

Gender and Roasting: Comparative Analysis of Negotiation and Evaluation in Indonesian Comedians

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to investigate roasting as an interactive humor genre by examining differences in exchange structures and evaluation strategies between male and female comedians. The study employed two interpersonal systems of discourse semantics from Systemic Functional Linguistics—Negotiation and Appraisal. The data were drawn from an Indonesian political-themed roasting show featuring two comedians delivering humor related to Indonesian presidential election issues. The findings revealed several key results. First, roasting as a comedic genre can be realized through either immediate or delayed success, where joke effectiveness is indicated by different evaluative responses. Failure in delivering jokes is indicated by audience silence. Second, there are differences in the choice of evaluation strategies between male and female comedians. The male comedian tended to use a direct emotional strategy targeting concrete subjects, which resulted in more immediate comedic success. In contrast, the female comedian employed an analytical and layered strategy that produced more sophisticated humor, although it carried a higher risk of failure. These differences highlight distinct gendered approaches to comedic performance and humor construction

INTRODUCTION

Stand-up comedy (hereinafter SUC) serves as a form of solo entertainment in which comedians deliver critique, reflect on social phenomena, or recount personal experiences wrapped in humor (Myers, 2011; McNeill & Zuern, 2022; Rullyanti & Nurdianto, 2019; Schwarz, 2009). In Indonesia, the popularity of SUC has increased significantly since the establishment of the Standupindo community in 2011 (Sihombing et al., 2023). This growth is marked by the emergence of communities across major cities and televised talent search programs such as Stand Up Comedy Indonesia (SUCI) on Kompas TV. Furthermore, Pandji Pragiwaksono, founder of Standupindo, established a formal academy named Pecahkan, specifically designed to teach SUC techniques to aspiring comedians.

This study focuses on roasting, a subgenre of SUC (Hershkowitz, 2023), defined in the United States as a performance that honors a figure through carefully crafted insults (Hershkowitz, 2023). In the Indonesian context, roasting is also understood as comedic verbal attacks grounded in admiration for the target’s achievements (Pragiwaksono & Fakhri, 2021). Typically, the US format includes a “roast back” session in which the target retaliates. This format has also been adopted in Indonesia, as seen in the video Roasting Asian Values Total Politik: Anies, Prabowo, & Ganjar Semua Happy (hereinafter RAV) on the Total Politik YouTube channel.

In the Indonesian academic landscape, roasting has been extensively positioned as an instrument of social criticism and political negotiation (Tampubolon, 2024). Existing literature is predominantly characterized by content analysis, viewing roasting as a medium for public

evaluation of state officials through verbal satire and insults framed as humor (Addas, 2022; Putri et al., 2022). From a linguistic perspective, current scholarship has largely focused on delivery mechanisms, ranging from the decoding of semiotic signs to interpret satirical meanings (Sudjatmiko & Hariyanto, 2024) to the analysis of politeness strategies in bridging power asymmetries between comedians and their targets (Al Arief, 2023). However, this dominance of pragmatic and sociological frameworks leaves a fundamental gap: the absence of research deconstructing the lexicogrammatical structures that constitute these evaluations. The lack of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)-based analysis means that the construction and negotiation of interpersonal meaning in roasting interactions remain largely underexplored (Cheng, 2024; Logi, 2025).

Linguistics has traditionally examined humor through pragmatic approaches such as Superiority, Relief, and Incongruity theories (Larkin-Galiñanes, 2017), as well as the General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) (Attardo, 1994). However, Logi and Zappavigna (2019) argue that GTVH does not fully account for interactive, context-dependent humor such as SUC. They propose that social semiotics, specifically Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), is better suited to explaining the interpersonal dynamics of interactive humor. Contemporary linguists view SUC not as a monologue, but as dialogic discourse negotiated with the audience (Dore, 2018; Knight, 2010; Logi, 2021; Scarpetta & Spagnolli, 2009). Interaction in SUC involves audience laughter as a form of active engagement (Brodie, 2008). Roasting, therefore, is not merely a monologue delivered to an audience but a conversational performance in which audience laughter functions as a key response within the exchange structure (Brodie, 2008; Logi, 2021). Consequently, pragmatic approaches alone are insufficient to capture how interpersonal meaning and power relations are negotiated in such interactive contexts.

