

A Pragma-Linguistic Study of Egyptian Stand-up Comedy:

A New Paradigm of Satire

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Abstract

This paper aims at providing a pragma-linguistic analysis of the complex speech act of satire in selected instances of Egyptian stand-up comedy. In particular, the focus of the research is on stand-up comedy as a satirical humorous communicative act; that is, it is a genre of entertainment that employs a humorous form to fulfill a satirical function. The objective of the study is twofold. First, it introduces an innovative theoretical conception of satire according to which it is treated as a function of language rather than a literary genre; thus corresponding to the functions of language labeled as illocutionary acts. By incorporating some modifications to the current version of speech act theory, the researcher arrives at the assumption that satire is an indirect complex illocutionary act. Second, the study proposes an eclectic model of linguistic deviation to explore how the complex illocutionary act of satire is realized locutionarily by means of linguistic deviation. It detects how stand-up comedians manipulate language in such a way as to generate humour which, in its turn, serves the satirical intention of the comedian. Correlation between this humorous form and satirical function is the basis of this paper. By investigating the ways in which Egyptian stand-up comedians evoke humour and laughter to fulfill their satirical intentions, this paper unveils the dominant strategies of linguistic deviation manipulated by Egyptian stand-up comedians, and examines the implications of these strategies.

Key terms: stand-up comedy- humour- speech act complex of satire-linguistic deviation.

ملخص البحث

تعني هذه الدراسة بتحليل لغة الـ "ستاند اب كوميدى" المصرية من منظور لغوي تداولي، و على وجه التحديد تركز الدراسة على التحليل اللغوي التداولي لأفعال قول الهجاء في بعض العروض الكوميديّة المختارة التي تجمع بين الخطاب الساخر و البنية الفكاهية. و لذا تقوم الدراسة بفحص و تحليل السمات اللغوية و التداولية الملازمة لأفعال قول الهجاء في العروض محل الدراسة، و تقوم الدراسة في الأساس على فكرة الارتباط بين وظيفة الهجاء و البنية اللغوية الفكاهية لـفن الـ "ستاند اب كوميدى". تتبنى الدراسة إطاراً نظرياً انتقائياً يجمع بين نظرية فعل القول (Speech Act Theory) و ظاهرة الانحراف اللغوي (Linguistic Deviation). من ناحية، تفترض الدراسة أن نظرية فعل القول في ثوبها الحالي لا تصلح لتحليل الهجاء و ذلك لأنها تتوقف في تحليلها لأفعال القول عند مستوى الجملة في حين أن الهجاء يتعدى مستوى الجملة إلى مستوى الخطاب ، و من ثم تقوم الدراسة بإدخال بعض التعديلات الهامة على النظرية حتى يتسنى لها استيعاب الهجاء و تصنيفه كأحد أفعال القول. من ناحية أخرى، تقدم الدراسة نموذجاً انتقائياً للانحراف اللغوي للوقوف على أهم السمات اللغوية و استراتيجيات الفكاهة التي تميز أفعال قول الهجاء في العروض الكوميديّة المختارة. يتألف هذا النموذج الانتقائي من ثلاثة مستويات عليا و هي المستوى التركيبي، المستوى الدلالي ، المستوى التداولي، و يشتمل كل مستوى على عدة مستويات صغرى و التي تشتمل بدورها على فئات أكثر تحديداً للانحراف اللغوي. و بالاعتماد على هذا الإطار النظري الانتقائي تقوم الدراسة باستقصاء استراتيجيات الانحراف اللغوي الأكثر شيوعاً التي يوظفها الكوميديون لإحداث الفكاهة التي تلبي أغراضهم الهجائية ، كما تسلط الدراسة الضوء على دلالات هذه الاستراتيجيات في السياق الثقافي و الاجتماعي للعروض محل الدراسة. كلمات مفتاحية: ستاند اب كوميدى- أفعال قول الهجاء- الانحراف اللغوي- الفكاهة- نظرية فعل القول

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1. Introduction

Stand-up comedy, as the term implies, is a comic genre which aims at entertaining and amusing a given audience by referring to the aspects of everyday life in a verbally humorous way. The performer of the show is referred to a stand-up comedian or a stand-up comic. Stand-up comedy is not simply to recite jokes or sing humorous songs (such as a monologist) or to perform a written comic scene in a play. The stand-up comedian talks to his audience directly while standing alone on stage or in front of a camera. The first use of the term stand-up comedy in Webster Collegiate Dictionary in 1966 emphasizes this fact: “stand-up comedy centers on the figure of the comic, and wherever a comic is facing an audience and trying to act or being perceived as acting humorously, stand-up maybe said to occur” (as cited in Wilson, 2015, p. 4) .Stand-up comedy is more complex than jokes telling for three reasons at least. First, it is a personal perspective through which the stand- up comedian puts on a certain persona and discusses some issues in everyday life in a topical and narrative way. Thus, it can be said that stand-up comedy is a hypothetical reality. Second, stand-up comedy does not include singing or slapstick, but it is essentially verbally expressed; that is to say, humour in stand –up comedy is expressed through manipulating language at its different levels. The stand-up comic is unsupported with theatrical devices such as costumes, scenery and make-up. Instead, he entirely depends on language to entertain the audience and he directly encounters the audience with nothing but a microphone. Third, and most important, the content of stand-up comedy is highly satirical. In a typical stand-up routine, the stand-up comedian does not only elicit the audience's laughter, but he/she also visualizes and presents social reality from a different perspective in such a way as to affirm or deny; to reinforce or reexamine; to accept or criticize the behaviors , attitudes, norms, beliefs and practices of society. The stand-up comedian is a social commentator who transforms the social reality into a comic show employing the tools of language to accomplish his satirical intention. Stand-up comedians usually fire sharp criticism at the political and social institutions of society, some social groups, and deviant behaviors of people.

Since stand- up comedy is expressed through language it is employed to fulfil a bunch of social functions. Borrowing the terms of speech act

theory, it is clear that humorous utterances which constitute the essence of stand-up comedy- the locutionary acts- can perform one or more illocutionary acts: to satirize, criticize, ridicule, disparage, mock, challenge, etc. However, satire has not been previously analyzed as an illocutionary act. It has not yet even established whether satire in fact is an illocutionary act in the same way as promises, threats, assertions, orders, requests and warnings which have been generally accepted as paradigm cases of illocutionary acts. The study in hand places satire on the map of speech act theory and establishes a working theoretical conception of the term 'satire', a conception which treats satire as a form of language use rather than a literary genre; that is, as a function of language corresponding to the functions of language labeled as illocutionary acts. This study comes up with an innovative definition of satire as follows: 'Satire is an illocutionary act complex or a macro-speech act at a supra-sentential level, performed in virtue of performing a cluster of other elementary illocutionary acts which at the discourse level have overall unity to criticize or ridicule a given idea, fact, institution, individual or the whole society.'

In this regard, the present study attempts to examine the linguistic features correlated with the complex illocutionary act of satire in Egyptian stand-up comedy within the theoretical framework of Speech Act Theory. The framework of Speech Act Theory will be the main theory adopted in this study which is a suitable theoretical frame work for the current study since it is mainly designed to account for explaining how certain illocutionary acts are realized through linguistic forms of locutionary acts. To explore the linguistic properties and humour markers of the corresponding locutionary acts, Speech Acts Theory will be supplemented by an eclectic deviation-based model to analyze the language of the selected instances of Egyptian stand-up comedy.

2. Aim of Study

On the basis of an interdisciplinary framework that combines Speech Act Theory with Linguistic Deviation, this study aims at providing a pragma-linguistic analysis of the complex speech act of satire in selected instances of Egyptian stand-up comedy. In particular, the focus of the study is on stand-up comedy as a satirical humorous communicative act; that is, it is a genre of entertainment that employs a humorous form to fulfil a satirical function. Correlation between this humorous form and satirical function is the basis of this study. The study attempts to find out the different linguistic and pragmatic features correlated with satire in the language of Egyptian stand -up comedy.

3. Research questions

The main question of the study can be stated as follows: What are the linguistic features and strategies correlated with the complex illocutionary act of satire in the selected data of Egyptian stand-up comedy? This question is subdivided into sub-questions which the study attempts to answer:

1. Is satire actually an illocutionary act?
2. Is the current version of the speech act theory adequate to account for satire as an illocutionary act?
3. Which category is best suited for labeling satire as an illocutionary act?
4. What are the linguistic deviation strategies manipulated by the Egyptian stand-up comedians to fulfil the illocutionary act complex of satire?
5. To what extent does the deviation-based eclectic model account for the structural, semantic and suprastructural properties of the illocutionary act of satire?
6. What are the dominant strategies manipulated by the Egyptian stand- up comedians?
7. What are the socio-cultural implications of the dominant devices of humour in Egyptian stand-up comedy?

4. Data & Research Methodology

The present study is based on data collected from Egyptian stand-up comedy shows. It mainly consists of some instances of recorded performances of three stand- up comedians, namely Mina Nader, Ali Qandil, and Mohammad Morgan. They were selected because they are ranked as the most popular stand–up comedians in Egypt according to an online survey of the opinions of my peers on Facebook. I have viewed some of their recorded performances on YouTube and other TV channels such as Moga Comedy, Rotana and Al-Hayah. All in all, I have viewed almost fifteen full-length episodes; each of which runs for twenty five minutes. Of these fifteen episodes and based on the criterion of subject matter, I looked for sketches that provide socially satirical commentary on the happenings of everyday life. As a result, I came up with twenty sketches which focus on such social issues as the rising prices crisis, the garbage problem, public transportation and marriage. These topics are reported as the most recurrent themes in these episodes so they are selected. It is worth mentioning that sketches pertaining to politically satirical commentary are very rare due to the tendency of the Egyptian stand up comedians, unlike the American stand up comedians, to refrain

from talking about politics. For this reason, I chose the data which is entirely socially charged.

