visual puns can be in the forms of texts, images, or their combination. Klein (2014, p. 204) referred to the last form as "hybridisation, created through the juxtaposition of an image with text or through the merging of two different forms". Klein (2014, p. 205) revealed six techniques to trigger a response of laughter. The first is "association", which combines two different forms, images, or materials to create new associations, which cause surprise and laughter. The second is "transposition", or the movement of an image and form to a different context. The third strategy associated with puns is "transformation"; it is "altering a form or merging two or more forms to create a new hybridisation". The other two ways are "exaggeration", which is the violation of an object's scale by distorting its size and "disguising" or concealing forms to hide their identities. The last one is "appropriation", which creates a new meaning for an image or object through transformation, exaggeration, contradiction, and transposition to form a comic effect.

Ritchie (2010, p. 34) classified textual humour into "[r]eferential" and "verbal". While referential jokes include a story and a description of a context where a language is used to suggest some meaning, verbal jokes use a particular language, such as ambiguous sentence structures and homophones, to deliver humour (Ritchie, 2010, p. 34). Attardo (1994, p. 184) and Lessard (1991) showed an example of verbal puns, namely "verbal rhetorical figures"; it includes "syllepsis", or "the taking of words in two senses at once", and "antanaclasis", which is the repetition of "the same word in a different sense".

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This paper examined the text element of visual puns, which focuses on bilingual puns. Even though some studies defined bilingual puns differently, they agree that it involves two languages. Knospe (2015, p. 163) defined it as "bilingual play … with material that can be synchronically attributed to two different languages in contact with each other". Meanwhile, Delabastita (2014, pp. 13-14) pointed out that it compares one language's forms, meaning, and discourse to another.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study analysed the bilingual visual puns found on trucks in Central Java, Indonesia. In this study area, the puns are written in three languages: Indonesian (BI), Javanese (JL), and English. Furthermore, this study only examined bilingual visual puns, which are mainly composed of English words, and eliminated those written in or dominated by BI and JL. Even though it studied puns on truck containers, readers can also find English-Indonesia bilingual puns on TV comedies and internet-mediated communication. Truck graffiti was chosen because its bilingual puns are different from others (i.e. spoonerism, hybridisation). Craig (2019) shows some Indonesian puns, e.g. "My favourite band is Durian Durian" (spoonerism), comparing 'Duran Duran' (music group) to Durian Durian (a fruit). The pun can be understood linguistically in English; however, the bilingual puns of the truck graffiti can only be comprehended in a different language (e.g. BI or JL).

Picture 1. Visual bilingual pun

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The data were obtained through field and virtual observation (e.g. Aprilianto (2019)). The research team observed the trucks crossing some streets around central Java and documented the EIPs and EJLPs. Furthermore, regarding virtual observation, this study searched for more data on the internet. The web had to include photos of the trucks having the puns. During the observation period, it was found that of the thirteen EIPs and EJLPs, three were removed because they only had one or two English words inserted into Indonesian puns. The other ten are shown in Table 1. There should be more puns uncovered during the observation period. Most wordplays were in *Bahasa Indonesia* (BI), which is a national language used as lingua franca among 1331 tribes (Statistik, 2022), having 652 local languages (Widiyanto, 2018). Since English is a foreign language, Indonesians prefer to use Bahasa Indonesia or local languages in daily communication. Based on the data, it is understandable to have limited English puns in the study area. The data obtained were analysed based on lexical and sound pairing translation.

Table 1. EIPs and EJLPs

Code	Puns
P1	DOn'T TO MILK
P2	I AM NOT FATHER
P3	"wis A Does do wrong? Next do wrong, A Does the seek been she gear. Awake is so She Heat. Or a die ro boonk Smoot. and Law leer. Ben or a key cut!!"
P4	New Fear The Me is 3
P5	DON'T RICH PEOPLE DIFFICULT
P6	PRA ONE ARE YOU THE END TOUGHT SO PEER
P7	THE ME A NACK IS TREE
P8	To You Lhe Go Like Do white
P9	GO LIKE DO IT OR @GO LIKE RAY
P10	ALONE BY MUST

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Types of bilingual puns

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Some studies, such as Hedrick (1996, p. 142) and Toury (2014, p. 286), refer to bilingual puns as code-switching. However, this paper found different bilingual puns on Indonesian trucks.

