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A COMPARATIVE AND CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF IRONY, SARCASM, AND STEREOTYPES IN NORTH AMERICAN, ENGLISH, AND CHILEAN STAND-UP COMEDIES

Informe final de Seminario de Grado
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1. INTRODUCTION

Humour is an aspect of social interaction we are often exposed to. We experience it in everyday situation. In fact, many people even make a living out of being funny.That is they are professional humour makers. Some good representatives of this activity are stand-up comedians.

Not surprisingly, humour is a complex social and psychological phenomenon. People may wonder: why do some people laugh when a comedian tells a certain joke but when they hear the exact same joke from another comedian they do not find it at all amusing? The ability to understand humor and be able to enjoy it is called "sense of humour". People's personality plays a crucial role when it comes to explain people´s sense of humour. Another important factor that defines their sense of humour is their culture. People from different cultural backgrounds share different social norms, codes, and beliefs. Hence, culture will also deeply influence the things we laugh about. Therefore, our sense of humour will vary according to the cultural community that we live in because we have a given cultural background which molds our collective sense of humour.

Contemporary and well-recognized genre of social humour, are stand-up comedies. In the present study they constitute the central data that we have chosen, also taking into consideration their main linguistic resources, such as rhetorical figures, stereotypes and paralinguistic features. In order to narrow down the scope of a data-based analysis, we have focused our attention on three prominent notions that play active functional roles in stand-up comedies: Irony, Sarcasm and Stereotypes.

Although these many studies of irony and sarcasm, not many of them treat the subject in relation to humour, which is the ultimate phenomenon in which both of them take part. Moreover, not many studies have considered the perception of the audience as a relevant factor to confirm their humorous effect (if such effect is achieved). Our decision to study these two linguistic phenomena relies on the fact that there has always been confusion about the respective boundaries. Taking this into consieration, the objective of this research

is to shed some light on the characteristics of irony, sarcasm and stereotypes and study how they function in humorous routines; another aim is to determine the most predominant resources and analyse the socio-cultural variations in order to identify the similarities and differences between the use of these phenomena in English and Spanish. In this respect, we chose to study North American, British and Chilean stand-up comedies because of the many instances of ironic and sarcastic utterances that can be found in them; also, because of the natural and spontaneous reactions of the stand-up comedy audience and the specific interaction with the performer that they encourage.

The theoretical framework for the present study comprises several of the most relevant and prominent specialist authors on irony, sarcasm and stereotypes. Some of the linguists we selected are Attardo (1994, 2000), Barbe (1995), Sperber and Wilson (1981), Hutcheon (1994), Kumon-Nakamura (2007), Bousfield (2008) especially.

The formal layout for the present research report has been divided into ten sections, this being section one. Section 2 deals with the research questions formulated as relevant for the main purpose of this study.Section 3, presents the general and specific objectives. Section 4 comprises the theoretical framework of this research, as we have explained in the introduction, which, includes well-recognized authors and also recent studies on the topic. Section 5, presents the research method, the data selected and the data selection criteria. Section 6 comprises the data analysis of each humorous routine in depth. Section 7 presents a general discussion of results obtained in the analyses. Section 8 deals with the final conclusions of our research study. Section 9 presents the references made in the study. Finally, section 10, the appendix presents the graphs, tables, and transcriptions which support this study.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.1   Are irony, sarcasm and cultural stereotypes present in stand-up comedy   humour, mainly in Chilean Spanish, North American and British English stand-up comedies?

2.2   What is the frequency of occurrence of irony and sarcasm in stand-up comedy routines that is, are the ironic or the sarcastic utterances the most salient humorous resources in the humorous routines?

2.3   Which of these two elements, Irony or sarcasm are the most hilarious ones according to the subjects' responses?

2.4   Do the English informants' stereotype conceptions go in the same direction as the Spanish informants' stereotype responses?

3. OBJECTIVES

3.1 General objectives

3.1.1   To determine to what extent Stand-up comedians make use of the expression of irony, sarcasm and stereotypes in Chilean, North American and British stand-up comedy routines.

3.1.2   To determine the degree of humorous effect of ironic and sarcastic utterances made by Stand-up comedians in the routines according to the interpretations made by English and Chilean Spanish native speaker informants.

3.1.3   To compare English and Chilean Spanish native speaker informants' personal views of the stereotypes referred to by stand-up comedians in their routines.

3.2. Specific objectives

3.2.1   To design a descriptive model accounting for the pragmatic functions of the expressions of irony, sarcasm, and stereotypes found in stand-up comedy routines.

3.2.2   To find out the frecuency of occurrence of the ironic expressions, sarcastic expressions, and stereotypes present in stand-up comedy routines performed by English-speaking and Chilean Spanish-speaking comedians.

3.2.3   To identify the pragmatic meanings implicated in humorous utterances made by stand-up comedians in their routines.

3.2.4   To identify the pragmatic functions of ironic and sarcastic utterances, in parallel to the references to stereotypes in English and Chilean Spanish stand-up comedy routines.

3.2.5   To find out, in quantitative terms the varying degrees of humorous effect of ironic and sarcastic utterances made by stand-up comedians in their rutines according to the interpretation of English and Chilean Spanish native speaker informants.

3.2.6   To describe, on a comparative basis, English and Chilean Spanish native speaker informants' personal views of the stereotypes referred to by English-speaking and Chilean Spanish-speaking stand-up comedians in their routines.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Humour

4.1.1 Theories of humour

Several formal descriptive theories of humour have been proposed over the years. In the recent decades, the best-known theories are the Incongruity Theory, the Superiority Theory and the Relief Theory. In what follows, a brief description of each will be made.

4.1.1.1 The Incongruity Theory

According to Krikmann (2005), the Incongruity Theory presupposes an inconsistency or contradiction in a humorous text. In it, there are two incompatible lines of thought (also called planes of content, scripts, frames of references, etc.). Although these two lines of thought are dissimilar, there is a common feature which makes possible to shift from one script to the other. It is said that the interpreter of a joke will first tackle the discourse on the basis of the most salient or accessible script, i.e. the most common one in cultural or contextual terms. When the interpreter reaches a dead end, i.e. when the basic script no longer provides useful information to successfully work out the intended joke, they will switch to the alternative script in order to calculate the intended meaning and humorous effect.

After solving the problem successfully, as the supporters of this theory claims, the interpreter experiences emotions of surprise and satisfaction that lead to laughter. Kant (1790) considered that the element of surprise was necessary to induce laughter. He claimed that laughter occurred when something that we did not expect happened.

It may be argued that most jokes present this surprise quality which makes them funny. In fact, the specific part of the joke that carries the humorous effect is called the punchline, i.e. the punch line of the joke contains information that is somehow different from the rest of

the joke. On the basis of this contrast, humour is generated. Therefore, the incongruity theory seems to apply to most cases of humorous events. Accordingly, it is considered the most renowned theory of humour.

However, one of the drawbacks of this theory is that it does not explain other cases of incongruity which do not invoke humour. Other rhetorical figures, such as metaphors, are also considered as instances of incongruity but, unlike jokes, they do not seem to generate humorous effects whatsoever. This is the main criticism that the incongruity theory has undergone. It does not account for other cases of incongruity beyond the realm of humour and, as a result, it needs to be reinforced.

4.1.1.2 The Superiority Theory

The superiority theory presupposes disparagement, criticism or hostility from the producer of the humorous act towards the addressee of their joke. In this respect, humour is said to be aggressive in nature or mocking, since it aims at a particular target, either a person or group. Hobbes was one of the main theorists who supported this theory. He argued that we found joy and amusement when we observe the imperfections of others (Hobbes, 1996). Hobbes' idea was that laughter was charged with contempt and scorn. Thus, when we laugh at someone, our intention is to ridicule or mock them.

Hobbes grounded on the proposals made by Aristotle. The Greek philosopher argued that people are "lovers of mirth", i.e. they love to be amused and to laugh (Skinner, 2002). Specifically, he said that people deeply enjoyed mocking other people. Aristotle believed that we laugh at others because we somehow feel superior to them. We focus on their flaws and make them visible to everybody else. This is evinced in Aristotle's explanation of what he considers as risible:

> "Comedy deals in the risible, and the risible is an aspect of the shameful,
> the ugly or the base. If we find ourselves laughing at others, it will be

> because they exhibit some fault or mark of shame which, while not painful, makes them look ridiculous" (Skinner, 2002).

Although Aristotle provides an explanation to what is regarded as risible, this account is still somehow vague to be theoretically helpful. Plato further contributed to this matter by claiming that vices are laughable and, as a result, people with vices are subject to ridicule (Skinner, 2002). In the Ancient Greece and even until the Renaissance, laughing at other people's vices and ill-considered behaviour was accepted and, even, encouraged, since it was considered a type of moral reprimand.

However, many argue that feelings of superiority are not a necessary condition for humour. Hutcheon (1750), one of the detractors of the Superiority Theory, claims that although we feel superior to other animals, this is not enough to cause either amusement or laughter. The other arguments come from examples of the Incongruity Theory, which argues that it is not the feeling of superiority that makes us laugh but the occurrence of an event that goes against our expectations.

4.1.1.3 The Relief Theory

This theory focuses on the interpreter of a joke and the psychological effects produced in him. Humour is said to be a relaxation mechanism trough which people express their suppressed "socially tabooed aggressive impulses" in an acceptable manner (Skinner, 2002). Rather than focusing on humour, this account deals with the psychological motivations of laughter.

The two main representatives of this theory are Spencer (1860) and Freud (1905). The former was the first to propose the Relief Theory but he did not intend it as a challenge to the reigning Incongruity Theory. He wanted to explain what exactly happened in our minds that caused us to laugh. The Relief Theory started from the assumption that physical movement was always the result of some release of mental energy. Therefore, laughter had

to be the physical representation of some kind of release of mental energy. Thus, Spencer (1860) proposed that laughter was the mechanism our body used to release pent-up energy.

On the basis of Spencer's research, Freud (1905) went on to propose his own views of laughter and the Relief Theory. Freud did not contradict Spencer's proposal at all. He only added his own insights to the theory. Freud thought that the energy that people released through laughter had been stored in our system in past unrelated events. He distinguished three sources of repressed energy that were liberated through laughter, namely, a) repressed sexual and hostile feelings, b) cognitive energy that had been used in the solving of a problem, c) emotional energy. As it can be seen, Freud's theory mainly states that laughter is a stress-relieving mechanism. In spite of the important insights that Freud's theory provides in terms of laughter as a psychological process, it does not render much information about humour proper. The Relief Theory focuses on the end result of the humorous process but it does not provide a description of it.

In spite of these three distinctive approaches in humour theory, most researchers believe that humour is a topic which is too complex to be dealt with by only one of them. The events that induce laughter are many and vary, often greatly, from one another. The result is that one theory alone is insufficient to cope with the large number of humorous sources that we encounter in everyday life. Consequently, modern theories are comprehensive and integrate the different proposals provided by the three theories.

4.1.2 Attardo's 'Linguistic theories of humour'

This section deals with some of the contributions made by Attardo (1994). They attempt to define or clarify the complex dimensions of humour. In this direction, he proposes that the theories of humour can be divided into two mainstreams: the first one does not actually attempt to define it because it considers it as an 'indefinable' concept for it depends on a complex combination of linguistic, non-linguistic, cultural, psychological and biological factors that make it hard, if not impossible, to define it fully. And the second mainstream

attempts to define humour advocating the concept of 'humour competence. It clearly rejects laughter as a decisive or defining criterion for determining how humorous a communicative event is.

Supporting the first mainstream we find that linguists, psychologists and anthropologists generally viewed humour as an all-encompassing category that covers any event or object that can elicit laughter, amuse or be thought of as funny. This, however, does not represent any rigorous definition of humour, which causes a generalised criticism made by Sinicropi (1981):

> "The lack of a rigorous, or at least reliable, definition of humour and of its categories causes (...) another difficulty that hinders research; it is represented by the fact that denominations of processes usually considered sources of humour (...) are often used as if they were synonyms or if they shared a semantic space. This denotes that the semantic field to which they belong does not have precise boundaries."

Some psychologists have tried to subcategorize humour by proposing three possible humorous areas: scatological, aggressive and sexual. Others, like Forabosco (1992), have distinguished between humour consisting of humour alone, and humour consisting of incongruity and resolution. But there have also been opposition to a humorous theoretical differentiation. Olbrecht-Tyteca (1974), refused to distinguish between humorous and ridiculous, and attempted to treat humour as a whole. The lack of agreement has hindered the formulation of a consisting theoretical definition of humour, by seeming to arise from the type of research linguists have been doing. This is, focusing on a specific area of study only (psychology, literature, anthropology, philosophy, etc) to investigate and analyse a complex topic that cannot be defined but by the contribution of different fields and subfields of study.

4.1.3 Humour and Laughter

Over the years, the most common criterion employed to distinguish humorous utterances from non-humorous ones has been laughter. It has certainly served as a parameter for drawing the fine line that separates these two sides. The reflection is that what is funny will make you laugh, and what makes you laugh is funny, one being a mental process and the other a neurophysiologic response to it. This type of ideas is supported by Bergson (1924) who considered that laughter and humour were interchangeable phenomena. However, others like Milner (1972) opposed such statements: 'while humour is a very important element, it is only one out of a number of different detonators of laughter.'

Thus, the attempt to consider laughter as a defining criterion for humour has, at all lights, generated several discussions and controversy. This, because while some linguists see laughter as a visible and undeniable proof to state that a specific humorous utterance had the expected humorous effect on the subject, others see it as a mere neurophysiological reaction that neither guarantees the success of the utterance nor clarifies the motiviation that provoked or elicited such reaction in the subject. Quite contrary, the subjects might laugh for various reasons and possibly none of them related to the actual humorous utterance.

In relation to this discussion, Aubobain (1948) claims that laughter denotes an effect without specifying the cause. Supporting this view, Olbrechts-Tyteca finds five reasons that make difficult, if not impossible, the application of laughter as a decessive criterion (Attardo, 1994):

1) 'Laughter largely exceeds humour.' (Olbrechts-Tyteca 1974:14) Olbrechts-Tyteca summarizes Aubouin's (1948) argument distinguishing between physiological laughter (originating from sodium pentathol or hallucinogens, for instance) and laughter originating from humour.

2) 'Laughter does not always have the same meaning.' (Ibid.) OlbrectsTyteca (1974)

points out the phenomenon of ritual laughter and that laughter in Africa is more a sign of embarrassment or bewilderment than of amusement. Aubouin explains the courtesy smile of Orientals with regard to this point.

3) 'Laughter is not directly proportionate to the intensity of humour.' (Olbrechts-Tyteca 1974:15) Olbrechts-Tyteca directs her attention to "the remarkable difference among individuals regarding the attitude toward laughter." (Ibid.) Aubouin mentions that age and education teach us to "hold back our impulses, to conceal our reactions" (1948: 14) He also notes that someone familiar with humour will tend to react to it more with a 'blasé' attitude.

4) 'Humour elicits sometimes laughter, sometimes a smile' (Olbrechts-Tyteca 1974: 15). Olbrechts-Tyteca notes that there is no agreement among scholars about viewing smiling as an attenuated form of laughter.

5) 'Laughter or smiling cannot always be observed directly'. Olbrechts-Tyteca (1974) notes that laughter can be simulated, and that it must be interpreted its social meaning; must be assessed.

However, definitions on the subject can indeed be found. In what follows, we will briefly introduce the contributions made by Plato and Aristotle, which are discussed by Attardo (1994).

According to Plato, 'humour is a mixed feeling of the soul.' Also, humour comprehends a combination of feelings. On the one hand we find pleasure that arises when we find something amusing. On the other hand we find pain. The latter is the most interesting side because humour can combine with envy. Humour typically attempts to enhance other people's flaw and its amusement comes from the aggression against another person. Therefore, his approach is related to humour as the perception of two contrasting feelings. This pioneer idea led to what was afterwards known as the 'ambivalence theory.'

Alternatively, Aristotle views humour as: '*As for Comedy, it is (as has been observed) an imitation of men worse than average; worse, however, not as regards any and every sort of fault, but only as regards one particular kind of the Ridiculous, which is a species of the Ugly.*' (Attardo, 1994). In this sense, both Aristotle and Plato reflect on humour as being a despicable human act for they believe it to find its base at expense of others. Nevertheless, Aristotle has a more positive attitude towards humour, condemning the excess of laughter only. On the other hand, Plato's condemnation is much more absolute.

It is worth mentioning Cicero as one of the important Latin contributors to theory of humour. He introduced the distinction between 'verbal' and 'referential humour'. In Cicero's terminology jokes *(facetiae)* can be 'about what is said' *(dicto)* or about 'the thing.' This distinction has been used by many linguists but some have used a different terminology e.g. Morin (1966): 'referential versus semantic', Eco (1983): 'situational play versus play on words', Hockett (1973): 'prosaic versus poetic'. According to Cicero, referential humour includes anecdotes (*fabella*) and caricature (*imitatio*). And verbal humour includes ambiguity (*ambigua*), paranomasia (*parvam verbi immutationem*), false etymologies (*interpretatio nominis*), proverbs, literal interpretation of figurative expressions, allegory, metaphors, and antiphrasis or irony. In his own words:

> "What, said in whatever words, is nevertheless funny, it is contained in the thing, what loses its saltiness if the words are changed, has all the funniness in the words. (LXII, 252) (...) because after changing the words they cannot retain the same funniness, should be considered to rely not in the thing but in the words." (LXIV, 258)
>
> (Attardo, 1994)

In other words, Cicero gives an account on how the humorous effect works if we attempt to translate a joke. In this respect, there are two different proposals: if the humorous effect resists paraphrase (endolinguistic translation) or translation (interlinguistic translation) or even intersemiotic translation (for instance, representation with a drawing), then the joke depends only on the semantic content of the text. On the other hand, if the text cannot be modified and still remains humorous; the humorous effect depends on the form of the text.

4.1.4   Stand-up comedy

Stand-up comedy is a comedy art form performed in front of a live audience. As a result, feedback is one of the main features of this type of comedy, since the show receives an immediate response from the audience. Ideally, the response is a continuous stream of laughter. However, if the audience is not pleased, they can show their disappointment by booing or whistling at the performer. In stand-up comedy, such a display of disapproval is known as 'heckling'.

The performer of the act is known as 'stand-up comedian' and has no backup on stage that is, the success or failure of the show rests entirely on their shoulders. Although some comedians have screenwriters who help them in their routines, most comedians are responsible for their performances. Many stand-up comedians are regarded as social critics because they concern themselves with issues of current relevance and provide their insights in a humorous manner. One good representative of this kind of comedian is the Chilean Coco Legrand who is well-known for his routines filled with social satire and criticsm.

Good stand-up comedians successfully engage the audience with their performance. In order to do this, they must thoroughly develop a humorous routine. The routine which is presented is known as 'monologue' and it usually consists of a number of humorous stories containing short jokes (also known as 'bits') and one-line jokes or one-liners. These routines are thoroughly developed by the comedian and, consequently, it takes quite some time to perfect them. As a result, most comedians perform the same routine repeatedly, edit it and, thus perfect it over time.

When comparing it with other comedy performances, such as sitcoms or theatrical presentations, it is clear that stand-up comedy is very peculiar. Not only does the performer receive immediate feedback, but have nobody to support them. Somehow all they can do is rely on their comical abilities and the routine that they developed.

4.1.4.1   Stand-up comedy nowadays

Stand-up comedy has become very popular in the last ten years in both Britain and

America. It found more frequently its way onto mainstream television and video records. Also live stand-up comedy performance has many venues in London. More alternative Stand Up improvised, theatrical or cinematic has also become popular in America, Britain and Europe (McIlvenny 1989).

In Chile, the peak of this type of humour started in 2005 with the TV program 'SCA' (Sociedad de Comediantes Anónimos) in which their participant criticised various aspects of Chilean society. This was the forerunner of the TV program 'Club de la Comedia' which is currently transmitted in Chilean television.

4.1.5 Target and Punchline

They are two important concepts when describing humour, that is, they are interrelated. When joke or a humorous utterance is produced it is always directed to someone (target) or something (ideological target) at a deeper level. When it is uttered, punchline is in charged of invalidating the initial interpretation and activating a new interpretation, based on an entirely different (and, often, initially rejected) context.

The comedian, humorist or speaker controls the repertoire according to social or cultural, criteria. As Vivanco et al points out in 'Una taxonomía de los actos Humoristicos' (1997) the types of audience are conditioned by different varieties such as: sex, age, social class, nationality, religion, profession, ethnic group, etc. That is to say, "un emisor evita contar chistes de judíos, de negros, de minusválidos, de monjas, frente a oyentes que tienen la condición respectiva."

In irony, as well as in many varieties of humor, the subversive frame often presents a criticism of a target, the 'victim' of the ironic frame, but often the target of the joke or irony is a socially an accepted way of thinking about the topic. Therefore, the subversive frame may rely on shared 'inside' knowledge accessible to those 'in the know' ('wolves') but not to outsiders ('sheeps').

Many comedian performers use irony intended to criticise one state of affairs from the reference point to another. Consistent with Giora (2003) "the ironically criticised state of affairs is a fictional one, constructed only to affirm the true state of affairs as an ideal state.

According to Gibbs and Izett (2005) irony divides its audience into two ways, distinguishing between the audience who recognises the irony ('wolves') and the audience who does not ('sheep) and between those who agree with the intended meaning ('confederates) and those who do not ('victims').

When irony is used aggressively, it is usually important that the victims also are 'wolves' (realize that they are being criticised), but ironists sometimes intentionally try to create a class of sheep/victims, people who provide a malicious contrast with the wolf/confederates.

This last point can be related to Aggression-based theories which start with the premise that jokes constitute an attack by the joke teller to the target of the joke, sometimes an individual but often a group. Aggression conveys a metaphorical meaning when is conducted to an ideological target, for example "maternity", or some institutions, etc. Sometimes it is very difficult to identify it, even when an aggressive element is clearly present.

4.1.6   Audience response:

Audience response is a reaction of the receivers after hearing the humorous message, which is the only immediate way that the comedian can test or establish audience's approval or disapproval.

According to Atkinson (1984), good public speakers do not only 'speak' but they manipulate the audience in order to elicit affiliative responses.

One of the most frequent audience's responses is laughter. According to Jefferson (1985), there are different forms of laughter such as "huh or hah" and is timed accordingly to the talk in progress and the corresponded social situation. He has examined how sometimes

laughter is invited by a current speaker by the placing of a laugh particle upon completion of an utterance.

In his study, he found two types of audience's responses. The first response is affiliation which is shown with laughter, applauses, cheers, whoops, and whistles. Another response that has emerged in United States in the last few years is barf (like a low dog bark) accompanied by a rotating hand. The second type of response is disaffiliation, which is not that common in the shows of good comedians, unless elicited intentionally. It can include jeers, boos, and verbal heckles.

In addition, Atkinson (1984) claims that audiences not only react with one of the responses. It seems that they are ordered in quite specific ways. For example, applauses emerge from laughter to show particular appreciation of the recent material. Other responses such as cheers, whoops, whistles have different characteristics. They are often loud and distinctive.

> "The cheers are easy to join, but whistles and whoops are quite individual responses of short duration"
>
> (Atkinson 1984).

In the authors' point of view, many times a stand-up comedian uses a membership category in order to involve the audience in affiliating or disaffiliating responses with such category often with some explicit response. Then, the comedian makes favourable or unfavourable references to that membership category. So audience's responses are not predictable and uniform, but they are sequentially sensitive and timed in the performance in progress.

4.2 Irony

4.2.1 The complex functions of irony

Irony is often described as 'saying something but meaning the opposite'. However, Hutcheon (1995) argues that irony does not only involve the semantic substitution of the literal meaning of an utterance for its figurative meaning, but both meanings can be considered in order to recognise a particular utterance as ironic. She claims that irony is not only used to signify something but actually also perform a certain action. Thus, the views

of irony not only as a semantic process but also as a pragmatic phenomenon whereby the speaker expresses what they think or feels towards what they are saying. It is this 'critical edge', as Hutcheon (1995) calls it, what differentiates irony from such other tropes such as metaphor.

The pragmatic functions of irony constitute a debatable topic where there is no agreement between the relevant theorists on what such functions actually are. Traditionally, most of the theories deal with this problem from the ironist's perspective. Hutcheon (1995), however, takes the hearer's perspective or more accurately, the interpreter's perspective. She claims that the attitudes and the shared knowledge involved in the expression of irony are inferred by the interpreter.

Accordingly, Hutcheon (1995) views the main function of irony as 'inferred operative motivation': 'inferred' because she takes the interpreter's perspective; 'operative' because she is concerne with how irony actually works; and 'motivation' because she acknowledges "a purposeful attitude toward the act of ironising" (p. 220). From this point of view, she claims that different attitudes generate different reasons for the uses of irony. The inferences triggered by irony can be of various ways depending on the interpreter's subjectivity. Moreover, the judgments regarding irony can be either positive or negative.

4.2.2   Humor and irony

This section deals with the study of irony and its pragmatic functions. Typically, the authors involved in the study of humor have adopted the generic term 'humor' to encompass all the semantic field of humour. Irony is generally seen as distinct from humor since rather than being a semantic phenomenon, it is considered a pragmatic one. There is humour that is not ironical and there are ironies that are not perceived as funny. While the former claim is fairly obvious, the latter may be in need of argumentation.

Consider a case of very aggressive sarcasm; it seems unlikely or at least it would be surprising that it would be perceived as funny by the target, as it lacks playfulness and it is somehow thought to threaten his/her face. It is important to highlight that by the term 'perceive' we do not attempt to imply that it might not be funny.

In relation to humour, Hay introduced a useful four-level model of appreciation. That is, the stages involved in the processing of a humorous utterance. Each stage in the model presupposes the one to its left:

Recognition → Understanding → Appreciation → Agreement

Thus, it is important to distinguish between two concepts: 'humour competence,' which corresponds to the capacity to recognize and understand humor, and 'humour performance', which is the capacity to appreciate it (and possibly to agree with it). At a deeper level, 'humour competence' is the capacity of a speaker to process a given text semantically and to locate a set of relationships among its components, such that they can identify the text (or part of it) as humorous in an ideal situation. This humour competence is analogous and in fact part of the semantic competence of speakers. Being able to recognize an utterance as funny is a skill equivalent, but not identical, for example, to being able to recognize a sentence as synonymous with another sentence.

On the contrary, 'humour performance' is the actual encounter of two speakers (not necessarily in face to face interaction), in a given actual place and time, i.e., in a given social context. In its simplest prototypical form, let's say that a speaker A says something and that a speaker B processes the text (what A said) and, having recognized the humor in it, reacts by laughing. Nevertheless, one or one's interlocutor might not always laugh and claim that it was not funny at all instead. Such reaction would mean that one did recognize the humorous utterance as funny but for some particular reason did not agree with it.

4.2.2.1 The Pragmatics of Humour

From a pragmatic point of view, humour is seen as a violation of Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) Grice (1975). It should be noted that humour is a real violation, not a flout or a mentioned violation (which are not intentional) since the CP is violated without the intention to let the hearer arrive at an implicature. However, this violation is largely socially

approved because it is part of our daily communicative interaction, thus it is not taken as a real attempt to fool/trick the interlocutor or hinder the communication.

4.2.2.2 The Pragmatics of irony

As it was pointed out above (see section 4.2.2) irony is a purely pragmatic phenomenon, without semantic counterpart. That is, the semantics of an ironic and of a non-ironic utterance is indistinguishable. This is because at a surface level both of them are grammatically and syntactically equal. It is at a deeper level – the pragmatic level – that differences emerge. Jokes tend to have a richer semantics than irony, which relies almost exclusively on inferential activation of scripts.

The central component of irony contrasts between the 'literal' and the figurative meaning, or in other words 'between assertion and reality.' Significantly, they use the general term 'incongruity' to cover all the various formulations which they gather under the name 'incongruity between a remark's assertion and reality.' In relation to the role of contrast in irony, it is stated that it is a 'contrast between expectation and reality.'
This is an incongruity that arises from the failed expectations (as the theory explains) created around a certain topic, a mismatch between what is said and what is meant.

4.2.2.3 The pragmatic functions of humour

Social management: This involves all the 'in' and 'out' group functions of humour, including but not limited to mediation, social control, establishing solidarity, play, etc:

Decommitment: It is the possibility of 'taking back' something by claiming that one was just kidding.

Defunctionalisation: It is related to the loss of 'meaningfulness' that is observed, for example in puns, but in general in ludic uses of language.

4.2.2.4. The pragmatic functions of irony

Group affiliation:

Irony may serve for two opposed purposes: an inclusive and an exclusive one. On the one hand, irony builds in-group solidarity through shared play; on the other hand, it can be used to express a negative judgment about someone. Lakoff notes that irony makes use of presumptive homogeneity and reinforces it: understanding irony communicates 'You and I are the same'. In other words, shared irony serves to create an in-group feeling. Irony can also be used to exclude.

Sophistication:

One of irony's purposes seems to be that of showing off S's detachment and hence superiority to/from the situation and S's ability to 'play' with language (saying one thing, while meaning another). 'Speakers use irony to "show themselves to be in control of their emotions.' An ironic utterance connotes its being ironic (and indirect), and hence its being sophisticated and requiring some mental dexterity to process it. Being associated with humour adds yet another prized connotation to irony, at least in Western society: being able to make other people laugh is a positive trait (obviously, within certain limits).

Evaluation:

Grice (1975) notes that irony is 'intimately connected with the expression of a feeling, attitude, or evaluation.' Sperber & Wilson and many others have claimed that the attitude expressed by irony is always negative since it tries to communicate an undercover message that attempts to threat someone's face. However, there is some maintaining that a positive irony is also possible. Irony does mute both the negative effect of ironic criticism and the positive effect of ironic praise. This muting function would then be the point of using irony. The muting function of irony has been called into question.

Politeness:

There has been much discussion about the use of irony as a tool for politeness. It seems that actually irony itself is aggressive i.e., a FTA, but admittedly less damaging to face than

sarcasm or overt, direct aggression. Furthermore, irony offers the option of retractability (see below), which also contributes to its use towards politeness.

Persuasive aspect:

Carston notes that irony is a powerful rhetorical tool because it presupposes the truth of the presupposed proposition to be self-evident. Giora (2005) sees irony as a highly informative utterance. All of these aspects of ironic utterances can be used persuasively.