5. Theoretical Framework

As stated in section 2, the correlation between the satirical function and the humorous form of stand-up comedy is the basis of this paper. In order to conduct this twofold analysis, the researcher proposes an eclectic theoretical framework. First, the framework of Speech Act Theory will be the main theory which is a suitable theoretical frame work for the current study since it is mainly designed to account for the functions fulfilled by a given utterance in a specific context. Stated differently, it explains how certain illocutionary acts are realized through linguistics forms of locutionary acts. In the subsection 5.1, the researcher arrives at the assumption that satire is an indirect complex illocutionary act. Second, to explore the linguistic properties and humour markers of Egyptian stand-up comedy, Speech Acts Theory will be supplemented by a deviation-based eclectic model. In the subsection 5.2, the researcher elucidates how the complex illocutionary act of satire is realized locutionarily by means of linguistic deviation.

5.1 Speech act theory reconsidered

Satire has not been previously analyzed as an illocutionary act. It has not yet even established whether satire in fact is an illocutionary act in the same way as promises, threats, assertions, orders, requests and warnings which have been generally accepted as paradigm cases of illocutionary acts. In addition, satire has not been mentioned or even hinted at in any of the proposed taxonomies of illocutionary acts. It has not yet been classified as belonging to any category of the five main categories of speech acts, namely assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. To position satire within the framework of speech act theory, the researcher will incorporate some modifications to adapt the theory to his analytic purpose.

To place satire on the map of speech act theory, the first task must be to establish a working theoretical conception of the term 'satire', a conception which treats satire as a form of language use; that is, as a function of language corresponding to the functions of language labeled as illocutionary acts. This task is an indispensable one since the commonly accepted meaning of the term 'satire' does not fit the framework of speech act theory and does not correspond to the meaning we assign to it as a form of language use. Most definitions of satire treat it as a genre of literature which depicts the vices and shortcomings of individuals or society as a whole with the aim of improvement. These definitions confine satire to the field of literature and thus they are not

applicable to the purpose of the study, i.e. treating satire a form of language use. Therefore, it is worth emphasizing that the theoretical conception the researcher attaches to satire in this paper is distinct from these definitions in some ways. First of all, satire is not limited to literature as a literary genre, but it is found in every form of expression, be it newspapers, comedy shows, paintings, caricatures or even in everyday interaction. The second feature of the proposed theoretical conception of satire is functionality; that is, satire is a function of language rather than merely a literary genre. In the light of these assumptions, it is easy to formulate a preliminary definition of satire as follows:

Satire is an illocutionary act which is composed of a series of sentences designed to criticize or attack or ridicule a given idea, action, or a situation.

However, Defining satire in this way makes it too difficult to place it within the framework of speech act theory. According to Searle, illocutionary acts necessarily operate on the sentential level; that is, the sentence is the standard form through which an illocutionary act is performed. Of course, this may be applicable to some illocutionary acts such as promises, requests, orders which are frequently performed via uttering a single sentence such as *'I will come,' 'can you open the window'* and *'leave now'* respectively. Satire operates on the supra-sentential level and thereby the speech act of satire cannot be expressed in a single sentence. Such being the case, Searle's one-to-one correlation between the act performed and the sentence cannot be sustained in the speech act of satire. If taken on their own, each of the sentences of which the overall speech act of satire is constituted represents illocutionary acts which are themselves different from the overall speech act of satire. Therefore, it can be argued that each of these sentences actually has two distinct forces at the same time: one force at the sentence level and another force on the discourse level. Accordingly, one is tempted to say that the speech act of satire is an indirect speech act. For instance, a sentence which is employed in the performance of the whole speech act of satire may at the same time be a statement, as assertion, a prediction, a description, a denial, a confession or any illocutionary act belonging principally to the category Bach and Harnish (1979) call constatives which correspond to Searle's category of assertives. These constatives together compose the ultimate speech act of satire. Accordingly, Searle's one-to-one correspondence between the performed act and the grammatical sentence is not applicable in the case of satire.

Thus, Searle' one-to-one correspondence between the sentence and the illocutionary act performed calls into being two significant problems when attempting to characterize satire on the map of speech act theory. But does this necessarily lead us to the conclusion that it is impossible to treat satire as an illocutionary act? It is possible if we, borrowing the terminology of Eemeren and Grootendorst, manage to make a distinction between “illocutionary forces at sentence level and illocutionary forces at a higher textual level” (1984, p. 34). Eemeren and Grootendorst distinguish between “elementary illocutions” and “compound illocutions or illocutionary act complexes” (p. 34). They maintain that the illocutionary acts which are realized through the minimal linguistic units, i.e. sentences, are generally referred to as elementary illocutionary acts. On the other hand, illocutionary acts which are realized through larger linguistic units, i.e., sequences or discourse, are generally referred to as illocutionary act complexes. Similarly, Van Dijk coins the term “macro-speech acts” to describe those speech acts which are constituted at the discourse level by performing a combination of subordinate illocutionary acts which, while different from the total speech act, have “overall unity” and are related in such a way that contributes to the performance of the overall speech act. (as cited in Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984, p. 37). Accordingly, he concludes: “Thus we can overall issue a request or a protest in a letter which itself consists of all sorts of other speech acts, e.g. assertions, questions, suggestions, etc.” (p. 37)

In this regard, it can be easily maintained that satire is an illocutionary act complex which consists of a cluster of elementary illocutionary acts which basically belong to the category of constatives. The total sum of the elementary illocutionary acts forms the illocutionary act complex or the compound illocutionary act of satire. Now we can formulate the final version of our definition of satire as follows:

Satire is an illocutionary act complex or a macro-speech act at a supra-sentential level, performed in virtue of performing a cluster of other elementary illocutionary acts which at the discourse level have overall unity to criticize or ridicule a given idea, fact, institution, individual or the whole society.

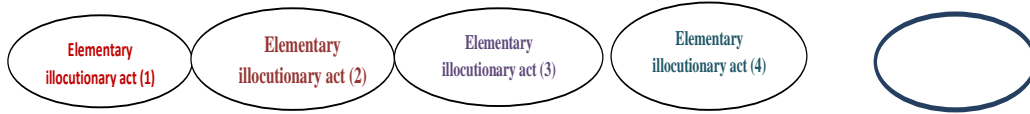
5.2 Deviation-based eclectic model for the analysis of complex speech acts of satire in stand-up comedy

Given the lack of an integrative model to account for the satire in stand-up comedy as well as the linguistic strategies at work in this genre, the study proposes an eclectic deviation-based model which accounts for how satire as an illocutionary act complex is realized locutionarily via linguistic deviation and manipulation. This model is an integration of various theories and models, in an attempt to combine the merits of each

model and discard the defects of each one. It is largely based on the deviation model proposed by Zhao (1994) with some modifications regarding the overall classification and the subcategories. Also, the researcher has added some new categories and crossed out some others to adapt the model to the analysis of the language of stand-up comedy. In addition, it borrows some concepts and strategies from other linguists who have been obsessed with exploring the language of humour in general such as Raskin (1985), Draister (1994), Curco (1997), Ross (1998), Partington (2006), Blake (2007), Ermida (2008). In this context, one of the objectives of the present study is to decide whether the new model has the interpretive power to analyze the language of stand-up comedy.

The model is a twofold framework, consisting of two main levels; each of which is further subdivided into subcategories: Structural deviation, and Suprastructural deviation. It is worth stressing the fact that no of these categories is self-contained in reality and that this classification is merely proposed for the sake of analysis. The model can be represented as follows

Illocutionary act complex of satire is composed of elementary illocutionary acts

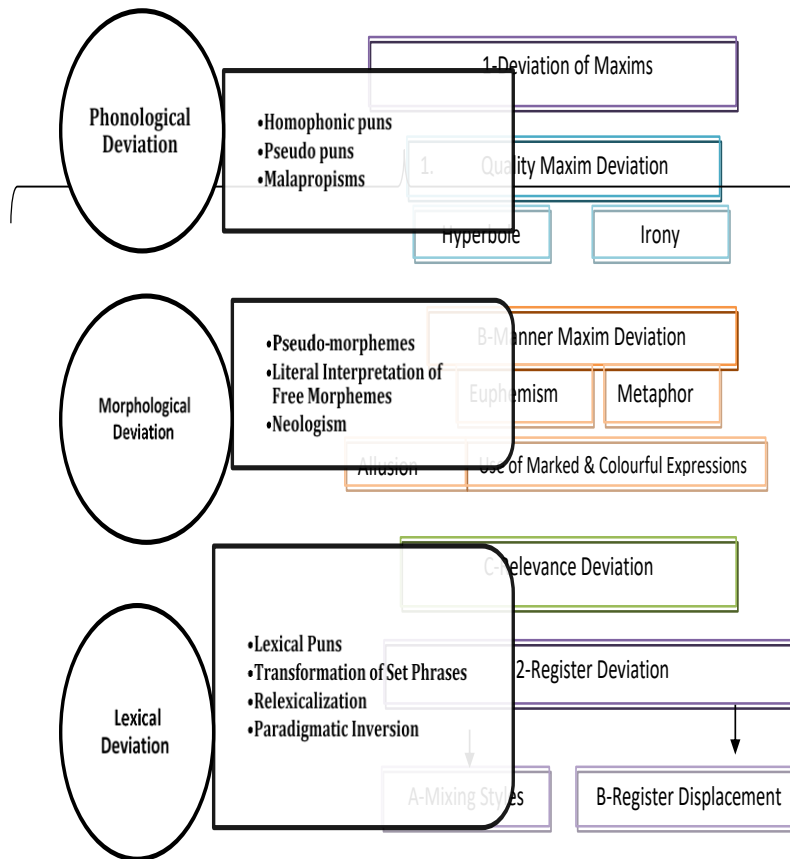


....etc.