(3) * Don't   rich   people difficult
       jangan kaya orang susah
     Gloss: don't be like poor people

Sentence (3) is an example of a bilingual pun composed of English words. It is similar to English puns, but the native English speaker cannot understand the anomalous sentence grammatically. However, the native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia 'Indonesian language' who have basic knowledge of English, probably understand the intended meaning. It means *Jangan kaya orang susah* 'do not be like poor people'. The readers may have fun with the ambiguous meaning of kaya 'rich' and *kaya(k)* 'like' (see discussion section (6)).

Example (3) is an English-Indonesian pun (EIP), which consists of English words, but the reader needs to understand the meaning in Bahasa Indonesia (BI). Another type of visual pun on trucks is English-Javanese language puns (EJLPs), where the readers have to seek the meaning in Javanese language (JL). Based on Table 1, this study found three EIP (i.e., P4, P5, and P7) and seven EJLPs (i.e., P1, P2, P3, P6, P8, P9, and P10).

Forms and meaning

Syntactically, EIPs and EJLPs are composed of ungrammatical English word orders with the syntactic forms reflected in BI's or JL's languages. Although the readers have to adapt English puns into BI or JL to understand the puns, their interpretation processes must neglect the syntactic rules of English. Therefore, the translations require additional efforts, such as finding ambiguous semantics meanings and sound ambiguity/similarity, to determine the mirth effects of puns. The fun of EIPs and EJLPs are determined in two very typical processes, namely (1) word-to-word translation involving semantics and pragmatics ambiguity and (2) sound pairing translation involving sound ambiguity/similarity.

Word-to-word translation

The puns in this category are data P1, P2, and P5 (see Table 1). The procedures to understand these puns require bilingual or multilingual readers who have to translate English words into a target language (TL) or find similar sounds in the TL first before finding the joy of puns. The fun of wordplay is bound with Indonesian or Javanese context and culture. This study summarised the interpretation processes, which require semantics and contextual meanings, as shown in Figure 1.
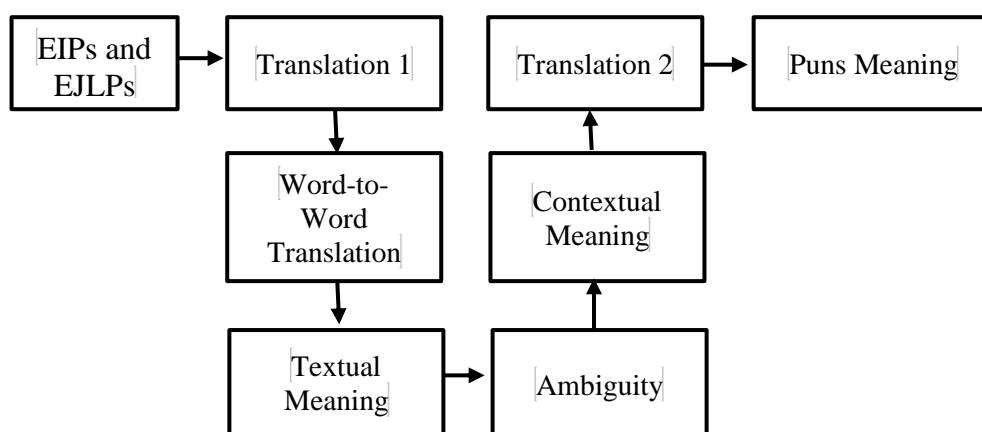

Figure 1. The process of understanding EIPs and EJLPs

Figure 1 involves three translation steps in understanding the puns. *First*, the readers equate English words into TL (BI or JL) through a 'trial and error' process and also guess the correct meanings from several choices of BI or JL words. *Second,* they subsequently arrange the TL words following the original order of the puns. In this type of pun, readers have to ignore English grammar by juxtaposing its associated words with the target language (TL), such as BI or JL. The final step is to find the ambiguous meaning of the puns contextually. The reader may find one or several words of EIP or EJLP having more than one meaning in TL semantically and

pragmatically. The transition from semantics or linguistic meaning to pragmatics or contextual in the translation stage potentially produces humorous effects.

(4) P2 *I am not father
  a. EIPs: *I   am not   Ø   father 'I am a not a father'
  b. BI : *Aku Ø   ndak [seorang] bapak* 'I am a not a father'
  c. BI : *Aku Ø   ndak [seorang] ayah*   'I am a not a father'
  d. BI : *Aku Ø   ndak [seorang] papa(h)* 'I am a not a father'
  e. BI : *Aku Ø   ndak   papa(h)* 'It doesn't matter'
  f. BI : *Aku Ø bukan   bapak* 'I am not like you'

The analysis of P2a (4) shows the omission 'a' in the sentence 'I am not [a] father'. Grammatically, Indonesian nominal sentences do not have 'am', but BI has the equivalent of the article 'a', namely *seorang* (P2b-d). There are two possible reasons underlying the phenomenon of ungrammatical English puns: the punster's lack of English grammar knowledge and the intention to obtain a humorous effect from the intended meaning.