Retractability:

Last but not least, irony allows one to state something and its opposite at the same time, allows a speaker to avoid any sanctions that may follow from stating directly what the person thinks. From this perspective, irony allows a speaker to take a noncommittal attitude towards what he/she is saying by being able to state – if needed – that what was understood was not what one literally said. Even though one had actually meant something different.

Now, the complexity involving irony is that the speaker deliberately decides to mean the opposite to what he or she said. Thus, the speaker takes the risk of being misunderstood and not getting across the intended message since irony takes on extra processing costs and the hearers might not always be well aware of this. However, if the hearer does realise the existence of another proposition he/she will normally attend to it but if does not, he or she will obviously and, comprehensibly, not attend to it and a misunderstanding might arise as a consequence. The following listed reactions are what one could expect in any of the two mentioned cases (Attardo, 2001):

- React to the said
- React to the unsaid (implied)
- Laugh
- Not react (e.g change the topic, be silent, etc).

These possible responses might seem predictable and obvious at first glance, but they actually tell a bit more. Note that 'Laugh' comprises its own category, this means that the

act of laughing does not necessarily imply the understanding of the irony and, consequently, of the humorous utterance. However, these responses are not determinant for analysing the actual comprehension of irony since the hearers might understand the intended meaning and anyway not react for whatever reason. So, the studies related to the comprehension of irony and humour are still in discussion.

It is important to mention that in the present study and for the matrix analysis, it has been exclusively selected the following functions of irony: group affiliation, sophistication, evaluation and retractability. The functions of 'Politeness' and 'Persuasive aspect' have been dropped because they involve characteristics that do not represent a real contribution to our objectives. Specifically, if irony is always a polite tool there will be no difference among the different ironic utterances that could be found in the routines. And persuasion is not among the basic and established objectives in the matrix analysis. With our selection, we do not attempt to disregard these two categories, both of them are undoubtedly important as characteristics of irony but they take a different route.

4.2.3 Mention Theory by Sperber and Wilson

Sperber and Wilson (1981) introduced the concept of echoic mention. They propose that people sometimes produce utterances that have already been produced. When doing so, they show their reaction and attitude towards the utterance that has been echoed.

When being ironic, a speaker echoes an utterance or thought making clear that he thinks of it as false, inappropriate or irrelevant. As a result, the goal will mainly be to mock or criticise the person who originally produced the utterance, the beliefs or opinions mentioned, or the utterance itself. The successful interpretation of the hearer depends on his ability to recognise the utterance as a case of mention and also on his ability to recognise the speaker's attitude to the proposition mentioned.

Unlike Grice (1975), Sperber and Wilson (1981) do not see irony as a violation of the maxims of truthfulness, since according to them, this perspective would provide no satisfactory explanation to cases such as ironic questions, ironic understatements and ironic references to the inappropriateness or irrelevance of a certain utterance.

Sperber and Wilson (1981) recognise that two types of irony might be distinguished. These are echoic irony and standard irony, the latter consisting in the need to recover a certain figurative meaning. However, the authors argue that this distinction is troublesome due to the fact that there are numerous cases which are not clear-cut and, hence, are difficult to analyse.

In response, they propose that all instances of irony should be interpreted as echoic mentions of different types and degrees. For instance, there would be cases of immediate and delayed echoes; some that have their source in actual utterances, others in thoughts or opinions; some that have a real source, others an imagined one; one can even produce an utterance which makes allusion to one's own hopes and expectations, etc. All in all, the main claim is that all cases of irony involve mention of a proposition.

Sperber and Wilson (1981) also claimed that ironic utterances are aimed at a particular target or victim. This target may be the mention to which the utterance alludes to, or in a case where there are three people involved in the conversation and one of them does not recognise the irony, that person may become the victim in the eye of the other two participants. However, there are instances where irony is not aimed at any particular victim. In consequence, the authors claim that if the mention has no clear origin, there is no victim; if the speaker echoes himself, it is self-directed; and if the speaker echoes the hearer, the result will be sarcasm.

4.2.4. Implicature

When interacting with one another, people often communicate much more than what is actually said. When this happens, an implicature has been conveyed. This concept was first

introduced by Grice (1975) and he defined it as "an additional conveyed meaning" i.e. it is implicit information derived from explicit information.

Two types of implicature are distinguished, namely, conventional implicature and conversational implicature. In conventional implicature, the same implicature is always conveyed regardless of the context of the utterance. There are few examples of this kind of implicature, the most recognisable instances being utterances presenting the conjunctions but, even, therefore and yet. Conversational implicature, on the other hand, is context-dependant, since the meaning of the utterance varies according to the context in which it is presented.

It is important to highlight the roles of both speaker and hearer in this process. The speaker is the one who produces the implicature and the hearer is the one who infers it:

> "It is important to note that it is speakers who communicate meanings via implicatures and it is listeners who recognize those communicated meanings via inference"
>
> (Yule,1996).

The concept of conversational implicature starts from the basis that people are following the cooperative maxims established in the Cooperative Principle. Thus, people assume that others are being cooperative when communicating i.e. they are not trying to mislead others, nor trying to confuse or keep relevant information from them. Therefore, when faced to an inappropriate or seemingly untruthful utterance, they assume that more has been communicated than what has been said or, in other words, that an implicature has been conveyed. This recognition of the implicature is instantaneous and unconscious and it is performed automatically. Consider the next example:

A: Did you go John's party?

B: I had to babysit my sister.

The answer in (B) seems irrelevant to the question in (A). However, if we assume that speaker (B) is following the cooperative principle, we conclude that he is in fact answering (A)'s question. Consequently, the calculated implicature would be that he did not go to John's party because he had to stay at home babysitting his sister. Obviously, this inferential process would not take so long in actual social interaction and, moreover, we

would not even be aware of it. We would understand the answer immediately as if it were said explicitly.

Conversational implicature is a key concept in our study, since it has been proposed that irony (and also sarcasm) triggers an inferential process derived from a conversational implicature. More specifically, this idea was proposed by Grice (1975), and was later supported by Sperber and Wilson (1981). Traditionally, irony has been defined as an utterance with a figurative meaning representing the opposite of what is literally said. Grice (1975), nevertheless, refuted this proposal and argued that irony does not have a hidden figurative meaning but provides an additional meaning which is supposed to be recognised in a given context. This additional meaning corresponds to Grice's notion of implicature.

4.2.5   Grice's cooperative principle approach

In communication, cooperation is essential. Thus, when we communicate with other people, we try to understand what they are saying, as well as to make sure that they understand us. This assumption is known as the Cooperative principle, stated by the philosopher H.P Grice in 'Logic and Conversation' (1975) as it has been introduced through out this research:

> "Our talk exchanges...are characteristically, to some degree at least, co-operative efforts, and each participant recognises in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction ... we might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected... to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you engaged. (Grice, 1989, p.26)

Following this statement, Grice (1975) suggests that in conversation, people work on the assumption that a certain set of rules is in operation, unless they receive indications of the contrary. According to Grice (1975), if the hearer realises that the speaker has said something which is clearly untrue (and assuming that the CP is in operation) the search for an implicature will take place.

4.2.5.1 The Maxims of Conversation

Grice (1975) distinguishes the following pragmatics maxims in his CP:

Maxim of Quantity:

>   1. 'Make your contribution as informative as required.'

>   2. 'Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.'

Maxims of Quality: Be truthful.

>   1. 'Do not say what you believe to be false.'

>   2. 'Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.'

Maxim of Relation:

>   1. 'Be relevant.'

Maxims of Manner: "Be perspicuous."

>   1. 'Avoid obscurity of expression.'

>   2. 'Avoid ambiguity.'

>   3. 'Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).'

>   4. 'Be orderly.'

Grice (1975) proposes that communication takes place through the unconscious followimg of these maxims. It is noteworhty that Grice distinguishes instances where the maxims may be flouted, opted out, or violated. However, such discussion does not correspond to our investigation and, therefore, it will not be dealt with in this work.

4.2.6. Concept of Face: face-saving and face-threatening Acts.

The Concept of Face was proposed by Goffman in 1967 and used in the two relevant approaches to politeness Principle. He defined it as:

> "...the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in term of approved social attributes __ albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself."

Within the Politeness Principle, face has two forms: a positive form, which is used when face is reflected in the desire to be liked, approved of, respected and appreciated by others. And a negative form, which is used when face is reflected in the desire not to be impeded or put upon, to have the freedom to act as one chooses.

According to Yule (1996), the connection between these two concepts Face and Politeness can be explained in the sense that face (public self-image of a person) refers to that emotional and social sense of self that everybody has an expects everyone else to recognise. While politeness is defined as the means employed to show awareness of another perso'´s face.

People in social interaction behave as if their face-wants will be respected. As Yule (1996) points out if a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations regarding self-image, it is a Face threatening Act. Optionally, the speaker can say something to lessen the possible threat, it is known as face saving act.

According to this perspective, a face saving act will show deference, will emphasise the importance of the other's concerns and include an apology for the imposition or interruption when it would be oriented to the person's negative face. And will show solidarity, will emphasise that both speakers want the same thing, and also have a shared goal that would be concerned with a person's positive face.

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest superstrategies for performing face-threatening acts. There are four possibilities for performing an FTA:

4.2.6.1 Performing an FTA without any redress (bald on record):

When there are emergencies of some sort ("May day") e.g. when there are external factors

that constrain a person to speak very directly.

When there is a channel limitation during a phone call, or as Brown and Levinson (1987) point out 'in highly task-oriented situations' such as teaching someone to drive, situation in which the speaker is likely to focus on the propositional content of the message, and pay little attention to the interpersonal aspect of what is said.

Jenny Thomas (1995) explains that when you are making a trivial request of someone you know well and who has no power over you, the request may be made "bald on record". For example, when your mother says "shut the window" or "have a chocolate".

There are situations in which there is no attempt to mitigate the FTA, situations in which the power difference is huge. In the following example, the powerful character will often employ no indirectness at all:

Context: The speaker is a senior rating at a detention center. He is addressing a prisoner of lower rank:

> "You are to stand to attention in the center of your room every time the door is opened. You are you obey all orders given to you by any member of the remand wing staff at all times. You are to engage any member of the remand wing stuff in casual conversation."

But, according to Jenny Thomas (1995) there are lots of examples in which bald on record utterances fall into none of the Brown and Levinson's (1987) categories. There are instances in which the speaker takes no redressive action because he has deliberately chosen to be maximally offensive. Example:

Context: Bob Champion, champion jockey, referring to women jockeys:

'I´m dead against them! They´re a mistake and get in the way. Women are not strong enough or big enough.'

4.2.6.2 Performing an FTA with redress (positive politeness):

In Brown and Levinson's (1987) view, when we speak to someone else, we orient ourselves towards that individual's positive face by employing positive politeness (oriented to

hearer's desire to be liked and approved of).

4.2.6.3 Performing an FTA with redress (negative politeness):

Within Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, negative politeness is oriented towards the hearer's negative face, which appeals to the hearer's desire not to be impeded or put upon, to be free of action.

4.2.6.4 Performing an FTA using off-record politeness:

Brown and Levinson (1987) list around fifteen strategies for this category (performing off - record politeness) such as "give hints", "use metaphors", "be ambiguous or vague", "be incomplete, use ellipsis", etc. This strategic categorisation of politeness is not appropriate for our research because, although Brown and Levinson (1987) has been widely influential and discussed, there are lot of criticisms to their model of politeness.

4.2.6.5 Do not perform the FTA:

There are times when something is potentially so face-threatening that you do not say it. Although this distinction came from Brown and Levinson (1987) approach, Tanaka (1993) is the author who discusses it. There are situations in which the speaker decides to say nothing and really wishes to let the matter drop. There are other situations in which the speaker decides to say nothing but still wishes to achieve the effect which the speaker act would have achieved had it been uttered. There is even a third situation in which a strong expectation that something will be said, so saying nothing is in itself a massive FTA, for example, failing to express condolences to someone on the death of a loved one.

4.2.7   The Allusional Pretense Theory of Discourse Irony

Nakamura's (2007) Allusional Pretense Theory article reviews some of the prominent theories of irony that have been developed previously. It takes as its main referents, authors like Sperber and Wilson (1981), Grice (1975) and others. This study works with irony and it asserts that ironic remarks have their effects by making allusion to a failed expectation. Most of the time, irony is used as a linguistic resource to express the speaker's intention (normally but no necessarily negative) towards the referent of the utterance, together with performing other goals, such as being humorous.

The author inspects some preceding theories; that will be briefly mentioned; along with the ones he proposes the new one: "Allusional Pretense Theory". For the purpose of it, three experiments have been done in order to support the ideas behind the thesis. Lastly, Nakamura's (2007) work will be related with our research project about irony in stand-up comedy.

As a starting point, Nakamura (2007) questions Grice's (1975) pragmatic theory, as many otheres. This theory operates on the basis of the concept of opposite meaning. On the one hand, it is not totally clear if the expression is literally the opposite of what was intended. Besides, the above conception is only suitable for declarative assertions (those that can be either true or false) not for requests, offers, etc.

Continuing with prior irony theories, we face Sperber and Wilson's (1981) Echoic Mention Theory. Let us remember what it says. It poses a new meaning of irony, stating that when it is used, the speaker makes echoes of someone previous thought, feeling, expectations or attitudes. Another important feature is its use, generally to express disapproval.

After having revised briefly some conceptions about irony, Nakamura (2007) reaches at the first necessary condition for its use: Allusion. Echoic Mention Theory does not fulfill totally the function of irony. It is possible to say that, in many cases, it is not explicitly clear that a speaker is echoing any specific utterance or even any specific unspoken thought. For example: offerings, such as "How about another small slice of pizza?" to someone who has just gobbled up the whole pie; and over-polite requests, such as "Would you mind very much if I asked you to consider cleaning up your room sometime this year?" to an

inconsiderate and slovenly housemate; are not making echo, but they are alluding to an expectation that have been violated. Here, Nakamura (2007) proposes that allusion to a previous expectation or prediction is an obligatory condition for irony, and it also makes reference to the discrepancy before described between what is and what is expected.

The second main point of this discussion is Insincerity. Here, irony functions in terms of the sincerity of the expression. To exemplify this idea: (1) the utterance "such a nice weather", when in fact it is not, is a false statement, consequently the speaker is being insincere; (2) the sentence "you sure know a lot" to someone who is arrogantly showing off their knowledge is totally true, although it is insincere compliment. What Nakamura rescues is that all ironically intended utterances involve pragmatic insincerity, because they violate one or more of the felicity conditions.

Felicity conditions (Austin, 1962) are together with the Insincerity notion, in which the former consists in a set of conditions that any utterance should satisfy to perform the speech acts. These conditions are: (a) the propositional content of an utterance, (b) the status of both the speaker and the hearer of the utterance, (c) the sincerity of the psychological state expressed or implied by the utterance, and (d) the perception of the speaker's sincerity by the hearer. If any of these conditions is violated consciously by a speaker, it is possible to talk about pragmatic insincerity.

As a convergent point, the theory points to the following affirmations:

1. Ironic utterances are intended to be allusive in that they are intended to call the listener's attention to some expectation that has been violated in some way. Ironic remarks that are echoic accomplish this kind of allusion by either explicitly or implicitly echoing some prior utterance or some prior thought, although it is not the only one.
2. Pragmatic insincerity is a criterial feature of ironic utterances. Grice theory just takes into account semantic insincerity, which is insufficient. Not all the utterances are counterfactual (they can be true or false) and have the opposite meaning.

Nakamura's (2007) paper sets a discussion around the main topic: irony. The author reviews some of the most relevant theories that have dealt with it. The goal in this study was to prove that to communicate irony (and for its right functioning) two conditions were obligatory: allusion and insincerity. This was fully accomplished. Allusion means to refer to some previous expectation (Sperber and Wilson' (1981) Echoic Mention Theory) and Insincerity, taken in the pragmatic field.

This research has included this studied theory. Allusional Pretense Theory is applicable to the present work in the way that it makes irony and constructs humour. It has been taken with the purpose of elucidating what is behind words, and the real meaning of an ironic utterance.

4.3   Sarcasm

4.3.1   Concept of Sarcasm

Attardo (1999) defines sarcasm as 'an overtly aggressive type of irony, with clearer markers/cues and a clear target'. In the same year, McDonald (1999) states that sarcasm is 'a form of ironic speech commonly used to convey implicit criticism with a particular victim as its target'. However, through the years, it has been no consensus on whether sarcasm and irony are essentially the same thing, with superficial differences, or whether they are significantly different.

Dauphin (2000) points out, based on what John Haiman claims taht irony can be used unintentionally and unconsciously, also situations can be ironic. However, sarcasm must be intentional and conscious. In addition, the big difference for him is that situations cannot be sarcastic, whereas people can.

According to Toplak (2000), there are many factors which affect the use, or degree of sarcasm in everyday language: exaggeration, nature of the speaker, relationship of speaker to victim, severity of the criticism, and whether or not the criticism is being made in private

or in front of an audience. However, In McDonald's (1999) view, there is one basic factor regarding sarcasm: It is 'a form of ironic speech commonly used to convey implicit criticism with a particular victim as its target'.

Toplak and Katz (2000), in their 'On the Uses of Sarcastic Irony' published in the Journal of Pragmatics, conclude that the fundamental factor of sarcasm is this:

> "With speaker's intent in mind, sarcasm is used as a means of verbal aggression; with victim's reactions in mind, sarcasm is taken as a more severe form of criticism than found when criticism is directly expressed"

By supporting Macdonald's (1999) proposal, the assumption that 'irony and sarcasm are essentially the same thing, with superficial differences', and the Toplak and Katz (2000) conclusions; the factors involved to differentiate sarcasm from irony in this research study were: the level of aggressiveness (i.e., if the utterance might be considered to be a face threatening or a face saving act), and even more important if the utterance was applied by means of positive or negative politeness, by connecting irony with the concept of politeness and sarcasm with the concept of impoliteness i.e. while sarcasm may be a polite version of criticism, it is a form of criticism that is usually accompanied by particular negative attitudes, such as disapproval, contempt, scorn, and ridicule.

Figure 1. Shows a line that has been created for this research, in order to demonstrate the four levels of Irony. When the utterance was clearly considered to be ironic, it was used the symbol (+) Irony, when the utterance was clearly regarded sarcastic, it was used the symbol (+) Sarcasm, by considering it as the strongest level of irony. Besides, in those occurrances in which there was no consensus, whether it was an instance of irony or sarcasm, it was used (+/-) Irony, when it was closer to sarcasm and (+/-) Sarcasm when it was closer to irony.

Figure 1.

(+)Irony   (+/-)Irony   (+/-)Sarcasm   (+)Sarcasm

Sarcasm is present in stand-up comedy mainly because it is a large component of social interaction and communication. According to Dauphin (2000), people frequently use sarcasm as a means of 'breaking the ice' during initial encounters with others demonstrating sense of humour. Also, people use sarcasm as a means of being comedic with groups of friends. Comedians usually say something contrary to what they feel and/or believe for the purpose of being funny.

4.3.2 Impoliteness Theory:

Current definitions of this phenomenon were proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2005), for example, he defines (im)politeness as 'the subjective judgments people make about the social appropriateness of verbal and non-verbal behavior'. Similarly, Locher and Watts (2005) see politeness as "a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgments of their own and others' verbal behaviour."

Bousfield (2007) treats impoliteness as a failure of the politeness principle. He considers impoliteness: "to be an opposite of politeness in that, rather than seeking to mitigate face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987), it constitutes the issuing of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts which are purposefully performed" (p. 2186).

The first work on Impoliteness was written by Culpeper in 1996. He studied the main impoliteness strategies used by the interlocutors, and proposed more impoliteness strategies than Brown and Levinson (1987), where the most important idea was to damage the interlocutor's self-image as much as posible.

Derek Bousfield based his book "Impoliteness in Interaction" on Lachenicht (1980) and Culpeper's (1996) previous work, conversely, based those claims from Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness as the underlying point of departure for their own work. In general terms, Bousfield (2007) proposes a comprehensive definition of impoliteness by explaining the previous approaches. On the one hand, impoliteness is viewed within discourse with reference to some activity types(s), as previously suggested

by Levinson (1979, 1992). That is, impoliteness can be present in social actions such as reprimands within army training discourses, for example. Moreover, "it can be viewed as a sociolinguistic transgression of a given social norm within a community" (Mills, 2009). In other words, even though when a polite utterance is expected in that social context, a deliberately impolite utterance is made instead.

As well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) invented four suprastegies for politeness principle, Culpeper (1996) developed a framework specifically addressing impolite behaviour. As Norric & Chiaro (2009) point out, Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that a bald on-record formulation is the strategy used when the face threat is smallest, followed by positive politeness, negative politeness; and finally off-record strategies for those FTAs which are the most threatening. In contrast, Culpeper (1996) proposes bald-on record impoliteness for speakers wishing to attack their hearer's face with the most force. This superstrategy is followed by positive impoliteness and negative impoliteness, which, in keeping with Brown and Levinson, can each be used for slightly less aggressive face attacks.

In Norric & Chiaro's (2009) point of view, positive impoliteness strategies are those that attack the other's desire to be liked and accepted, whereas negative impoliteness strategies affect the other's ability to act independently. Examples from Culpeper (1996) include the use of taboo words and name-calling, attempts to disassociate from the other, snubbing or ignoring the other, or excluding the other through the use of in-group jargon or secretive language. As negative politeness strategies, he suggests that speakers can frighten others, condescend to others, or invade other people's space.

4.3.2.1 Impoliteness strategies

According to Norric & Chiaro (2009) respondents made overwhelming use of offensive, positive impoliteness strategies. That is, their responses were oriented almost exclusively toward attacking the speaker, rather than defending themselves, and these attacks aimed at social exclusion or humiliation of the speaker, rather than toward the use of tactics that might impinge on the speaker's ability to act freely.

4.3.2.1.1 Positive impoliteness strategies

The most common positive impoliteness strategy that was found in the data was making the other feel uncomfortable. Frequently, interlocutors did this by ridiculing the joke-teller, the joke, or both. Culpeper (1996) lists 'condescend,...scorn or ridicule' as a negative impoliteness strategy because he sees it as a way of emphasising power differences between interlocutors:

– Make the other uncomfortable
– Condescend, scorn or ridicule
– Be silent
– Maintain excessive eye contact
– Ignore, snub the other
– Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic
– Use taboo words
– Disassociate from

4.3.2.1.2 Negative Impoliteness Strategies

– Challenge your interlocutor
– Invade the other's space
– Shout
– Repeat
_ Sarcasm/Mock Politeness

In stand-up comedy humour, the comedian seems to use offensive and attacking utterances rather than utterances for defending the hearer, but commonly the speaker could be seen as doing something nice for the hearer i.e. entertaining the hearer. When the joke was found to be dismally unfunny, the appreciation was expressed sarcastically. Those are offensive and deffensive strategies, also the importance of intonation in perceptions of rudeness.

4.4   Stereotypes

4.4.1 Concept of stereotype

The first author to introduce the term stereotype was Walter Lippman in a book about public opinion published in 1922. According to Rappoport (2005), this term is now formally defined as a 'standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgment (as of a person, a race, an issue, or an event)'

Stereotypes involve complex values such as attitudes, or personality traits and are not necessarily negative as slurs, Rappoport tell us the following example:

> "A North American stereotype is that Asian students are inherently
> very good at math, and there are ethnic jokes to the effect that when an
> Asian student enters a math class, the grading curve will immediately
> go up."
>
> (Rappoport, 2005)

This essentially positive stereotype might be upsetting to some Asian students, but it is difficult to construe as insulting. During the 70's and 80's, Japan was considered as an economic powerhouse, especially in car business. So there were jokes like: "How many Japanese does it take to change a bulb? One, but first he buys the building." Also in this case the stereotype is obvious but not clearly insulting. Although as Alan Dundes (1987) points out, stereotypes about national characters are the basis for an endless variety of disparaging jokes. In his book 'Cracking jokes: Studies of Sick Humor Cycles and Stereotype', it is found a number of very clarifying examples of this type:

> "Two men and a woman are shipwrecked on a desert island. If they
> are Spanish, the men will fight a duel and the survivor gets the girl. If
> they are French, one man becomes the husband and the other the
> lover. If they are English, nothing will happen because no one is there
> to introduce them so they won't speak."

Dundes (1987) claims that within many nations, regional stereotypes are the basis for

disparaging jokes:

> "In the United States, Germany, and Italy, for example, such jokes involve contrasts between hardworking northerners and lazy southerners, presumably because the north is more heavily industrialised than the south."

Dundes (1987) also suggests that there are stereotypes about stereotypes; these appear as styles of stereotype humour that seems to be typical in different nations. Those national styles were studied by the Israeli Avner Ziv (1988) who, in his research, showed that American students enjoy hostile jokes more than Japanese students, sexual humor is more prevalent among the French than the Belgians, and there are many Irish jokes about drinking and fist fighting but practically none concerning these themes in Israel. He also observed that the value associated with humor is different in various countries:

> "Business and government leaders in the United States use humor more often than leaders in France and Italy, and TV humor programs are more common in the United States and Britain than elsewhere."

All of us are quite familiar with stereotypes because they are not only part of our culture but also found all over the world; this is the reason why we ought to know something about them. In this research we considered them so much as part of popular humor. In Leon Rappoport´s (2005) view he considered them as that, simply because we strip away most of their harmful emotional power. This power to manipulate the feelings of others explains why throughout human history, competing groups have been using insult and ridicule against one another, and also among themselves.

In broad terms, within every dominant majority group there are stereotypes to its own members who do not live up to its standards. The author gives us the example of "white trash" or "trailer trash" which has been used against people who are seen as inferior by the dominant members in society.

According to Rappoport (2005), it is true that the ultimate aim of stereotyping is disparagement, but this disparagement in some situations serves in a variety of functions:

a) Extreme cases of war and national rivalries: used to dehumanise one's opponents or just reduce them to a laughable inferior status.

b) Within nations and groups: used to enforce conformity to dominant standards of behaviour.

c) There are also occasions in which stereotypes can be pitted against each other to generate humorous incongruity.

To this author, humour provides one of the only acceptable ways for us to freely indulge in the guilty pleasures associated with morally unacceptable topics and language. He also points out that comedians are the ones who pave the way for us to dip into this domain of negative emotions and anxieties. "They take it upon themselves to bring back sexual, racial and other forbidden topics, and by situating them in the context of humor, the tensions that are aroused can be released as laughter.

> "A good example is Richard Pryor who ridicules the social and sexual behavior of white middle class men and yet has this same men rolling in the aisles. His success seems to be to his apparent impartiality, because he ridicules the behaviour of black men as well. Eddie Murphy and Chris Rock are well-known because of this type of humor while George Carlin has successfully ridiculed almost every aspect of American Culture, including religion, Catholic schools, etc."

4.5 Cross-cultural Humour

4.5.1 National varieties between humour in England and United States.

In order to understand the different varieties of humour, first it is needed to deal briefly with the concept of humour.

Since Aristotle times until today, there is no consensus in defining humour, this is why Knauer (2001) tries to check some differences and common features between three of the most popular English-speaking countries, such as Australia, England and the United States

of America. Because of the character of this study, the focus is only to English and North American humour.

Jerry Palmer (1994), in the book 'Taking humour seriously' proposed that the main topics of English humour are sex and punning, and of course their combination. Puns are generally considered as plays with ambiguous words, for example homonyms and homophones. The decisive feature of a good pun, according to Knauer (2001), is that the addressee should be surprised at a certain moment or that a quoted sentence is only very slightly altered, for example by changing a letter. And he claims that if there are too many alterations and a quotation is distorted, the wit fades, so the joke becomes boring or is, even, not understandable anymore.

An often resource in English humour is cruelty. This characteristic comes up in ethnic jokes, which are always in fashion in an immigration country like England, and there are many jokes with the same wording in different languages; the only thing that alters from country to country is the target.

Knauer (2001) includes one important area of cruelty in humour: the self-defending aspect. He points out that it is common in the whole manhood all over the world that if you can laugh at a danger, it will not bother you all that much. Also, there is a sub-group of defending humour which is black humour, what he calls in an exaggerated form, gallows humour. However, the English prefer to laugh at a misfortune which has already happened to somebody else. Usually the British are known as very fair, but in that context, they laugh at you first and then they help.

But what appears more typically British in this context is understatement. Knauer (2001) gives a very good example about how this works:

> "If it rains very heavily outside, thunder and lightening such as a strong wind make the weather even worse, an American might shout, 'Who the hell has sent this sh** f***ing weather? I'm wet from head to toe!' But an Englishman, talking to his neighbour, would rather say, 'Not a very nice weather, is it?'".

Related to cruelty, another feature of English humour is cynicism. Englishmen like to link it to other humorous features, especially puns. In cynicism, an action or purpose although it was meant to be good, is pulled down to an everyday level or even under it, e.g. it is linked with a mean motive.

Finally, the Knauer (2001) deals with Jewish humour. He explains that Jewish humour is marked by a development out of oppression; but it is rather an intellectual than aggressive kind of humour. It is marked with self-assurance, superiority over their (former) oppressors, and often as to do with trade and money, or at least with tricky behaviours. English and Jewish humour has pride in common, and both are able to laugh at themselves.

In relation to English humour, Knauer (2001) concludes that in England, we may consider humour as a way of getting along in society. Only he or she who has a sense of humour is appreciated in Britain, whatever the circumstances may be, and cite A. Ziv (1988) which says:

> "Britain is the only country in the world which is inordinately proud of its sense of humour... In other countries, if they find you inadequate or they hate you, they will call you stupid, ill-mannered, a horse-thief or a hyena. In England they will say that you have no sense of humour. This is the final condemnation, the total dismissal..."

To begin with North American humour Knauer (2001) gives a quotation from another author G. Mikes (1980):

> "In America ten times more offensive jokes than [the most aggressive British ones] are being told daily in clubs, bars and on television. The point is that in a democracy a political joke is just like any other joke." Related to this Knauer concludes that this comparison shows only one big difference between the nations. Though the British, too, like sexual jokes, Americans do it much more often".

In USA, as well as in England there are puns, too, but here they are much more often related to sex. Knauer claims that a favourite word for punning is the personal pronoun 'it'.