It is realized locutionarily through humorous language which is accounted for in terms of Linguistic deviation.

I. Structural Deviation

II. Suprastructural Deviation



5.2.1 Structural Deviation

Structural deviation works mainly through the manipulation of our knowledge of the structural element of language. It basically operates at the levels of phonology, morphology, and lexis. Accordingly, structural deviation is subdivided into three main categories; namely phonological deviation, morphological deviation and lexical deviation. Each category is further subdivided into other subcategories.

5.2.1.1 Phonological Deviation

Phonological deviation manifests itself in several ways such as homophonic puns, pseudo puns and malapropisms. Homophonic puns result from using a set of sounds which can be interpreted in two ways. Homophones are words with the same sound, but different spelling and different meaning. Ermida uses the term of pseudo puns to refer to puns that exploit words which are not exact homophones. Instead, the words used are merely similar in sound. Therefore, they are, as Ermida (2008, p. 45) puts it, “phonetic mimesis”. In such a case, a certain word is twisted into another word which it mimes phonetically. Malapropism is named after Mrs. Malaprop, a character in Sheridan's play *The Rivals*, who is known for using words inappropriately; that is, the used word entails a funny meaning in the context of situation. More specifically, as Al Zoubi (2012) puts it, she intends to say a word with a certain meaning, but she surprisingly utters a completely different word which is similar only in sound to the intended word. Therefore, the similarity between the two words is accounted for in terms of their sounds.

5.2.1.2 Morphological Deviation

Morphological deviation works through manipulating the morphological rules and the processes of word formation. Morphological deviation takes many forms such as pseudo morphemes and neologism.

Ermida (2008, p. 56) defines pseudo-morpheme as a morphological play that refers to the intentional interpretation of a word that is made up of one morpheme as being composed of separate morphemes; thus dividing an indivisible word into a root and a suffix which turn out to be pseudo morpheme. Pepicello and Weisberg (1983, p. 66) use the term “pseudomorphological” to describe this strategy through which “a sequence which is not even a morpheme of the

independent word”is treated as a morpheme. For example,-key is not a morpheme in ‘turkey’.

Leech (1969) considers neologism as the paradigm case of lexical deviation. However, I will label it as a case of morphological deviation since it manipulates the rules and processes of word formation, whether affixation, compounding or blending, which lie at the core of morphology. These rules and processes are twisted and deviated from; that is to say, they are exploited in an unexpected way. Generally speaking, neologism is the invention of new words. New words which are invented to meet the need of a certain situation are called “nonce-formations”(p. 42).

5.2.1.3 Lexical Deviation

Lexical deviation depends on manipulating the lexical items of the language in an unexpected way by means of playing on the multiple meanings of a given word, transformation of a set phrase, relexicalization, employing deviant collocations, using words with inappropriate connotations, exploiting hyponyms and synonyms, demetaphorization of metaphorical expressions, deviation of habitual use.

Lexical puns are the most common form of word play. Most of the linguistic studies on humour have been based on around the analysis of puns. Lexical puns essentially depend on the multiplicity of meanings of a single word in such a way that would create humour. Hence, it exploits two-well known lexical phenomena: polysemy and homonymy since they have the advantage of causing lexical ambiguity. Raskin (1985) reveals that the main process underlying humour in general and lexical puns in particular is semantic dissonance and script opposition. According to Raskin, humour is generated when there are two opposing scripts which are entirely incompatible with each other. The initial script becomes prominent and emphasized until the reader encounters a trigger point which unveils the hidden script. Raskin (1985, p. 117) further adds that the second script is activated by what he calls “semantic-switch trigger”which is usually a single item that shatters the initial script, thus generating humour.

Humour can be induced by means of transforming or modifying an original preconstructed phrase. Partington (2006) figures out four basic processes which a preconstructed phrase undergoes; namely substitution, rephrasing, abbreviation and insertion.

Relexicalization is defined by Partington as “freeing up of the parts of a normally frozen, preconstructed lexical unit”(2006, p. 119). It is obvious that from this definition that by relexicalization Partington does not mean changing or modifying the lexis of the preconstructed phrase or rewording it. Instead, he means that the speaker introduces some contextual features to force the reader or the listener to assign a different meaning to the expression; i.e. to relexicalize it into the less expected meaning. First, the process of relexicalization is very common with idioms. In such a case, relexicalization is realized by means of decomposition of idioms. Second, the process of relexicalization can be a result of the literal interpretation of a metaphorical expression, which is referred to as demetaphorization. Third, the process of relexicalization is sometimes a result of assigning a full meaning to a delexicalized item. Partington (2006) points out that there is a set of lexical items which are said to lose their separate, specific or distinctive meaning when they are part of a preconstructed phrase which is treated as a unit.

Paradigmatic inversion is another strategy of lexical deviation which has to do with word choices. It means choosing the less predictable lexical. Ermida maintains that word choice is rather guided by what she calls “paradigmatic inversion”; that is; the element the speaker selects is “out of place in the syntagmatic chain”(2008, p. 61). Put another way, of all the choices that are available in the paradigmatic series, the speaker chooses the less expected one. In most cases, Ross (1998) explains, the selected item conveys inappropriate connotations or used with an unsuitable collocation. Paradigmatic inversion can manifest itself in three different ways; namely hyponymic substitution, synonymic substitution and unusual collocations.

5.2.2 Suprastructural Deviation

By Suprastructural deviation, I mean such deviation that goes beyond the structural elements of phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax to include other elements such as politeness, style and register, cooperative principle and the four maxims, presupposition, implicature, etc. The focus of this section will be on deviation from the cooperative principle and the maxims of quality, manner and relevance.

5.2.2.1. Quality Maxim deviation

Most of humour can fall within this category since quality is the maxim which is most breached in verbal humour. Deviation from the requirements of the maxim of quality takes two main forms; namely **hyperbole** and **irony**; each of which manifests some degree of deviation from the quality maxim. In the case of hyperbole, the speaker does not violate the maxim of quality in the sense that he does not tell the truth. Instead, the speaker overstates the truthfulness of the situation in such an exaggerated way that would emphasize and strengthen the truth.

In terms of quality maxim, irony is deviant in the sense that the speaker does not intend to communicate what the utterance literally encodes. Thus, irony displays what is referred to as pragmatic insincerity. Almost all the theories that attempt to account for irony adopt this assumption in different ways. First, the traditional theory of irony treats irony as a statement which is simply converted to mean the opposite. Second, Wilson and Sperber's theory of echoic mention states that all irony can be accounted for as echoic mention on condition that the speaker "dissociates herself from the opinion echoed with accompanying ridicule or scorn" (Wilson & Sperber, 1992, p. 75). In a similar way to the echoic theory of irony, pretense theory of irony is also based on discrepancy of stances. The main notion underlying the pretense theory of irony is that the speaker mirrors, or rather superficially agrees with the addressee's expressed opinion, while at the same time distancing himself from this opinion. Partington (2006) proposes an alternative theory of irony based on evaluative meaning. According to him, irony essentially emerges when the speaker intentionally relies on the existence of two narratives which the speaker intentionally embeds within the utterance. The utterance is said to be ironic only on condition that the two narratives are in sharp contrast in terms of their evaluative meaning rather than their ideational meaning.

5. 2.2. 2 Manner Maxim deviation

According to Grice, the maxim of manner has four submaxims or requirements or which have to be satisfied: "avoid obscurity of expression", "avoid ambiguity", "be brief" and "be orderly". In humour, these four requirements are not usually observed. The focus of this paper will be on the first submaxim 'avoid obscurity of expression' due to the significant role they play in verbal humour. Basically, deviation from the first requirement of the maxim of

manner takes four forms: **euphemisms, metaphors, and use of marked and colourful expressions**. All these cases have in common the indirect and peculiar way of conveying a certain message.

Euphemism represents a case of the peculiar and indirect way of using language. This is clearly obvious in the definition of euphemism: “a nice- sounding alternative to existing expression” (Blake, 2007, p. 62).

Metaphors in particular represent another case of deviation from the first submaxim of manner in the sense that they sometimes portray bizarre or incongruous images. In this regard, Weiner (1996) emphasizes the incongruous essence of metaphors: “there is an inevitable element of incongruity in metaphors since the A terms (the vehicle) and the B term (the topic) come from incongruous domains” (p. 112). Almost all theories of metaphor confirm this standpoint and focus on the incongruous aspect of metaphors in the sense that they embody the peculiar way of using language by means of combining together two concepts that belong to different domains and display incompatible features. Incongruity features much in Tourangeau and Sternberg's approach of the domain interaction. Tourangeau and Sternberg (1981) proposed their model which is essentially based on the notion of incongruity. The main notion underlying their model is that metaphors operate in virtue of semantic distance between the two concepts (tenor and vehicle) in terms of their conceptual domains to which they belong. Each of the two concepts which constitute the metaphorical utterance belongs to two different semantic domains. Crucially, as Tourangeau and Sternberg maintain, the more distant the two domains are, the more powerful the metaphor is. Furthermore, they stress the fact that the listener/reader does not only have to figure out the distance between the ‘high-order domains’, but also he has to define the distance between the positions which each concept occupies within the high domain; that is to say, how each concept is conceived or evaluated within its domain on some dimension.