To address the interactive nature of roasting, the Negotiation framework offers a robust tool for analyzing exchange structures. It has proven effective in various contexts, ranging from asymmetrical power relations (Ly, 2024) to casual symmetrical conversations (Yonata, 2021; Kartika-Ningsih & Djawas, 2022). Given that roasting appears monologic but functions dialogically by eliciting audience responses, the negotiation dynamics within it are particularly distinctive. Furthermore, Appraisal research shows that evaluative language is strategically used to attack opponents in political discourse (Aljuraywi & Alyousef, 2022; Sekarsari et al., 2024) or to build solidarity in digital communication (Nur et al., 2025). In SUC, attitude choices help comedians strengthen their stance and elicit laughter (Fatmawati & Cahyono, 2018; Listiana, 2024).

This study adopts a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective, specifically utilizing the discourse semantics systems of Negotiation and Appraisal (Martin & Rose, 2007; Martin & White, 2005). While Negotiation allows for the analysis of exchange structure—positioning the comedian as the initiator and the audience as the respondent—Appraisal provides tools to examine how comedians strategically evaluate targets through ATTITUDE resources (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION) (Zappavigna, 2014). This dual framework offers a more precise lens for examining how comedians manage the balance between aggression and humor, and how these strategies may differ across gender.

This study focuses on how male and female comics differ in delivering through exchange structures and evaluative meanings. Thus, this study aims to answer two questions:

1. How is the structure of negotiation realized in roasting performances?
2. How do male and female comics tend to convey evaluative meanings in roasting to create laughter?

METHOD

1. Research Design

This study used a qualitative approach with a case study design (Seale, 1999; Creswell, 2018). The design allowed for an in-depth examination of the interrelation of features within the roasting phenomenon (Bazeley, 2013). Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) served as the primary analytical framework, focusing on interpersonal discourse semantics to analyze language as a social practice that constructs meaning and affiliation (Cheek, 2004). The NEGOTIATION framework (Martin & Rose, 2007) was used to identify the basic unit of analysis (the joke), while the APPRAISAL framework (Martin & White, 2005) was used to examine how attitudes and emotions were encoded.

2. Data and Context of Situation

The source of data was the video Roasting Asian Values Total Politik (RAV), uploaded to the Total Politik YouTube channel on July 23, 2024. The RAV video emerged in response to a discursive controversy originating from a podcast in which one of the hosts, Budi Adiputro, associated dynastic politics with “Asian values,” which was immediately criticized by guest Pandji Pragiwaksono. This controversy, reported by national media outlets such as Kompas and CNN Indonesia, led Total Politik to produce the RAV roasting event featuring five comedians, including Bonar Manalu and Mega Salsabillah. The uniqueness of this study lay in its participant complexity: the event was organized by the subjects of critique (Budi Adiputro and Arie Putra) while also involving comedians connected to the central figure of the controversy (Pandji). In addition, the presence of Mega Salsabillah among male comedians provided a strong basis for comparative linguistic analysis of how male and female comedians construct evaluative meanings to elicit laughter.

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the social context of the text, this study applied the register framework, or context of situation (Halliday, 1978), which deconstructed context into three variables: field, tenor, and mode.

In terms of field, the discourse centered on the political controversy surrounding the podcast hosts, Budi Adiputro and Arie Putra, particularly their statements on dynastic politics and the polarizing sentiment that “corruption is acceptable as long as everyone is happy,” alongside the critical response from Pandji Pragiwaksono. Regarding tenor, the interaction involved a complex power dynamic between comedians as roasters and the hosts as targets of critique. The relationship with the audience was characterized by a high level of shared knowledge, as evidenced by the comedians’ direct references to political events without extensive background explanation, assuming viewers (both live and online via YouTube) were already familiar with the Indonesian socio-political context. Finally, mode referred to a spoken, interactive performance recorded for digital dissemination. Although structured as stand-up monologues, the performances functioned dialogically through audience interaction and real-time response.