'Father' semantically means *bapak* (P2.b), *ayah* (P2.c) or *papa(h)* (P2.d) in BI. When the sentence (P2a) is interpreted *saya ndak/bukan seorang bapak* 'I am not a male parent of a son/daughter' (P2b-d), the meaning is acceptable in BI without humorous effects. When the 'father' is translated into *papa(h)* (P2d)*,* the readers may find the ambiguous meaning of *papah* since it has identical sounds with *apa-apa* 'something', *pa pa* or *papa* 'something', and *papa(h)* 'father'. Therefore, the pun means 'I am not a father' (P2d) or 'it doesn't matter' (P2e). The transfer from the textual meaning of *bapak, ayah, papah* 'father' to contextual *pa pa, papah* 'something' or 'matter' (P2e) creates the mirth of the pun.

The process of understanding P2 (4) is applicable to data P1 (5) and P5 (6). EJLP P1 (4) 'Don't to milk' (P1a-c) involves English, BI and JL. Most Indonesian readers are bilingual, which implies they tend to master Indonesian and regional languages. English is a foreign language learned in school and rarely used in everyday conversation, while BI and JL are national and local languages, respectively.

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(5) P1 *Don't to milk
    a. EJLP: *Don't to milk
    b. JL : *Ojo   kesusu* 'do not rush'
    c. JL : *Ojo   ke susu* 'don't touch the breast'

Semantically, 'Don't' means *jangan* (BI) and *ojo* (JL), 'to' can be equated with *ke* (BI), while 'milk' denotes *susu* (BI and JL). *Susu* 'milk' in BI and JL means (1) white liquid produced by mammals or adult women's breasts and (2) female organs that produce milk. Meanwhile, the translation of the phrase 'to milk' has two forms with two different meanings, namely *kesusu* (JL) 'in a hurry; rush' and *ke susu* (BI). The word *ke* is an Indonesian preposition meaning 'to go to a place, so *ke susu* means 'go to a place or something that produces milk', i.e. breast. The semantic meaning of *ojo kesusu* (do not rush) (P1b) is a piece of advice, while *ojo ke susu* ('do not [go to] touch the breast') (P1c) can be easily associated with a woman's breasts. The puns of 'milk' (rush) and 'milk' (breast) create humorous effects.

(6) P5 *Don't rich people difficult
    a. EIP: *Don't   rich   people difficult
    b. BI : **Jangan   kaya   orang   susah*
    c. BI : *Jangan   kaya(k) orang   susah* 'Don't be like a poor man'.

Similar to the previous two data, EIP P5 (6) is an ungrammatical English sentence; therefore, the word 'Don't' should be followed by a verb instead of the adjective 'rich'. The translation (P5b) is an unacceptable sentence in BI. It has two contrasting meanings in a sentence, namely 'don't be rich (*kaya*) people' and 'don't be poor (*miskin, susah)* people'. Lexically, 'rich' means *kaya* (BI), and has a similar sound to *kayak* 'like'. The translation of *kayak* 'like' (P5c) is acceptable in the informal setting of BI. The combination of the translation process and the similarity of the sound *kaya – kayak* has produced a funny effect in this sentence.

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Sound pairing translation

The puns 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, shown in Table 2, are sound games. The EIPs and EJLPs are two-language homophones where the readers need to pair the sound of an English word with TL. Readers do not need to have lexical translation because the pairing sounds in TL are the intended meaning of the English word.