Use of marked expressions is another form of deviation from the first requirement of the maxim of manner “avoid obscurity of expression”. In this regard, it is worth recalling Rosique's account for the maxim of manner which is so illuminating in exploring how the use of marked expressions is sometimes conceived as deviation from the maxim of manner. Rosique (2013) redefines the maxim of manner from a different perspective. According to her, the maxim

of manner urges the speaker to employ “unmarked expressions” to express usual or familiar situations which everybody is familiar with. In other words, the speaker is expected to use the suitable register to the context.

5.2.2. 3 Relevance deviation

The central claim of relevance is that the hearer is primed to expect the maximal relevance; i.e. the highest level of relevance. In this context, Sperber and Wilson (1986, p. 208) use the term “anticipatory hypotheses” to refer to the hypotheses or expectations the hearer constructs about the overall structure of the utterance on the basis of what they have already heard. In terms of the relevance principle, the hearer will formulate the hypotheses or the expectations that are relevant, that are highly predictable. Curco (1997, p. 212) refers to these hypotheses that are highly predictable as “foreground implications”, whereas these that are less predictable as “background implications”. Thus, incongruity emerges, as Curco argue, when the hearer is led to expect a foreground assumption, but he abruptly discovers that what follows is a background one. According to Curco, this switch from the foreground to the background is an effective way of generating humour.

6. Review of Literature

Though humour in stand-up comedy is essentially expressed through language, little research has been conducted on the language of stand-up comedy in such a way as to explore the linguistic features and humour markers manipulated by stand-up comedians to accomplish their satirical goals. From linguistic perspectives, scholars have adopted different approaches to the analysis of stand-up comedy. These approaches vary from entirely pragmatic approaches to totally formal ones. Most studies on this genre fall within both extremes.

In her article *Stand-up Comedy as an Activity Type*, Filani (2015) investigates stand-up comedy in the light of Levinson's concept of activity type and applies Jenny Thomas' parameters of activity type to stand-up comedy. Filani maintains that stand-up comedians do not adhere to the cooperative principle and the Gricean maxims. Rather, they violate these maxims in such a way as to generate humour and elicit their audience's laughter. Similarly, she contends that stand-up comedians do not adhere to the interpersonal maxims (politeness) whether in the sense of Leech's maxims or Brown &

Levinson's concept of face. Although this study is a brilliant attempt at the linguistic study of stand-up comedy, it is a purely pragmatic. It pays much more attention to how comedians deviate from Gricean maxims and politeness maxims in such a way to achieve their goals. It does not even mention how stand-up comedians may manipulate language at the phonological or the lexico-grammatical level. Although it hints that stand-up comedy is a satirical discourse, it does not examine its linguistic properties.

In the same vein, both Matte and McFadyen (2011) examine stand-up comedy in terms of politeness maxims and face threatening acts. They further illustrate how stand-up comedians deviate from the maxims of politeness as laid by Grice, Leech, Brown and Levinson. They choose Joan Rivers as a case study to show the extent to which her violation of the maxims of politeness has resulted in face-threatening actions. This study is an entirely pragmatic study which highlights a significant aspect of pragmatics, namely politeness phenomenon. However, it does not refer to the linguistic choices that the comedian makes and the humour devices that comedian employs in her performance.

Similarly, Noviadhista (2014) investigates face-threatening acts strategies in Jerry Seinfeld's stand-up comedy show *I am Telling You for the Last Time*. This study adopts Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness as its theoretical framework to explore the politeness strategies employed by Seinfeld. In a stark contrast to Joan Rivers who is reported in the previous study to rely mainly on bald on-record strategy of politeness, this study reveals that this strategy is the least used one in Jerry Seinfeld's stand-up comedy. The findings of this study reveal that Jerry Seinfeld respects his audience's face and that he does not want to embarrass them. This study does not differ from the above mentioned study since both examine the strategies of politeness and face-threatening acts. It does not establish the relationship between politeness and humour.

Another pragmatic study of stand-up comedy which tackles another aspect of pragmatics is conducted by Yamazaki (2010) who investigates conversational implicature in Japanese stand-up comedy using Grice's theory of the cooperative principle and maxims of conversation. He argues that implicatures in stand-up comedy result from violation of Grice's maxims of conversation. Such intentional flouting or violation, in its turn, generates humour which elicits audience's laughter. He further adds that more than one violation can occur at the same time.

Still within the pragmatic perspective, both Putri and Murni (2012) adopt speech act theory to explore the types of illocutionary acts and the most dominant illocutionary acts performed in Indonesian stand-up comedy. The study finds out that stand-up performances use all types of illocutionary acts: representatives, directives, expressive, declaratives and commissives. This study is close to my research in that it adopts a theoretical framework based on speech act theory. However, it is entirely a quantitative study which merely investigates the frequency of illocutionary acts. It does not show how such illocutionary acts are realized through linguistic choices.

Seizer (2011) analyzes swear words or bad language register as a kind of speech act in stand-up comedy. She addresses the pragmatic functions of swear words in the context of stand-up comedy of two comedians: Stewart Huff and Kristin Key. According to her, swear words or bad language register or dirty words are not used in their referential sense, that is, they are not employed by the comedian to denote sex at all. Instead, they are used in their non-referential or idiomatic sense to fulfil different functions in an indirect way. Although this study redresses this imbalance, it does not take a further step to investigate how such functions are realized through syntax and morphology. Therefore, it is a purely functional study.

Hassaine (2014) yields a socio-pragmatic analysis of code switching in the performances of an outstanding Algerian stand-up comedian, Abdel Kader Secteur. The study focuses on the pragmatic functions of code switching from French into Arabic and vice versa in the comedian's chosen performances. The author adopts the markedness model to pinpoint the pragmatic motivations behind code switching. This study gives illuminating insight into the analysis of stand-up comedy from a socio-pragmatic approach. It illustrates how the linguistic choices of the comedian, particularly code switching, are not haphazard. Instead, they are intentionally designed to achieve certain goals. However, it focuses on code switching as a social phenomenon in a bilingual society, but it does not explain how such code switching generates verbal humour although the title of the article states such a relationship. Moreover, the examples cited by the author are not considered humorous.

Both Afidah and Wahyudi (2014) adopt a different approach to the analysis of stand-up comedy, namely a conversation analysis approach to investigate the patterns of opening and closing in Indonesian stand-up performances. Both Afidah and Wahyudi argue that, like any speech event, opening and closing sequences play an important role in stand-up comedy performances. However, this

study is a purely formal study which places much more prominence on the structure and pattern of opening and closing utterances. It addresses neither the function of humour in stand-up comedy nor the techniques of humour and linguistic features of the major part of the performance which is much more important than the opening and closing acts.

A different study which analyzes the linguistic features of the whole body of the stand-up comedy show is Schwarz (2010). Unlike the above mentioned study which limits itself to the structure of the opening and closing sections of a stand-up comedy show, this study investigates the linguistic aspects which characterize verbal humour in the performances of two stand-up comedians, namely Jerry Seinfeld and Steven Wright. No previous study has addressed such aspects in the genre of stand-up comedy, so it is a successful attempt at the linguistic analysis of stand-up comedy. However, it is a formal study since it loses sight of the pragmatic analysis which, if added to the study, would make it a model study. Such pragmatic concepts as irony and satire could have enriched the study since the data of the study is essentially ironic. More importantly, although the researcher states that he adopts a discourse analysis approach, he does not illustrate the role of the context which is part and parcel of discourse analysis. No single reference is made to context, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic.

It is clearly evident that the above mentioned studies on stand-up comedy apply either linguistic or pragmatic theories to analyze the language of stand-up comedy. These studies are either purely pragmatic or entirely linguistic. As we have seen in this section, the first half of these studies examines the language of stand-up comedy in terms of such pragmatic notions as politeness, illocutionary acts, conversational implicatures, flouting Grice's maxims, deixis, activity type, code-switching, pragmatic functions of swear words. The second half of these studies investigates stand-up comedy in terms of some linguistic elements such as opening and closing utterances, wordplay, puns, repetition, and fillers.

No studies exist that address the correlation between the function and form of the language of stand-up comedy. The current study seeks to fill this gap by providing a contrastive pragma-linguistic analysis of the language of Egyptian stand-up comedy. It focuses on stand-up comedy as a satirical humour communicative act; that is it is a humorous form with a satirical function. The stand-up comedian manipulates language in such a way as to generate humour which,

in its turn, serves the satirical intention of the comedian. Correlation between this humorous form and satirical function is the basis of this study.

7. Data Analysis

This section provides a pragma-linguistic analysis, based on the deviation model presented in the previous section, to analyze Egyptian stand-up comedy. The researcher employs a qualitative analysis of recorded and live performances of Egyptian stand-up comedians in terms of both function and form. Exploring the correlation between this satirical function and humorous form of the Egyptian stand-up performances is the basis of this section.