For comparative analysis, two comedians were selected. Mega Salsabillah (MS) was chosen as the only female comedian in the RAV event. Bonar Manalu (BM) was selected as

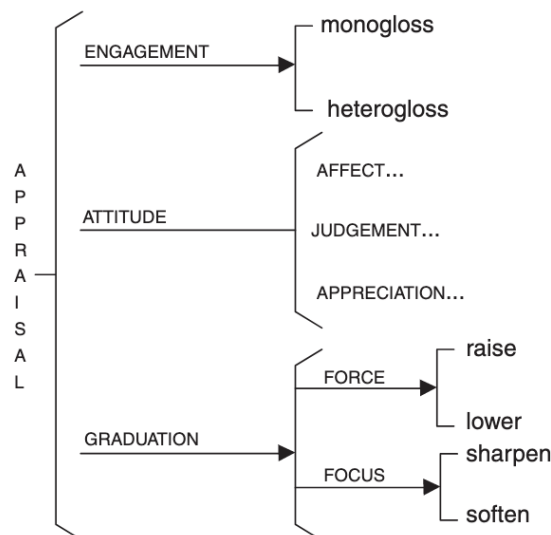
the representative male comedian due to his status as the only male performer in the event with a solo stand-up comedy special in Indonesia, indicating a more established professional profile.

From the total video duration (1 hour, 19 minutes, and 49 seconds), the study analyzed 3-minute segments from each comedian: 10:55–14:01 for BM and 21:45–24:48 for MS. These segments were selected because both comedians addressed the same topics, namely Total Politik, Pandji’s reaction incident, and the hosts (Arie and Budi). The remaining portions were excluded as they focused on unrelated personal material outside the central controversy.

3. Analytical Instruments

The primary instrument in this qualitative study is the researcher, assisted by two SFL analytical frameworks: NEGOTIATION and APPRAISAL. First, the NEGOTIATION framework from Martin and Rose (2007) is utilized to identify the exchange structure of jokes. In this study, a joke is conceptualized as an exchange where the comic acts as the primary knower (K1)—a person who possesses knowledge and initiates information to elicit a response. The audience functions as the secondary knower (K2). Successful negotiation is marked by a supporting response, primarily laughter (lgh), while rejection is marked by silence or a challenge (ch).

Second, the APPRAISAL framework from Martin and White (2005) is employed to analyze the evaluative content embedded in the comics' utterances. This study specifically focuses on the ATTITUDE system, which divides feelings into three regions: AFFECT (emotional reactions), JUDGEMENT (assessment of behavior/ethics) and (valuation of things/aesthetics) (See Figure 1). Furthermore, the analysis examines Polarity (positive or negative) and Realisation, distinguishing whether attitudes are expressed explicitly (inscribed) or implicitly (invoked).



Picture 1. APPRAISAL resource (Martin and White, 2005)

4. Data Analysis Procedures

The data analysis was conducted in three sequential stages to ensure a comprehensive evaluation of the roasting performances. The first stage involved the structural analysis of the roasting material using the NEGOTIATION framework. The selected three-minute segments

from both comics were transcribed in detail. This transcription captured not only verbal utterances but also collective audience laughter, while excluding sporadic individual laughter to maintain the integrity of the comic-audience role distribution (Hepburn & Varney, 2013). The transcript was then segmented into moves. The comic's utterance (comprising setup and punchline) was coded as an initiation move (K1), whereas the audience's reaction was coded as a responding move—either as laughter (lgh), delayed laughter (dlgh), or a challenge (ch). A unit consisting of one K1 and its subsequent response constitutes one joke (See Table 1).

Table 1. NEGOTIATION analysis

Joke	Time	Speaker	Utterance	Move
8	11:50–11:54	BM	<i>Tadinya aku nggak tau apa-apa tentang mereka</i> (Previously, I didn't know anything about them).	K1
			<i>Ku tonton sejam</i> (I watched it for an hour).	=K1
			<i>Benci aku</i> (I hated it).	=K1
	11:54–11:55	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh

Following the structural analysis, the second stage focused on attitude analysis using the Appraisal framework. In this phase, the comics' utterances—specifically those identified as K1 moves—were dissected to identify lexical and grammatical choices reflecting evaluative meanings. Each clause was coded based on the Type of ATTITUDE (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, or APPRECIATION), its Polarity (positive or negative), and its Realisation (Inscribed or Invoked) (See Table 2).