It can replace so many words, but as long as sex is a taboo word in society (even in the USA) it is always obvious that *it* might just be an oblique reference to the 'unmentionable'.

In Knauer's (2001) opinion, there is nothing more dominating in American humour than sex indeed. We saw that the British love punning. Americans can pun too. But they prefer punning where there is an ambiguity with relation to sexual themes the 'do it' catchphrase shows a phenomenon of American word-play (punning).

In terms of offensiveness, R.J. Alexander (1997) shows that this is the result of British understatement, which does not exist in the States – on the contrary, Americans rather tend to overstatements. He says "Of course, it sounds much more aggressive if you say 'You're talkin' bullshit, shut up!' instead of 'You really think so?'

Historically, in the individual fight for independence, aggressive jokes become an important weapon to defend oneself against the not wanted, but necessary oppressor. In Knauer's (2001) view for the average American citizen, this is, first of all, the politician, furthermore, the academic, the boss, and especially for children and youngsters, the teacher. But also anyone else is automatically a target of various kinds of (usually aggressive) humour as soon as he or she deviates from the norm: homosexuals, prostitutes, virgins, drug addicts, etc.

Finally, the main topics in American comedy shows are politics, people who are played the fool, and sexuality. American comedy, however, is often exaggerated in its action, especially concerning sexuality. It is a result and, at the same time a characteristic of the different ways of life.

The author concludes in relation to North American humour that what is really difficult is a definition of the importance of humour in the United States. The main common topics are irreverence, sex and social outcasts or minorities. He quotes L.F. and A.P. Nilsen an assertive point:

> *"A characteristic of American humor, perhaps of all humor, is for people to make jokes about things they are somewhat nervous about."*

Summarizing, the main topics in English humour are punning, understatement and sex. While punning is an every-day business for the Englishman, understatement is part of his attitude towards his environment. Knauer (2001) explains that because of the generally decent manner of the Englishmen, they can laugh already when sexual innuendoes are made. If the joke is more aggressive, more tempered, they howl with laughter.

On the contrary, Americans can generally laugh at anything. Nonetheless, there are themes by which they are not at all amused, for example the terrorist acts. Also, in contrast to the English, Americans rather tend to overreactions; and this is why American humour also consists of over-actions.

4.5.2   Humour in Chilean society according Coco to Legrand

Coco Legrand, in an interview broadcast on PodCaster online radio station on 12 September 2009 expresses his views of the importance of humour in society. He tells the interviewer that he feeds himself on the common people's experiences in the creative process of his routines'. He claims that humour is very important in society because 'it is a tool which is present in all of us.' In his view, the term 'humour' means 'God over death,' where death is 'ending,' or 'to be dead in life.' For example, a separation, going into exile, being made redundant, etc. are ways of dying in life.

In Legrand's opinion, people usually associate humour with jokes, social parties, and funny events in general, but these are only a tiny part of humour. Essentially humour is a person's psychological mood, a mental predisposition to experience and perceive life events in a relaxed manner. If, when one is stressed or anxious, one can only perceive the negative aspects of the event or experience that one faces. Thus one feels annoyed, bothered, irritated, etc. Therefore, one is unable to perceive any of the positive aspects of the experience or   assess this in an objective manner.

Legrand also remarks that the referent opposite to humour has never been 'seriousness,' in the sense of serious activities or pursuits in everyday life. There are several things that Chileans get confused about, because nobody teaches one about humour, not even schools

–in their role of general educational establishments- nor universities –which are main centres of human research and further knowledge. Fortunately, some of the latter seem to be taking some steps in the right direction, he admits. Legrand claims that humour seems to be achieving a much stronger and more influential social role in this society day by day. He thinks that, at a personal level, people could, and should, regard humour as a psychological tool that they could use to their benefit in order to be able to experience more relaxed and stimulating states of mind.

The Chilean comedian expands his point of view on the distinction humour versus seriousness by pointing out that the latter involves a 'high personal commitment' in an individual's professional activities and personal responsibilities. Therefore, a person's serious attitudes towards them seem to preclude humour. Alternatively, the opposite of humour can be 'melodrama.' For example, melodramatic, querulous or cynical people who transform their social environments into unpleasant conviviality; also unhappy or embittering persons who exaggerate their problems. In his view, humourous social attitudes and humourous modes of communication can become effective tools that can neutralize such negative social environments and forms of conviviality.

The quotation below summarises Legrand's professional standpoint towards the expression of humour:

> "What I am more concerned about as a comedian is to say or express humorously what I see, with the intent to make people think about it. I do not intend to give people any solution to their problems. I only say what I see, and deliver it in a personal manner of expression, so that people laugh at it. But, at the same time, I previously think about the content of my message and the possibly most hilarious form of personal expression so that I can construct their own perspectives in relation to what they are to hear or the sense that they are expected to find in my words."

As for the interviewer's question 'why does it cause so much pleasure to laugh at ourselves,' Coco Legrand answers that when an unexpected event happens –one which is not unfortunate, serious, or harmful- our first emotional reaction is to laugh. Observing or being told about unexpected events, e.g. trivial or absurd ones, which seem to go against standard normal social patterns and/or which upset our personal expectations, will

frequently cause spontaneous laughter. In the course of a routine, while you narrate a story, you lead the audience along a certain path of interpretation, the normal or expected one which is based on their cultural patterns or cognitive frames. Yet, you suddenly divert them from that path and lead them towards another one, which is totally unexpected due to its either contradictory, improbable or absurd nature. This will promptly cause the hilarious reaction of your audience."

When the interviewer asks Legrand the question 'What makes us laugh as Chileans currently?,' he replies that we Chileans obviously laugh at common, frequent or trivial issues or situations. For example, because some of the people living in Santiago have to suffer the inefficiency of the Transantiago transportation system every day, and because this situation has become a social and political issue, the mere reference to it by a comedian will quickly trigger the audience's humorous reaction.

In the interview, Legrand recognises the humorous functions of such other forms of humourous expressions as satire, which involves attacking a person by directly alluding to their different ways of thinking social behavior. Besides, he mentions irony, which, he claims, is used by people hypocritically. In his view, irony constitutes a 'very elegant manner of expression' used for conveying two meanings at the same time. If one does not use an ironical expression and instead uses a direct form of expression, the intended literal meaning can have a devastating effect in terms of social harmony between addresser and addressee On the other hand, if the addresser conveys an ironical message to a socially close or intimate addressee, ironical expressions maintain or even strengthen conviviality and social harmony. Finally, regarding the difference between humour and mocking, Legrand explains –in a light vein- that this difference is the same as 'cholesterol.' There is both healthy and unhealthy cholesterol. If one plays mockery on one's addressee, one will mainly cause emotional harm or antipathy, not conviviality. Thus, if one makes fun of lame or fat persons (the addressee perhaps being somehow involved In the group), one will not, obviously, generate a humorous effect or reaction. This will even generate social tension and the humorous intent will fail.

5. METHOD

5.1 Data

The corpus collected comprises six humorous routines that are representative of the genre known as 'stand-up comedy'. These routines were selected from Chilean, American and British stand-up comedy shows: three Chilean two American and one British. All the humorous utterance segments were selected from each routine and treated as specific data for the present research to the extent that they were regarded as the most representative utterances involved in the expression of irony, sarcasm and stereotypes.

The set of stand-up comedy routines selected are listed alphabetically by comedian and each described briefly as follows:

5.1.1 Atkinson, Rowan: 'A Warm Welcome'. It is a stand-up comedy routine in which the British comedian portrays the devil in hell. In the extract selected, Atkinson – impersonating the devil – condemns people by the sins that they committed in their lives.

5.1.2 Carlin, George: 'Religion and God'.Stand-up comedy routine performed by the American comedian who takes a skeptical point of view of religions and the existence of God.

5.1.3 Legrand, 'Coco': 'Al Diablo con Todo'. It is a stand-up comedy show performed by the Chilean comedian in 1999. In it, he also plays the role of the devil and goes through various issues in order to construct an image of the Chilean society.

5.1.4 Ruminot, Pedro: 'Dios'. This is a stand-up comedy routine extracted from the national television show 'El Club de la Comedia.' The show focuses on the issue of God and on how the Chilean society commonly responds to it.

5.1.5 Ruminot, Pedro: 'Halloween´. This is another stand-up comedy routine selected from the national television show 'El Club de la Comedia.' This time, the comedian focuses on Halloween's celebration; specifically, on how this celebration held in this country.

5.1.6 Seinfeld, Jerry: 'Halloween'. This is a stand-up comedy routine that focuses on the performer´s Halloween celebrations during his childhood.

5.2   Corpus selection criterion

The selection criteria used for this research were the following:

5.2.1   The stand-up comedy routines are one of the most popular forms of contemporary humour, mainly in the form of television shows or live performances. Apparently, comedians have turned to this genre over the years because there is a lively realistic interaction between them and the audience. This genre enjoys an intimate atmosphere in which one can observe audience´s reactions, their approval or disapproval. Some recognisable factors are that comedians are involved in live interaction with the audience, so the members of the audience, who promptly react according to the quality of the performance. The event happens at a specific time and place, and there is a spontaneous communicative feedback through, e.g., laughs that approve or disapprove of the jokes. This is a type of communication that is not possible to find in other humorous formats. In television comedy series, for instance, 'Friends', 'The Nanny', 'Two and a half men' or 'The Big-Bang theory', just to name a few, the linguistic and non-linguistic interaction is neither spontaneous nor natural. The dialogues as well as the scenes, the situations and people's laughs are artificially contrived in scripts; that is, previously planned, altered and edited. Therefore, the attempt to analyse the audience´s spontaneous and natural reaction is problematic. All of these reasons have influenced our decision to select the stand-up comedy genre as a valid data source to inplement in this research.

5.2.2   All the stand-up comedy routines selected have been performed by native speakers of English and Spanish. The format selected, as previously described explains the intention to give an account for the most spontaneous and natural humour interaction possible. Arguably, valuable ironic and sarcastic instances found in the routines.Thus, they can provide important information about the cultural aspects involved in the expression of humour.

5.3   Data analysis criteria and procedures

The data analysis carried out in this research involved several analytical procedures. These procedures and the criteria underlying the descriptive matrix were carefully selected and found their base on several of theoretical descriptive sources.

The initial stage of the research involved the selection of orthographic transcription of the routines alongside the repeated watching and listening of the television shows downloaded from youtube. Therefore, it was not possible to access the original scripts of the routines selected for analyses.

5.3.1 After the orthographic transcription process was completed, the next step was to carefully examine every utterance of the routine and determine which were to be considered as more ironic or sarcastic. The main criterion which guided this stage was not to draw a clear-cut boundary between irony and sarcasm but view the expression of irony or sarcasm as a continuum. This is the reason for using the (+) or (−) based on how the utterances were perceived. Every ironic and sarcastic utterance thus categorised was further analysed whitin a single descriptive matrix especially designed in order to account the different components involved in the expression of humour. The decision to design a one single matrix instead of two differentiating matrixes is based on the attempt to reveal the possible similarities and differences between pragmatic phenomena. Thereby, fifteen descriptive features were selected that were to validate, or otherwise the research questions. All of them are in fact pragmatic categories. They are as follows: Type of utterance, Implicature, Apparent speech act, Intended speech act, Cooperative Principle maxim-violation-based Principle, Echoic Mention theory, Allusional Pretense, Face-saving act, Face-threatening act, Stereotype activation, Target, Complementary pragmatic meaning, Audience's reaction, Punchline and Linguistic device. Each of them will be further described below.

5.3.2 The category 'maxim-violation based principle' is based on Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle. This principle comprises four maxims: Quality (be truthful), quantity (be precise), relation (be relevant), and manner (be clear). In any ideal conversational event the speaker will not attempt to confuse or trick the hearer, thus they

will follow these four maxims. Nonetheless, in humour, one of the important tasks that the comedian has to carry out in order to be humorous is to appeal to the audience´s ability to work out the intended implicatures. To do this, they have to go beyond the literal meaning of the utterances. Therefore, we firmly believe that, in the attempt to be humorous, comedians flout one or more than one of these maxims.

5.3. From Brown and Levinson´s model (1987), 'face-saving act' and 'face-threatening act' (FTA's). Face is defined as the public self-image that every person projects. A face threatening act is an act that somehow damages the 'face' of a person, acting in opposition to what the interlocutor thinks, believes or desires. Every time an FTA occurs, it is possible to lessen it through what is lebelled as a 'face saving act.' These acts spontaneously occur in conversation and other social interactions. Therefore, it is likely to find such instances in the use of ironic or sarcastic utterances.

5.3.5 The category 'Complementary pragmatic function' was selected from Attardo's (2001) contributions to the study of irony. This category comprises four criteria: 'Sophistication', 'Retractability', 'Evaluation' and 'Group affiliation'. The first criterion has to do with the ability or intention of the speaker to be regarded as sophisticated, i.e to show their worldly experience and knowledge. 'Retractability' relates to drawing back an opinion, comment or statement. 'Evaluation' is a statement or comment of appraisal of people, social situations, personal values or beliefs. Finally, 'Group affiliation' addresser´s standing or attitude towards a subject takes when speaking, that is, one´s personal standing as a group member.

5.3.6 As regards stereotypes, the category 'Stereotype activation' was designed, in order to ascertain its presence or absence in humorous discourse.On the other hand, to analyse the similarities and differences among the stereotypes. An Additional objective is to ascertain whether the typical stereotypes seem to be common to both cultures involved. Ironic and sarcastic utterances also aim at specific 'Targets', which can be concrete or abstract, real or imaginary entities. In this study, this category is intended to refer to the entity or entities constituting the subtype of the ironic or sarcastic utterances.

5.3.7 In order to further analyse, the matrix also includes the notion 'Audience´s reaction,' which is intended to account for the linguistic and non-linguistic factors forming part of individual or collected reactions of members of the audience. Along the lines, in order to fully analyse, the ironic and sarcastic utterances, the category 'Punchline' was included. The paunchline of a humorous piece is the utterance statement, line or word in which the 'humorous energy' of the whole humorous event is contained.

5.3.8 Finally, 'Linguistic device' is also an innovating category especially designed for this research study. This was made up in order to identify the linguistic resource at work in the utterance. Thus, there were three linguistic devices to be found: Lexical, Syntactic and Phonological devices.

Other relevant additions included for the alalysis of the ironic and sarcastic utterances. These are 'Relevant context' and 'Specific analysis.' The former is the actual discourse context in which an utterance under analysis has been made. The latter corresponds to the specific ironic or sarcastic segment that was analysed as part of the descriptive matrix. In what follows, an analysis is presented in order to demonstrate the operation of the descriptive matrix. This illustrative segment was taken from Jerry Seinfeld's routine on 'Halloween.'

Relevant context: *It (the candy) doesn't have the official Halloween markings on it: 'Hold it lady, wait a second. What is this? The orange marshmallow shaped like a big peanut?' Do me a favour, you keep that.*

Specific analysis: '*What is this? The orange marshmallow shaped like a big peanut?' Do me a favour, you keep that.*

Type of utterance	Sarcasm
Implicature	*You don't fool me with cheap candy imitations*
Apparent speech act	Asking (Echoing)/ Requesting
Intended speech act	Complaining/Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based principle	Yes (Manner)

Echoic mention theory	Yes
Allusional pretense	Yes
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes
Stereotype activation	Yes
Target	Alternative candy imitation
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluating
Audience's reaction	Laughs and claps
Punchline	*"Do me a favour, you keep that".*
Linguistic device	Phonological/Lexical

5.3.9 This research work involves a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis of ironic and sarcastic utterances in humourous routines. This means that the utterance analysis is not the only objective in this work, but another intended goal is to determine the frequency of occurrence of ironic and sarcastic utterances in humorous routines and whether their employment by comedians in their routines elicit any response from their audience.

5.4   The reason for selecting humorous routines from three language varieties, namely, Chilean spanish, British and North American english is because not only cross-sociolinguistic differences but also cross-cultural pragmatic differences are involved. That is, one is likely to find differences between the underlying cultural backgrounds. The present study also aims at accounting for the sociolinguistic practices and codes people normally follow a member of a determine society and culture. To sum up, this is a study of the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural variables underlying and operating in stand-up comedy routines.

5.5 Regarding the empirical process, the data collection procedure undertaken involved each routine, first, having the participants.in the study watch the audiovisual recordings of the routines performed in their native language and then examine the study questionnaire. After watching each routine, they were asked immediately to answer the questionnaires.To the effect, three questionnaires were prepared for the Chilean Spanish speaking subjects

and three for both the North American and British speaking subjects. Each questionnaire consisted of five previously selected quotations extracted from the respective routines; as input or elicitation questions. The extracts included both the ironic and sarcastic utterances selected for the informants' interpretative analysis.

In the questionnaires, an attempt was made to measure the humorous effect of each utterance. To this effect, we built up a humorous grading scale designed for ranging from 1 to 4; 1 being the lowest and 4 the highest grade of humorous energy. Each grade stands for a specific humorous evaluation specified below each utterance: 1- not funny, 2- slightly funny, 3- funny, and 4- extremely funny. The porpose of this 'grading' is to determine the humorous effect of ironic and sarcastic utterances as perceived by English and Chilean spanish native speaker informants in the stand-up comedies selected.

Both the Spanish and English questionnaires presented were introduced by a common set of instructions, which have read as follows: "Explain briefly how you understand the following highlighted segments (in bold). Consider the related context in each case. Write your answer in the lines presented above each extract. These have been taken from the routines already presented to you. Do not express any value judgments. Finally, choose **one** of the four alternatives given below (not funny, funny, slifgtly funny, and extremely funny)"

5.6 Finally, a brief questionnaire was submitted to the subjects in order to ascertain the stereotypes reffered to, explicitely or implicitely in both the Spanish and English routines. Four stereotypes were the selected ones: 'Los gringos', The Chilean people (the former for the Spanish informants and the latter for the English informants), The Mormons and The Jews, The French, and The Southern country people of the corresponding country. The participants were asked to provide their personal or generalised opinions which are common place in their respective countries about these stereotypes. These results have been examined, from a cross cultural standpoint and on a comparative basis analysed in the data analysis section.

6. DATA ANALYSIS

6.1   Stand up comedy´s routines

6.1.1   Coco Legrand's routine

6.1.1.1   Background

Alejandro Javier González Legrand, better known as Coco Legrand, is a widely known Chilean comedian. His sharp routines have launched him as one of the most successful and popular comedians in this country. His repertoire mainly consists of smart monologues that reflect daily Chilean people lifestyles. This particular feature in his allows for the analysis of the most typical psychological features of Chilean society, customs and idiosyncrasy. By means of, mainly, sarcam and exaggeration, among other devices, he depicts the social profile of the prototyped stereotypical social class member of the Chilean society. In the same vein, the topics in his routines treat family, work and sexual problems, among other social issues. Finally, his personal use of Chilean Spanish lexicon, pronunciation and intonation, social manners, and body language all together denounce the behaviour and personality of the Chilean people stereotypes.

6.1.1.2   Analysis

6.1.1.2.1   Relevant Context: "*... que no fueran a faltar nada que el vinito tinto que el consomé que el pisquito sour porque este país es muy hocicón, no los atendí bien y empiezan los comentarios: no que el muerto era como las weas ya esas cosas que hacen, y que la viuda parece que se la comía el Keko Yungue, toda esa mierda que inventa un chileno en menos de veinticuatro horas.*"

Specific context*: "...porque este país es muy hocicón, no los atendí bien y empiezan los comentarios: no que el muerto era como las weas ya esas cosas que hacen, y que la viuda parece que se la comía el Keko Yungue, toda esa mierda que inventa un chileno en menosde veinticuatro horas.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	When Chilean people are not well served they gossip about the host.
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/Chilean people
Target	Yes/ Chilean people in a wake
Complementary Pragmatic function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"...y que la viuda que se la comía el Keko Yungue…"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.1.2.2   Relevant Context: "*...Ahora si los atendiai bien olvídate los comentarios eran oye la cagó el muerto, la carne estaba blandita weón, y la viuda era bien rica como pa ponérselo en su conocimiento ya eran otros los comentarios.*

Specific Context: "*...oye la cagó el muerto, la carne estaba blandita weón, y la viuda era bien rica como pa ponérselo en su conocimiento ya eran otros los comentarios."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	Chilean people make good comments about the host and their family when they are well served
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No

Face-saving act	No
Fac- threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/Chilean people
Target	Yes/ Chilean people in a wake
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (positive)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"...como pa ponérsela en su conocimiento"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.1.2.3 Relevant context : "…*Tu creis que alguien te va a hacer un velorio cuando te muraí ¿tay más weón conch? no te prestan el living de la casa pa hacer un cumpleaños a un cabro chico van a tener un weón tieso ahí no."*

Specific context: "…*¿tay más weón conch? no te prestan el living de la casa pa hacer un cumpleaños a un cabro chico van a tener un weón tieso ahí no."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Chilean people do not like to use their house for events.
Apparent Speech Act	Complaining
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should use their houses for wakes
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean society
Target	Yes/ dead´s relatives
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation /(negative)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Un weón tieso ahí no…"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.1.2.4 Relevant context: "…*El que no está fumando o rascándose el culo está hablando por teléfono si con los celulares: si no mira no no ma ma si ma mándame los sacos de cemento a Vicuña Mackena, no no puedo weón webiando acá en un velorio weón.*"

Specific context: "…*si no mira no no ma ma si ma mándame los sacos de cemento a a Vicuña Mackena, no no puedo weón webiando acá en un velorio weón.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Many Chilean people are so busy with their lives and business that forget about tradition and respect
Apparent Speech Act	Complaining
Intended Speech Act	Criticising
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should respect this kind of events
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people nowadays
Target	Yes/ people in a wake
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	"*no no puedo weón webiando acá en un velorio weón*"
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.1.2.5 Relevant context : "…*y uno se dice si ese pobre weón está tan ocupao si tiene tantas cosas que hacer weón si tiene ese weon digo tantas llamadas que recibir por qué no se queda en la oficina que sale a webiar con un celular a un velorio weón.*"

Specific context: "…*por qué no se queda en la oficina qué sale a webiar con un celular a un velorio weón.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	If you are too busy to attend a wake or a

	funeral you shouldn´t go.
Apparent Speech Act	Requesting
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should be respectful and do not resolve business matters in a wake
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people
Target	Yes/ Chilean high-class business people in a wake
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs (slight)
Punchline	*"qué sale a webiar con un celular a un velorio weón."*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.1.2.6 Relevant context: "…Y a otros más weones que llegan a los teatros con el celular prendío."

 Specific context**: "**…*Y a otros más weones que llegan a los teatros con el celular prendío"*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	There are people who do not have a clue in theaters and go with their mobile phones on.
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should turn off their mobile phones in theaters.
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ chilean people do not have a clue
Target	Yes/ people in a theater

Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Cheers
Punchline	*"con el celular prendío"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.1.2.7   Relevant context: "**…***Hay otros que llegan a los restoranes weón transforman la weá en oficina, y a otros más weones que llegan a los teatros con el celular prendío. Entonces la disculpa weona que te dan: no es que mi mamá está muy enferma weón entonces cualquier cosa."*

Specific context: "…*Entonces la disculpa weona que te dan: no es que mi mamá está muy enferma weón."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	People give stupid answers when they make a mistake such as use their mobile phones in the theater
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should turn off their mobile phones with no excuses.
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people
Target	Yes/ people who do not turn their cell phones off in theaters
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Group Affiliation
Audience´s reaction	__
Punchline	__
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.1.2.8 Relevant context: "…*No pero eso en país Europeo en un país desarrollado en un país que tenga respeto por los demás ¿sabis lo que es? deja el celular en boletería le dice mire estoy en la fila A dieciséis si que cualquier cosa usted me llama, y pasa una persona que nadie cacha entra y cagó la vieja, pero sufre él y nadie más me entendis los otros siguen siendo felices.* "

Specific context: "… *y pasa una persona que nadie cacha entra y cagó la vieja, pero sufre él y nadie más me entendis los otros siguen siendo felices.*"

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	In developed countries nobody interrupts others in the theater.
Apparent Speech Act	Assuring
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people
Target	Yes/ people in developed countries that assist to theater.
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation (positive)
Audience´s reaction	Cheers
Punchline	*"cagó la vieja"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.1.2.9 Relevant context: "…*Conocer este país tan cagao hace tantos años atrás cuando lo único que le sonaban a ustedes weón eran las tripas, así que a mí no me van a impactar.*"

Specific context: "…*Conocer este país tan cagao hace tantos años atrás cuando lo único que le sonaban a ustedes weón eran las tripas.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Long time ago people were poor enough to have mobile phones.
Apparent Speech Act	Comparing

Intended Speech Act	Criticizing / deprecating
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people are ostentaious
Target	Yes/ Ostentatious Chilean people
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Sophistication
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"...eran las tripas"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.1.2.10 Relevant context: "…*Es que en este país también se aguanta cualquier cosa weón, viste que un ministro fue a votar con un carnet de chofer ya, después el presidente irá a votar con el LAN pass weón ya mira da lo mismo ya, se aguanta cualquier cosa."*

Specific context: "…*viste que un ministro fue a votar con un carnet de chofer ya, después el presidente irá a votar con el LAN pass weón."*

Type of utterance	(+ /-) Sarcasm
Implicature	Politicians in Chile vote using inappropriate documents because people accept it.
Apparent Speech Act	Guessing
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Politicians should vote in the same way as common people
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Politicians
Target	Yes/ Chilean president
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Sophistication
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"LAN pass weón"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.1.2.11 Relevant context: "…*Porque después están los comentarios y lo fuiste a ver si o y la raja weón escupe y sale fuego, no yo no lo vi esa weá no la vi ¿cómo la vai a ver weón llegaste media hora atrasao weón te perdiste todo po weón.*"

Specific context: "…*no yo no lo vi esa weá no la vi ¿cómo la vai a ver weón llegaste media hora atrasao weón te perdiste todo po weón.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	People who are late could not see the important part of the show.
Apparent Speech Act	Telling off
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should be on time to see the entire show
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Chilean people
Target	Yes/ people who are always late
Complementary Pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience´s reaction	Cheers
Punchline	"...*no yo no lo vi esa weá no la vi*"
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.1.2.12 Relevant context: "... *Yo las conozco a estas viejas mira weon, con con pena weón, con pena y con calor estas weonas no controlan ni el esfínter.*"

Specific context: "... *con con pena weón, con penay con calor estas weonas no controlan ni el esfínter.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Old women relatives cannot control their behave in a wake
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Mocking

Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Old women
Target	Yes / His old women relatives
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"...ni el esfínter"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.2 Pedro Ruminot´s routine "Halloween"

6.1.2.1 Background

Pedro Ruminot Araneda (born February 4th, 1981 in Santiago, Chile) is a Chilean comedian and script writer. Nowadays, is one of the members of the Chilean T.V show 'El Club de la Comedia' where he works as actor, comedian and script writer. He is mostly recognised for elaborating very sarcastic humorous monologues and treating contingent and national topics on his routines.

6.1.2.2 Analysis

6.1.2.2.1 Relevant context: *"...Y no voy a hacer el famoso chiste que la Maldonado, la Argandoña...que son brujas, que son feas, que le hicieron unos elásticos y todo eso yo no lo voy a hacer, por más que sea verdad yo no lo voy a hacer, me entienden, porque soy un caballero."*

Specific context: *"...por más que sea verdad yo no lo voy a hacer, me entienden, porque soy un caballero"*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Both named women are ugly and conceived as "witches"
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / He should say the truth about those women
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / Maldonado and Argandoña
Complementary pragmatic function	Retractability
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"yo no lo voy a hacer"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.2.2.2 Relevant context: *"Porque es bueno que exista Halloween porque las suegras merecen tener su día…las suegras odian Halloween, viene Halloween y dicen: "¡puta ya me van a webiar ya!", por eso inventaron el día de la suegra, ósea niños ahora tienen dos Halloween pa webiar."*

Specific context: *"por eso inventaron el día de la suegra, ósea niños ahora tienen dos Halloween pa webiar."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Irony
Implicature	Mothers in law are witches
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic Mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense:	No
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Mothers in law
Target	Yes/ Mothers in law
Complementray pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*" pa webiar"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.2.2.3 Relevant context: *"Yo fui una de las primeras personas que celebró Halloween en Chile, ah? ahí quedaron, cuando yo era niño andaba por las casas vestido con harapos pidiendo comida y me decían: ¡que buen disfraz de muerto Pedrito!, "no, es mi ropa" decía yo."*

Specific context: *"¡que buen disfraz de muerto Pedrito!, "no, es mi ropa" decía yo"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	In Halloween people thought that he was wearing a dead costume because of his poor clothes.
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / people should recognise that he was not wearing a costume
Face-Saving	Yes
Face-threatening	No
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes/ Himself
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Hypocritical Disapproval
Punchline	*"´es mi ropa' decía yo"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.2.2.4 Relevant context: *Halloween es el día de todos los muertos y se celebra en todos los lados así, pero acá en Chile lo encontraron muy fome o muy fuerte festejar a los muertos y ¿qué hicieron?, el día de todos los santos...y ¿quién se viste de santo acá en Chile?..."y ¿cuál es tu disfraz? de Sor Teresa de Calcuta, ¡fome!*

Specific context: *"y ¿quién se viste de santo acá en Chile?...y ¿cuál es tu disfraz? de Sor Teresa de Calcuta, ¡fome!"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	In Chile "el día de todos los santos" was replaced by Halloween because Saint costumes were too boring
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / People in Chile should wear costumes related to "el dia de todos los Santos"
Face-Saving	Yes
Face-Threatening	No
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Religious people
Target	Yes/ People who celebrate Halloween
Complementary Pragmatic function	Evaluation /(positive)
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Sor Teresa de Calcuta, ¡fome!"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.2.2.5   Relevant Context: *"Los niños están muy agrandados el último tiempo y llegan a las casas en Halloween y no dicen la clásica frase, ahora llegan y dicen:"condón o le hago a su hija una travesura…dulce o pastilla del día después que hicimos travesuras".*

Specific Context: *"ahora llegan y dicen: "condón o le hago a su hija una travesura…dulce o pastilla del día después que hicimos travesuras".*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Kids are not so innocent nowadays
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / people in Chile should use the appropriate phrases in Halloween
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / Positive Politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Kids

Target	Yes / Precocious kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"dulce o pastilla del día después que hicimos travesuras".*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.2.2.6   Relevant Context: *"Hay mamás que acompañan a sus hijos a pedir dulces por las calles, pero andan súper desarreglas cachay y uno les termina dando dulces a ellas, y uno dice: "¡oh el maquillaje bueno señora!".*

Specific Context: *"y uno les termina dando dulces a ellas, y uno dice: ´¡oh el maquillaje bueno señora!'."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Irony
Implicature	Untidy mothers look like dressed up
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / mothers should make up themselves up in the appropriate way
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes/ Mothers
Target	Yes/ Untidy mothers
Complementary Pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"y uno les termina dando dulces a ellas"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.2.2.7   Relevant Context: *"Hay gente que se queja porque los niños celebran Halloween y dicen que es una celebración gringa y empiezan a decir: "¡no pero como celebran las cosas gringas, nos están colonizando de nuevo los yankees,   no es chileno como el Viejo Pascuero y Papa Noel!"*

Specific Context: *"no es chileno como el Viejo Pascuero y Papa Noel!"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	"Viejo Pascuero and Papa Noel" are not Chilean characters
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / People should be awared of most of the celebrations are not Chilean
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / beliefs
Complementary pragmatic function	Group Affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"no es chileno como el Viejo Pascuero y Papa Noel!"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.2.2.8 Relevant Context: *"Porque ni una celebración es chilenas, las fiestas patrias no más, todas vienen del extranjero, Jesús no nació en un pesebre en Rancagua, el Viejo Pascuero no vive en Punta Arenas. Igual hay gente que no festeja Halloween, por ejemplo el huevo Fuenzalida, le dicen ¿vamos a Halloween? Y dice: "no yo ya no jalo weed perro"…grande huevo."*

Specific Contect: *"por ejemplo el huevo Fuenzalida, le dicen ¿vamos a Halloween? Y dice: "no yo ya no jalo weed perro"…grande huevo."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	The specified man was broadly known as a cocaine consumer
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / He should understand Halloween not "jalo weed"
Face-Saving	Yes
Face-Threatening Act	Yes / negative politeness

Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes/ Huevo Fuenzalida
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation (negative)
Audience's reaction	Laughs, Aplauses and Whistles
Punchline	*"no yo ya no jalo weed perro"*
Linguistic device	Lexical */* syntactic

6.1.2.2.9 Relevant Context: *"…hay gente que puede aprovechar esta noche donde se abren las puertas y la gente recibe a la gente, por ejemplo pueden aprovecharlo los testigos de Jehová, los mormones, se pueden disfrazar y al fin alguien les va   a abrir la puerta…igual es bueno."*

Specific Context*: "por ejemplo pueden aprovecharlo los testigos de Jehová, los mormones, se pueden disfrazar y al fin alguien les va a abrir la puerta…igual es bueno."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	Mormons and Jeovah´s Witnesses are not welcomed in the houses
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense:	No
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes / nositive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Mormons and Jeovah´s Witnesses
Target	Yes / Mormons Jeovah´s witness
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation / (positive)
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"y al fin alguien les va a abrir la puerta"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.2.2.10 Relevant Context: *"Lo único malo de Halloween es que si alguien tiene un accidente automovilístico, choca, queda herido, sangra y va a pedir ayuda a*

una casa, toca la puerta y dice: "¡oh que buen disfraz weón!, ahí tení todos los dulces".