7.1 Sketch One

(1) كلوركس اللي هو بيحرق ده في بقتك، فبقوله ليه أنا عليا للبقال يا جدعان ألف جنيه لبنان - (1) كهريائي ألف جنيه، قللي اللبانة بقت بنص جنيه، المهم أنا حبيت أقولكم أوعوا أي جهاز تزعلك، من يومين رحلت أسأل على ثلاجة عندكم بيوظ عشان هتزعل و هتجيب ناس فدخلت على الراجل و بقوله لو سمحت عايز ثلاجة، قللي الثلاجة بتمن تلاف جنبه، قلته تمن تلاف مين يا عم الحاج، ده أنا كنت بجيب بيهم عربية 128 و أخرج أنا و أصحابي، يعني أنا هركب الثلاجة أروح بيها مشاويري، قللي دي أرخص حاجة، قلته يا راجل أمان الغالية بكام، قللي فيه ثلاجة بتلاتين الف جنيه، بصوا يا جدعان عشان نحط النقطة تحت الخط و نفهم بقى، مصر بقت للأغنياء فقط ، أنت في مصر و معاك اشتراك و عضوية عيش في مصر، هي بقت اشتراك و عضوية، لكن إحنا نتفرج على الأغنياء نفرحهم لأننا بنحب الخير للناس، لكن لينا لا ، إحنا قافشين على نفسنا، و الله أنا نفسي عيانة، و الله العظيم الناس ماشية مشنحة، تقابل حد تقوله مالك يا عم، أنت عامل دماغ، يقولك اه عامل الأسعار اللي بقت في متناول الوليد بن طلال، أنا خايف يجيلي اوفر دوش و ،دماغ أسعار الموت لو تقلت في الشراء (Morgan, 2018)

Translation

O buddies, I owe the grocer one thousand pounds for Clorets' gum which stings the mouth and when I asked him why that much, he answered "Because each gum costs 50 Piastres now!" Therefore I wanted very much to warn you guys to keep all your electronics intact because if any of them goes to waste, you will be sorry and others will be sorry for you! Two days ago I went shopping for a refrigerator. When I reached the electronics store I said to the salesman "Excuse me. I need a refrigerator". He replied "It will cost you 8000 pounds". I exclaimed "why 8000 hajji? Back in the day I would buy a 128 with that kind of money and I will take my friends for a ride. As if I can ride the refrigerator to go about my errands!" The salesman replied, "It is the cheapest one here." I inquired, "then how much will I have to pay for a costly one, mate?" He answered, "30000 pounds." Listen, kind folks, to cut to the chase and put our

heads around it, only the rich can afford living in Egypt nowadays. It has become a matter of membership and subscription. If you live in Egypt and have those, continue on living in Egypt. We see the rich going about their business but we don't envy them because we wish nobody no harm. But being tough on ourselves we are causing ourselves the harm.

Functionally, this entire segment can be considered as a complex speech act of satire since it clearly points out the comedian's intention to criticize the government for rising prices. It is mainly composed of elementary speech acts such of assertives, informatives, retrodictives, descriptive, advisories, predictives and complains. From the very beginning, Morgan makes the audience aware of how prices have soared up. He stresses this fact by revealing that even trivial products such as gum have gone up twenty times. Then, he describes how the prices of vital commodities such as home appliances have dramatically soared. As a result, he advises everyone to maintain their appliances since they cannot afford expensive repairs or replacement. As the narrative goes on, Morgan describes a scene where he intends to buy a refrigerator and it turns out to be as expensive as a car. He intensifies his aggressive attitude by predicting that Egypt will be only for rich people who can afford to live there.

This speech act is realized locutionarily through linguistic deviation. This segment features many instances of deviation. First of all, it starts with quality maxim deviation which is realized via hyperbole. From the very beginning, Morgan vastly exaggerates and overstates the situation by asserting that he owes the grocery one thousand pounds for gum. This hyperbolic statement serves to express that even the prices trivial goods have reached high levels and to ridicule the government's failure to take certain measurements to solve this problem. To add to the humour of the previous exaggeration, Morgan employs an instance of phonological deviation by using the word (كلوركس) instead of (كلورتس). This is an example of malapropism; that is, the used word entails an funny meaning in the context of situation. In this example, the comedian intends to say (كلورتس), but he says (كلوركس) which is a completely different word and which is similar only in sound to the intended word. The use of malapropism in this example implies that the price of gum is so high that the simple citizen is unfamiliar with its name.

To express how home appliance repair is so expensive, the comedian deviates from the maxim of manner and employs a marked expression in colloquial Cairene Arabic (هتزعل هتجيب ناس تزعلك) instead of the unmarked expression (هتدفع كثير) which is very suitable in the description of financial burdens. The comedian chooses a purely emotional expression to persuade the audience of the dilemma of crazy prices and how it greatly results in psychological harm for the Egyptians. Morgan further creates humour and provokes the audience's laughter by means of lexical deviation, namely, transforming a preconstructed phrase in colloquial Cairene Arabic. Specifically, the set phrase (نحط النقطة على) (الحروف) is modified and reworded as (نحط النقطة تحت الخط). The original phrase undergoes a process of substitution; that is, some of its lexical and grammatical items change. In this example what has been substituted are the preposition (على) and the lexical item (الحروف). It is obvious that the new version sustains the same syntactic structure (first plural pronoun+ verb+ noun +preposition+ noun). As previously mentioned in the previous section, the skeleton of the phrase is borrowed and filled with satirical content. The substitution of (على الحروف) with (تحت الخط) can be interpreted as an indication that many people in Egypt are living below the poverty line to the extent that the phrase (تحت الخط) has internalized and become part and parcel of their everyday language.

Moreover, Morgan continues to ridicule the silly pricing practices of the government by introducing another hyperbole claiming that Egypt has become exclusive to the rich. He even intensifies it and extends his ridicule by employing manner maxim deviation as epitomized by the metaphor in (مصر بقت للأغنياء فقط، معاك اشتراك و عضوية عيش في) (مصر). This metaphor portrays an incongruous image through which Egypt is compared to exclusive clubs which require subscription and membership. As mentioned previously, metaphors depend on transferring the relationships which underlie the vehicle to the domain of the tenor. In this example, the listener has to focus on the relationships evoked by the concept of exclusive clubs. As exclusive clubs are limited to people who have a lot of money or belong to high social class, and are therefore not available to everyone, Egypt is also limited to those who have money and can afford to subscribe and become members. Hence, the system of relationships of membership and subscription is introduced to living in Egypt. In terms of within-domain distance, exclusive clubs are limited to the wealthy within the domain of clubs and Egypt has also become exclusive for the rich in the other domain; therefore

the tenor and vehicle are close to one another in terms of this within-domain dimension even though they belong to entirely different domains.

The narrative continues with the phrase (نفسيتي عيانة) which is considered an example of paradigmatic inversion. As explained previously, paradigmatic inversion means selecting a lexical item which is out of place. Of all the choices that are available in the paradigmatic series, the speaker chooses the less expected one. In this example, the comedian uses an unusual collocation which gives rise to incongruity. In the colloquial Cairene Arabic, (نفسيتي) is generally collocated with (تعبانة) rather than (عيانة). Therefore, collocating (نفسيتي) with (عيانة) is a matter of incongruity and serves to express the psychological trauma caused by rising prices. Morgan stresses the previous consideration by introducing another unusual collocation (الناس ماشية مشنحة) which reflects how Egyptians are adversely affected by the prices crisis.

Moreover, the word ((مشنحة) is a neologistic term which does not exist in Arabic language, even in the colloquial dialect. The comedian invents this word intentionally to exaggerate the impact of pricing policy adopted by the government. This neologistic word, I think, can be accounted for in terms of the process of blending or portmanteaux; that is, it is constructed by means of taking a part of one word and a part of another word. In the case of (مشنح), the word can be said to be constructed by taking the first part of (مشلح) and the final part of (منتح) as if Egypt were inhabited by undressed and sad-looking people. This is an excessive exaggeration of the consequences of increased prices which make people miserable and needy.

The clause (عامل دماغ، اه عامل دماغ أسعار انت) marks a change in the register and displays deviation from the sub maxim of manner 'avoid obscurity of expression'. The comedian resorts to the jargon of drug users and wine drinkers to further describe the impact of prices on the mind of people. As stated earlier, colourful language deviates from the familiar ways of expression, especially in the case of colloquial language. Accordingly, the phrase (أسعار دماغ) is considered a colourful expression which is intentionally used to show how rising prices make people so absent-minded to the extent that they become unaware of their immediate surroundings. Meanwhile, this phrase is also an unusual collocation since it combines two words which never come together. By the same token, (تقلت في الشراء) is a deviant collocation which, together with

the previous one, is a clear case of lexical deviation and paradigmatic inversion.

To emphasize his mockery and reap the audience's laughter, Morgan uses an echoic irony (الاسعار بقت في متناول الوليد بن طلال) in which he is ironically echoing a well-known statement usually repeated by the government (الأسعار بقت في متناول الجميع). The speaker dissociates himself from the echoed thought. Morgan may find it absurd that the government frequently states something which is completely divorced from reality. This section ends with a phonological deviation when the comedian utters (اوفر دوش) instead of (اوفر دوز). It is clear that the replaced words are similar in sound to the intended words. This is another example of malapropism where the speaker attempts to appear of a sophisticated class by means of using a high level style.

7.2 Sketch Two

(2) الناس اليومين دول كل همها انها تجري وراء البطاطس، اقسام بالله البطاطس مش كل في ناس مبسوطه و معندهاش بطاطس. تعالوا كدة نتخيل مع بعض البطاطس دي ، حاجة كمان كام شهر هتبقى عاملة ازاي. البطاطس هتبقى العملة الرسمية للبلد، هتجي تسأل حد بكام الحاجة دي هيقولك في حدود بطاطساشر جنيه، البطاطس هتبقى مهر العروسة، تيجي تتقدم للبننت اللي بتحبها تلاقى أبوها يقولك يابني إحنا بننتنا تتاقل بالبطاطس، يا نهار اسود ، انتوا متخيلين، تخيلوا كدة بعد كدة البطاطس دي هنتاكل من غير منتقشر، مرحلة التقشير دي هتبقى رفاهية، خد الثقيلة بقي، ممكن الواحد بعد كدة يبيع كليته عشان يشتري كام كيلو بطاطس. تعالوا بقي في اعلانات رمضان و هتلاقهم بيقولوا اتبرع عشان نجيب Morgan(2018)التنين كيلو بطاطس لاسرة فقيرة.)