Table 2. APPRAISAL analysis

Joke	Utterance	Appraiser	Appraised Item	(Polarisation) APPRAISAL	Realisation
8	<i>Benci aku</i> (I hated it).	BM	It (<i>Total Politik's</i> podcast)	(-) AFFECT	Inscribed

Finally, the third stage involved a synthesis of the comparative results between Data 1 (BM) and Data 2 (MS). This comparison aimed to identify gendered patterns, differences and tendencies in the evaluative strategies employed by the comics to negotiate laughter.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

NEGOTIATION Structure in Roasting Discourse

The analysis of the NEGOTIATION structure reveals that both Bonar Manalu (BM) and Mega Salsabillah (MS) produced an identical quantity of 17 jokes. In every instance, the comics assumed the role of the primary knower (K1), initiating the exchange to elicit a response. However, a significant divergence is observed in the success rate of these negotiations. BM achieved a 100% success rate (17/17 successful negotiations), whereas MS achieved approximately 76% success (13/17), with 4 instances of failed laughter from the audience negotiation. Based on the interaction between the comic's initiation moves (K1) and

the audience's responding moves, three distinct negotiation patterns were identified: direct success, delayed success and failed jokes.

Pattern of Direct Success

The most prevalent pattern observed in the data is direct success (K1^lgh), where the comic's information is immediately understood and accepted by the audience, resulting in spontaneous laughter. This pattern, characterized by a joke utterance immediately followed by audience laughter, signifies a seamless negotiation of meaning. In BM's performance, this pattern was executed with high efficiency, particularly through the use of detailed descriptive storytelling combined with explicit evaluative language like in BM's jokes 11, 12 and 13, which achieved the highest laughter intensity—three laughs points in just 14 seconds.

Table 3. BM's Direct Success Negotiation Pattern

Joke	Time	Speaker	Utterance	Move
11	12:53– 13:01	BM	<i>Bang Arie, ee, Bang Budi nyongkel kuping pake tangan kiri</i> (Mr. Arie, em, Mr. Budi cleans his ear with his left hand).	K1
			<i>Dua ruas jarinya masuk</i> (Two knuckles deep).	=K1
	13:01– 13:02	Audience	<i>Dalam kali kupingnya</i> (His ear is so deep).	=K1
			<i>Dalam kali kupingnya</i> (His ear is so deep).	=K1
12	13:02– 13:09	BM	<i>Begitu dia narik, dicek ama dia</i> (Once he pulls it out, he checks it).	K1
	13:09– 13:10	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh
	13:10– 13:13	BM	<i>Ditengok, anjing</i> (He looks at it, damn it). <i>Apakah itu Asian value Anda</i> (Is that your Asian value?)?	K1 =K1
13	13:13– 13:14	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh

In Table 3, BM acts as the initiator by providing vivid, detailed information regarding Budi's behavior. The repetition of 'Dalam kali kupingnya' (His ear is so deep) serves to emphasize the absurdity of the action. The audience immediately captures the comedic value of this detailed observation, resulting in a successful negotiation (lgh) without the need for further explanation. BM's ability to stack multiple K1 moves that describe a grotesque physical act creates a dense comedic rhythm, leading to three distinct laughter points within a span of just 14 seconds.

In contrast, while MS also utilizes the direct success (K1^lgh) pattern, her rhetorical execution differs significantly. Unlike BM, whose humor derives from straightforward negative evaluation (direct insults), MS employs a twist strategy. She strategically initiates with positive evaluation (praise) to set an expectation, only to immediately subvert it with a sharp negative evaluation. This contrast creates an incongruity that serves as the punchline to trigger audience laughter.