Specific Context: *"¡oh que buen disfraz weón!, ahí tení todos los dulces".*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Irony
Implicature	People think that injured people in Halloween are dressed up.
Apparent speech act	Assuring
Intended speech act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic Mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense:	Yes / People should be awared of injured people in Halloween are not dressed up.
Face-Saving	No
Face-Threatening	Yes /negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / injured people during Halloween
Complementary Pragmatic function	Evaluation / (positive)
Audience's reaction	Laughs and Applauses
Punchline	*"¡oh que buen disfraz weón!"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.3 Pedro Ruminot´s routine "God"

6.1.3.1 Analysis

6.1.3.1.1 Relevant context: "*Por qué Dios nos castiga, siempre está enojao con nosotros nos manda huracanes y terremotos, porque siempre lo metemos en problemas, siempre le estamos pidiendo algo a alguien y no tenemos cómo pagarle y qué decimos: gracias que Dios te lo pague y Dios está en el cielo: puta otra deuda más weón. ¿Han pensao en toas las deudas que lo hemos metio, en todas las deudas en que hemos metio a Dios? Dios escucha eso y dice: ya cagaron*

huracanes terremotos epidemias, está tan endeudao Dios que ya está en DICOM pos weón"

Specific context : "*…está tan endeudao Dios que ya está en DICOM pos weón"*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	In this country people do not pay their debts
Apparent Speech Act	Assuring
Intended Speech Act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people is expected to pay their debts
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Chileans in debt
Target	Yes / Chileans
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"en DICOM pos weón"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.3.1.2 Relevant context : "*La gente siempre usa para todo a Dios, por ejemplo dice por todo así ay Dios mío, por ejemplo se enojan y dicen Dios mío, pasa algo bueno y dicen Dios mío, se arrepienten Dios mío, se asustan Dios mío; y si están haciendo otras cosas oh my God".*

Specific context : "*... y si están haciendo otras cosas oh my God".*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	In Chile people use the alluded expression in a lot of different contexts ('*oh my God'*)
Apparent Speech Act	Stating
Intended Speech Act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	Yes
Face-threatening act	No
Stereotype activation	No

Target	No
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation /(positive)
Audience´s reaction	Cheers and applauses
Punchline	*"Oh my God"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.3.1.3 Relevant context *:" pero todos no tenemos los mismos beneficios que el primer hijo de Dios Jesús, todos por ejemplo, no podemos multiplicar ni el vino ni el ni el pan, con suerte sabemos multiplicar dos por ocho; no tenemos discípulos que nos siguen con suerte nos siguen en twitter, y a penas podemos resucitar después de un carrete, en cambio él otro resucitó al tiro".*

Specific context : "… *todos por ejemplo, no podemos multiplicar ni el vino ni el ni el pan, con suerte sabemos multiplicar dos por ocho; no tenemos discípulos que nos siguen con suerte nos siguen en twitter, y a penas podemos resucitar después de un carrete, en cambio él otro resucitó al tiro."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Human beings do not have divine powers
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / people should have the same powers as Jesus
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / Christianism (Jesus)
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Group affiliation
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"con suerte nos siguen en twitter"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.3.1.4 Relevant context *"Algunos dicen que Dios es hombre otros sostienen que Dios también puede ser mujer y el mejor ejemplo de que Dios es mujer es el mandamiento no desearás a la mujer de tu prójimo, eso nunca un hombre lo habría escrito, nunca, claramente es mujer."*

Specific context: "…*y el mejor ejemplo de que Dios es mujer es el mandamiento no desearás a la mujer de tu prójimo, eso nunca un hombre lo habría escrito,*

nunca, claramente es mujer".

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Men are unfaithful
Apparent Speech Act	Assuring
Intended Speech Act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / God is man
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	yes/ unfaithful men
Target	Yes / men
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (positive)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"eso nunca un hombre lo habría escrito"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.3.1.5 Relevant context :   " *También hay dichos que tienen relación con Dios por ejemplo el dicho al que madruga Dios lo ayuda y los que se levantan más temprano son los que están más cagaos po weón. Puta tienen que levantarse temprano pa tomar la micro y llegar a estudiar a trabajar. De hecho al que madruga Dios no lo ayuda, ayuda al weón que se queda dormio tarde por ejemplo Longton.*"

Specific context   : *"... De hecho al que madruga Dios no lo ayuda, ayuda al weón que se queda dormio tarde por ejemplo Longton."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Lazy people are luckier
Apparent Speech Act	Asserting
Intended Speech Act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Hardworkers are successful
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	yes / Chileans are lazy
Target	Yes / Lazy people
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Cynical disapproval

Punchline	*"...que se queda dormio tarde por ejemplo Longton"*
Linguitic device	Lexical

6.1.3.1.6 Relevant context : " *Otros dichos: Dios los cría y el diablo los junta, Dios castiga pero no a palos por suerte, se imaginan Dios castigara a palos, estaría lleno de weones con la cabeza hundía. Qué te pasó, no me castigó Dios weón, obvio."*

Specific context : *"...Qué te pasó, no me castigó Dios weón, obvio."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	God does not punish physically
Apparent Speech Act	Guessing
Intended Speech Act	Criticize
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	Yes
Face-threatening act	No
Stereotype activation	No
Target	No
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Sophistication
Audience´s reaction	Cheers and applauses
Punchline	*"estaría lleno de weones con la cabeza hundía"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.3.1.7 Relevant context : *"También dicen que cuando alguien es bueno, bueno de corazón, dicen que es un pan de Dios, dicen ay ese niño es un pan de Dios. También hay otras versiones en chile por ejemplo Luis Jara es una marraqueta de Dios y el negro Piñera un pan duro."*

Specific context : "*… por ejemplo Luis Jara es una marraqueta de Dios y el negro Piñera un pan duro."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	Luis Jara instead of being a good person is fat, and Negro Piñera is a drug addict
Apparent Speech Act	Insulting
Intended Speech Act	Mocking

Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quality
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / Luis Jara and Negro Piñera.
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (negative)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs and hypocritical disapproval
Punchline	*"Luis Jara es una marraqueta de Dios y el negro Piñera un pan duro"*
Linguistc device	Lexical

6.1.3.1.8 Relevant context : *"Hay programas de televisión que terminan, hay programas de televisión que terminan así: y bueno nos despedimos agradeciendo su sintonía y nos vemos mañana si dios quiere. ¿Hay algún programa que haya terminao si dios no quiere? no estoy aburrio del bueno días a todos no se da más la weá ya se acabó."*

Specific context: *"… ¿Hay algún programa que haya terminao si Dios no quiere? no estoy aburrio del bueno días a todos no se da más la weá ya se acabó."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Sarcasm
Implicature	The utterance "*si dios quiere*" is irrelevant
Apparent Speech Act	Guessing
Intended Speech Act	Criticize
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Manner
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / God uses his power over everything
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / televisión presenters
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Sophistication
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*¿Hay algún programa que haya terminao si Dios no quiere?*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.3.1.8 Relevant context : " …*Hay gente que también estuvo super cerca de ser Dios por ejemplo Dioscoro Rojas estuvo así, así de ser Dios. Dios era el dios Dioscóro Rojas, pero el Dios de los curaos obvio, de hecho Dioscóro rojas tiene un hijo que se llama Jesuscóro Rojas que multiplica a los guachacas. El terremoto de febrero lo mandó Dios y el terremoto pa tomar lo mandó Dioscóro Rojas, son tan parecidos.*"

Specific context : "…*El terremoto de febrero lo mandó Dios y el terremoto pa tomar lo mandó Dioscóro Rojas, son tan parecidos.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The earthquake in Chile was sent by God and the drink called earthquake was sent by someone named similar to God
Apparent Speech Act	Stating
Intended Speech Act	Joking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Quantity
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / the drunk Chilean people
Target	Yes / Dioscoro Rojas
Complementary Pragmatic Function	Evaluation / (positive)
Audience´s reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"y el terremoto pa tomar lo mandó Dioscóro Rojas"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.4   Rowan Atkinson´s routine

6.1.4.1 Background

Rowan Sebastian Atkinson (born 6th January, 1955) is an English comedian, screenwriter, and actor. He is most famous for working on the satirical sketch comedy show 'Not The

Nine O'Clock News', and the sitcoms 'Blackadder', 'Mr. Bean', and 'The Thin Blue Line'. One of his most important characteristics as a comedian is his witty and ironic humour. He is also known for being a pioneer in the exploitation of physical comedy through body and facial language in order to exaggerate and ridicule every day situations and common social behavior.

6.1.4.1.1 Analysis

6.1.4.1.2. Relevant Context: *"Hi hello, it's nice to see you all here. Now, as the most perceptive of you probably realize by now, this is Hell, and I am the devil."*

Specific Analysis: "… *as the most perceptive of you probably realize by now, this is Hell*."

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	This is clearly Hell but you do not look very smart.
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / You should be more perceptive
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / People who are in Hell
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"This is Hell"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.4.1.3 Relevant Context: *"You're all here for... eternity. Oh, which I heartedly tell you is a heck of a long time. Em, so you'll all get to know each other pretty well by the end."*

Specific Analysis: *"...is a heck of a long time. Em, so you'll all get to know each other pretty well by the end."*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Irony
Implicature	Hell is for eternity.
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / People who are in Hell
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation (Positive)
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"heck of a long time"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.4.1.4 Relevant context: *But for now, I'm going to have to spread you up into groups. Will you stop screaming!? Thank you.*

Specific context: *Will you stop screaming!? Thank you.*

Type of utterance	(+/-) Irony
Implicature	Hell is a frightening place.
Apparent speech act	Request
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / Positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / People who are in Hell
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's response	Laughs
Punchline	*'Thank you'*
Linguistic choice	Lexical

6.1.4.1.5 Relevant Context: *"Em, looters and pillagers over here. Thieves, if you could join them, and lawyers. You were that..."*

Specific Analysis: *"... and lawyers. You were that…"*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Lawyers are also thieves
Apparent speech act	Sorting out/Request
Intended speech act	Criticize
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Lawyers lack a respectable image
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Lawyers
Target	Yes / Lawyers
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's response	Laughs, cheers and applauses
Punchline	*"... lawyers"*
Linguistic choice	Lexical

6.1.4.1.6 Relevant Context: *"Em, the French! Are you here?. Em, if you just liked to come down here with the Germans. I'm sure you have plenty to talk about"*

Specific Analysis: *"… I'm sure you have plenty to talk about"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	France and Germany were enemy countries
Apparent speech act	Stating/Guessing
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / Positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / The French
Target	Yes / The French
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation (positive)
Audience's response	Laughs
Punchline	*"... plenty to talk about"*

Linguistic choice	Lexical

6.1.4.1.7 Relevant context: *" Ok, emm, atheists? Atheists? over here please, you must be feeling allright bunch of nitwits. Never mind"*

Specific context: "*... you must be feeling allright bunch of nitwits.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Atheists do believe neither in God nor in the Devil, but now they are in Hell and came to be real.
Apparent speech act	Criticizing/Insulting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Atheists
Target	Yes / Atheists
Complementary pragmatic function	Retractability
Audience's reaction	Cheers
Punchline	*"nitwits"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.4.1.8 Relevant Context: "*And finally, Christians, Christians. Oh, yes I'm sorry, I'm afraid the Jews were right.*"

Specific Analysis: *"... I'm afraid Jews were right."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Christian religion was wrong
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Mocking

Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Jews and Christians
Target	Yes / Christians
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation (positive)
Audience's reaction	Cheers
Punchline	*"… Jews were right"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.4.1.9 Relevant Context: "*Right, well, are there any questions? Yes? Em, no, I'm afraid we don't have any toilets. Em, if you read your Bible you might've seen that it was damnation without relief. So if you didn't go before you came, then I'm afraid you're not going to enjoy yourself very much.*"

Specific Analysis: "*So if you didn't go before you came, then I'm afraid you're not going to enjoy yourself very much.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Hell is not a pleasant and enjoyable place
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Joking/Warning
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	No
Stereotype activation	No
Target	Yes / People who are in Hell
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"… enjoy yourself very much"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.5   Jerry Seinfield´s routine

6.1.5.1 Background

Jerome "Jerry" Seinfeld (born April 29th, 1954 in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.) is an American stand-up comedian, actor, writer, television, and film producer. Known for playing a semi-fictional version of himself in the situation comedy "Seinfeld", which he co-created and co-wrote with Larry David, and in the show's final two seasons, which he co-executive-produced. In broad terms, he is most recognised for exploiting or making use of a 'white' or innocent type of humour, this is, away from curse words and sexual thematic that often characterise other comedians.

6.1.5.2 Analysis

6.1.5.2.1 Relevant context: *"That's why you have to teach kids not to take candy from a stranger if they're playing in a playground because they're such candy-moron idiot brains that just… 'this man has candy, I'm going with him, goodbye. OK, so... get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy."*

Specific analysis: *"… they're such candy- moron-idiot brains that just...' this man has candy, I'm going with him, goodbye. OK, so... get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Kids only think about groceries so they can be easily fooled by perverts.
Apparent speech act	Commenting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / children should not get so obsessed about candies.
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children in Halloween
Target	Yes / Kids and perverts

Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy".*
Linguistic device	Phonological/Lexical

6.1.5.2.2 Relevant context: *"Don't go, they'll torture you, they'll kidnap you'. 'It doesn't matter he has an ---- I have to take that chance. Get candy, get candy, get candy."*

Specific analysis: *"... It doesn't matter, he has an ---- I have to take that chance. Get candy, get candy, get candy."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Kids would not do anything for candies no matter the cost.
Apparent speech act	Commenting/Echoing
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children in Halloween
Target	Yes / Kids and perverts
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"I have to take that chance."*
Linguistic device	Phonological/Lexical

6.1.5.2.3 Relevant context: *" So the first time you hear the...the concept of Halloween when you'rea kid, your brain can't even process the information. You... you're like "what is this... what did you say?"*

Specific analysis: *"… your brain can't even process the information. You... you're like 'what is this... what did you say?"*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Children's intelligence is so restricted they can not even fathom ordinary customs.

Apparent speech act	Commenting/Echoing
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Kids are not very smart
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children's intelligence
Target	Yes / Kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Your brain can't even process the information"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.5.2.3 Relevant context: *Then, finally, third year, begging the parents, got the Superman Halloween costume not surprisingly. Cardboard box, ----, mask included. Remember the rubber bands on the back of that mask? That was a quality item there. Wasn't it?*

Specific analysis: *That was a quality item there. Wasn't it?*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The rubber bands were of very poor quality
Apparent speech act	Commenting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Masks have a very poor quality
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Halloween masks
Target	Yes / Superman costume mask
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Wasn't it?"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.5.2.4 Relevant context: "*On the side of the box... I remember this... on my Superman costume, it actually said "do not attempt to fly" They printed that as a warning because kids would put it on and... going off the roof.*"

Specific analysis: "*… They printed that as a warning because kids would put it on and... going off the roof.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Kids are stupid enough to think that they can fly if they wear a Superman costume
Apparent speech act	Argumentation
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Children do not realize about the potential risks of things
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children on their costumes
Target	Yes / Kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*" Going off the roof."*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.5.2.5 Relevant context: "*I love the idea of the kid who is stupid enough to think he actually is a Superman but smart enough to check that box before he goes off the roof. 'Wait let me see if it says anything about me being Superman. Oh wait a second here I.*"

Specific analysis: "*… Wait let me see if it says anything about me being Superman. Oh wait a second here I...*"

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Kids have to check the box in order to make sure if they can fly
Apparent speech act	Asserting/Echoing
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)

Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes /Children do not realize about the potential risks of things
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children on their costumes
Target	Yes / Kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Oh wait a second here I..".*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.5.2.6 Relevant context: "*I was thinking that this was probably the same exact costume that Superman wears himself. And then you put these things on and it's not exactly the 'superfit' that you are hoping for.*"

Specific analysis: *"... superfit"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The costume is not tight at all
Apparent speech act	Commenting
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Costumes are generally poorly made
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / Positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Halloween costumes
Target	Yes / The Superman costume
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's response	Laughs
Punchline	*"Superfit."*
Linguistic choice	Lexical

6.1.5.2.7 Relevant context: "*I was thinking that this was probably the same exact costume that Superman wears himself. And then you put these things on and it's not exactly the 'superfi' that you are hoping for. It looks more like Superman's pajamas it's what it looks like.*"

Specific context: "… *It looks more like Superman's pajamas it's what it looks like.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The costume is not tight at all
Apparent speech act	Commenting/Establishing relations
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Costumes do not look like such
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Halloween costumes
Target	Yes / The Superman costume
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Superman's pajamas"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.5.2.8   Relevant context: "*Plus my mother makes me wear my winter coat over the costume anyway. I don't recall Superman wearing a jacket.*"

Specific context: "… *I don't recall Superman wearing a jacket*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	You should only wear what the character wore
Apparent speech act	Commenting
Intended speech act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Parents' overprotection
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Parents' behaviour and concerns
Target	Yes/ His mother/Parents
Complementary pragmatic function	Group affiliation

Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"A jacket"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.5.2.9 Relevant context: *"Not like I had... cheap corduroy... phony fur. 'Boy I'm Superman but it's a little chilly out and I'm glad I got this cheap little ten-year old kid's jacket."*

Specific analysis: *"... Boy I'm Superman but it's a little chilly out and I'm glad I got this cheap little ten-year old kid's jacket."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The costume is a total mess
Apparent speech act	Asserting/Echoing
Intended speech act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Children should be let wear proper costumes
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Parents and costumes
Target	Yes / The Superman costume/His mother
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs and claps
Punchline	*Boy I'm Superman but it's a little chilly out.*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.1.5.2.10 Relevant context: *" You know when it starts slicing into your eyeballs there and you try to breathe through that little hole. Getting all sweaty. 'I can't see, I can't breathe but we got to keep going, I got to get the candy!"*

Specific context: *"... I can't see, I can't breathe but we got to keep going, I've got to get the candy!"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Nothing really matters on the way for the candies
Apparent speech act	Complaining/Echoing

Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Children's lack of good judgment
Face saving act	No
Face threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children
Target	Yes / The Superman costume/Kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's response	Laughs and claps
Punchline	*"I can't see, I can't breathe but we got to keep going."*
Linguistic choice	Phonological

6.1.5.2.11 Relevant context: *"And a half hour into it you just take the mask 'oh, the hell with it!' Ding-dong 'yeah, it's me, give the candy! Yeah I'm Superman, look at the pant legs, what do youy care?"*

Specific context: *"... Yeah I'm Superman, look at the pant legs, what do you care?"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	I know I don't look like Superman and that I've got a lousy costume.
Apparent speech act	Asserting (Echoing)
Intended speech act	Complaining
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / The poorly made costume
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Children on their Halloween costumes
Target	Yes / The Superman costume
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's response	Laughs
Punchline	*"Look at the pant legs, what do you care?"*
Linguistic choice	Phonological

6.1.5.2.12 Relevant context: "*Remember those last couple of years trick or treating, getting a little too old for it. Still out there going through the motions. Ding-dong 'come on lady, let's go. Halloween, doorbells, candy, let's pick it up in there.*"

Specific analysis: "*… Ding-dong 'come on lady, let's go. Halloween, doorbells, candy, let's pick it up in there.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Halloween is an excuse for getting candies for free
Apparent speech act	Demanding (Echoing)
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Real interest has been lost
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Halloween nowadays
Target	Yes / Halloween and old kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Come on lady, let's go".*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.5.2.13 Relevant context: "*Coming to the door they always ask you those same stupid questions: 'what are you supposed to be?' 'I'm supposed to be done by now, you want to move it along, the three musketeers. I got eighteen houses on this block sweetheart. Just hit the bag and we hit the road. That's they way it works.*"

Specific analysis: "*… I'm supposed to be done by now, you want to move it along, the three musketeers.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The sooner you give me candies, the sooner I leave
Apparent speech act	Answering (Echoing)
Intended speech act	Demanding
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)

Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Real interest has been lost
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Halloween nowadays
Target	Yes / Halloween and old kids
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs and claps
Punchline	*"To be done by now [...] the three musketeers"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.5.2.14 Relevant context: *"It (the candy) doesn't have the official Halloween markings on it: 'Hold it lady, wait a second. What is this? The orange marshmallow shaped like a bigpeanut? Do me a favor, you keep that."*

Specific analysis: *"What is this? The orange marshmallow shaped like a big peanut?' Do me a favour, you keep that."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	You do not fool me with cheap candy imitations
Apparent speech act	Asking (Echoing)
Intended speech act	Complaining/Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Candy imitations
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Neighbours and candy imitations
Target	Yes / Alternative candy brands
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs and claps
Punchline	*"Do me a favor, you keep that."*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.5.2.15 Relevant context: *"Yeah we have all the door stops we need already, thank you. We're going for named candy only this year."*

Specific analysis: *"... We're going for named candy only this year."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	We do not want your cheap candy imitation
Apparent speech act	Asserting (Echoing)
Intended speech act	Complaining/Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	Yes
Allusional Pretense	Yes / Labelled candies are preferred
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / negative politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes / Neighbours and candy imitations
Target	Alternative candy brands
Complementary pragmatic function	Yes / Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"We're going for named candy only this year"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6   George Carlin´s routine

6.1.6.1 Background

George Carlin (1937-2008) was a highly influential American stand-up comedian, film and television actor, and the writer of three best-selling books. He considered himself a rebel atheist from a very young age. His routines were mainly characterised for being highly critical on society, politics and religion. The rebellious social critic also loved language and delighted exploiting the meaning of words and phrases in his acts. Fired and arrested after his famous "seven words you can never say on television" for violating obscenity laws, Carlin came to be considered an anti-religious man who disrespected society. However, his monologues – attacking government and religious institutions – were also considered to represent the voice of a whole generation.

6.1.6.2 Analysis

6.1.6.2.1 Relevant context: *"Religion has actually convinced people that there's an invisible man, living in the sky, who watches everything you do, every minute of every day.   And the invisible man has a special list of ten things he does not want you to do every day. And the invisible man has a special list of ten things he does not want you to do [...]"*

Specific analysis: *"... there's an invisible man, living in the sky, who watches everything you do, every minute of every day. And the invisible man has a special list of ten things he has not want you to do [...]"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	God's story sounds quite unbelievable
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretence	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People's religious beliefs
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"Of ten things he has not want you to do"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.6.2.2 Relevant context: *"And the invisible man has a special list of ten things he does not want you to do, and if you do any of these ten things he has a special place full of fire, and smoke, and burning, and torture, and anguish where he will send you to live and suffer, and burn, and choke, and scream, and cry forever and ever'till the end of time. But he loves you."*

Specific analysis: *"… But he loves you."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	He cannot love you if he has a place like this
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking

Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Quality)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Relevant inappropriateness	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes
Target	God and his followers
Use of utterance	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	applauses, cheers, whistles
Punchline	*"But he loves you."*
Linguistic device	Lexical/phonological

6.1.6.2.3 Relevant context: "*He loves you and he needs money. He always needs money. He's all powerful, all perfect, all knowing and all wise, and somehow just can't handle money.*"

Specific analysis: "*… he needs money. He always needs money. He's all powerful, all perfect, all knowing and all wise, and somehow just can't handle money.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The Church has set up a business around religion
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-thretening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes (Church is always asking for money)
Target	The Catholic Chuch
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Cheers
Punchline	"*somehow just can't handle money*"
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.6.2.4 Relevant context: *"This is between you and me, and between you and me, in any decently run universe this guy would've been out on his own powerful ass a long time ago."*

Specific analysis: *"… in any decently run universe this guy would've been out on- his own powerful ass a long time ago."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	If there is a God, he is doing a terrible job
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People / The world we live in
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"his own powerful ass a long time ago"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.5 Relevant context: *"If there is a God, if there is, I think most reasonable people might agree that it's at least incompetent and maybe, just maybe doesn't give a shit."*

Specific analysis: *"… it's at least incompetent and maybe, just maybe doesn't give a shit."*

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	Lookingt at the results, you realize that there is no God
Apparent speech act	Guessing
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No

Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	God/ Catholic religion
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	doesn't give a shit
Linguistic device	Phonological / lexical

6.1.6.2.6 Relevant context: "*I became a Sun worshiper. Several reasons, first of all I can see the sun, OK? Haha.*"

Specific analysis: "*… I can see the sun, OK? Hahaha.*"

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	You cannot see God so it is difficult to believe his existence
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	God/ Catholic religion
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's response	Laughs
Punchline	*"ok? Hahaha"*
Linguistic choice	Lexical

6.1.6.2.7 Relevant context: "*At least there are no crucifixions, and I`m not sitting people on fire simply because they don't agree with us.*"

Specific analysis: "*At least there are no crucifixions, and I`m not sitting people on fire simply because they don't agree with us*".

Type of utterance	(+) Sarcasm
Implicature	People are threaten in order to believe in religion
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /negative politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	The Catholic Church
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"I'm not setting people on fire"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.6.2.8 Relevant context: "*Sun-worship is fairly simple, there's no mystery, no miracles, no pageantry, no one asks for money, there are not songs to learn, and we don't have a special building where we all gather once a week to compare clothing.*"

Specific analysis: "*… there's no mystery, no miracles, no pageantry, no one asks for money, there are not songs to learn, and we don't have a special building where we all gather once a week to compare clothing*".

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Catholicism is built upon ridiculous customs
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Criticizing/Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Quantity/Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes /religious costumes
Target	The Catholic Church and its customs
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs and applauses

Punchline	*"To compare clothing"*
Linguistic device	Phonological

6.1.6.2.9 Relevant context: "*And the best thing, the best thing about the Sun, it never tells me I'm unworthy. Never tells me I'm a bad person who needs to be saved, hadn't said an unkind word.*"

Specific analysis: *"...it never tells me I'm unworthy. Never tells me I'm a bad person who needs to be saved"*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The Catholic religion diminishes its followers to keep them close
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Criticizing
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes
Target	The Catholic Church
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's reaction	No reaction
Punchline	*"never tells me I'm unworthy"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.10 Relevant context: "*But people do pray and they pray for a lot of different things. You know, your sister needs an operation on her crotch, your brother was arrested for defecating on a mall.*"

Specific analysis: *"… your sister needs an operation on her crotch, your brother was arrested for defecating on a mall."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	People pray for almost everything
Apparent speech act	Stating

Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes /people pray for almost everything
Target	People's prays
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"on her crotch/ for defecating on a mall"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.11   Relevant context: *"But most of all, you really like to fuck that hot little red-haired down at the convenience store. You know, the one with the eye patch and the ----- huh? Do you pray for that? I think you'd have to".*

Specific context: "*…You know, the one with the eye patch and the ----- huh? Do you pray for that? I think you'd have to".*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	You should definitely pray for important reasons only
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	Yes /people pray for almost everything
Target	People's prays
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"I think you'd have to"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.12   Relevant context: "*Unlike some other guys I can mention, I can actually see the Sun. I'm big on that, If I can see something, I don't know, turns to help the*

credibility along you know".