Translation

Now, what almost all people care about is potatoes. What is wrong with you, people? Potatoes are not everything. It is not just potatoes that make people happy; potatoes do not buy happiness. There are many people who are happy even though they do not have enough potatoes. Let's imagine how potatoes would be like within few months. Potatoes will be the official currency of Egypt. When you go shopping and ask about the price of something, the sales man is likely to say something like "it's some pound-tatos." Oh, goodness, potatoes will be the pride's dowry; so when you propose to your girl friend for marriage, her father is likely to tell you "dear son, let me tell you that our daughter is as valuable as potatoes." Oh my God, imagine that potatoes will be served with their skins. No one will have the privilege of peeling potatoes. The worst thing is that you may be obliged to sell your kidney so that you can afford to buy a few kilos of potatoes. Charitable advertisements in Ramadan would call people to donate to buy potatoes for the poor families.

In this segment, Morgan continues his criticism of the Egyptian government for the problem of rising prices. He focuses here on the crisis of potatoes. The entire excerpt is a complex illocutionary act of satire since the comedian humorously fires his attacks on the authorities for not taking appropriate procedures to overcome this crisis. This illocutionary acts entirely consist s of assertives, predictives and complains.

To convey his satirical message successfully, Morgan mainly depends on hyperbole which represents the paradigm case of deviation from the quality maxim. First of all, the entire segment swarms with several examples of hyperbole which serve to dramatize the crisis and harshly mock the government's failure. From the very beginning, the comedian describes potatoes as if he was talking about money to stress the fact that potatoes are no longer within the reach of everyone. Then, he excessively overstates the situation and envisions some humorous possibilities for the future where potatoes will replace the bride's dowry, will be the official currency of the country, will be eaten without peeling. In the following lines, he emphasizes his mockery and goes beyond the expected exaggeration by comparing the price of potatoes to that of kidney. This is followed by another absurd remark when he expects that charitable organizations will collect donations through advertisements in Ramadan to buy potatoes for the poor people. All these instances of hyperbole are reinforced by repetition which helps in overstating the value of potatoes. In almost every line, the comedian repeats the word (بطاطس) ten times. The frequent use of the word stresses the absurdity and ridiculousness of the situation.

To further reinforce the previous instances of hyperbole, Morgan resorts to one strategy of lexical deviation: transformation of set phrases and popular sayings. Throughout the whole excerpt, several set phrases are transformed and modified. It is to be noted that the original phrases and sayings are essentially related to the issues of money and wealth to overstate the prices of potatoes. In the first line the set phrase (الناس همها تجري وراء الفلوس) is exploited and reworded as (البطاطس الناس همها تجري ورا). In the second line, the phrase (في ناس مبسوطه و معندهاش بطاطس) recalls the original one which is a common saying in the Egyptian culture (في ناس مبسوطه و معندهاش (فلوس). By the same token, the phrase (بنتنا تتاقل بالبطاطس) evokes another phrase which is (بنتنا تتاقل بالذهب). In the first two examples, the word (بطاطس) substitutes the word (فلوس), while in the third example it replaces (ذهب). Again, this highlights the current

dilemma of potatoes prices. It is to be noted that the words in the new version stand in the same relation to the words in the corresponding position in the original phrase. Hence, the words in the altered version belong to the same word class of the words in the original version; i.e., (دهب) and (بطاطس), (فلوس) are all nouns.

All the previous instances of hyperbole and lexical deviation culminate in a typical example of morphological deviation, namely neologism. To further exaggerate the value of potatoes during the period of crisis, Morgan coins the word (بطاطساشر) to express that potatoes are treated as if they were dollars. He invents this word simply by generalizing the affixation rules which we usually apply in the colloquial language to form numbers from eleven to nineteen. For example, to form the number fifteen, we automatically add the derivational suffix (اشر) after the cardinal number (خمسة). By the same token, (بطاطساشر) is derived by inserting the suffix (اشر) to the root (بطاطس). This neologistic word does not only convey the intended meaning fervently, but they also achieves a degree of economy and compression in describing a new idea which, if phrased in the usual common way, will lose its flavor. This word can only be expressed in Arabic by using a complete sentence such as (أصبحت البطاطس العملة الرسمية للبلد). In this way, the intended meaning lacks passion.

7.3 Sketch Three

(3)-إحنا في مصر عندنا أزمة زبالة، صح و لا غلط، أنا دلوقتي عندي مشكلة بسيطة جدا، امبارح كنت بشرب كوباية شاي في البلكونة و سمعت صوت غريب كدة، المهم بصيت كدة لقيت أم كريم اللي فوقينا بترمي كيس زبالة و بتسخن بالكيس الثاني، و كريم ابنها عمال يقولها نشني يا ماما في الصندوق، و حياة امك، ايه يا ستي انتي داخلة الاولمبياد في رمي الجلة و لا إيه، المشكلة بقي ان ام كريم مقتنعة إن دي رياضة و بتقوي بيها عضلة الباي و التراي، بعدها بكذا يوم لقيت ام كريم ماشية في الشارع فقلتلتها يا ست الكل ينفع كدة اللي بتعمله بليل ده، قلتلي هو أنا صوتي بيبقى مسمع كدة، قلتلتها مش قصدي على اللي في دماغك ده، دي انت شكلك مهزأة لانج، أنا بتكلم عن الزبالة، ينفع كدة، قلتلي يا اخويا ما هي الحكومة قالت لازم نمسك الزبالة و نعملها عملية تدوير و إعادة تدوير، أنا بقي بمسك الكيس و بدوره و بحدفه، المهم ام كريم دي بقي اللي يتقال عليها مشيت وراها و ليققتها مدورهاها، والله ناس غريبة جدا. (Nader, 2017)

Translation

Egypt suffers from a garbage crisis, doesn't it? I actually have a very simple problem with garbage. Yesterday, while I was drinking a cup of tea in my balcony, I heard a strange voice coming over from the floor above. I got out to see what was happening and I noticed Om Karim, my neighbor, throwing a garbage bag and getting ready

to throw the second one. While she was throwing the garbage bag, her son was shouting like that, “mum, try to get it into the box.” God damn you, what do you think yourself? Are you training to participate in the shot put competition at the Olympics? The problem is just that Om Karim is entirely convinced that throwing garbage is in some way a sport which strengthens her biceps and triceps. Two days later, I casually met Om Karim while walking in the nearby street, so I seized the opportunity to talk to her about what happened the day before. “Dear lady is it right what you are doing at night?” I asked her. She said, “is my voice so loud?” I said to her, “what put that into your head? I don't mean what you mistakenly thought about. You seem a very impolite woman; I'm talking about the trash you threw in the street.” She said to me, “dear brother, the government repeatedly asks us to recycle garbage, so I hold the garbage bag, spin it and throw it with all my strength.” This is a woman who can be said to be a real bitch.

This episode is a complex illocutionary act of satire through which the comedian offers a critique of the Egyptians' poor social behaviours that lie at the very core of the garbage problem. He criticizes people's habit of throwing rubbish at the streets. This speech act is mainly composed of four categories of elementary illocutionary acts: questions, assertives, retrodictives and complains. Nader starts this episode by a question that makes the listeners aware of a situation with which they are familiar. Then, he describes the situation and the Egyptians' absurd behaviour in further details by recalling a story which we can all imagine; a woman is throwing garbage in the street. He uses paralanguage to imitate this woman in the following lines, which provokes the audience's laughter. At the end of this segment, he explicitly mocks people's misunderstanding or even unfamiliarity with the concept of garbage recycling.

This segment involves, first of all, deviation from the maxim of manner. An extended sports metaphor pervades this episode to wildly ridicule the Egyptians' habit of throwing rubbish in the streets. Nader employs a shot put metaphor through which he humorously compares the act of throwing rubbish in the street to that of throwing the shot in the shot put game. By saying *ايه يا ستي انتي داخلة* (ايه يا اولمبياد في رمي الجلة و لا ايه، المشكلة بقى ان ام كريم مقتنعة ان دي رياضة و بتقوي (بيها عضلة الباي و التراي), the comedian transfers the relationships which underlie the shot put game to the act of throwing garbage in the street. We have to focus on the relationships evoked by the

concept of shot put. As a shot thrower forcefully releases the shot as far as possible, the woman also forcefully and willingly throws the garbage bag in such a way that would make her seem as if she were a shot put champion in the Olympics. On the one hand, throwing the shot belongs to the domain of sports and athletics in particular, while throwing garbage bags belongs to the domain of inappropriate behaviours. In terms of within-domain distance, throwing the shot follows certain techniques: holding the shot in one hand, stepping back with one leg, lower the body by bending knees, and using entire body weight to release the shot. Similarly, throwing garbage bags almost follows the same steps. Therefore the tenor and vehicle are close to one another in terms of this within-domain dimension even though they belong to entirely different domains.

To further poke fun of the woman, the comedian employs a strategy of lexical deviation, that is, unusual collocation. The word (لأنج) usually collocates with words that denote newness and novelty such as (جديد). In terms of lexical priming theory, we are strongly primed for this colligation. The word (لأنج) hardly collocates with (مهزأ). Accordingly, combining the two words together in (مهزأة لأنج) is a deviant or unusual collocation. This collocation helps the comedian to aggressively lash out against those who throw rubbish. It can be said that the word (لأنج) is used as an intensifier in this context to emphasize and stress the woman's vulgarity and coarseness.