Table 4. MS's Direct Success Negotiation Pattern

Joke	Time	Speaker	Utterance	Move
8	23:04– 23:07	MS	<i>Aduh, susah</i> (Oh, it's hard).	K1
			<i>Nggak, ya gimana, orang nggak terkenal</i> (Well, they are not famous people).	=K1
	23:07– 23:09	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh
9	23:10– 23:19	MS	<i>Bang Budi ini, ee, salah satu lulusan universitas terbaik</i> (Mr. Budi graduated from a top university).	K1
			<i>Eh, iya bang A-, salah mulu gua</i> (Oh, my bad, Mr. A-, I keep getting it wrong).	=K1
	23:20– 23:22	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh
10	23:22– 23:31	MS	<i>Mega tempatnya salah dah kayanya</i> (It seems that Mega is always wrong).	=K1
			<i>Mega ini bang</i> (This Mega, Sir).	K1
			<i>Mega ini</i> (This Mega).	=K1
	23:31– 23:32	Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh
10	23:22– 23:31	MS	<i>Bang Arie ini salah satu lulusan universitas terbaik</i> (Mr. Arie graduated from a top university).	=K1
			<i>Bahkan, dia lulus tepat waktu</i> (He even graduated on time).	=K1
10	23:22– 23:31	MS	<i>Yang nggak tepat itu keputusan dia buat bangun Total Politik</i> (What wasn't on time was his decision to build Total Politik.).	=K1
			23:31– 23:32	Audience

As seen in Table 4, MS builds the negotiation through a layered approach. She begins with positive information, such as ‘graduated from a top university’ or ‘graduated on time’,

which sets up a respectful premise. However, the final move delivers the punchline by subverting this premise, ‘What wasn't on time was his decision...’. Unlike BM’s raw description, MS’s direct success relies on the audience cognitively following the logical turn from praise to attack. While successful (lgh), this structure requires a longer setup time (22 seconds) compared to BM’s rapid-fire delivery.

Pattern of Delayed Success

Both comics also employed the delayed success pattern (K1^dlgh^K1^lgh) to prolong engagement and maximize the duration of laughter. This structure relies on a transitional bridge—often realized as an audience interjection (e.g., Wih ‘Whoa’) or a calculated pause. In this exchange, the comic initiates a provocative premise that elicits a suspended reaction (dlgh), creating a moment of tension that is subsequently resolved by a sharper follow-up to secure the final laughter.

Table 5. MS’s Delayed Success Pattern

Joke	Time	Speaker	Utterance	Move
			<i>Tapi setelah gua tonton tuh</i> (But after I watched it.)	K1
	22:19–22:35	MS	<i>Bang Budi tuh, selalu, ee, argumennya tuh, selalu cari aman menurut gua</i> (Mr. Budi, always, uh, his arguments always play safe in my opinion).	=K1
			<i>Gua nggak tahu apa ini emang konsep Total Politik</i> (I don't know if this is indeed the concept of <i>Total Politik</i>).	=K1
			<i>Yang satu cari aman</i> (One plays it safe).	=K1
5			<i>Yang satu cari masalah.</i> (The other makes trouble).	=K1
	22:35	Audience	<i>Wih!</i> (Whoa!)	interjection
			<i>Dan gua tuh pingin roasting Bang Budi kayaknya agak bingung gitu</i> (And I want to roast Mr. Budi but I'm a bit confused).	K1
	22:36–22:42	MS	<i>Karena dia gak banyak celahnya</i> (Because he doesn't have many flaws).	=K1
			<i>Celahnya cuma satu</i> (He has only one flaw).	=K1

22:42– 22:47	<i>Berpartner sama Arie</i> (Partnering with Arie).	=K1
Audience	<i>laughter</i>	lgh

In Table 5, the audience’s interjection ‘wih’ indicates that MS’s initial statement, considered as an abstract judgment about the hosts’ personalities, was successfully received as a challenge (ch) or a bold claim. MS capitalizes on this tension by moving from the abstract to the concrete in her second K1 move ‘partnering with Arie’. This move clarifies the initial ambiguity, releasing the built-up tension into laughter. This pattern demonstrates that the comics intentionally risk a moment of uncertainty to achieve a higher payoff in laughter volume.

Pattern of Failed Jokes

The pattern of failure (K1^ch) is characterized by silence following a K1 move, indicating the audience’s rejection of the information or affiliation offered by the comic. This pattern was exclusively observed in MS’s performance.