Table 2. EIPs and EJLPs based on sound pairing translation

Code	Homophone
P3	1.(A) Wis a does do wrong .. Next do wrong **(Eng)**
	/ø ə dʌz du rɔːŋ .. nekst du rɔːŋ ../
	(B) Wis adus durung .. nek durung .. **(JL)**
	/wɪʃ ɑːdus durəʊŋ .. nek durəʊŋ ../
	Already bathe not yet .. if not yet ..
	Gloss: Did you take a bath .. if you didn't..
	2.(A) A does the seek been she gear. **(Eng)**
	/ə dʌz ðə siːk biːn ʃiː gɪr/
	(B) adus ndisik ben seger **(JL)**
	/ɑːdus ðiːseɪk ben səgər /
	bathe first so fresh
	Gloss: take a bath first to make you fresh
	3.(A) Awake is so She Heat. Or a die ro boonk Smoot. **(Eng)**
	/əˈweɪk ɪz səʊ ʃiː hiːt. ɔːr ə daɪ ø ø smuːð./
	(B) Awake iso sehat. Ora dirubung semut. **(JL)**
	/ɑːwaːke ɪsɔ sehɑːt. ɔːra ðirubəʊŋ səmut/
	Your body can healthy. Not surounded ant
	Gloss: You can be healthy. Ants will not surround you
	4.(A) and Law leer. Ben or a key cut.!! **(Eng)**
	/ænd lɔː lɪr. Ben ɔːr ə kiː kʌt/
	(B) lan laler. Ben ora kecut. **(JL)**
	/laːn lɑler. ben ɔːra ketʃut/
	And flies. So not sour
	Gloss: and flies. So you will not be stink
P4	(A) New fear the me is 3 **(Eng)**
	/njuː fɪr ðə mi ɪz θriː /
	(B) Nyopir demi istri **(BI)**
	/njəʊpiːr dəmi isθri/
	Driving for wife
	Gloss: Being a driver for the wife
P6	(A) Pra one are you the end tought so peer **(Eng)**
	/ø wʌn ɑː juː ði end θɔːt səʊ pɪr/
	(B) Prawan ayu dienthot sopir **(JL)**
	/prɑwʌn ɑːjuː ðiendθɔːt səʊpɪːr/
	Virgin beautiful copulated driver
	Gloss: A beautiful virgin was fucked by a driver

P7	(A) The me a nack is tree **(Eng)**
	/ðə mi ə ø ɪz tri:/
	(B) Demi anak isteri **(BI)**
	/dəmi ɑnɑk istəri/
	for the sake of child wife
	Gloss: For the sake of son/daughter and wife
P8	(A) To you lhe go like do white **(Eng)**
	/tu ju: ø gəʊ laɪk du: waɪt/
	(B) Tuyule golek duit **(JL)**
	/tuju:le gəʊlƐk du:ɪt/
	tuyul looking for money
	Gloss: The tuyul is looking for money
P9	(A) Go like do it or @ go like ray **(Eng)**
	/gəʊ laɪk du: ɪt ɔ: ø gəʊ laɪk reɪ/
	(B) Golek duit ora golek rai **(JL)**
	/gəʊ lƐk du:ɪt ɔ: rɑ: gəʊlƐk rɑ:ɪ/
	Look for money not look for face
	Gloss: Working to get money instead of a good self-image
P10	(A) Alone by must **(Eng)**
	/ə'ləʊn baɪ mʌst/
	(B) Alon bae mas **(JL)**
	/ɑ:lɔn baɪ mʌs/
	Slow only brother
	Gloss: Slow down, brother

(A) is a pun in English (Eng); (B) is the translation of the pun in Indonesian Language (BI) or Javanese language (JL)

A reader must refrain from using 'word-to-word translation' to understand the intended meaning of the puns in Table 2. P10, for example, does not have an equivalent meaning either in BI or JL when it is translated using the technique.

(7) P10 *Alone by must
 a. EJLP: * Alone by must
 b. JL : * *dewekan dening kudu*
 c. BI : * Sendirian oleh harus

The discussion of word-to-word translation in the previous section indicates that a reader can use BI or JL syntactic rules to understand ungrammatical English puns. However, the analysis of P10 (6) shows that the translations of the pun in JL (P10b) and in BI (P10c) do not follow the grammatical order of JL and BI; therefore, the sentences are meaningless.

In order to understand the EJLP of P10A (Table 2), the readers have to pair English pronunciations of P10A with the utterance of the Banyumasan dialect of JL

(P10B). Semantically, P10B is not the equivalent meaning of P10A (see analysis (7)); they are only similar in sounds (see P10 of Table 2). The readers have to pair the pronunciation of each English word of P10A to JL words having a similar sound (hence, it is called a sound-to-sound pairing pattern), irrespective of their semantically varying structure. The readers respectively pair /əˈləʊn/ (unaccompanied), /baɪ/ (with), /mʌst/ (obligation) (P10A) with /ɑːlɔn/ (slow), /baɪ/ (only), and /mʌs/ (brother) (P10B). For example, 'alone' /əˈləʊn/, means *alon* /ɑːlɔn/ 'slow', while alone 'unaccompanied' semantically means *dewekan* 'unaccompanied' in JL (7). Furthermore, the ungrammatical English pun /əˈləʊn baɪ mʌst/ (P10A) means /ɑːlɔn baɪ mʌs/ (P10B) 'slow down, brother'.