To expose the woman's ignorance of the process of recycling garbage, the comedian employs another instance of lexical deviation; that is, relexicalization of preconstructed phrases. The last part of the episode displays a relexicalization of the phrase (إعادة تدوير القمامة). In this phrase, the word (تدوير) is conventionally interpreted as "recycling" rather than "spinning". However, the woman takes the word (تدوير) and relexicalizes it in its literal sense. She playfully reinterprets it in terms of physical spinning. In terms of lexical priming theory, we are conventionally primed to associate the expression (إعادة تدوير القمامة) with the process of recycling garbage. The follow-up (أنا بقى بمسك الكيس و بدوره و بحدفة) relexicalizes the previous expression into the less salient meaning.

In addition, The comedian picks out the word (بدوره) of the woman's preceding move and creates a reformulation pun when he says (يُنقال عليها مشيت وراها و لقيتها مدوراها). As stated in before, the reformulation pun relies on the presence of the two punning words in the text on condition that the second word is present in the second speaker's move. Sometimes, this is referred to as repartee.

This segment represents a good example of this phenomenon when the comedian takes the woman's word (بدوره) and reformulates it in its salacious sense to mean something simply like "prostitution".

7.4 Sketch Four

(4)- بخصوص الشارع افنكر بنت صاحبتى عايشة برة مصر، المهم جت و بخرجها و بوديها شارع المعز و وسط البلد، يعينى البننت ماسكة باكو لبان فى ايديها و مش لاقية باسكيت و مش عارفة ترميها فىن، لقيتها مرة واحدة رميتها فى الشارع جنب الرصيف و قالت سوري يا مصر، قتلها نعم، قتلها سوري يا مصر، المهم ببص على شمالي لقيت واحد بيرسم صورة قلبه على الحيطه، ايه ده، ايه ده، أنا مبعملش كده طبعاً، أنا بعمل فى الرملة و بغطي بعديها، الحمد لله الذي عافانا من العفانة. الحكومة فكرت لحظة و قالت لا يا جماعة، فى أزمة زباله و هنواجه المشكله، قالتك خلاص احنا هنحط خمسة جنيه على فاتورة الكهرباء و نلم الزباله، و فعلا الناس بدأت تدفع فلوس و الحكومة بدأت تلم الفلوس.

(Nader, 2017)

Translation

Concerning our streets, I remember one day when I had a wonderful walking tour at Downtown with my girl friend who used to live abroad for many years. While we were walking at El-Moez Street, she was looking for a waste bin to put an empty gum packet she was holding in her hand. Unfortunately, she did not find any basket, so she sadly felt obliged to put it beside the pavement and said, "sorry, Egypt." "What!" I exclaimed. She said, "I'm sorry, Egypt." At this moment, I looked at the left and saw a guy peeing on the wall in the street. Of course, I do not do that. I just poop in the sand and cover my poo. Thank God, we are not so dirty. The government thought along about how to face the garbage problem and decided to add five pounds to the monthly electricity bill as the fees of garbage collection. People started to pay the fees and the government set out to collect the money.

This segment is equally a complex illocutionary act of satire. In this episode, Nader again mocks those who lack esthetic sense. It is composed of elementary illocutionary acts of retrodictives, complains and assertives. This time, he recalls two totally contrasting situations to highlight the cultural differences between Egyptians and foreigners with regard to maintaining the cleanliness of streets and public places. On the one hand, he recalls a situation where his foreign girl friend visits Egypt and feels guilty for throwing a handkerchief beside the pavement of the street. Before she does so, she strives to find a basket or a garbage bin, but she does not find anything. Simultaneously, there is an Egyptian young man urinating on the wall on the same pavement. After that, Nader

starts to criticize the government's procedures to solve the problem of garbage by pointing out that the government cares only about money rather than the services which it is supposed to provide.

This satirical illocutionary act is realized linguistically by means of pragmatic deviation. First of all, the comedian introduces a colourful expression (يرسم قلبه على الحيطه) which is considered a case of deviation from the maxim of manner. To expose the Egyptians' bad practices towards their environment and community, introduces or even invent this expression to refer to people's habit of urinating on the walls in the streets. This expression can also be considered an example of euphemism; the comedian replaces the unpleasant term which is used in the colloquial language to denote the same meaning. He attempts to avoid embarrassment and the annoying connotations of the colloquial term.

This absurd remark is immediately followed by relevance deviation. When the comedian disapproves the young man's practice and says (ايه ده), the audience expects that the speaker is not part of this category of people; that is to say, it is highly predictable that the speaker is one of those who do not urinate in public places. However, by saying (يغطي بعدها أنا بعمل في الرمله و), he overrides our expectations and presents a less salient assumption; that is; the speaker is one of those who piss on walls in public. The expression (يعمل في الرمله و يغطي بعدها) itself is another instance of colourful language which refers to the act of defecation. Meanwhile, it is a euphemistic expression which avoids the unpleasant connotations of the colloquial term. Moreover, this expression exploits an animal metaphor to expose and ridicule those who crap in the street by comparing them to dogs and cats.

An example of phonological deviation follows immediately. The comedian uses a homophonic pun when he says (الحمد لله الذي عافانا من (العفانة). As stated previously, homophones are words with the same sound, but different spelling and different meaning. Homophonic puns depend mainly on the mechanism of homophony which exploits a sequence of sounds that yields two different words, both semantically and orthographically. In this example, we are presented with the two punning words (عافانا) and (عفانة). Meanings are not conveyed simultaneously. Rather, they are conveyed one by one, by means of repeating the word. It is to be noted that the two punning words displays totally different style, which accentuates the effect of the pun. On the one hand, (عافانا) is a high style word which is usually associated with Quran and prayer, while the word (عفانة) is a stylistically colloquial word. Combing these two words

together is a clear case of register deviation which stresses the fact that even our language has been distorted in just the same way as our streets have been polluted.

At the last line of this segment, Nader directs his criticism at the government. He simply mocks its procedures towards this problem. To expose the government's policy and its obsession with collecting money from its people, he employs an instance of relevance deviation. Once he says (هنحط خمسة جنيه على فاتورة الكهرباء و نلم احنا) (الزبالة، و الناس فعلا بدأت تدفع الفلوس)، the audience builds up the expectations that the government is going to solve the problem and collect the garbage, especially after the people have paid extra money on the monthly electricity bill. However, these expectations are disturbed and subverted when the comedian says (و الحكومة بدأت) (تلم الفلوس).

4.5 Sketch Five

(5) - المهم باعتباري عميد الشباب السنجل قررت ان احنا يكون لنا يوم 6 ديسمبر لأن في ناس كثير جدا مش عارفة تتجوز و أنا واحد منهم، دي قدرة مادية و أنا معنديش قدرة مادية. أن عايز أقولكم بقي ان الجواز دلوقتي بقى لمن استطاع إليه سبيلا، احنا احسن حاجة نترهين و الله العظيم، جرام الذهب بقى ب700جنيه، يعني عشان اتجوز واحدة 160 سنتي يبقى السنطي ب 100جنيه، يعني المتر فيها اغلى من المتر في كومباوند النخيل، أنا رأيي نخلي الشبكة حظايات و الواحد يبقى يخطب بحظظتين و محبس من عند الواد ابراهيم ب 5 جنيه. سيبك طيب من أسعار الذهب، الحاجة الساقعة بقت ب 7جنيه، يعني اللي هيعمل خطوبة بعد كدة يعملها في رمضان قبل الفطار، من الاخر كدة يا جماعة الجواز ده هيبقى مجرد سماع، البلد متستحملش حلم خرافي زي ده، انتم فاهمين انتم بتقولوا ايه؟ انتوا دارسين موضوع الجواز ده كويس؟ ده مستحيل اصلا، أنا لو من الحكومة اعمل قانون تجريم الجواز لمدة خمس سنين و غرامة مليون جنيه للي هيظبط بي فكر فيه. الشباب فاكراة الجواز ده حاجة سهلة زي زمان، يا شباب احنا في مفشحة محطوط علينا، و محدش هيعرف يتجوز و لو حتى من كلبة بلدي، ده احنا مرتبنا يا دوب يجيب علبة بامبرز و كيس بسكوت ميري و معلقة زبادي.

(Qandil, 2017)

Translation

Anyway, since I nominated myself as the dean of single young men, I decided to choose the sixth of December to be the day of singles. There are many people, including myself, who cannot afford to get married. As you know, marriage is a financial capacity and I lack this capacity. Let me tell you that marriage has now become limited to rich people in just the same way as pilgrim. Goddamn, I think that the best idea is to live like monks. The gold gram has moved up to 700 pounds. If you marry a 160cm tall girl, this simply means that you will pay 100 pounds per cm; that is, the price of one meter

is much more expensive than that in El-Nakhil Compound. I suggest that the shabka be replaced by rope bracelets. So, the next time you think of getting engaged, go buy two rope bracelets from Ibrahim per 5 pounds. Soda prices are going up and the coca cola can is now 7 pounds, so you'll have to hold your engagement wedding before fast breaking. Let me tell you that marriage will be just hearing. The country cannot afford such a supernatural dream as marriage. Do you understand what you are saying? Have you properly studied the issue of marriage? It is totally impossible. If I were a prime minister, I would issue a law according to which marriage is banned for five years and those who are arrested thinking of marriage are fined one million pounds. You mistakenly think that marriage is something affordable as it had been in the past. Dear friends, let me tell you again that we are being tortured in this life and no one will be able to marry even a street dog. Your salaries merely suffice to buy a packet of baby diapers, a packet of biscuits and a spoon of yoghurt.