Table 6. MS’s Failed Jokes

Joke	Time	Speaker	Utterance	Move
11	23:33– 23:39	BM	<i>Karena Total Politik tagline-nya, mari bicara politik, bukan mari bicara ngawur</i> (Because <i>Total Politik</i> 's tagline is let's talk politics, not let's talk nonsense).	K1
	23:39	Audience	<i>SILENCE</i>	ch

In Table 6, MS pauses after delivering the *punchline*, explicitly inviting a response. However, the result is silence (ch). From an APPRAISAL perspective, MS uses *Inscribed Negative Judgement* to label the show’s content as ‘ngawur’ (nonsense). The failure here suggests a misalignment between the comic’s evaluation and the audience’s values. The audience, comprised of *Total Politik* loyalists, likely perceives the podcast as a substantive platform for fostering political literacy and critical awareness regarding Indonesia’s socio-political landscape, rather than mere nonsense. Consequently, they refuse to negotiate the meaning offered by MS, leading to a breakdown in the exchange.

Evaluative Strategies

The analysis reveals that specific APPRAISAL strategies are employed to achieve different exchange structure outcomes (Direct Success, Delayed Success, or Failure).

Evaluative Meanings in Direct Success Pattern

In the pattern of direct success (K1^lgh), both comics aim for instant laughter. However, their APPRAISAL configurations differ significantly. BM achieves this by stacking *Invoked Negative JUDGEMENT* with high intensity, whereas MS uses a contrast strategy.

Table 7. Evaluative Meaning in BM's Direct Success

Joke	Utterance	Appraiser	Appraised Item	(Polarisation) APPRAISAL	Realisation
11	<i>Bang Budi nyongkel kuping pake tangan kiri, dua ruas jarinya masuk. Dalam kali kupingnya. Dalam kali kupingnya</i> (Mr. Arie, em, Mr. Budi cleans his ear with his left hand. Two knuckles deep. His ear is so deep. His ear is so deep).	BM	Budi	(-) JUDGEMENT (-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked Invoked
12	<i>Begitu dia narik, dicek ama dia</i> (Once he pulls it out, he checks it).	BM	Budi	(-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked
13	<i>Ditengok, anjing. Apakah itu Asian value Anda?</i> (He looks at it, damn it. Is that your Asian value)?	BM	Budi	(-) JUDGEMENT (-) AFFECT (-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked Inscribed Invoked

As shown in Table 7, all evaluations delivered by BM have negative polarity. BM assesses Budi's ear-cleaning behavior as inappropriate (*Negative JUDGEMENT*). The success of this negotiation relies on the detail of the description (*Invoked*) combined with the explicit expression of his own disgust (*Inscribed Negative AFFECT*, 'anjing'). This combination allows the audience to immediately grasp the humor without ambiguity, resulting in dense laughter.

In contrast, MS employs a 'praise-attack' strategy to achieve direct success.

Table 8. Evaluative Meaning in MS's Direct Success

Joke	Utterance	Appraiser	Appraised Item	(Polarisation) APPRAISAL	Realisation
8	<i>Aduh, susah. Nggak, ya gimana, orang nggak terkenal</i> (Oh, it's hard. Well, they are not famous people).	MS	Arie and Budi	(-) AFFECT (-) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed Invoked
9	<i>Bang budi ini, ee, salah satu lulusan universitas terbaik</i>	MS	Budi	(+) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed

Table 9. Evaluative Meaning in MS's Delayed Success

Jok e	Utterance	Appraise r	Appraise d Item	(Polarisation) APPRAISAL	Realisati on
5	<p><i>Tapi setelah gua tonton tuh Bang Budi tuh, selalu, ee, argumennya tuh, selalu cari aman menurut gua. Gua nggak tahu apa ini emang konsep Total Politik. Yang satu cari aman. Yang satu cari masalah</i> (But after I watched it. Mr. Budi, always, uh, his arguments always play safe in my opinion. I don't know if this is indeed the <i>concept of</i> Total Politik. One plays it safe. The other makes trouble).</p>	MS	Budi	(-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked
			Arie dan Budi	(-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked
<i>Audience's interjection</i>					
	<p><i>Dan gua tuh pingin roasting Bang Budi kayaknya agak bingung gitu. Karena dia gak banyak celahnya. Celahnya cuma satu. Berpartner sama Arie</i> (And I want to roast Mr. Budi but I'm a bit confused. Because he doesn't have many flaws. He has only one flaw. Partnering with Arie).</p>	MS	Budi	(-) AFFECT	Inscribed
				(+) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed
				(-) JUDGEMENT	Invoked

The analysis shows a two-stage strategy. First, MS uses abstract *Invoked Negative JUDGEMENT* (one looks for trouble) to create tension, which elicits the interjection 'wih'. Second, she resolves this tension by concretizing the JUDGEMENT (partnering with Arie). This shift from abstract to concrete, combined with the 'praise-attack' tactic (doesn't have many flaws vs. Partnering with Arie), produces prolonged laughter.