Specific analysis: **"…***turns to help the credibility along you know".*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	You should only trust what you can see
Apparent speech act	Stating
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People's judgement when trusting a religion
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"turns to help the credibility along you know"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

6.1.6.2.13   Relevant context: *"So, to get around all of this, I decided to worship the Sun. But, as I said, I don't pray to the Sun. You know who I pray to? Joe Pesci."*

Specific analysis: "…*You know who I pray to? Joe Pesci."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	Anybody could be a God judging for the requirements people seem to consider
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People's jugdement
Complementary pragmatic function	Sophistication

Audience's reaction	Laughs, applauses, whistles
Punchline	*"Joe Pesci"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.14   Relevant context: *"And for those of you who look to the Bible for moral lessons and literally qualities I'd like to suggest a couple of other stories for you. Emm, you might wanna look at the three little pigs, that's a good one. Has a nice happy ending. I'm sure you'll like that."*

Specific analysis: *"...the three little pigs, that's a good one. Has a nice happy ending. I'm sure you'll like that."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	The Bible is like a children's book
Apparent speech act	Recommending
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Quantity/Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People who read the Bible
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive asoect
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"that's a good one"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.15   Relevant context: *"Then, there's little red riding hood. Although it does have that X rated part where the big bad wolf actually eats the grandmother, which I didn't care for by the way."*

Specific analysis: *"…Although it does have the X rated part where the big bad wolf actually eats the grandmother."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	A passage like that might shock you if you read the Red riding hood.
Apparent speech act	Recommending

Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Quantity/Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving act	No
Face-threatening act	Yes /positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	People who read the Bible
Complementary pragmatic function	Evaluation
Audience's reaction	Laughs
Punchline	*"eats the grandmother"*
Linguistic device	Lexical

6.1.6.2.16   Relevant context: *"I'll raise the stakes a little bit. If there is a God may he strike me dead. See? Nothing happened. Oh, wait, a little cramp on my leg, and my balls hurt. Plus, I'm blind, I'm blind. Oh!, now I'm OK again. Must've been Joe Pesci."*

Specific analysis: *"I'm blind, I'm blind. Oh!, now I'm OK again. Must've been Joe Pesci."*

Type of utterance	(+) Irony
Implicature	God does not exist
Apparent speech act	Asserting
Intended speech act	Mocking
Maxim Violation-based Principle	Yes (Manner)
Echoic mention Theory	No
Allusional Pretense	No
Face-saving	No
Face-threatening	Yes / positive politeness
Stereotype activation	No
Target	God, The Catholic Church and its followers
Complementary pragmatic function	Persuasive aspect
Audience's reaction	Laughs, applauses, cheers, whistles.
Punchline	*"Must' ve been Joe Pesci"*
Linguistic device	Syntactic

7. PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

7.1 General Results

In order to identify the pragmatic functions of ironic, sarcastic, and referring stereotypes in English and Chilean Spanish stand-up comedy routines, a descriptive matrix was designed which included the pragmatic functions regarded as being highly relevant and effective in the expression of humour in stand-up comedy routines. The results were the following:

Socio-pragmatic functions	Occurrences
Total number of utterances under analysis	71
Ironic / Sarcastic utterances	71
(+) Irony	30
(+/-) Irony	5
(+/-) Sarcasm	7
(+) Sarcasm	26
Apparent speech acts	71
Asserting	26
Stating	14
Assuring	8
Commenting	7
Requesting	2
Insulting	2
Complaining	4
Demanding	1
Answering	1
Asking	1
Guessing	4
Comparing	1
Intended speech acts	71
Mocking	28
Criticising	24
Joking	9
Complaining	8
Warning	1
Demanding	1
CP Maxim Violation-based Principle	43
Manner	39
Quantity	3

Quality	1
Echoic Mention Theory	30
Allusional Pretense	37
Face-saving	5
Face-threatening	66
Stereotype activation	47
Target	69
Complementary pragmatic functions	71
Evaluation	34
Group affiliation	17
Aspect	8
Sophistication	10
Retractability	2
Audience's reaction	71
Laughs	48
Laughs and applauses	7
Cheers	8
No audience reaction	2
Hypocritical disapproval	3
Punchline	70
Linguistic devices	66
Lexical device	42
Phonological device	20
Syntactic device	14

Out of a total of 71 utterances selected, 30 of them were classified in the category (+) Irony, 26 in the category (+) Sarcasm, 5 in the category (+/-) Irony, and (+/-) Sarcasm. These figures demonstrate that comedians employ a large number of these pragmatic devices, expressions of Irony being the category most frequently employed in stand-up comedies.

As regards the category Apparent Speech Acts, a large number of the relevant utterances selected were found to be instances of Asserting (26 occurrences), Stating (14 occurrences), and Assuring (8 occurrences). The predominance of these speech act categories is directly related to the high frequency of occurrence of the ironic and sarcastic expressions being

expressed throughout the routines. By using these resources in combination, the comedians seem to exert a feeling of superiority over their audience.

Concerning Intended Speech Acts, there were many occurrences of Mocking (28), Criticising (24), Joking (9) and Complaining (8). The high number of these categories of speech acts was expected because they all constitute face-threatening acts, a pragmatic act often operating together with sarcastic expressions. Their total number added up to 69 occurrences. It, therefore, seems evident that the stand-up comedians selected for this study do intend to express humour by means of face-threatening acts inflicted upon the victim´s face.

As regards Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, the maxim of Manner was the most frequently violated one in 39 occurrences. On the other hand, the maxim of Quantity was violated in 3 occurrences and the maxim of Quality in only 1 occurrence. This is due to the fact that the CP is intrinsically related to the expression of Irony, as suggested by Grice (1975). The maxim mostly violated in the Ironic utterances was Manner, mainly by means of expressions originating either lexical or syntactic ambiguity.

The occurrences of Echoic Mention Theory and Allusional Pretense were, on average, 30 and 37 instances, respectively. These figures support the assumption that these two categories are not only applicable to ironic utterances but sarcastic utterances as well.

Stereotypes were present in most of the utterances analysed in the descriptive matrix, with a total number of 47 occurrences. In stand-up comedies, this frequency of occurrence demonstrates that they are a widely used pragmatic device exploited for the sake of humour generation. Also, the Target category was active in 69 utterances. This high occurrence supports the assumption that nearly all of the ironic and sarcastic utterances made by stand-up comedians aim at a specific Target. Regarding the audience's reactions, on all the occasions, the members mainly expressed favourable reactions and only a few unfavourable reactions (or none): Laughs (48), Laughs and Clapping (7), Cheers and Applause (3), Cheers only (8), No reaction (2), Hypocritical Disapproval (3). All of the audience's favourable responses go to show that occurs a large number of occurrences of the category Punchline, of which 70 occurrences were found in the routines examined.

Because of the fact that the stand-up comedy comedians employed a large number of Ironic and Sarcastic expressions, they simultaneously conveyed evaluative meanings. The high frequency of occurrence of these subjective meanings (34 instances) indicates that the pragmatic function 'Evaluation' was the most frequently expressed pragmatic meaning. In their turn, the category Group Affiliation was present in 17 utterances. Sophistication was conveyed in 10 occurrences. These figures demonstrate that these linguistic resources can play a significant role in establishing social relations and harmony. Apparently, the comedians make use of the Group Affiliation Device to narrow the existent gap between them and the audience. Thus, the audience and the comedian seem to belong to the same group. The Sophistication device seems to play an important role in making the comedian come across as witty and intelligent. The pragmatic functions Persuasive Aspect and Retractability were also operative in the comedy routines, with 8 and 2 instances of each, respectively. All these complementary pragmatic functions are conveyed in the expression of either sarcasm or irony.

Finally, the analysis of the operation of the Linguistic Devices proved to be a somewhat difficult task because of the fact that the stand-up comedians often employed them in their routines in combination, which then made it difficult to establish clear-cut categories. Still, 42 occurrences of Lexical Devices at work were found. Also, there were 14 occurrences of Syntactic Devices, and 20 occurrences of Phonological Devices. Strictly speaking, this last categorization holds a close relation to the Complementary Pragmatic Functions, due to the fact that the linguistic expression of humour often involves the operation of word play, or lexical ambiguity, or syntactic ambiguity. At the same time, the category Sophistication is closely interrelated to the notion of Indirectness, which seems to be a successful resource in the creation of humour.

7.2   Specific Results

7.2.1   Chilean Spanish Stand-up Comedy Routines

Socio-pragmatic functions	Occurrences
Total number of utterances under analysis	31
Ironic / Sarcastic utterances	31
(+) Irony	8
(+/-) Irony	3
(+) Sarcasm	13
(+/-) Sarcasm	7
Apparent speech act	31
Asserting	11
Assuring	8
Complaining	3
Guessing	3
Stating	3
Insulting	1
Requesting	1
Comparing	1
Intended speech act	31
Criticising	15
Joking	9
Mocking	4
Complaining	3
CP Maxim Violation-based Principle	31
Manner	18
Quality	12
Quantity	1
Echoic mention Theory	19
Allusional Pretense	20
Face saving	5
Face threatening	27
Stereotype activation	21
Target	29
Complementary pragmatic function	31
Evaluation	16
Group Affiliation	8
Sophistication	6

Retractability	1
Audience's reaction	31
Laughs	21
Cheers	5
Hypocritical disapproval	3
Laughs and applauses	2
No audience reaction	1
Punchline	30
Linguistic devices	32
Lexical device	16
Syntactic device	11
Phonological device	5

In the 31 utterances selected from the Chilean Spanish stand-up comedy routines, 13 of them were (+) Sarcastic expressions and only 8 were (+) Ironic ones. It seems clear that Chilean stand-up comedians tend to prefer the expression of sarcastic utterances in their routines. Still, 7 out of the 31 utterances corresponded to the category (+/-) Sarcasm, while 3 utterances realised the category (+/-) Irony. In the analysis of Coco Legrand's routine, 12 instances were found of the expression of Sarcasm, and 3 of the expression of (+/-) Sarcasm. In his routine, there were no instances of the expression of irony. Legrand was the Chilean comedian who most used sarcastic expressions, which goes to show that, to a great extent, he is a severe critic of the Chilean society, as claimed by many. On this point, one needs to bear in mind that the expression of sarcasm is an effective device in the realisation of the pragmatic meaning (and social act of) criticism. Finally, Face-Threatening acts were conveyed in 27 utterances, whereas Face-Saving acts were conveyed in 5 utterances.

As regards Apparent Speech Acts, the most frequently occurring one was Asserting, which was expressed in 11 out of the total number of 31 Apparent Speech Acts. The second most frequently occurring one was Assuring, with 8 occurrences. As regards Guessing, Stating, and Complaining, they showed a similar frequency of occurrence. Each of them was expressed on 3 occasions. Also, there was an equivalent frequency of occurrence among Insulting, Requesting and Comparing, each of which was expressed only on 1 occasion.

Regarding Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, the maxim of Manner was the most frequently violated one in 18 utterances. Also, there were 12 occurrences of the violation of

the maxim of Quality. It is relevant to point out that the correspondence between the maxim of Quality and the expression of irony; to the extent that the latter is described by Grice (1975) as 'saying something but meaning the opposite' (saying *p* but meaning *not p*) also seems to be applicable to the correspondence between the maxim of Manner and sarcastic utterances.

The Echoic Mention Theory operated only in 19 utterances. Regarding the Allusion-based Principle, it was operative in 20 utterances. These two principles were operative not only in the expression of ironic utterances, as Kumon-Nakamura (2007) proposes but also in the expression of sarcastic utterances.

In the 31 utterances selected from the Chilean Spanish stand-up comedy routines, the category Stereotype Activation was operative on 21 occasions. The main stereotypes that were referred to as discoursal subtopics were 'southern people,' 'old women relatives,' 'mothers-in-law,' 'kids,' and some religious groups. Also, the category Target was operative on 29 occasions, which demonstrates that the comedians intended to make explicit and direct reference, also as part of the main discoursal subtopics, to some specific well-known persons.

Regarding the Complementary Pragmatic functions, there were 16 occurrences of the expression of Evaluative pragmatic meanings. As for Group Affiliation, there were 8 occurrences. The expressions of this type of complementary pragmatic meaning occurred mainly in Pedro Ruminot´s routine about Halloween due to the fact that the main discoursal subtopics in it are referents related to Chilean customs and personalities. Other Complementary Pragmatic functions which were conveyed were Sophistication, which occurred in 6 utterances, while the pragmatic meaning Retractability occurred in only 1 utterance.

The audience's responses were abundantly present in every routine by means of laughs or clapping, or both as the comedians progressed in communicating their routines. Finally, concerning the descriptive category 'Linguistic Device', in 16 utterances the humorous effect involved the category Lexical devices, while in 5 utterances the comedians resorted to the Phonological Devices, and in 11 utterances the humorous effect was attempted by means of Syntactic devices. That is, in order to provoke humorous effects among the

audience, the Chilean comedians made extensive use of, mainly word play and lexical ambiguity.

7.2.2   English and North American Stand-up Comedy Routines

Socio-pragmatic functions	Occurrences
Total number of utterances under analysis	40
Ironic / Sarcastic utterances	40
(+) Irony	22
(+/-) Irony	2
(+) Sarcasm	13
(+/-) Sarcasm	0
Apparent speech act	40
Asserting	15
Stating	11
Commenting	7
Requesting	1
Insulting	1
Complaining	1
Demanding	1
Answering	1
Asking	1
Guessing	1
Intended speech act	40
Mocking	24
Criticising	9
Complaining	5
Warning	1
Demanding	1
CP Maxim Violation-based Principle	43
Manner	39
Quantity	3
Quality	1

Echoic mention Theory	11
Allusional Pretense	17
Face saving	0
Face threatening	39
Stereotype activation	26
Target	40
Complementary pragmatic function	40
Evaluation	18
Group Affiliation	9
Persuasive aspect	8
Sophistication	4
Retractability	1
Audience's reaction	40
Laughs	27
Laughs and applauses	5
Cheers and applauses	3
Cheers	3
No audience reaction	2
Punchline	40
Linguistic device	44
Lexical	26
Phonological	15
Syntactic	3

In the 40 utterances selected from the English and North American Stand-up comedy routines, 22 of them were (+) Ironic and 13 (+) Sarcastic expressions. On this finding, it should be pointed out that classifying 2 utterances, firstly describe d as (+) Ironic was not definitely established. Therefore, these utterances were finally included in the category (+/-) Ironic.

As regards Apparent Speech Acts, the most frequently occurring one was Asserting, which was expressed in 15 out of the 40 utterances. The second most frequently conveyed speech act was Stating, expressed in 11 utterances, closely followed by Commenting, which was conveyed in 7 out of the total number of 40 utterances. There were other speech acts which were expressed only on 1 occasion each. These were Requesting, Insulting, Complaining, Demanding, Answering, Asking, and Guessing. The use of Asserting and Stating as

Apparent Speech Act seems to suggest that humour is more successfully conveyed indirectly than directly.

As regards Intended Speech Acts, the most frequently occurring one was Mocking, which was conveyed in 24 out of the 40 utterances. The second most frequently occurring Intended Speech Act was Criticising, which was conveyed on 9 occasions. The third most frequently occurring one was Complaining, conveyed implicitly in 5 out of the 40 utterances. Demanding and Warning were also conveyed on 1 occasion each.

Concerning Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975), Manner was the most frequently violated maxim in 39 utterances. Alternatively, the maxim of Quality was violated on 3 occasions, whereas Quantity was only violated in 1 utterance.

The Echoic Mention Theory was operative on only 11 of the 40 utterances analysed. The reason for such a small number of occurrences was due to the fact that the three English stand-up comedy routines were based on the recounting of the comedians' personal experiences. As far as the Allusional Pretense Principle is concerned, this was operative in 17 occurrences out of the 40 utterances.

As it was expected, 39 Face-Threatening Acts were found in the English stand-up comedy routines selected. Their occurrence can be explained on account of the fact that the expression of irony and sarcasm, mainly the latter, typically involves threatening the victim's face by the addresser, namely, the comedian in order to generate a humorous effect. On the other hand, no occurrences were found of Face-Saving acts, which are intended to bring about the opposite effect.

Stereotypes were present in 26 of the selected utterances. In general terms, the Stereotypes selected as sub-topical discourses by the Anglo-Saxon comedians were 'children's behaviour in Halloween,' 'Halloween costumes,' 'the French,' 'the German,' 'the Jews,' and 'Roman Catholic people,' mainly.

Concerning the Complementary Pragmatic Functions, there were 18 occurrences of Evaluative meanings, 9 of Group Affiliation, 8 occurrences of Persuasive aspect, 4 of Sophistication, and only 1 occurrence of Retractability. As it was explained in the Presentation of Results of the Chilean Spanish stand-up comedy routines, the finding that Evaluative meanings seem to be intrinsically related to both Ironic and Sarcastic

expressions was confirmed in the English routines to the extent that, in combination, they all operate in combination when the comedians convey such face-threatening acts as criticising, mocking, expressing disdain, etc.

In a manner similar to the performance of the Chilean Spanish routines, the audience's reactions to the English-speaking comedians' routines were at all times spontaneous and loud. They were particularly perceived so when the performers' triggered their intended Punchlines for humorous effects.

As regards the choice of Linguistic Devices, the ones most frequently employed were the Lexical devices, which were chosen in 26 utterances. The Phonological Devices were chosen in 15 utterances, while the Syntactic Devices were selected only in 3 utterances.

7.3 Results of the Questionnaires

7.3.1 General Results

In order to determine the humorous effects generated by the stand-up comedy routines on two groups of native speakers acting as survey informants, a total number of 21 native speakers of Chilean Spanish and 14 native speakers of English were requested to individually watch 3 humorous routines performed in their native languages by the stand-up comedians selected for this study . After watching the routines, they were requested to answer 3 questionnaires. Each questionnaire provided as input 5 utterances selected from each of the respective language routines previously analysed in the matrix. As explained in section 3, the informants were instructed to choose 1 from 4 options, namely, 4 hierarchically- ranked degrees or levels of humorous effect presented to that effect. The alternative degrees of humour presented were the following: 'Not Funny,' 'Slightly Funny,' 'Funny,' and 'Extremely Funny.' Besides, they were requested to give a brief interpretation of what exactly caused the humorous effect(s) and the reasons supporting their interpretation, i.e. if it was something that the comedian said or did, or the topic which was being discussed, etc.

As a final result, the category 'Funny' was assigned by the informants the highest frequency of occurrence (40.4%) followed by 'Slightly Funny' (37.5%). The categories

'Not Funny' and 'Extremely Funny' were assigned the lowest frequencies, 14.4% and 7.6%, respectively.

In Table 1, the global results of the grading of humorous effect generated according to the interpretations of the routine segments are displayed. These results comprise both the English and Chilean Spanish routines.

Grading	Total number of points	%
Not funny	72	14.4
Slightly Funny	188	37.6
Funny	202	40.4
Extremely Funny	38	7.6

Table 1

According to the grading scheme, the Chilean Spanish-speaking and English-speaking subjects were asked to grade the humorous effects of the routines as follows:1 (Not Funny), 2 (Slightly Funny), 3 (Funny), and 4 (Extremely Funny); where the grade 'Not Funny' was assigned 1 point, the grade 'Slightly Funny' was assigned 2 points, and so forth. Finally, the category' Not Funny' was assigned a total number of 49 points in all, 'Slightly Funny' received 103 points, 'Funny' was given 122 points. Finally, the category 'Extremely Funny' was assigned 26 points.

Table 2 below displays the occurrence of the humorous effect in the three Chilean Spanish routines examined in this study.

Grading	Coco Legrand	%	Pedro Ruminot (Halloween)	%	Pedro Ruminot (God)	%
Not Funny	8	8	11	11	30	30
Slightly Funny	26	26	45	45	32	32

	50	50	38	38	34	34
Funny						
Extremely Funny	16	16	6	6	4	4

Table 2

Table 3 below displays the occurrence of the humorous effect in the three English routines examined in the present study.

Grading	Rowan Atkinson	%	George Carlin	%	Jerry Seinfield	%
Not Funny	9	13.23	1	1.53	13	19.40
Slightly Funny	34	50.00	25	38.46	26	38.80
Funny	23	33.82	29	44.61	28	41.79
Extremely Funny	2	2.94	10	15.38	0	0.00

Table 3

Some of the Chilean informants assessed Coco Legrand´s routine as 'Not Funny' with a total number of 8 points, while others assessed it as 'Slightly Funny' and graded it with 26 points. The routine was assessed by other informants as 'Funny' with 50 points. Finally, the routine was assessed as 'Extremely funny' and then graded with 16 points.

On the other hand, Pedro Ruminot's Halloween routine was assessed as 'Not Funny' by some informants and was graded with 11 points. This routine was assessed as 'Slightly Funny' by other informants and was graded with 45 points. The routine was also assessed by other informants as 'Funny' and graded with 38 points. Finally, when it was assessed as 'Extremely Funny,' it was graded with only 6 points.

As regards Pedro Ruminot's God routine, some informants assessed it as 'Not Funny' and graded it with 30 points. Other informants assessed it as 'Slightly Funny with a total number of 32 points. The routine was assessed by other informants as 'Funny' with 34

points. Finally, some informants assessed the routine as 'Extremely Funny' and graded it with 4 points.

There were three different questionnaires in relation to the three different Spanish- stand-up comedies routines; each questionnaire had five utterances to be analysed. Out of the total 15 utterances, 6 were Sarcastic and 3 Ironic, but there were 5 instances in which there was no consensus about if it was Irony or Sarcasm, using the distinction (+/-) Sarcasm due to the fact that it was considered as a sarcastic utterance but closer to irony. Also there was one instance in which it was found (+/-) Irony distinction due to the same reason, it was considered as Irony but closer to Sarcasm. In order to state whether these were considered funny or not funny, it was decided to not include these ambiguous distinctions. Finally, it was determined that the grades 'Funny' and 'Extremely Funny' were the ones that marked the utterance as funny, and that the grades 'Not Funny' and 'Slightly Funny' counted as not finding the utterance funny.

Taking into consideration a total of 180 grading which were corresponded to the utterances which followed the distinction (+) Sarcasm or (+) Irony setting the hilarious grade, out of a total number of 60 grades for irony, 25 considered this linguistic resource as 'Funny', and 35 as 'Not Funny'. In relation to of sarcasm, out of 120 grades, 72 sarcastic utterances were considered as 'Funny' and 48 as 'Not Funny'. It is important to mention that if we had considered the 'ambiguous category' the numbers would not have changed at all because in Coco Legrand´s routine, for example, there would have been just one Irony, by being he the funniest comedian regarded for the subjects.

Regarding the 14 English-speaking subjects, 12 of them were North American and 2 of them British. As well as the Chilean Spanish informants, the subjects had to choose among: 1) 'Not funny', 2) 'Slightly Funny', 3) 'Funny', and 4) 'Extremely Funny'. It is important to mention that there were four answers without a grade. Thus, it was found a total of 23 grades for 'Not Funny', 85 grades for 'Slightly Funny', 80 grades for 'Funny', and 12 grades for 'Extremely Funny'.

In Rowan Atkinson's routine, some informants assessed it as 'Not Funny' with a total of 9 points. Other informants assessed the routine as 'Slightly Funny' with 34 points. The routine was also assessed as 'Funny' by some informants with 23 points. Finally, some informants assessed the routine as 'Extremely Funny' with 2 points.

In George Carlin's routine, there were 4 answers which were not graded by the informants. The routine was assessed as 'Not Funny' but graded with only 1 point. Other informants assessed it as 'Slightly Funny' with 25 points. The routine was also assessed as 'Funny' by some informants and graded with 29 points. Finally it was also assessed as 'Extremely Funny' with 10 points.

In Jerry Seinfeld's routine, some informants assessed it as 'Not Funny' and graded it with 13 points. The routine was also assessed as 'Slightly Funny' with a total number of 26 points. Other informants assessed it as 'Funny' with 28 points. No informant assessed the routine as 'Extremely Funny'.

Finally, out of the total 15 utterances, 8 were Sarcastic and 7 Ironic. In order to state whether these were considered funny or not funny, it was determined that the grades 'Funny' and 'Extremely Funny' were the ones that marked the utterance as humorous. The grades 'Not Funny' and 'Slightly Funny' were decided to characterise the utterance as not humorous. This being said, out of a total number of 93 grades for Irony, 39 considered this linguistic resource as 'Funny', and 54 as 'Not Funny'. In the case of Sarcasm, out of 105 grades, 53 considered sarcastic utterances as 'Funny' and 52 as 'Not funny'. It is relevant to mention that the reason why the total number (198) of grades does not match the total number of answers mentioned at the beginning of this analysis (204) is because there were six informants who did not grade the utterances.

7.3.2   Specific Results

The results derived from the analysis of the Chilean questionnaires indicate, first of all, that regarding the humorous effects of ironic and sarcastic expressions, the latter were perceived by the informants as being a more hilarious resource than the latter. While ironic utterances were graded with 48 points by the informants, sarcastic utterances were graded with 72 points.

From the 15 routine segments / utterances originally selected for the questionnaires, 5 of them had been excluded because they had been classified in the fuzzy category (+/-) Sarcasm, while 1 routine segment / utterances had been labelled as (+/-) Irony. Therefore, the questionnaire submitted to the informants only contained 6 utterances / segments conveying sarcastic expressions and 3 utterances / segments conveying ironic expressions. However, if the expressions labelled as (+/-) Sarcasm were viewed as instances of the category (+) Irony, and if the expressions labelled as (+/-) Irony were viewed within the category (+) Sarcasm, the final results would be modified as follows: from the total number of 8 expressions of (+) Irony, which were graded by the informants with 156 points, informants ranked them within the option 'Funny', while some other informants assessed them as 'Not funny' and graded them with 90 points. As regards the 7 expressions of (+) Sarcasm, the informants that assessed as 'Funny,' graded them with 81 points, while those who assessed as 'Not funny,' they graded them with 63 points.

Therefore, it may be concluded that in the routines under analysis, the expressions of (+) Sarcasm generates a higher degree of humorous effect than the expressions of (+) Irony despite the fact that the data analysis of the routines revealed the presence of a larger number of (+) Ironic expressions.

Coco Legrand's routine was given the highest grading within the option 'Funny,' perhaps due to his preference for the (+) Sarcastic expressions. On the other hand, Pedro Ruminot's routine contained the highest number of (+) Ironic expressions, which were assessed by the informants as 'Slightly funny'.

When the informants were asked to describe what meanings were implied in the humorous utterances selected and submitted to them, many of them described some meanings that

were very different to the meanings intended by the comedians and identified as such in the descriptive matrix.

The analysis of the English-speaking According informant's questionnaires indicated that, first of all, sarcastic expressions were perceived as being a more humourous device than ironic expressions. The informants graded the former with 53 points, while grading the latter with 39 points.

The English-speaking comedian whose routine was graded with the highest number of points was George Carlin, the British comedian, who used the largest number of Ironical expressions. However, the 5 routine segments submitted to the questionnaire informants, which conveyed either Ironic (17) or Sarcastic (13) expressions, were assessed as being 'Very funny.' In a similar manner, the North American comedian Jerry Seinfeld's humorous segments submitted to the informants were graded with the highest number of points (16). This scoring may have been due to the fact his routine mainly focused on the expression of ironical meanings rather than sarcastic ones.

8   STEREOTYPE ANALYSIS

8.1   Data findings in Spanish

8.1.1 The American people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	Chilean	Son cerrados, porfiados, onda hippies y potencia mundial según ellos.
2	Chilean	Para mí, los gringos son muy honestos en general, simpáticos, pragmáticos, trabajadores, ordenados y respetuosos. Sin embargo el problema es que ellos esperan que el resto del mundo se adapte a sus horarios, forma de pensar y hacer las cosas, por tanto en ese sentido son a mi modo de ver, algo egocéntricos.
3	Chilean	A los gringos se les ve como inteligentes, de dinero con tecnología de vanguardia, pero muy despreocupados de la naturaleza y los animales
4	Chilean	Son medio confiados y como que las hacen todas en Chile, viajan, comen bien y carretean como nadie, todo lo que uno quisiera. Los que vienen por lo general son de plata y no suelen escatimar en gastos. Son tiesos pa bailar y se ríen con cualquier idiotez.
5	Chilean	Son superiores porque hablan inglés. Son el país con la más alta taza de obesidad, y todos piensan que todos los gringos son rubios de ojos azules.
6	Chilean	Basuras, controladoras del mundo, con oscuros gobiernos tras de ellos, a la vez estúpida gente cagada con un pseudo orgullo nacional destruyen lo que no entienden, incluidos credos, pensamientos y movimientos.
7	Chilean	En términos generales, se les ve como egocéntricos, bélicos y estúpidos, pero es una visión en tanto empañada por la envidia que generan al venir de un país más desarrollado que el nuestro. Algunos de los epítetos negativos son fundamentados en la visión de cinismos que entregan las películas de ciencia ficción que son las que llevan a un público más masivo
8	Chilean	Para mi los gringos son gente fría ambiciosa y casi muy pocas veces cálidas, son bien organizados, pero se sienten muy egoístas. Mi país los considera gente muy ordenada, pero muy

		fría igualmente.
9	Chilean	Mí visión: personas sencillas, inocentonas, para nuestra idiosincrasia, perseverantes y poco autocríticos. Mi país: personas superiores, creen ser dueños de la verdad, intervienen sin derecho sobre los pueblos
10	Chilean	Son personas común y corriente como todos, tienen más cultura no más que los Chilenos y tienen una buena calidad de vida. Según mi país los gringos son personas levantadas de raja que no creen en nadie que sea inferior a ellos.
11	Chilean	Son personas muy educadas quienes vienen con el propósito de surgir y salir adelante en un país ajeno
12	Chilean	País desarrollado, potencial mundial, la más poderosa potencia económica.
13	Chilean	Son cabrones, se meten donde no los llaman.
14	Chilean	Los gringos son tontos (obvio q no todos), pero no tienen ni un brillo
15	Chilean	Son inteligentes calculadores y buenos negociantes
16	Chilean	Los gringos me caen bien, creo q son personas, amigables, los que conozco acá en Chile tratan de acomodarse como sea a la cultura, a los modismos y son aperraos
17	Chilean	Son personas pacificas y amables tienen muy clara su identidad nacional aunque sus tendencias políticas son demasiado autoritarias y monopolizadoras.
18	Chilean	Los gringos son Buena onda, los que conozco son super sanos de mente, no tienen la maldad del chileno, no le buscan la quinta pata al gato, ni la manera de cagarse al resto, no siguen el partrón de su gobierno. Lamentablemente comen mierda, por eso son tan gordos.
19	Chilean	Los gringos son afortunados por tener muchas cosas que a nosotros nos gustaría tener. También les lavan la cabeza desde niños con que son potencia mundial y po eso son tan autosuficientes y emprendedores porque los crian con la autoestima alta. Comen harto y son buenos para las frituras,

		tienen buenas casas y en los trabajos pagan bien.
20	Chilean	Son sencillos y disfrutan de la naturaleza, son cultos y educados.