Other pairing patterns include the sound of two English words paired with the pronunciation of a single BI or JL word (two to one-word pairing) and the articulation of three English words paired with the sound of a single BI or JL word (three to one-word pronunciations pairings). The example of the second pattern, i.e. two to one-word sound pairing, is shown in P4A of Table 2. The English phrase 'new fear'/njuː fɪr/ (P4B) is similar to *nyopir* /njəʊpiːr/ 'driving' (P4D); therefore, it should be read simultaneously without a pause between the two words. Other examples are 'the me' /ðə mi/ and 'is 3' /ɪz θriː/ (P4A), which is punned into the words /dəmi/ 'for the sake of' and /istəri/ 'wife' (P4B) respectively. The 'two to one-word sound pairing pattern' is also applicable to data P6, P7, and P9.

The third sound pairing system is the pronunciations of three English words which can be combined into one TL word, for instance, 'to you lhe' /tu juː ø/ (P8A) paired with *tuyule* /tujuːle/ (P8B). 'Lhe' is not an English word (ø), *Tuyul* is a mythical creature in Indonesian culture that is described as a ghost of a bald child whose keeper can ask to steal money. The 'e' attaching to *Tuyul* is a suffix indicating a definitive marker (i.e. the) of the noun *tuyul*. Overall, EJLP P8A (Table 2) 'To You Lhe Go Like Do white' mixes two types of sound pairing patterns. The first is 'three to one words pattern', pairing /tu juː ø/ to /tujuːle/. The other is 'two to one-word

paring system', such as in /gəʊ laɪk/ and /duː waɪt/ (P8B) in order to have respectively similar pronunciation of *golek* /gəʊlɛk/ 'look for' and *duit* /duːɪt/ 'money' (P8D). Therefore, the sentence means 'the *tuyul* is looking for money'.

The two findings of this study complete the types of bilingual puns and show different ways to mix two languages, which are typical of the wordplay in Indonesian. Several studies showed some bilingual puns: blending, homonyms, homophones, and code-mixing or code-switching. Knospe (2015, pp. 164-165) argued that bilingual puns blend codes of two languages, which converge in form and "phonetic adaptation processes". For example, "Cool-tur" blends Kultur [kʊlˈtʊɐ] 'culture' (German) and cool [kuːl] (English) (Knospe, 2015, p. 163). It means culture is not dull but "cool" or interesting for young people. Vargha and Litovkina (2013, p. 22) also described this type of pun as a mixing of words from two languages; therefore, they are phonetically similar. Stefanowitsch (2002) gave some data on bilingual puns of German-English code-mixing. For instance, Fit for fahr'n is similar to 'fit for fun' where fahr'n [faːn] means 'to drive'. This study also found the homophones in Indonesian bilingual puns, in which English words can not be interpreted in English but in *Bahasa Indonesia* or Javanese language words with similar pronunciations.

The typical Indonesian bilingual puns involve a syntactic adaptation process. The punsters of Indonesian bilingual puns mixed English with Indonesian or Javanese languages, in which English words were arranged in the syntactical forms of Indonesian or Javanese languages. Regarding visual puns, images did not play a prominent role; however, the switching from English sentences, which are expected to have English grammar, to Indonesian or Javanese grammar or pronunciations caused surprise and laughter.

CONCLUSION

Bilingual puns refer to the use of two languages in a pun, such as code-mixing or code-switching. EIPs and EJLPs are different types of bilingual puns, which are written in English, but the meaning can only be grasped in BI or JL. The discussion

section indicates that syntactically, they are dangling or ungrammatical English sentences. Moreover, they are English words arranged in Indonesian or Javanese grammar; therefore, readers need extra effort to have proper interpretation. The puns require bilingual or multilingual readers who understand English, Indonesian, or Javanese. The readers can use word-to-word or sound pairing translations to get the fun of puns. Another feature of EIPs and EJLPs is that they are colloquial Indonesian or Javanese sentences rewritten in ungrammatical English. Further studies can approach visual bilingual puns from different perspectives. While bilingual puns can be successful or failed humour, it is suggested to relate failed humour to gender and impoliteness studies.

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