BM also uses this pattern but with a more direct approach that is by using inscribed negative judgment

Table 10. Evaluative Meaning in BM's Delayed Success

Jok e	Utterance	Appraise r	Appraise d Item	(Polaritation) APPRAISAL	Realisati on
	<i>Jangan bilang Total Politik nih hasil korupsi</i> (Don't say Total Politik is a result of corruption).	BM	Total Politik	(-) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed
8	<i>Audience's interjection</i>				
	<i>Nggak lah. Nggak, nggak. Money laundry aja, hahaha</i> (No. No, no. Just money laundering, hahaha).	BM	Total Politik	(-) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed

BM creates a serious accusation ('hasil korupsi' *corruption*), triggering the 'wih' response. He then plays with this tension by negating the first accusation but immediately replacing it with another negative JUDGEMENT (money laundry).

Evaluative Meanings in Failed Jokes

The failed jokes pattern (K1^{ch}, see table 6) occurs exclusively in MS's performance. Analysis reveals that failure is caused by high-risk APPRAISAL choices (Generalization and Analogy) applied to inappropriate targets.

Table 11. Evaluative Meaning in MS's Failed Jokes

Jok e	Utterance	Appraise r	Appraise d Item	(Polarisation) APPRAISAL	Realisati on
11	<i>Karena tagline-nya, mari bicara politik, bukan mari bicara ngawur</i> (Because Total Politik's tagline is let's talk politics, not let's talk nonsense).	MS	Total Politik	(-) JUDGEMENT	Inscribed
14	<i>Lu ngomong begitu, ya Allah. Lu ngomong gitu kan sama aja kayak, "Ganja gak papa yang</i>	BM	Arie	(-) AFFECT	Inscribed

penting *semua*
happy," gitu 'kan (You
say that, oh God. You
saying that is just like,
"Marijuana is okay as
long as everyone is
happy," right)?

(-) JUDGEMENT Invoked

In Joke 11, MS uses Inscribed Negative JUDGEMENT to label the show's tagline as 'talking nonsense' (bicara ngawur). This joke failed because it generalized the show's quality, contradicting the values held by the audience (fans of Total Politik). In Joke 14, MS employed Invoked Negative JUDGEMENT through a complex analogy equating corruption with marijuana (ganja). The lack of explicit explanation for this analogy prevented the audience from bridging the cognitive gap, causing the sophisticated evaluative strategy to backfire

The present study examined the negotiation structures and evaluative strategies in roasting, revealing how male and female comics navigate the dynamics of interactive humor. The findings indicate that while both comics utilize similar exchange structures (K1), their success rates and evaluative choices diverge significantly. As a result, this reflects the construction of distinct stage personas.

Constructing Stage Personas: The Candid Observer vs. The Moral Arbiter

The disparity in evaluative choices plays a pivotal role in constructing distinct stage personas for the comics. Based on the analysis of APPRAISAL resources, Bonar Manalu (BM) constructs the persona of a 'candid observer' (blak-blakan). His tendency to utilize Inscribed ATTITUDE and explicitly involve his own feelings (AFFECT) portrays him as a straightforward figure who is emotionally transparent with the audience. By openly displaying his annoyance, such as using the expletive 'anjing' (damn) to express shock at the ear-cleaning incident (see Table 4), BM eliminates ambiguity. This strategy frames his roasting not as a judgmental sermon, but as a shared frustration between peers, creating a sense of intimacy and closeness with the audience.