8.1.2. The French people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	Chilean	Hediondos, buenos para el vino, según son enamorados por su acento. País de la moda y bueno perfumes
2	Chilean	En general son muy cultos de buen gusto trabajadores, pero temperamentales también. No me gusta su falta de aseo personal ya que para quien no está acostumbrado es bastante desagradable el percibir sus fuertes olores corporales. Son sociables, pero también se sientes un poco dueños de la razón. Son un poco xenofóbicos también.
3	Chilean	Elegantes, refinados, cultos, altamente desarrollados como país y como personas
4	Chilean	Se dice que son hediondos y que se bañan en perfume barato. Son más refinados y suenan más aún cuando hablan, aunque en mi experiencia no ha sido tan así, al menos con los olores, suelen ser más afables y conversadores.
5	Chilean	Son hediondos y más top, en el sentido de que su idioma es más sensual y atractivo. La mayoría de ellos son delgados y disfrutan de vestir bien.
6	Chilean	Antiguo y hermoso país, su gente es insoportable arrogante e ignorantes. No conocen ni por cultura más allá de Europa. Los mejores perfumes provienen de la hermosa Francia para tapar el mal olor de su gente, que por tradición no conoce el aseo personal ni las duchas.
7	Chilean	Generalmente la gente cree que son hediondos, personalmente creo que son un pueblo de una cultura muy rica y son reconocidos por el sentido de la moda que tiene cada parisino.
8	Chilean	No tengo visión alguna de ellos

9	Chilean	Clasistas xenofóbicos, un tanto descuidados en su aseo personal. Para mí país los franceses son más olientes y desagradables de carácter.
10	Chilean	Es un país desarrollado con un basto conocimiento arquitectónico. Encuentro que son cobardes, porque son perros falderos de todos los gobiernos que son superiores a ellos desde la segunda guerra mundial. No peleen por sus ideales. Y lo típico que tienen bueno perfume y quesos.
11	Chilean	Personas que son educadas y también muy destacadas en materias de gastronomía y turismo.
12	Chilean	Conocidos mundialmente por su perfumes, ya que con eso esconden su hedor.
13	Chilean	Hedionditos…
14	Chilean	Son hediondos, es lo único que sé
15	Chilean	Son amariconaos pero buena onda
16	Chilean	Los franceses se parecen mucho a los gringos, pero los encuentro más cultos. He hablado con varios y les interesa saber de uno de sus raíces y casi siempre andan con un libretita como de apuntes.
17	Chilean	Son personas con una cultura muy interesante pero son muy dejados de estar además de ser demasiado fanáticos por su propio país e idioma, tienen su autoestima bastante alta.
18	Chilean	Son cerrados y no les importa el rsto sólo piensan en su bienestar, son encachaos igual.
19	Chilean	Son hediondos porque desde la segunda guerra mundial aprendieron a ahorrar en cosas básicas y porque hace mucho fró allá para bañarse, además de la húmedad. Come rico, tienen buenos vinos quesos y lindas mujeres.
20	Chilean	Los que vienen a Chile son super cultos y le interesa saber de nosotros, pero no les interesa aprender español y esperan que uno que todo el mundo hable el idioma de ellos, que es super

		complicado y da vergüenza ajena pronunciarlo

8.1.3. The Mormons and Jews

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	Chilean	Mormones: manifestantes, predicadores de su religión de puerta en puerta, vestimenta hombres de negro. Te meten la religión con cuchara como un purgante. Siempre vestidos de colores oscuros. Los judíos por su circuncisión el kipa son pelados.
2	Chilean	A los mormones no los conozco mucho, pero en general parecen gente de bajo perfil y que busca seguir su credo sin pasara llevar a nadie y respetando a las otras corrientes religiosas. En cuanto a los judíos, pienso que son gente muy pragmática, todo lo evalúa de acuerdo a la conveniencia de hacer determinada o cual cosa, no hacen nada espontáneamente, en muchos casos son bastante discriminadores, pero sé que entre ellos se ayudan mucho. Son generosos con quienes están bajo su gracia, pero muy tacaños con el resto. Son gente muy inteligente y buena para los negocios, son trabajadores incansables y muy bueno s para los negocios en general.
3	Chilean	Muy cerrados en sus creencias por ende poco abiertos a conocer y profundizar en otras posibles verdades
4	Chilean	Los primeros son unos fundamentalistas sin fundamento creen en puras idioteces sin sentido aunque igual reconozco su nivel de organización, y los judíos son tramposos y avariciosos, llorones y lastimeros, pero pueden ser traicioneros si les conviene y ser lo que ellos más odiaron en su momento.
5	Chilean	Todos gringos y rubios, flacos y reprimidos. Los judíos son tacaños , buenos para los negocios y tienen mucho dinero
6	Chilean	Judíos: Avaros, seres que gobiernan todo, se hacen llamar el pueblo elegido. Mormones: lacra irrespetuosa norteamericana, justifican invadir tu privacidad, tu religión y creencias en nombre de su Dios.
7	Chilean	Los mormones serían los pobres niñitos gringos que mandan al fin del mundo y respecto a los judíos la visón es la misma que la

		mundial, su sorprendente capacidad para hacer dinero. Personalmente no le tengo mucho respeto a la religión romana, sí respeto a la judía.
8	Chilean	Mormones: mi visión personal es que son personas no consecuentes con lo que predican, me inspiran desconfianza. Los judíos, son cien por ciento dinero, mezquinos, son un circulo cerrado.
9	Chilean	Los judíos son inteligentes, pero como pueblo y como religión son bastante autosuficientes pero generan inestabilidad en la región en que habitan. Los mormones son muy camote, pero son personas la raja, me gusta como son. Te orientan sobre su religión, pero son super abiertos de mente.
10	Chilean	Para mí es una gente muy insistente y perseverante respecto a su religión, pero llegan a ser muy hostigosos con la otra gente que no es de su religión.
11	Chilean	Personas muy creyentes en dios y que profesan ciegamente sus ideales sea donde sea
12	Chilean	Personas que son de ideales de progreso, trabajadores de campo que buscan su progreso en la ciudad. Muchas veces viajan desde sus distintas viviendas para seguir adelante en la ciudad.
13	Chilean	Los mormones son misioneros llevando su evangelio a muchas partes del mundo. Los judíos son secos para los negocios. Hacen dinero de la nada. Holocausto, nazi, guerra mundial, etc. Llevan su religión a distintos partes del mundo. Los judíos son resentidos sociales.
14	Chilean	Los judíos creo que son un pueblo demasiado egoísta y eso mismo hace que el mundo conozca poco de ellos, a simple juicio parecen un peligro para la estabilidad de oriente. Además de ser demasiado conflictivos, creo que el estándar de vida y desarrollo que tienen les queda grande para la cultura que poseen. Por otro lado, los mormones, son lateros pero bastante simpáticos, a mi me causa un poco de gracia que busquen adeptos a su religión mediante la amistad pese a que eso a veces juega en contra porque si los recibes en tu casa después no los sacas más y van siempre, lo digo por experiencia propia, pero mas allá de eso los encuentro muy buenas personas

15	Chilean	No sé nada de los judíos. Y los mormones son amables, te saludan en la calle, buena onda pero mucha regla extraña dentro de su religión/secta, aunque es asunto de ellos
16	Chilean	Los mormones gente decidida y fiel a lo que creen. Los Judíos chuchas de su madre, ladrones, cagones, envenenadores de agua, comerciantes de todo, aprovechadores mentirosos, miradores en menos y narigones porque el aire es gratis
17	Chilean	Los judíos no me gustan mucho los encuentro mala onda típico viejo de almacén con plata y q atiende mal como que hacen un favor y mal hecho. Los mormones me caen bien. A mi casa han ido varias veces porque una vez a mi hermana le dio por invitarlos y después llegaban siempre en buena.
18	Chilean	Los mormones son puros gringos que no tienen nada que ahcer y deciden salir a turistear a otros países con la excusa de la religión, pero viven gratis y comen bien, asi que son como vacaciones pagadas. Los judíos sólo sé que sufrieron en la segunda guerra mundial porque estaban adquiriendo todas las riquezas del país y Hitler los mató
19	Chilean	Generalmente todas esas personas de alguna religión son gente ignorante, que lo único que conoce es la biblia y John Smith, pura basura para tener el control de las mentes de las personas
20	Chilean	Los mormones son buena onda, pero cargantes, como que no cachan que uno les abre la puerta porque son encachaos no más…y los judíos son tacaños, avaros y buenos para los negocios.

8.1.4. The Southern people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	Chilean	La gente del sur es gente en general muy sociable y de buen corazón, es trabajadora y generosa sin embargo un poco conformista, un poco emprendedora, salvo los descendientes de extranjeros que allá viven, es gente sencilla y de gusto por la vida familiar. Son de tener familias grandes, de comer en abundancia y beber acorde a las ocasiones es gente muy unida solidaria, muy esforzada y sufrida.

2	Chilean	Carismático, preparan buenas comidas, son gente cercana y hospitalaria.
3	Chilean	Bonachones que aún conservan sus tradiciones se han ganado el nombre de buena gente y amables, únicas personas que te invitan un plato de comida, te cobijan y te cuentan una grandiosa historia, sentados al lado de su leña, sin cobrarte nada.
4	Chilean	Mayormente asociado a la gente de campo. El carácter de la gente se asocia a la tierra en la que viven, siendo esta generosa y el clima frío, generando calor humano.
5	Chilean	Arraigada a sus tradiciones modestas cerradas en sus creencias, inculta, amable, sencilla, trabajadora y tranquilas.
6	Chilean	Gente amable cariñosa aunque un poco bruta, son excelentes conservadores y contadores de historias, y el chiste buenos para comer y tomar por cantidades industriales, muy divertidos si les caes bien y peladores si no.
7	Chilean	Huasos, negros y brutos e ignorantes, pero muy trabajadores.
8	Chilean	Gente muy cálida y respetuosa, muy humilde y sencilla que se caracteriza por la zona ya que se cocina una comida calórica y muy deliciosa, gente acogedora y encantadora.
9	Chilean	Gente esforzada trabajadora, de buenos sentimientos, transparentes un poco abandonadas por las políticas de desarrollo.
10	Chilean	Gente muy hospitalaria, cocinan rico, son amables, pero brutos con los animales
11	Chilean	Cariñosa, amable, atenta, buena gente, bonachona.
12	Chilean	Humilde, cariñosos, buenas personas, gente sufrida
13	Chilean	La gente del sur, se supone q es como amable, te atienden bien así como "cariñosa".

14	Chilean	Ignorantes hasta decir basta, pero felices
15	Chilean	Calida hospitalaria con buen sentido del humor, buena para el copete y la comida trabajadora y cordial, hasta hueona a veces
16	Chilean	Pese a su manera tan peculiar de hablar, los encuentro muy sencillos no son personas que andan pasando a llevar a los demás .Son muy sacrificados y eso es admirable.
17	Chilean	La gente del sur es normal como en cualquier parte, pero tienen tradiciones retrógadas basadas en el sufrimiento animal y en el deterioro del medio ambiente
18	Chilean	La gente del sure s bruta, pero los más viejos porque los jóvenes ahora están más preocupados de surgir y salir de esa vida tan acampá. Pero son buenas personas.
19	Chilean	La gente del sur es amable, cocinan rico, comen bien, por todo matan una vaquilla y son buenos pal tintito y el cilantro.
20	Chilean	Hablan cantaito, andan a caballo, comen de la huerta, les gustan las habas, se comen hasta la lengua de la vaca. Son huasos para todo, como que son vergonzosos, en general amables. La mayoría son personas super sacrificadas.

8.2 Data finding in English

8.2.1. The Chilean people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	American	Chileans are everywhere but with a bad reputation unfortunately. They like to beat around the bush instead of getting to the point.
2	American	Focused and structured, always in a hurry and not very polite.
3	British	Chilean people are friendly when you know them but very rude when you don't.

4	American	I never really heard any Chilean stereotypes, except once when I told someone I was going to Chile to study Spanish and he said, 'You are not going to come back speaking , you will be yelling'. I don't know what he meant by that.
5	American	I wouldn't say that my country has many stereotypes as Chileans; from being here I can say they are quiet, respectful, and concerned citizens lots of protest and unrest of the government. They also love their mayonnaise.
6	American	Chileans are an amazing group of people. Very friendly and welcoming. Modern society with western ideas.
7	American	Short, tanned, dark haired, and eyes, with my personal experience Chileans are sweet, helpful, ongoing and caring. Having many political dilemmas.
8	American	Chileans are dark skinned and short. I think of Chileans before I came as good cooks, extremely nice and having a lot of politically turmoil.
9	American	Chileans are religious, nice, hard working.
10	American	They are catholic, conservative.
11	American	Short is my only opinion and for my country I don't think there is a standard.
12	American	American I think do not know much about Chileans, generally. They generally think they are more conservative for South Americans, but are more financially stable. Many believe they have low self-esteem.
13	American	Mine: Really friendly and nice if they are educated and young. If they are anything else they are rude and xenophobic.
14	British	They are fun loving people who would rather have fun than work. They are always late and find it difficult to be on time for appointments. They are very friendly but slightly reserved people.

8.2.2. The French people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	American	They are very nationalist and rude especially the French from Paris.

2	American	French people are dirty, loud but I love the language.
3	British	Arrogant, obnoxious; rude.
4	American	Not very friendly, wear fancy clothes, drink a lot of wine. Afraid of confrontations.
5	American	Stuck up, arrogant, prissy, up class, emotional to an unnecessary level, educated, smoke a lot of cigarettes drink coffee, striped shirts, diplomatic.
6	American	Most people in the U.S. think that the French are assholes who are rude and look down on people who don't speak French. I think that the French are not assholes it is just that in any big city like Paris the people aren't as nice.
7	American	Snobby, uptight, stylish, smelly, hairy, dreamers.
8	American	Cocky, white, very stylish, posh, hairy, artistic and egotistical. They seem to be very proud people.
9	American	All-natural, naturally grown. Snobby, stylish, romantic, artistic, smelly.
10	American	Smelly, snobby, don't like Americans. Proud.
11	American	They don't like Americans and are a bit snobby. Always give up or need help.
12	American	French people are always smoking, eating rich food and the men have large noses. Generally, they are very serious and have no sense of humour, have terrible taste in music, but dress rather well.
13	American	Very fine and cultured. They usually keep to themselves and expect the same with you. They surrender easily.
14	British	The French have a reputation for being rude and also believing everything from France is the best. The food, wine and culture. They also like to complain when they are abroad.

8.2.3. The Mormons and Jews

	Informant's nationality	Comments

1	American	Mormons are everywhere in the world building their big churches and Jews have money.
2	American	Dedicated, hard workers, strong believes.
3	British	Good people who suffer for what they believe in.
4	American	Mormons live a very strict lifestyle that does not allow them to experience life outside of their religion or other people in their religion. Jews are said to always be careful not to spend their money, so that way they end up rich. They are also stereotyped to be ugly with big noses and curly hair.
5	American	Mormons artificially nice, weird values and beliefs, extreme religious tradition, wouldn't go out and have a drink with one. Jews: funny , curly hair, cheap, talk fast , intelligent and not very attractive.
6	American	Mormons beliefs tend to be very radical and not tolerant of other religions. They have a ton of children with many wives. I believe that Mormons need to be a little less radical about their religion. Jews tend to be very smart with a lot of money.
7	American	Mormons big families, strict, prude, nerdy. Jews stingy, cheap, snobby, curly hair, big noses, nerdy, socially awkward.
8	American	Mormons, interesting family situation lost of kids, very conservative and nice. Jews, oppressed, very intelligent big noses and curly hair, well-off.
9	American	Lots of kids.
10	American	Close minded to other beliefs, lots of children self restricting.
11	American	Mormons mislead and are stuck in a terrible religion. Blinded and ignorant. Jews are nice people that sometimes identify strongly a bit strongly to their religion.
12	American	Mormons are the scariest type of Americans, besides republicans. They have many wives and live in Utah. Jews are funny, have lots of money but are stingy. Good food and taste.
13	American	Very religious and would like you better if you were in their religion.
14	British	Jewish people have a reputation for not being very generous but they have an excellent sense of humour. Mormons have some beliefs which many people find difficult to follow.

8.2.4. The Southern people

	Informant's nationality	Comments
1	American	In the U.S., being from California I would consider the southern people being like a little angry because they lost against the north. But their culture is very rich and interesting,
2	American	Relaxed, easy-going.
3	British	Friendly and generous but a little noisy.
4	American	Nowadays southerners are very fat and eat everything deep fried in fat. Eat a lot of fast food. They support every family owning guns. They are against immigrants coming to the U.S. also they talk funny.
5	American	Lazy, some whites are racist, right-learning political views, fat, rich hearty fattening food, farm people, hicks, can be very welcoming and polite in certain parts, southern values i.e. respectful, warm, nice.
6	American	The south in the states is set back in a time right after the cold war at the end of the first century. People are still extremely racist and are not very tolerant if other things other what they know.
7	American	Slang, slow, fried food, sweet, racist, religious.
8	American	Slang, racist, crazy spicy food, very ignorant, extremely conservative, unaware of the world.
9	American	Fried chicken, interracial marriages. Stupid , no education crime.
10	American	Racist, a little backwards, less educated, conservative, (unhealthy) fried food.
11	American	Ignorant and spew with their accent.

12	American	Slow, dumb, yet romantic. They are usually alcoholics and racist but they cook very well despite using lots of fat/fry in everything. Some are inbred.
13	American	Warm and welcoming but sometimes very closed minded.
14	British	They have a reputation for being unfriendly and do not like anything foreign. They are not very welcoming and can be quite unfriendly to people. It takes a long time to build up a friendship with these people.

8.3 General Conclusions about the Stereotypes in stand-up comedy routines

8.3.1 The Americans (according to the Chilean informants)

The opinions that the Chilean informants expressed regarding the North American people were somewhat varied. First of all, they were said to have some negative characteristics. A large number of informants reported that they are self-centered and arrogant. Because of their international status as the world's most developed country, they were said show little empathy towards other people and disregard their beliefs and desires.

However, there were a small number of informants who described them as being nice and simple people. Judging from the answers that these informants provided, it may be assumed that they have had personal contact with American people. In fact, these informants made a distinction between what Chilean people think and what they themselves thought. Chilean informants also think of North Americans as being very intelligent and well-organised people, personal characteristics which seem to be related to the view that their country enjoys the status of being the world leading country.

8.3.2 The Chilean people (according to the American and British informants)

In this study, it was possible to have both North American and British adult persons (the latter forming a much smaller group, though) as informants of the questionnaire designed

for this study. Nevertheless, there were not any substantial differences between the two groups when it came to describe the main personal and social characteristics of Chilean people. Most of the informants see Chileans as friendly and outgoing people. As the informants are currently living in Chile (or were staying in Chile when the survey was conducted), it is not surprising that they had something favourable to express about Chilean hospitality. Broadly, they referred to Chilean people as welcoming and helpful. Another interesting comment made is that several of them made reference to Chilean people being politically-minded. The informants highlighted the Chileans' spirit and strength to fight for what they genuinely believe to be their rights. This opinion is, no doubt, related to the fact that they were staying in Chile during a time of intense political activity and social unrest.

Some of the informants, however, expressed some negative opinions about the Chilean people. They said that the Chileans seem to be somewhat too direct, if not even rude and impolite, mainly when they interact with English-speaking foreigners in Spanish. This evaluation can be explained by the fact that, in general, Chilean people tend to be more direct in their forms of address and styles of social interaction among themselves than English-speaking people in their own social contexts. For example, when the Chileans make a request in their oral interaction with family members or friends, they usually use imperative sentences, even without any markers of politeness, while native speakers of English use interrogative constructions or other indirect grammatical forms, together with polite markers. Thus, it seems to be the case that perhaps the latter fail to interpret the operation of other social markers being used by the former to convey polite requests, such as the appropriate intonational pattern, the facial gesture, or body language, mainly.

8.3.3 The French people (according to the Chilean, North American and British informants)

When comparing the personal opinions that Chilean, American and British people hold about the French people, several comments seemed to be very similar. A generalized comment was that they are not very clean and, therefore, they body can smell. This opinion was expressed shared by most of the informants. Another common opinion, which is probably related to the previous one is the French produce the world's best perfumes, which seems to be a fact, as it is commonly advertised in the mass media. Another negative personal trait describing the French people, as expressed by many of the informants

(especially the North American and the British ones) was that the French are self-centred and arrogant people. They were also depicted as being chauvinistic in that they think that their country and all that they do and produce is the best in the world. Because of their intense patriotism, they were also said to be rude to foreign people. Finally, they were also described as snobbish.

It is important to note some differences between the answers of the three groups of informants. Many of the Chilean informants (although not all) expressed the opinion that the French language and culture were very attractive. Such attractiveness led them to characterize the French as a refined and well-educated society. Regarding the English-speaking informants, both groups had negative comments to make about the French people. However, it is noteworthy that the British informants expressed more negative opinions about them than the North American ones. This may be due to the rivalry that, historically, has existed between the two nations.

8.3.4 The Mormons (according to the Chilean, North American and British informants)

The three groups share the common belief that the Mormons are a very conservative and group with closed membership. They are seen as holding radical religious beliefs, while being intent on to persuade other people their religion is the only one holding absolute truth value. Because of this narrow-mindedness to which the Mormons are associated, the informants seemed to make definite and radical opinions about this group of people. Many of the Chilean informants described them as persistent and dogmatic preachers of their religion, even at times showing no respect for people's religious. The North American informants, on the other hand, tended to focus more on the peculiar and strange aspects of their religion and how these dictate the social behaviour of the members of the Mormon community. They commented on the fact that they are unlikely to socialize with people holding other religious beliefs than their own. Another common stereotypical opinion that the North American opinions have about the Mormons is that they constitute a polygamous society in their home country. Nevertheless, there were several Chilean informants who reported that the Mormons were very kind and lovable persons

8.3.5 The Jews

There was a somewhat striking difference between the Chilean and the English-speaking informants' description of the Jewish people. Both groups commented on their great ability for business and money-making. However, the Chilean informants expressed very negative views of them in their description. They referred to the Jews as being stingy, greedy and unpleasant people. Furthermore, they described them as having always formed a group of closed membership.

On the other hand, the English-speaking informants expressed more politically correct personal views of the Jews as a stereotypical group of people. They stated that they were self-sufficient and very intelligent, especially when dealing with finances. Regarding their personality and social behaviour, instead of describing them as disagreeable or unpleasant, one of the informants referred to them as being 'socially weird.' This expression clearly reflects a milder description of this people, which may be due to the present North American and British political approach to such issues as racism and anti-Semitism, of which they disapprove.

8.3.6 The Southern people

This description was dealt with separately. Each group of informants described the Southern people as belonging to their particular region. First, the comments made by the Chilean informants will be presented here. The majority of them see the Southern people as being very kind, loving, generous and hardworking. Many of these personal traits are often associated to people from the South of Chile and the countryside. Most of their replies share the opinion that these people are very simple, loyal to their traditions and having a great sense of humour. Another common opinion is that they love eating and drinking abundantly and never seems to be unwilling to share their food and drinks even with strangers.

Interestingly, there were several similarities between the descriptions of the Chilean Southern people and the American Southern people, despite the fact they belong to two completely different national and social communities. Much like the Chilean informants, the North American informants said that the Southern people loved eating abundantly.

Moreover, the informants also commented on their love for fatty food, which can be delicious but, obviously, fattening and harmful to one's health. They were also said to be heavy drinkers, even to the point of being alcoholics. However, unlike their Chilean counterpart, the large majority of the informants described them as being unfriendly and, even, hot-tempered people. Much like the Chilean people, they were said to be conservative. However, in the United States that means that they are still nationalistic and, even, racist.

Finally, the two British informants expressed quite a different view of the Southern people of their own country. One of them stated that they were very friendly and noisy, while the other expressed the opposite view. Evidently, a larger number of British informants was needed so that a certain trend might have been visualized.

9. CONCLUSIONS

9.1 General conclusions

Based on the results that have emerged from the data analysis carried out in the present study, it seems possible to conclude that a significant number of expressions of irony and sarcasm, and of referring expressions of social stereotypes are normally present in Chilean Spanish and North American and British English routines performed by stand-up comedians. As described in the descriptive matrix and listing of the stereotypes being made reference to in the routines, all these expressions perform various discoursal-pragmatic functions in the expression of humour by stand-up comedians before live audiences, e.g. mocking (as shown by its a frequency of occurrence of 39%), criticizing (33%), and joking (12%), mainly.

On the basis of their high frequency of occurrence in the texts under analysis, it appears reasonable to conclude that the ironic and sarcastic expressions, together with the constant reference to common social stereotypes –typically in the form of discourse subtopics–, all play a significant role in the elaboration and communication of stand-up comedy routines. Thus, to illustrate this point, it seems relevant to point out that the audiences reacted to the comedians' humorous intents with laughter and approval on 55 out of 59 occasions. In fact, one may wonder whether stand-up comedians might be able to achieve any humorous effects without frequently or constantly resorting to these devices.

In specific terms, in British and North American stand-up comedy routines, ironical expressions are employed much more frequently than sarcastic expressions (55% versus 32%). By contrast, in the routines of Chilean stand-up comedians, sarcastic expressions demonstrate a greater frequency of expression than ironical ones (41% versus 25%). In order to explain this phenomenon as a probably recurrent tendency in the discourse genre under study, it seems necessary to take into account the possible role or influence played by some general socio-cultural patterns and social practices which are characteristic of the sociolinguistic linguistic communities involved. Average members of the Chilean Spanish community (tend to) often use –along the lines suggested by the main propounders of the Politeness Principle, Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) and, Thomas (1995)-, relatively more direct forms of expression and address, besides being quite emotionally

expressive in their social interaction and linguistic communication. That is, they often tend to address their interlocutors more directly and the employment of somewhat emotional forms of expression is not infrequent in their messages. This entails that the operation of some aspects of the Politeness Principle (mainly, the Tact Maxim: 'Minimise the impoliteness of your impolite utterances' (Leech 1983)), is neutralised, partially or completely, by the use of less tactful or unmitigated social formulas. Along the same lines, and not surprisingly, Chilean stand-up comedians often use quite aggressive, if not offensive, forms of expression in the elaboration of their discoursal topics (which include the cultural stereotypes being referred to for the sake of humourous effect). In fact, swearwords and abusive forms are being increasingly used by national stand-up comedians (perhaps largely reflecting a current tendency in informal daily conversational interaction among certain social groups) when referring to the referents of the stereotypes that constitute their topical targets.

On the other hand, the English-speaking people, probably on account of their Anglo-Saxon cultural grounds, seem to demonstrate a tendency to be relatively more indirect and less emotionally expressive in their social interaction and linguistic communication. This is reflected in their conventional social operation of the politeness principle. Concerning this view, Leech (1983) claims that, on the whole, North American people appear to be more direct in their manners of expression than British people, who, in their turn, demonstrate to be relatively less indirect and polite than Japanese people.

In the present study, it is important to take into consideration the fact that in the analysis of the utterances conveying either ironical or sarcastic meanings, there were a number of occurrences which were not clear-cut instances of either category (which were labelled in the data analysis as (+) Sarcasm and (+) Irony). Therefore, it was necessary to design an analytical matrix that, besides positioning the two categories in question as the polar points of a continuum- it was necessary to include two other intermediate categories: (+/-) Sarcasm and (+/-) Irony. This 'continuum-based fuzzy-edged' multicategorial descriptive approach prevented an 'either A or B' type of analysis based on only the two initial (assumingly clear-cut and discrete) categories. In fact, the alternative descriptive matrix designed was prompted by the actual data being examined. It seems relevant to point out

that the results obtained with the application of this multicategorial matrix did not seem to negatively influence one of the main quantitative findings emerging from the data analysis, namely, the greater number of occurrence of ironic utterances than sarcastic ones: 42 instances of ironical expressions (61%) versus 33 of sarcastic expressions (46%).

Regarding the cultural stereotypes being referred to in the stand-up comedy routines for the purpose of generating humorous effects, the data analysis revealed the presence of 47 references (66%) in the routines performed in both languages. In the Spanish routines, 21 occurrences were found of referring expressions identifying the social stereotypes. A similar number of stereotype references was found in the English routines, as there were 26 occurrences of the corresponding referring expressions (44% versus 55% respectively). Throughout the routines performed in both languages, the stereotypes most frequently being referred to were those involving either religious beliefs or affiliations, namely, *people who believe in God, religious people, religious practices, the Christians, the Roman Catholics, the Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses,* and *atheists*. The referring expressions linked to the social stereotypes which were employed by the comedians, though not repeatedly, in the British and North American routines were, for example, *the church, neighbours, children, the French, lawyers,* and *people who believe in hell*. Alternatively, the referring expressions identifying the social stereotypes in the Chilean routines were, mainly, *Chilean drunkards, lazy Chilean people. unfaithful man, mothers, mothers in law, old woman relatives, politicians,* and *high-class business people.*

In specific terms, as for the personal views of the Chilean Spanish-speaking and the English-speaking informants towards the stereotypes under study, the types and manner of expressions used by the Chilean informants revealed that they hold more aggressive and derogatory opinions towards the main referents involved in the stereotypes than the English-speaking informants. The opinions of the Chilean informants involve quite negative or strong personal views (which may make manifest community-based social and cultural beliefs). Also, these informants made explicit a high degree of sociopragmatic directness in the expression of their opinions by means of their lexical choices and use of idiomatic expressions. Conversely, the North American and British informants participating in the survey expressed, by comparison, more indirect, impersonal and reserved opinions

about the stereotypes. On the whole, one may venture out that the linguistic expressions conveying the opinions of each language group is indicative of somewhat ostensive cultural differences between the two sociocultural communities, as suggested by such authors as Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987).