This segment is highly satirical and heightens materialization of marriage in Egypt. Qandil manages to ridicule Egyptians' extravagant demands and staggering marriage costs which the young people cannot afford. He jokes about how a twenties young man could afford all exorbitant demands imposed upon him by society such as lavish celebration, fifty thousand pound shabka, dower, a prestigious apartment, etc. Hence, he insists that marriage is not within the reach of the middle class man whose salary is not adequate to cover all these costs. Accordingly, the entire episode represents a clear case of a complex speech act of satire. It is almost composed of elementary acts of complains and dissentives through which Qandil pokes fun of the customs and unreasonable practices of marriage.

With regard to the linguistic realization of this act of satire, Qandil employs a variety of strategies of linguistic deviation which enable him to attack the Egyptians' face and criticize the government inaction in the face of this crisis which deters young people from pursuing a wife.

First of all, Qandil employs a religious metaphor through which he compares marriage in Egypt to a pilgrimage journey. By saying (الجواز دلوقتي بقى لمن استطاع اليه سبيلا), the comedian combines two concepts which belong to two different domains; that is, pilgrimage belongs to the domain of religious journeys while marriage belongs to that of social rituals. By so doing, the comedian transfers the

features and relationships that underlie the pilgrimage journey to marriage. In terms of within-domain distance, a pilgrimage journey costs too much money, marriage in Egypt burdens the young man with too much money. In a similar way to pilgrimage which is limited to those who can afford the costs of travel and residence, marriage is also exclusive to the rich. With this comparison, Qandil stresses the fact that not everyone in Egypt can marry.

Second, he inverts the maxim of manner and introduces a religiously marked expression (نترهين) to denote the difficulty or even the impossibility of getting married in Egypt. Instead of using the unmarked expression (نقعد من غير جواز), he chooses the marked one in an attempt to dramatize and overstate the situation.

Third, he manipulates the relevance principle when he complains of the costs of *shabka*. By saying (يعني عشان اتجوز واحدة 160سانتي يبقى السنتي) (ب100جنيه), he employs a humorous instance of deviant focus which, as stated previously, takes place when the speaker chooses the less relevant or the less significant detail in discourse to focus on, against what all of us would normally expect. Most of us would expect a particular detail to be highlighted, especially the detail which is more relevant and more expected to our thinking. In this example, Qandil places the focus on the less significant and less expected detail. To our thinking, all of us expect that the comedian will calculate how much the *shabka* costs rather than calculating the bride's stature. Such deviation serves to stress the fact that the bride's parents excessively exaggerate their financial demands even though the would-be wife may lack beauty and attractiveness. Qandil's insistence on using commercial register helps to intensify his aggressiveness against the bride's parents who view marriage as if it was like purchasing a plot of land or a compound.

This absurd remark is reinforced in the next line when Qandil uses a commercial metaphor to ridicule the materialistic nature of marriage in Egypt. By saying (يعني المتر فيها اعلی من المتر في كومباوند) (النخيل), Qandil compares the bride to a plot of land which is put up for sale for those who pay more. According to Tourangeau and Sternberg's approach of the domain interaction, both the rituals of marriage and those of purchasing belong to different domains. However, there is much in common between them. In a similar way to the act of purchasing where the seller of the land sets a competitive price for his property, the bride's parents set a price for their daughter. Accordingly, Qandil depends on deviation to emphasize the materialistic nature of marriage in Egypt.

Fourth, Qandil presents a good example of paradigmatic inversion by means of using an unusual collocation (حفظتين و محبس). The word (محبس) is always collocated with the word (دبلتين) rather than (حفظتين) in the context of marriage negotiation. This example can also be conceived as an instance of transforming a preconstructed phrase (دبلتين و محبس). In both cases, the deviation is intended to joke about parents' exaggeration of the value of shabka and dismantle the stereotypical practices associated with marriage, especially in the financial issues. He simply implies that marriage can do without all those artificial and excessive demands placed on the groom.

Next, Qandil introduces another metaphor belonging to the domain of fairy tales in order to place prominence on the idea of the impossibility of marriage in Egypt for the middle class young man. By saying (البلد متستحملش حلم خرافي زي ده), he compares marriage to a fairy tale dream which can never be realized in reality. Therefore, in terms of within-domain distance, the tenor and vehicle are close to one another even though they belong to entirely different domains. This example is also a hyperbolic statement which wildly overstates the unreasonable or even the unimaginable financial demands of marriage.

To further satirize the government inaction towards this crisis, Qandil employs a good example of echoic irony which is considered as a case of deviation from the maxim of quality. By saying (انتم فاهمين (انتوا بتقولوا ايه؟ انتوا دارسين موضوع الجواز ده كويس؟ ده مستحيل أصلاً), Qandil repeats back President Sisi's statements in one of his regular conferences where he rebukes a parliament member for asking him to increase the wages of employees. In his example, Qandil recalls President Sisi's statements, but with reversal of evaluation. That is, he is ironically echoing these statements and projects them on the issue of marriage to imply that the government still sits back and does nothing. This ironic utterance is immediately followed by another instance of irony to further criticize the government for not facilitating marriage. By saying (أنا لو من الحكومة اعمل قانون تجريم الجواز (لمدة خمس سنين و غرامة) مليون جنيه للي هيظبط بي فكر فيه), Qandil pretends to adopt the attitude of prohibiting marriage and imposing fines on those who just think of marriage, while he simultaneously urges the government to support those who want to marry. In terms of Partington's theory of evaluation reversal, this example juxtaposes two contrasting narratives in terms of their evaluative meaning. These two narratives can be constructed as follows:

N1: The comedian blames people for getting marriage; he evaluates marriage negatively as if it was a crime that should be banned.

N2: The comedian blames the government for not facilitating marriage; he evaluates marriage positively as something desirable that should be encouraged.

In other words, he blames the young men in the dictum while implying that the government should give a hand in the implicatum.

In the next line, Qandil manipulates morphological rules of forming words and invents the word (مفشخة) to overstate the sufferings and difficulties experienced by those who seek marriage. Regarding the mechanism of forming this word, the comedian generalizes a well-know morphological rule according to which a certain set of nouns is formed by combining the root (فشخ) to the pattern (مفعلة), with the derivational prefix (م) inserted at the beginning and the inflectional suffix (ة) at the end to derive stem (مفشخة) in exactly the same way as (مكنسة), (مسطرة), (مغسلة), etc. It is to be noted that the pattern (مفعلة) is semantically associated with the nouns which denote appliances and tools; therefore the comedian implies that in order to marry, the young man has to go through a kind of instruments that is similar to those of torture in the Middle Ages. Accordingly, the comedian borrows the register of torture and introduces it in the context of marriage to dramatize the situation. For this reason, this example can also be conceived as a good example of inverting the maxim of manner since the comedian applies a marked expression to describe the sufferings of young men in their quest for marriage. The comedian could have used the unmarked expression (يعاني), but it would not convey the same loaded message.

Towards the end of the segment, Qandil deviates from the maxim of quality and introduces a chain of hyperbolic statements By saying (دوب يجيب علبة محدش هيعرف يتجوز و لو حتى من كلبة بلدي، ده احنا مرتبنا يا (ابميرز و كيس بسكويت ميري و معلقة زبادي), he further aggravates the situation and heightens the difficulty of marriage in Egypt since the Egyptians' salaries are too low to afford the financial burdens of marriage. He asserts that those salaries do not enable them to even bring up a dog at home.

8. Conclusion

The analysis of the selected data shows that the speech act complex of satire dominates almost every episode. The data also affirms the assumption that satire is a constative-expressive speech act. On the one hand, both Salem and Nader refer to aspects of everyday life; namely the problems of rising prices and garbage. On the other

hand, they verbalize their critical attitude and disapproval of the two issues in question.

It is also obvious from the analysis that the elementary illocutionary acts which constitute the complex act of satire basically belong to the category of constatives, namely assertives, informatives, suggestives, suppositives, confirmatives, retractives, assentives, dissentives, predictive and descriptive. The data features few instances of directives, commissives and declarations contributing to the performance of the overall act of satire. This reinforces the assumption that stand-up comedy is a hypothetical reality; that is to say, the content of the performances is deeply related to reality. In terms of the speech act theory, they have words-to-world direction of fit; that is, to make the words match the world.

The analysis of the selected data of Egyptian stand-up comedy affirmed the assumed synergy between the illocutionary act complex of satire and linguistic deviation. Almost all the detected instances of illocutionary acts of satire in the Egyptian data have been found characterized by linguistic deviation at the structural, semantic and suprastructural levels. However, it was revealed that the incidence of linguistic deviation varies from one level to another. Within the same level, the analysis also revealed that the incidence of linguistic deviation varies from one strategy to another; that is, some strategies have been reported to have higher frequency rate than others within the same level.

The analysis also showed that the least prominent strategies of linguistic deviation are those which pertain to the structural level. This finding highlights the difference between stand-up comedy and the linear jokes. On the one hand, linear jokes basically depend on wordplay and manipulate the structural elements of language in such a way as to reap the audience's laughter at the punch line. On the other hand, humour in stand-up comedy is situational and tends to go beyond the structural system of language. This also can be attributed to the discursive, rather than sentential, organization of the genre of stand-up comedy. Further, the analysis revealed that the strategies of structural deviation add to the humour of the selected excerpts even if they are not as much frequent as suprastructural elements. This is because they display duality or multiplicity of interpretations in such a way that would override our expectations and linguistic preferences.

By contrast, the analysis revealed that the most dominant strategies of linguistic deviation are those which pertain to the suprastructural level. As stated in the previous section, this finding highlights the

discursive organization and narrative nature of stand-up comedy which goes beyond the sentential level. It is essentially built around personal situations and experiences from everyday life. Unlike the linear jokes where humour necessarily lies at the punch line, humour in stand-up comedy permeates the whole episode and manifests itself in many forms that are not limited to the sentence level such as irony, hyperbole, style mixing, metaphor, etc.

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