In stark contrast, Mega Salsabillah (MS) constructs the persona of a 'moral arbiter' (hakim moral). The analysis reveals a strong dominance of JUDGEMENT directed specifically at the roastees, with very little involvement of her own AFFECT (see Comparative Strategies). Unlike BM who invites the audience to feel with him, MS positions herself as an observer who assesses the ethical conduct of the targets. Her rhetorical strategy of 'praise-attack', offering explicit praise (Inscribed Positive JUDGEMENT) to build affiliation before launching an implicit attack, functions as a mechanism of 'asking permission' to roast. This creates a noticeable distance between her and the audience. In other words, there is a tendency that she operates not as an intimate friend, but as a judge evaluating the 'rightness' of the hosts' decisions and backgrounds.

Evaluation Strategies and Audience Affiliation

The difference in how the comics manage audience affiliation is evident in their realization tactics. BM's strategy relies on efficiency of clarity. He deliberately makes his negative evaluations explicit (Inscribed) to ensure the audience captures his intent immediately, without the need for interpretation. His direct success pattern yielded high laughter density

(three points in 14 seconds) simply because the lack of complex processing allowed for an instant conversion of aggression into comedy.

Conversely, MS employs a strategy of calculated ambiguity. She tends to praise the target openly while hiding her attacks in implicit meanings (Invoked). For example, she highlights Arie's status as a 'graduated from a top university' only to contrast it with his 'wrong decisions' (see Table 9). While this strategy aims to strike deeper by engaging the audience's cognitive processing, it demands a higher level of active participation from the listeners. They must decipher the implied criticism behind the praise. This approach produces a sophisticated form of humor that, when successful, results in a satisfying 'delayed success,' but it sacrifices the rapid-fire efficiency seen in BM's performance.

The Risks of Implicit Evaluation and Generalization

The analysis of the failed jokes pattern (K1^{ch}) provides critical insight into the risks associated with the 'moral arbiter' persona. The findings indicate that MS's failures were not due to a lack of comedic attempt, but rather a misalignment of values, often caused by generalization and high-context analogies that turned into a 'boomerang'.

In Joke 11, MS evaluated the show's tagline as 'talking nonsense' (bicara ngawur). This joke failed because it relied on a generalization that clashed with the audience's reality. As fans of Total Politik, the audience likely views the podcast as an educational platform, not nonsense. By attacking a core value of the fanbase without sufficient grounding, MS severed the bond of affiliation, resulting in silence (see Table 12). Similarly, in Joke 14, MS attempted a complex analogy equating the host's logic on corruption with 'ganja' (marijuana). The analysis suggests that the lack of explanation for this deep metaphorical leap prevented the audience from grasping the humor. The cognitive gap between 'corruption' and 'marijuana' was too wide to be bridged instantly, causing the sophisticated rhetorical strategy to backfire.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the discursive dynamics of roasting by comparing the exchange structures and evaluative strategies employed by male and female comedians. The findings indicated that the success of roasting as an interactive genre depended heavily on the alignment between the comedian's exchange moves and their choice of evaluative resources.

Regarding exchange structures in the Indonesian context, the analysis identified three distinct patterns characterizing roasting interactions: (1) direct success (K1^{lgh}), where laughter occurred immediately; (2) delayed success (K1^{dlgh}^{K1^{lgh}}), where the audience collaboratively worked to decode the joke; and (3) failed jokes (K1^{ch}), where the exchange collapsed into silence. These patterns were closely associated with gendered evaluative strategies.

The male comedian (BM) consistently achieved the direct success pattern by adopting a "candid observer" persona. His use of Inscribed ATTITUDE and expression of personal AFFECT enabled a low-risk, high-efficiency negotiation, as audiences could immediately interpret his concrete criticisms. In contrast, the female comedian (MS) constructed a "moral arbiter" persona, characterized by a "praise-attack" strategy and a reliance on Invoked moral JUDGEMENT. While this higher-risk strategy was capable of producing sophisticated delayed success, it was also more susceptible to failed jokes when audiences did not share the implicit moral assumptions or cognitive frames being invoked.

Overall, the findings suggested that gender influenced not only the stylistic expression of aggression in roasting but also the rhetorical risk-taking involved in negotiating authority and solidarity with the audience. However, these findings were derived from a single, high-stakes political roasting event. Consequently, the interactional patterns identified may be specific to this particular register and participant configuration. Future research involving a larger corpus of roasting performances is needed to determine whether these patterns are consistent across the genre or whether different contexts produce distinct linguistic configurations.

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