According to the information provided by the survey participants, both the ironic and sarcastic utterances proved to be quite efficient pragmatic devices in the achievement of humourous effect -assumingly, as intended by the stand-up comedians in the performing of their routines in both languages. Both the Chilean Spanish and English-speaking informants reported that the sarcastic expressions produced more hilarious humourous effects than the ironical expressions, despite the fact that, in the routines performed in both languages, a higher frequency of occurrence was found of ironic utterances (56% versus 43%, respectively). In this respect, as reported by the informants, the most hilarious Chilean performer was Coco Legrand, who was the comedian within the Chilean trio employing the highest number of sarcastic expressions, on 9 occasions, which also correspond to the total number of utterances selected. As for the group of Anglo-Saxon comedians, the performer who employed the highest number of sarcastic utterances was Jerry Seinfeld, the North American comedian, who produced 7 sarcastic utterances out of a total of 16 such utterances. These findings are relevant to the fact that the expression of sarcasm is closely related to the operation of the principle of impoliteness (Bousfield, 2008:123). These two comedians made extensive use of taboo words, made mockery of their target referents and clearly ridiculed them. All of these are pragmatic and communicative strategies involved in the operation of the impoliteness principle. Thus, it seems evident that sarcastic utterances, besides being frequently used for the expression of offense or harsh criticism, can effectively be used as a highly effective humorous device.

Finally, it seems relevant to point out that the conveyance of both ironical and sarcastic expressions by stand-up comedians for the purpose of achieving humourous effects upon their audience is mainly achieved by means of the linguistic devices available at all the operational levels, i.e. the intralinguistic and interlinguistic ones (mainly the pragmatic and discoursal ones). However, one should not disregard the important role played by both the paralinguistic and extralinguistic devices operation in conjunction with the former ones:

e.g. (abrupt) variations of the pitch and tone of voice, facial gestures, body language, impersonating, etc. Although the present study has focused mainly on the operation of the former devices, one should still be fully aware of the relevant role played by the latter, as Attardo's (2003, 2009) studies have reported.

10. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

On the whole, the general objectives of this study seem to have been fulfilled to a great extent. Nevertheless, the implementation of the study encountered some difficulties which could not be overcome. One of them was the difficulty to engage a larger number of British English speakers as survey informants. The study aimed, on the one hand, at comparing the employment of ironical and sarcastic expressions and the topical reference to social stereotypes by Chilean, North American and British stand-up comedians. On the other hand, it aimed at finding out native speakers' interpretation of the expression of humour in stand-up comedy routines together with their personal opinions about the social stereotypes being referred to in such routines. Clearly, a larger number of informants expressing their personal views would have strengthened the validity of the final results drawn in this study.

An additional problem which may have negatively influenced, to some extent, the results derived in the present study was detected only in the data analysis task. Some of the informants –only a small number of them, though- did not seem to have strictly followed the instructions given to answer the questionnaire. Although this is only a minor setback, it is worth mentioning so that follow–up studies may duly prevent it.

11. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

On account of the small corpus collected and the relatively small amount of data that has been examined, it is evident that the present study can only be viewed as a preliminary research. Still, it could as well serve as the basis for a larger scale research, bearing in mind

that some of methodological procedures undertaken here are subject to further improvement.

Moreover, further research is needed into some other relevant aspects that were not taken into account in the present study. It may be suggested that a comparison between American and British sociocultural communities could be made regarding the manners of expression of irony and sarcasm by the members of each, together with the references to social stereotypes in stand-up comedies. As noted previously, this could not be achieved in the present study because of the small number of British persons participating as informants. Finally, an additional piece of research that could be undertaken is an interlanguage study aiming at the analysis and assessment of the ESL students' ability, at different levels of proficiency, to interpret the expression of humour by native speakers of the target language. This ability may be further compared with the ESL learners' ability to interpret humorous discourse in their own native language or, alternatively, with the ability of native speakers of English.

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Coco Legrand´s Routine "Devil": http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nB0drYBknnE

Pedro Ruminot´s Routine "Halloween":http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qMRC4_HtjZQ

Pedro Ruminot´s Routine "God" : http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1UizKYlGmTc

Rowan Atkinson´s Routine "Devil" : http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9UbqZ_oN5do

Jerry Seinfield´s Routine "Halloween" : http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eyHfddaER0A

George Carlin´s Routine "God" : http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gPOfurmrjxo

13. APPENDIX

Section 10.1 Chilean Stand-up comedies graphs

13.1.1. Graph 1. Coco Legrand´s routine

1a Grading

No answer
0%

Not funny
8%

Extremely
16%

Slightly funny
26%

Funny
50%
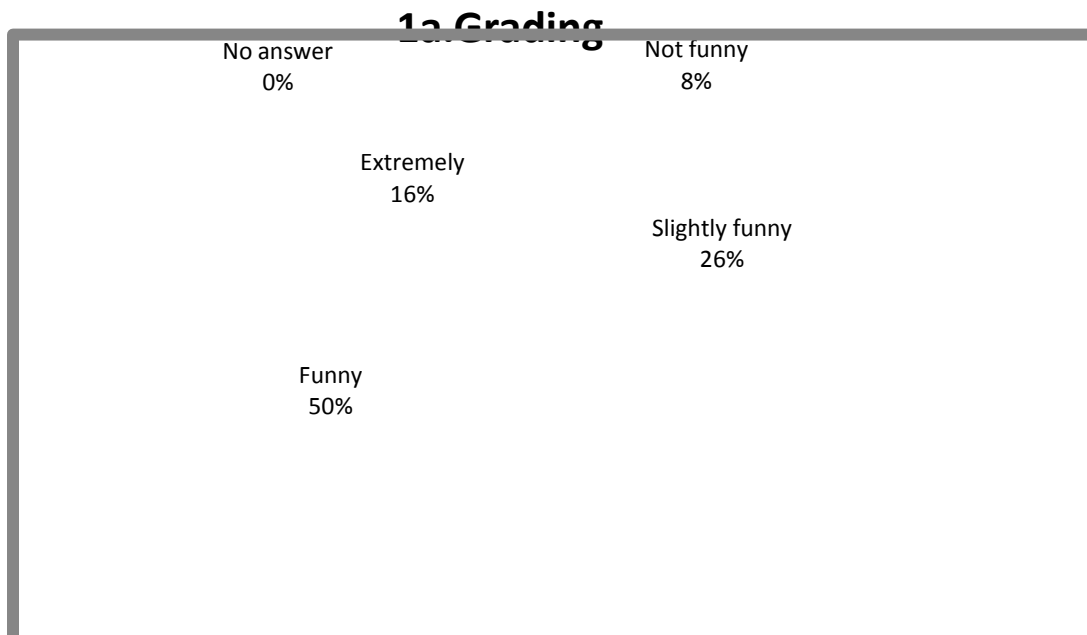
13.1.2 Graph 2. Pedro Ruminot´s routine (Halloween)

Extremely
funny
6%

1b Grading

No answer
0%

Not funny
11%

Funny
37%

Slightly funny
46%
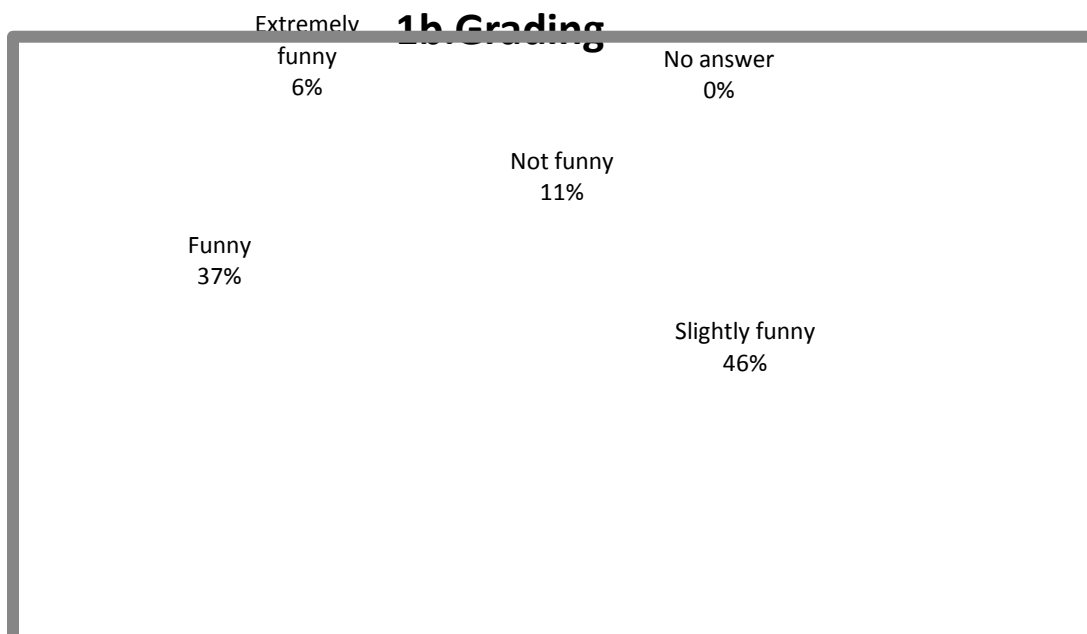
13.1.3 Graph 3. Pedro Ruminot´s routine (God)

1c. Grading

Extremely funny
4%

No answer
0%

Not Funny
30%

Funny
34%

Slightly funny
32%
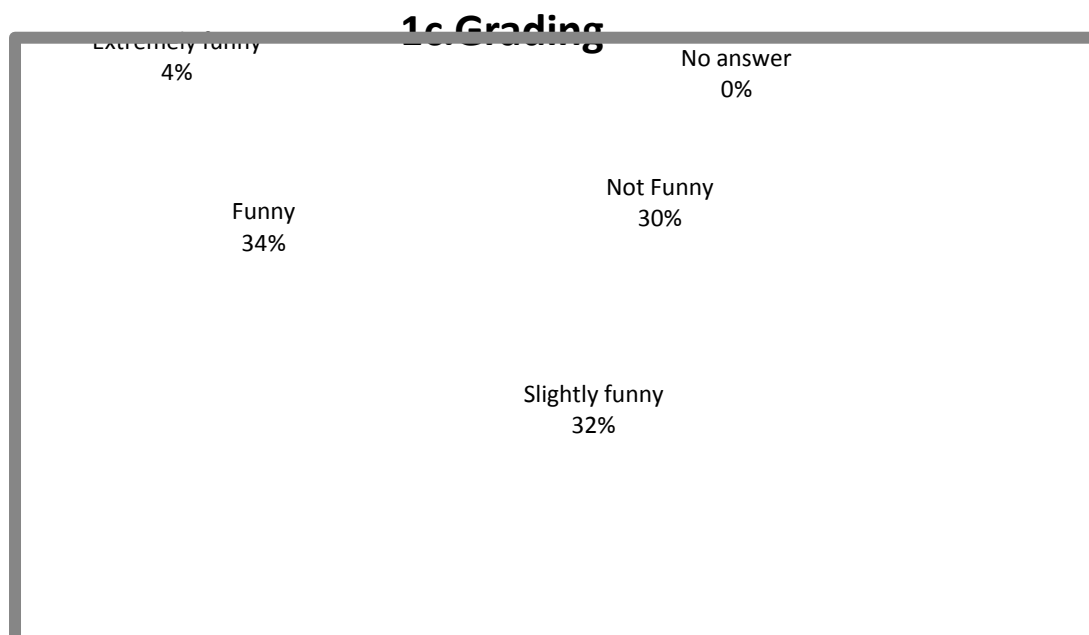
13.2 English Stand-up comedies graphs

13.2.1 Graph 1. Rowan Atkinson´s routine

1a. Grading

No answer
3%

Extremely funny
3%

Not funny
13%

Funny
33%

Slighty funny
48%

13.2.2 Graph 2. Jerry Seinfield´s Routine

1b Grading

Extremely funny
0%

No answer
4%

Not funny
19%

Funny
40%

Slightly funny
37%
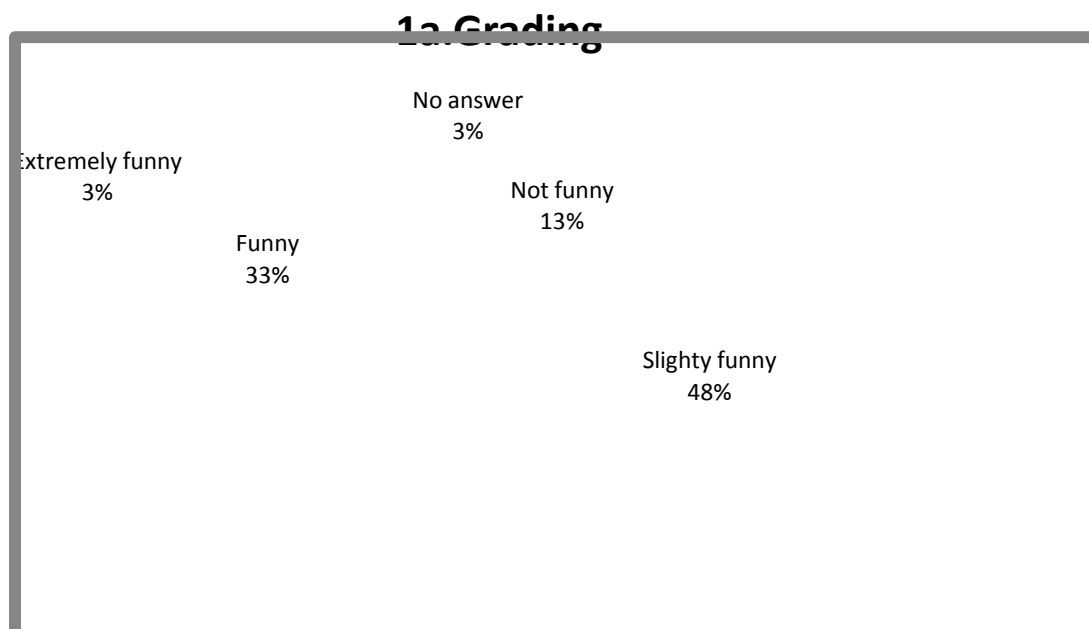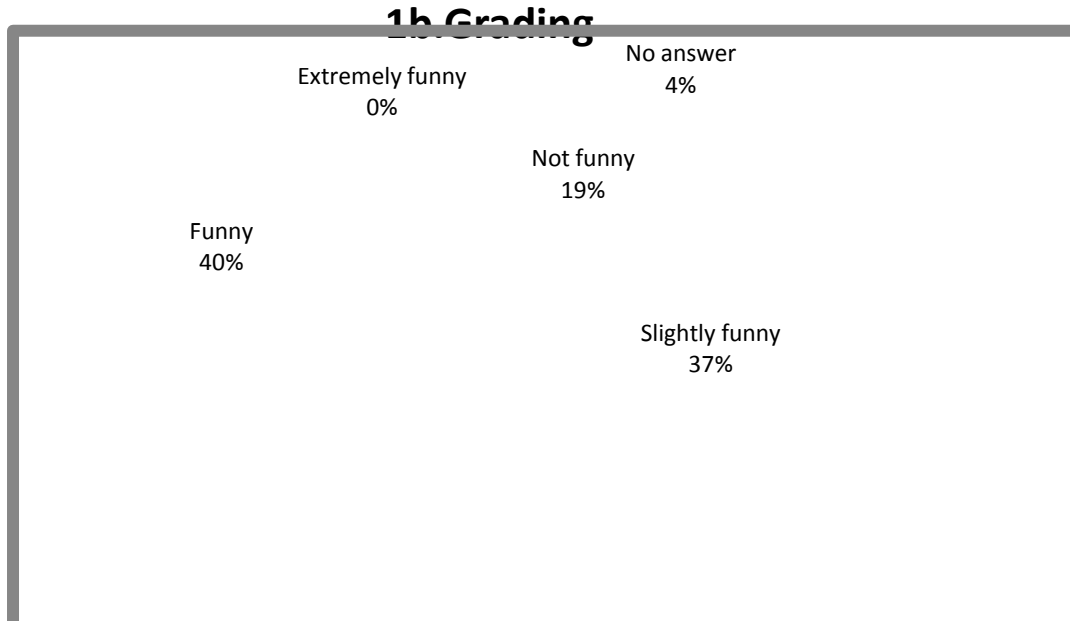
13.2.3 Graph 3. George Carlin´s routine

1c. Grading

Not funny
1%

No answer
7%

Extremely funny
14%

Slightly funny
36%

Funny
42%
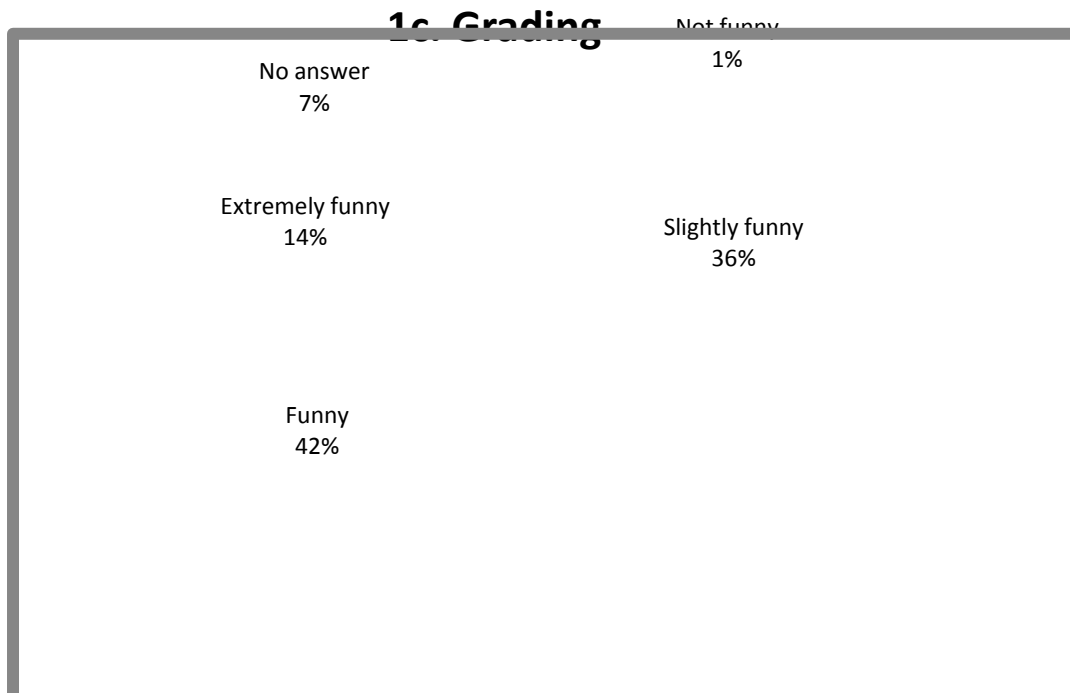
Section 13.3   Interpretation of Grading

13.3.1 Comparison of the answers among the three Spanish routines

Graph 1

Graph 2

Graph 3

Funny answers

Routine 3
24%

Routine 1
43%

Routine 2
33%

Graph 4

Extremely funny answer
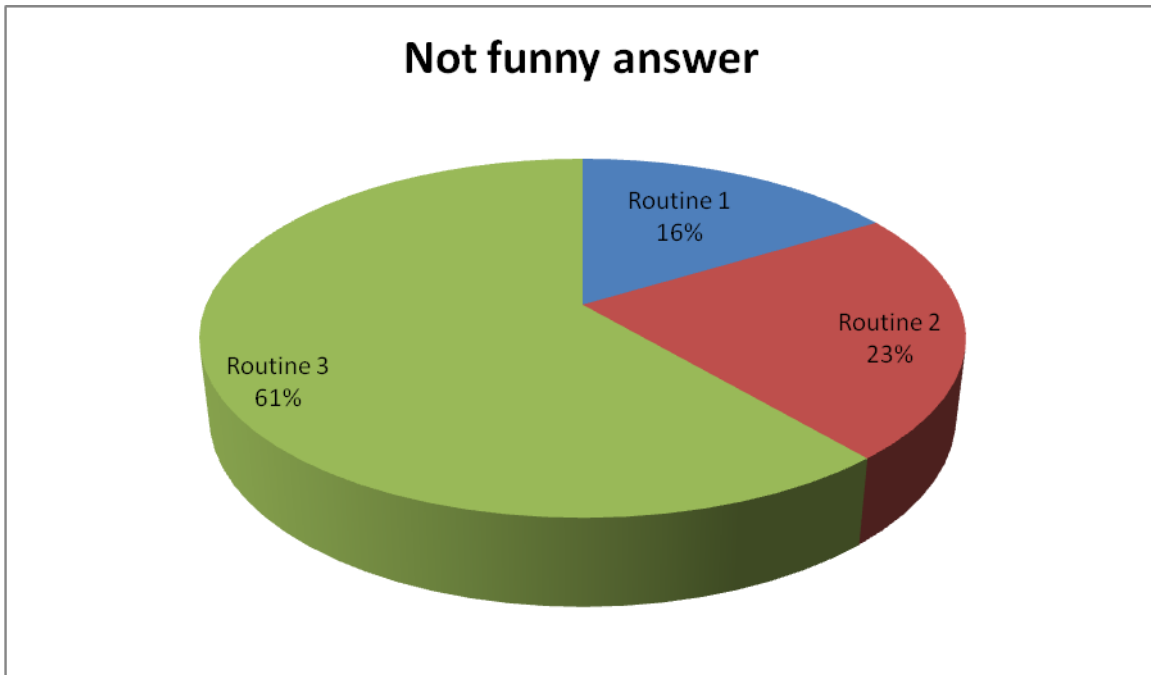
Routine 3
0%
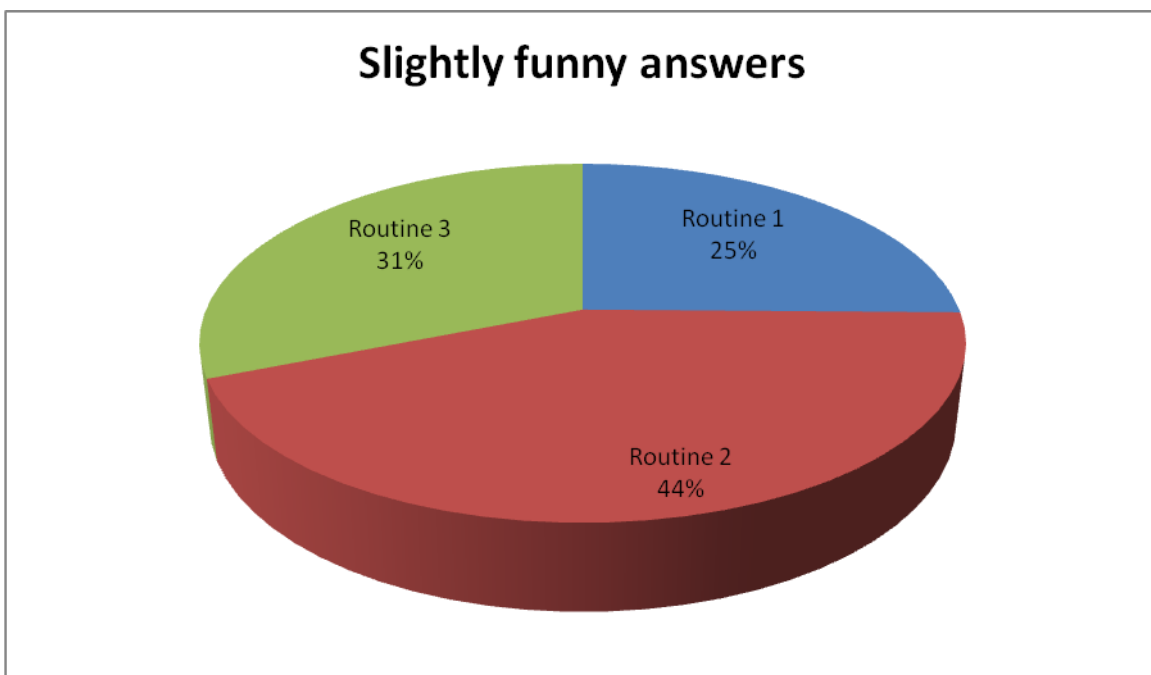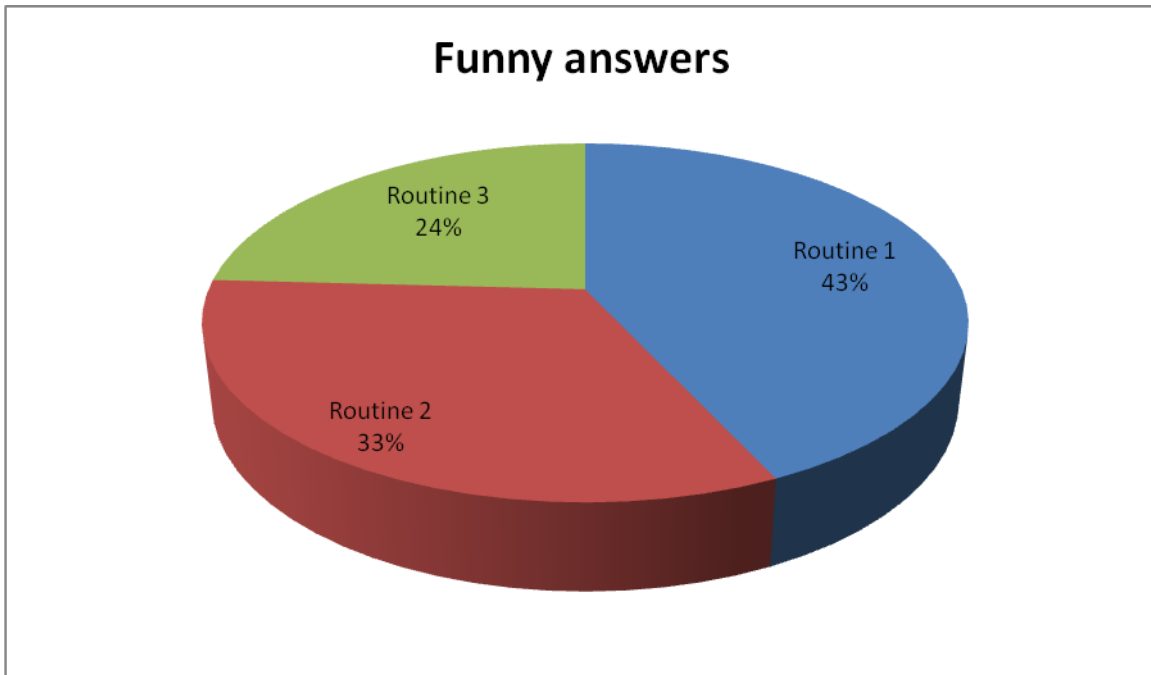
Routine 2
27%
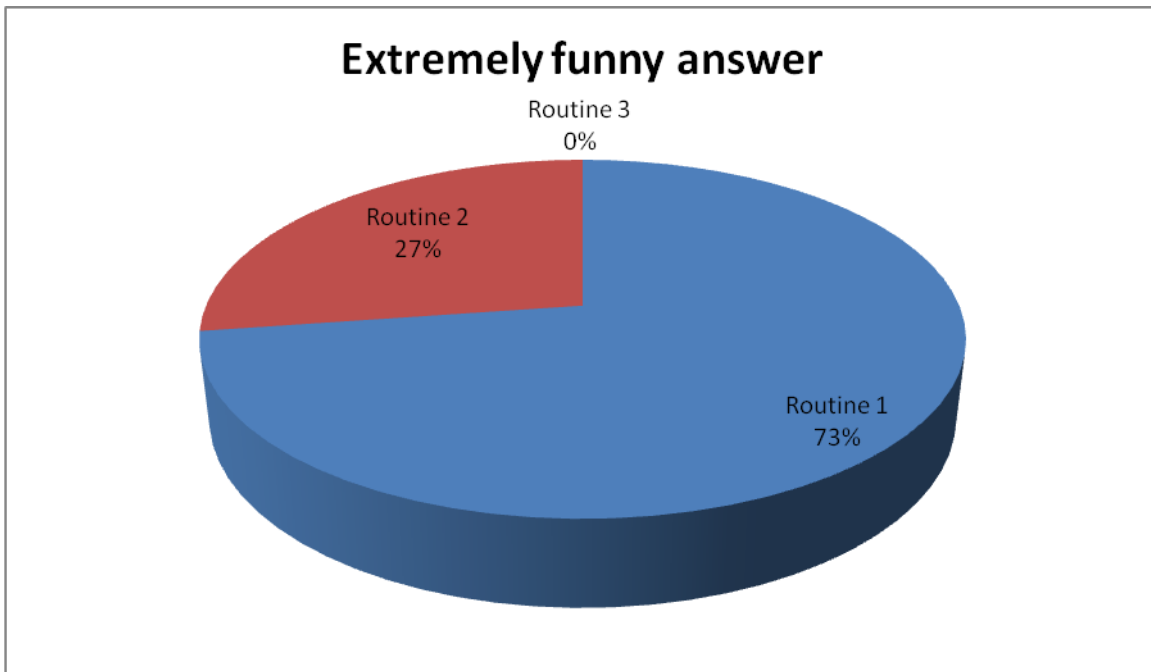
Routine 1
73%

13.3.2 Comparison of the answers among the three English routines

Graph 5

Graph 6

Graph 7

Slightly funny answers

Routine 3 — 31%
Routine 1 — 40%
Routine 2 — 29%

Graph 8

Funny answers

Routine 3 — 35%
Routine 1 — 29%
Routine 2 — 36%

Graph 9

Extremely funny answer

Routine 3
0%

Routine 1
17%

Routine 2
83%

Graph 10

No answer

Routine 3
30%

Routine 1
20%
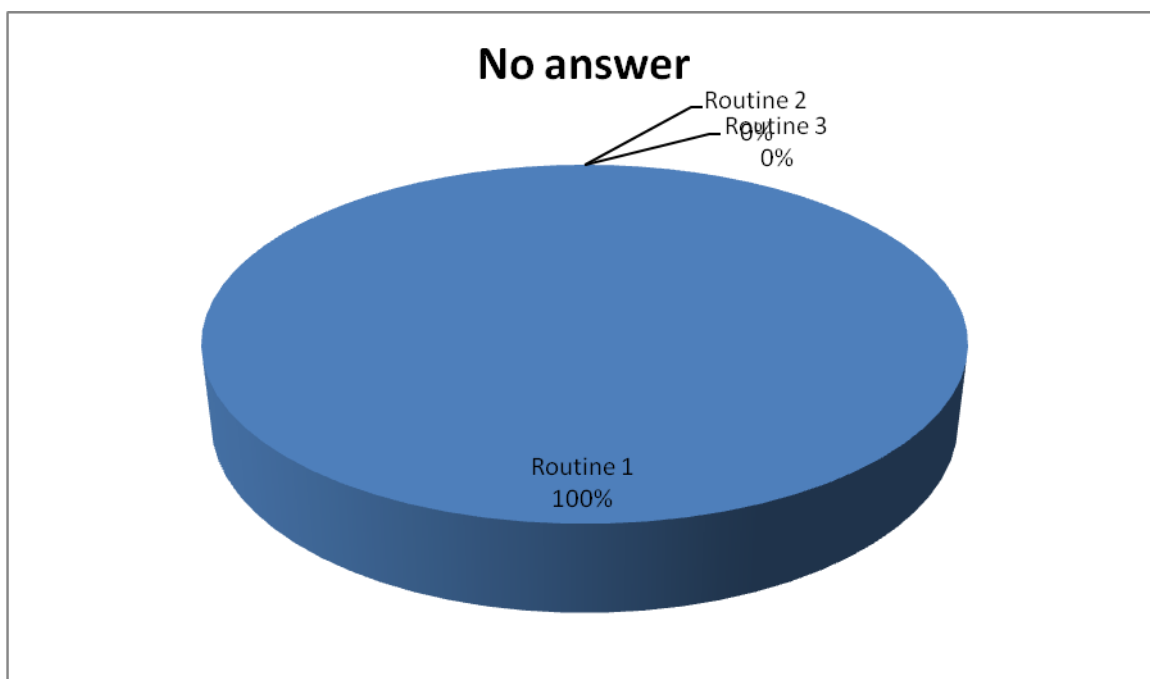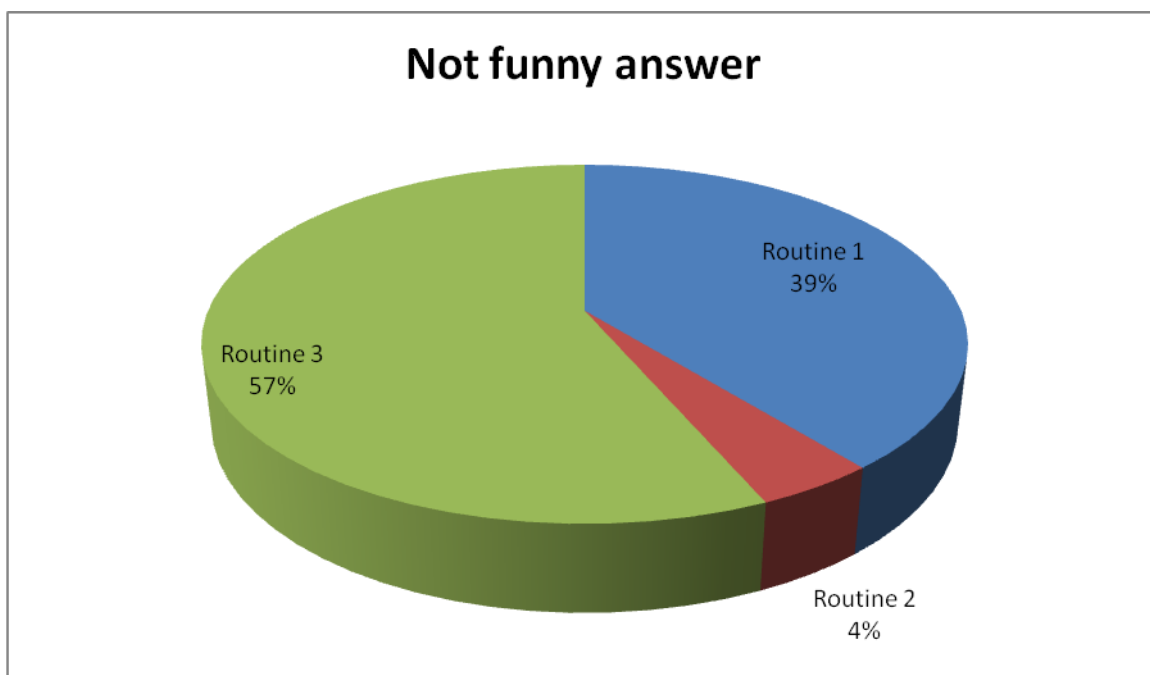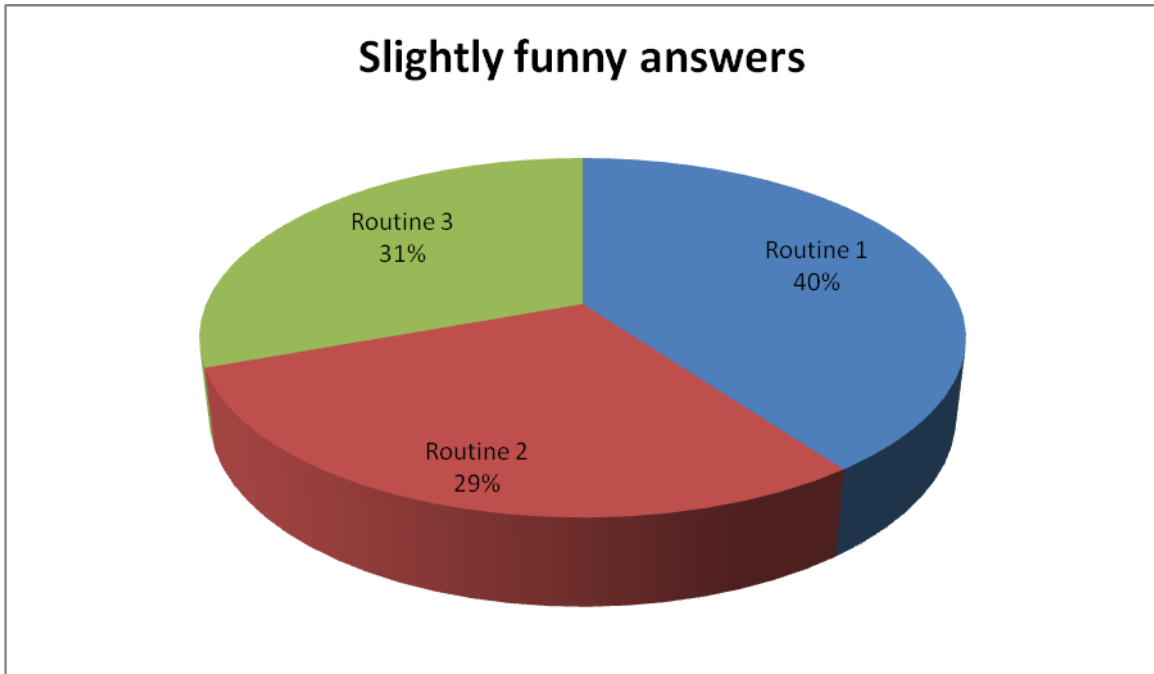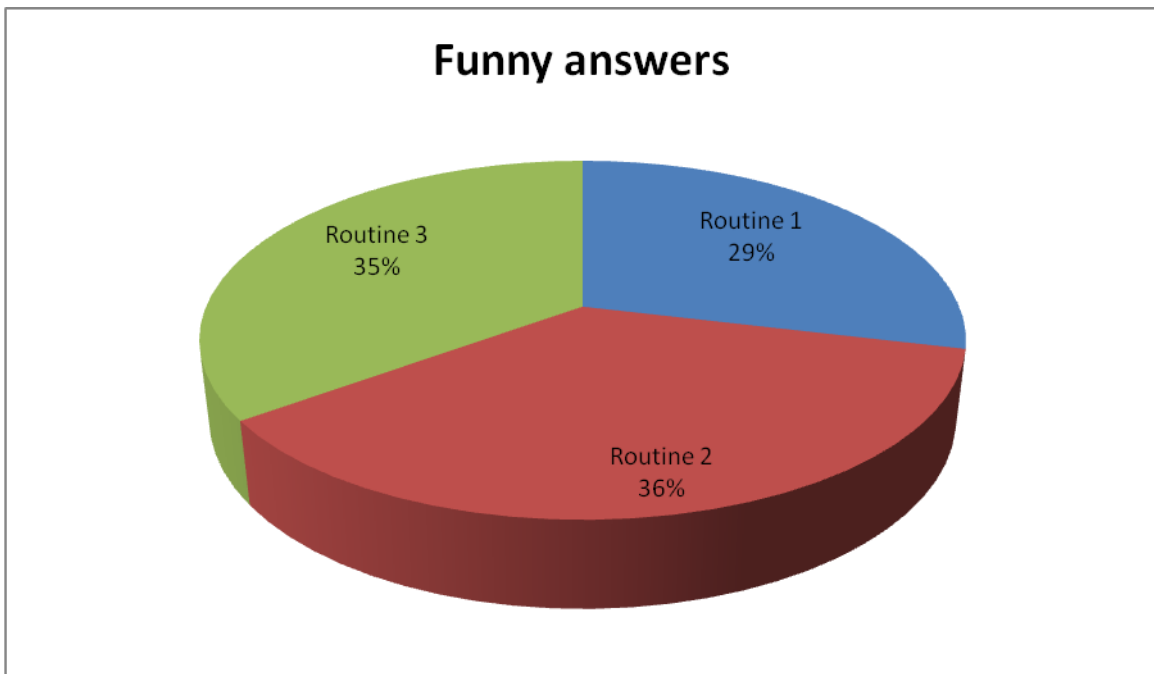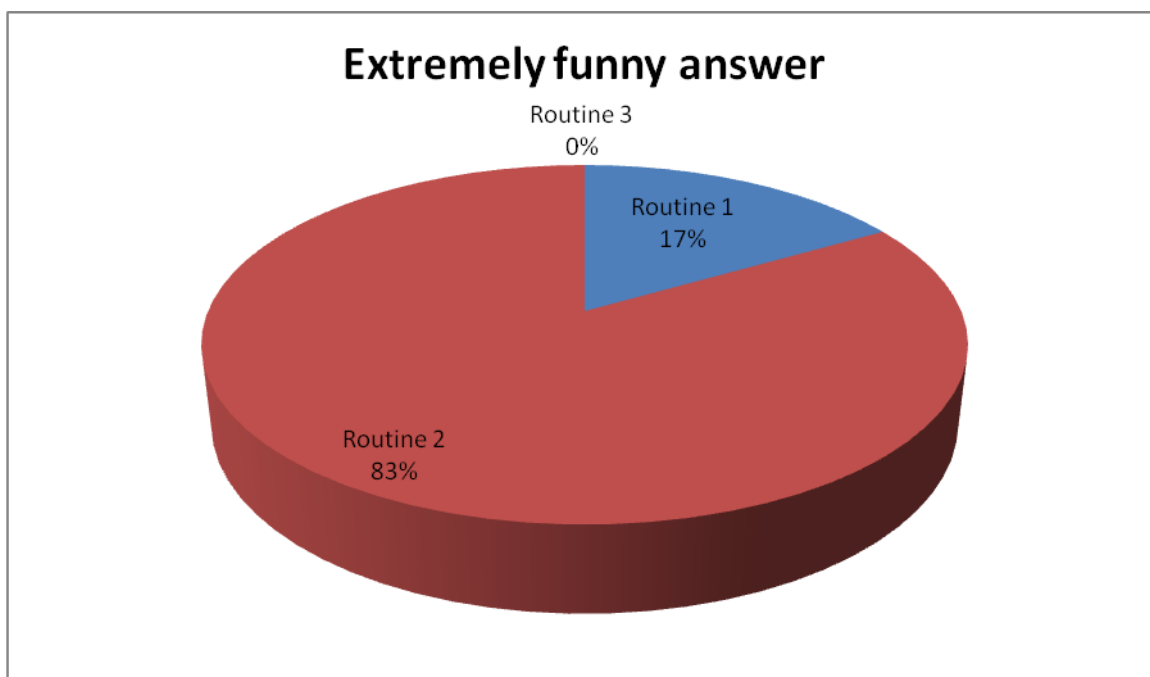
Routine 2
50%
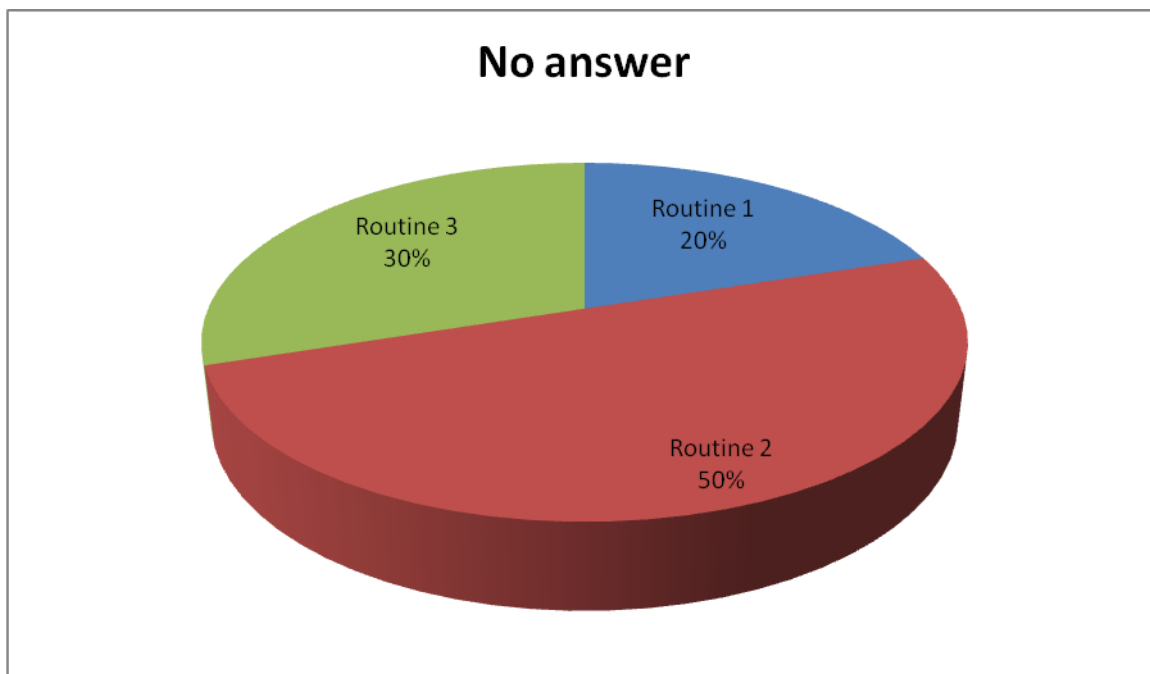
Table 1 below, displays the total results of occurrence of irony and sarcasm both in English and Spanish stand-up comedy.

Total number of utterances	IU's	%	SU's	%
30	10	33,33	14	46,66

In table 2, it is displayed the total frequency of IU's and SU's in each of the specific English and Spanish routines.

Total number of occurrences	IU's	%	SU's	%
English routines	7	70,00	8	57,14
Spanish routines	3	30,00	6	42,85
Total	10	100,00	14	100,00

In Graph 11 below displays the total results of occurrence of irony and sarcasm both in English and Spanish stand-up comedy.
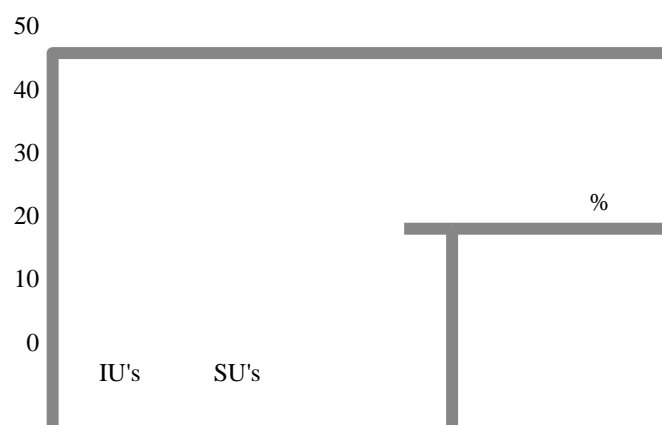
In Graph 12 is displayed the total frequency of IU's and SU's in each of the specific English and Spanish routines
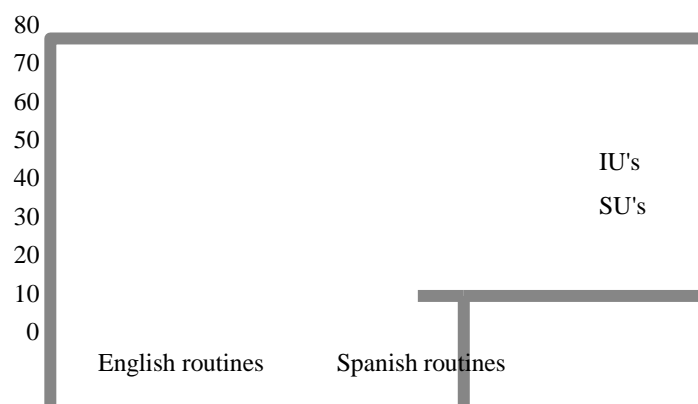
Section 13.4 Transcriptions

13.4.1 Transcription Coco Legrad´s routine

Mi misión, mi misión en este mundo malditos cabrones era conseguir almas, almas!, pero al parecer las almas para ustedes valen hongo valen callampa. Antiguamente morirse en este país tenía nivel, por rasca que fuerai weón te hacían unos velorios a todo cachete, te moriai pa allá pal lao del sur donde la gente es generosa no te explico lo que era eso, prendían las parrillas weón, tres vaquillas completas, un avión fumigador pa aliñar la carne weón, cómo comen pal sur weón.

0:36

 Oye a los invitados tenía que sacarle los chanchitos con una raqueta de tenis weón [risas], como comen… De bajativo te regalaban una escalera pa que te bajarai del mojón weón, no te explico cómo comen.

La viuda podía haber estado triste porque se le había muerto el marido pero igual estaba preocupada de todos los detalles que no fueran a faltar nada que el vinito tinto que el consomé que el pisquito sour porque este país es muy hocicón [risas], no los atendí bien y empiezan los cometarios: no que el muerto era como las weas ya esas cosas que hacen, y que la viuda parece que se la comía el Keko Yungue, toda esa mierda que inventa un chileno en menos de veinticuatro horas.

1:17

Ahora si los atendiai bien olvídate los comentarios eran oye la cagó el muerto, la carne estaba blandita weón, y la viuda era bien rica como pa ponérselo en su conocimiento ya eran otros los comentarios. Ahora no, ahora te morís weón a lo más dirán aaah que mala cuea . Tu creis que alguien te va a hacer un velorio cuando te muraí ¿tay más weón conch? no te prestan el living de la casa pa hacer un cumpleaños a un cabro chico van a tener un weón tieso ahí no, no es antiestico pos weón este es un país en vías de desarrollo que está acostumbrado a comprar servicios no más, marcai seis números alo quiero que saquen esta weá yaa.

1:57

Llega una empresa tipo americana te agarran al muero los bañan weón los visten, los afeitan los maquillan, puta quedan la raja weón vos lo mirai por el vidrio pa abajo no sabis si van pal cementerio o de viaje de negocios porque te lo dejan de primera. De ahí te lo meten dentro del cajón lo clavan bien te lo mandan pa una capilla chica por allá atrás al fondo sin ni un rango como las bolas del perro pegaito al poto por allá atrás.

2:24

De esas capillas que entra el muerto y seis weones más no más porque son chicas. Todos los demás se tienen que quedar afuera unos fumando otros rascándose el culo que se yo. ¿por qué picará tanto el culo digo yo en los velorios? ¿Se concentrará la pena que mierda? el que no está fumando o rascándose el culo está hablando por teléfono si con los celulares: si no mira no no ma ma si ma mándame los sacos de cemento a a Vicuña Mackena, no no puedo weón webiando acá en un velorio weón mira, y uno se dice si ese pobre weón está tan ocupao si tiene tantas cosas que hacer weón si tiene ese weon digo tantas llamadas que recibir por qué no se queda en la oficina que sale a webiar con un celular a un velorio weón.

3:20

 Hay otros que llegan a los restoranes weón transforman la weá en oficina, y a otros más weones que llegan a los teatros con el celular prendío. Entonces la disculpa weona que te dan: no es que mi mamá está muy enferma weón entonces cualquier cosa, no pero eso en país Europeo en un país desarrollado en un país que tenga respeto por los demás ¿sabis lo que es? deja el celular en boletería le dice mire estoy en la fila A dieciséis si que cualquier cosa usted me llama, y pasa una persona que nadie cacha entra y dice: cagó la vieja, pero sufre él y nadie más me entendis los otros siguen siendo felices.

4:02

Porque al chileno le gusta y hay todo tipo de weón que habla por teléfono está el ese

acelerao que se ve que paga él el teléfono que dice si ya chao y te corta al tiro no, después está el weón tipo fugitivo que llama y empieza a irse el weón se va se va no sé pa onde mierda y nadie tiene interés de escucharlo, pero se arranca el weón.

A mí personalmente no me impresionan, conocer este país tan cagao hace tantos años atrás cuando lo único que le sonaban a ustedes weón era las tripas así que a mí no me van a impactar.

4:37

Es que en este país también se aguanta cualquier cosa weón, viste que un ministro fue a votar con un carnet de chofer ya, después el presidente irá a votar con el LAN pass weón ya mira da lo mismo ya, se aguanta cualquier cosa. (tose y escupe) pa este weón que llegó atrasao y no no vio el pollo.

5:06

Porque después están los comentarios y lo fuiste a ver si o y la raja weón escupe y sale fuego, no yo no lo vi esa weá no la vi ¿cómo la vai a ver weón llegaste media hora atrasao weón te perdiste todo po weón.

5:29

Mira yo si me muriera weón me gustaría morirme en un mes de diciembre que me enterraran al medio día cuarenta grados a la sombra, por webiar. Darme el lujo de sentir ahí mis primas hermanas las weonas transpirando weón vestidas que se les suelta el Donasep con alitas. Yo las conozco a estas viejas mira weon, con con pena weón, con pena y con calor estas weonas no controlan ni el esfínter se les suelta un peo en plena procesión sabis lo que es eso, por rasante le llega al nieto faa! Lo dejó amarillo con los ojos pa afuera como los Simpson así así : ¿qué pasó abuelita? ¿que pasó abuelita? ¡qué pasó abuelita! ¿No se dio cuenta que fue el cañonazo de las doce?, y otro que venía medio cocío atrás decía va a tener que ponerse el culo a la hora porque son las once y media señora. Qué perverso que soy.

6:34

13.4.2 Transcription Pedro Ruminut´s routine about Halloween

Gracias, ¿cómo están?

Bueno hoy vengo a hablar de Halloween… el día de brujas. Y no voy a hacer el famoso chiste que la Maldonado, la Argandoña…que son brujas, que son feas, que le hicieron unos elásticos y todo eso yo no lo voy a hacer, por más que sea verdad yo no lo voy a hacer, me entienden, porque soy un caballero.

0:30

Porque es bueno que exista Halloween porque las suegras merecen tener su día…las suegras odian Halloween, viene Halloween y dicen: "¡puta ya me van a webiar ya!", por eso inventaron el día de la suegra, ósea niños ahora tienen dos Halloween pa webiar. Yo fui una de las primeras personas que celebró Halloween en Chile, ah? ahí quedaron, cuando yo era niño andaba por las casas vestido con harapos pidiendo **[01:00]** comida y me decían: ¡que buen disfraz de muerto Pedrito!, "no, es mi ropa" decía yo. En todo caso hay barrios donde, donde son más violentos… en Halloween y dicen: "dulce o balazo (por ejemplo), dulce o te robamos las zapatillas, dulce o nos violamos a tu hermana", y las hermanas esconden los dulces, yo en los barrios me acercaba y decía: "porotos, pan o me muero de hambre". Verdad.

01:30

¡Mi infancia triste! Halloween es el día de todos los muertos y se celebra en todos los lados así, pero acá en Chile lo encontraron muy fome o muy fuerte festejar a los muertos y ¿qué hicieron?, el día de todos los santos…y ¿quién se viste de santo acá en Chile?...y ¿cuál es tu disfraz? de Sor Teresa de Calcuta, ¡fome!, ¿qué dicen los niños vestidos de santo? Dulce o le rezamos el Padre Nuestro.

02:04

…Eh los niños están muy violento y es raro esta frase dulce o travesura, es violento porque te está amenazando, es como que te van a hacer algo poh, imagínense el Cisarro en

Halloween, imagínense el weón del Cisarro, llega así y dice dulce o travesura, (no no no no tengo dulces niño), entonces te vamos a quemar la casa mierda".

02:34

Les hablaba de Cisarro en Halloween, se imaginan a Zafrada en Halloween, llega así y dice: "dulce o transvaginal"… no, no, ¿qué te pasa? Soy Zafrada, ah ya está bien. Los más felices en Halloween son los dentistas, quedan todos los niños con las muelas cariadas con tanto dulce.

03:00

Pero también hay muchos niños cuicos que andan en los barrios, en esos barrios cuicos y no llegan y dicen dulce o travesura, dicen confite o les hago una maldad, la empresa de dulces o una travesura… Hay gente que sufre en Halloween como los diabéticos, llegan a las casas y les dicen dulce o travesura…y se sienten pésimo y ¿los diabéticos que piden en Halloween? Insulina o travesura…yo tengo diabetes, me diagnosticaron hace poco.

03:40

Los niños están muy agrandados el último tiempo y llegan a las casas en Halloween y no dicen la clásica frase, ahora llegan y dicen: "condón o le hago a su hija una travesura…dulce o pastilla del día después que hicimos travesuras". También hay barrios raros, los barrios rojos por ejemplo, no andan niños andan maracos y dicen: "dulce o travesti".

04:04

Hay hartas versiones en Halloween, hay mamás que acompañan a sus hijos a pedir dulces por las calles, pero andan súper desarreglas cachay y uno les termina dando dulces a ellas, y uno dice: "¡oh el maquillaje bueno señora!". Hay gente que se queja porque los niños celebran Halloween y dicen que es una celebración gringa y empiezan a decir: "¡no pero como celebran las cosas gringas, nos están colonizando de nuevo los yankees, no es chileno como el Viejo Pascuero y Papa Noel!"

04:31

Porque ni una celebración es chilenas, las fiestas patrias no más, todas vienen del extranjero, Jesús no nació en un pesebre en Rancagua, el Viejo Pascuero no vive en Punta Arenas. Igual hay gente que no festeja Halloween, por ejemplo el huevo Fuenzalida, le dicen ¿vamos a Halloween? Y dice: "no yo ya no jalo weed perro"…grande huevo.

04:56

Igual no es tan malo Halloween, hay gente que puede aprovechar esta noche donde se abren las puertas y la gente recibe a la gente, por ejemplo pueden aprovecharlo los testigos de Jehová, los mormones, se pueden disfrazar y al fin alguien les va a abrir la puerta…igual es bueno, lo único malo de Halloween es que si alguien tiene un accidente automovilístico, choca, queda herido, sangra y va a pedir ayuda a una casa, toca la puerta y dice: "¡oh que buen disfraz weón!, ahí tení todos los dulces". Muy buenas noches, muchas gracias!

5:30

13.4.3 Transcription Pedro Ruminot's routine about Dios

¿Cómo están? (bien) hoy les vengo a hablar de Dios, así es les vengo a hablar de Dios. Por qué Dios nos castiga, siempre está enojao con nosotros nos manda huracanes y terremotos, porque siempre lo metemos en problemas, siempre le estamos pidiendo algo a alguien y no tenemos cómo pagarle y qué decimos: gracias que Dios te lo pague y Dios está en el cielo: puta otra deuda más weón.

0:30

¿Han pensao en toas las deudas que lo hemos metio, en todas las deudas en que hemos metio a Dios? Dios escucha eso y dice: ya cagaron huracanes terremotos epidemias, está tan endeudao Dios que ya está en DICOM pos weón. Verdad, ahora uno dice bueno eh que Dios te lo pague, dice a ver a ver no no no no Dios está acá informado está en DICOM está lleno de deudas lo siento. Desde niños nos inculcan y nos dicen que todos somos hijos de Dios, pero todos no tenemos los mismos beneficios que el primer hijo de Dios Jesús, todos por ejemplo, no podemos multiplicar ni el vino ni el ni el pan, con suerte sabemos

multiplicar dos por ocho; no tenemos discípulos que nos siguen con suerte nos siguen en twitter, y apenas podemos resucitar después de un carrete, en cambio él otro resucitó al tiro.

1:12

La gente siempre usa para todo a Dios, por ejemplo dice por todo así ay Dios mío, por ejemplo se enojan y dicen Dios mío, pasa algo bueno y dicen Dios mío, se arrepienten Dios mío, se asustan Dios mío; y si están haciendo otras cosas ¡oh my God!. Algunos dicen que Dios es hombre otros sostienen que Dios también puede ser mujer y el mejor ejemplo de que Dios es mujer es el mandamiento no desearas a la mujer de tu prójimo, eso nunca un hombre lo habría escrito, nunca, claramente es mujer.

1:50

Dios es como los carabineros estamos siempre enojados con él y pelándolo pero apenas pasa algo malo lo llamamos y le pedimos algo, siempre. Empezamos a rezar a pedir al tiro nos pasa algo y de hecho cuando éramos chicos le pedíamos puras weás empezábamos diosito por favor ayúdame a pasar la etapa dos del Súper Mario por favor. Diosito me saqué un dos en matemáticas súbeme la nota por favor y si no nos subía la nota que hacían, no creo más en Dios al tiro. También hay dichos que tienen relación con Dios por ejemplo el dicho al que madruga Dios lo ayuda y los que se levantan más temprano son los que estan más cagaos po weón.

2:32

Puta tienen que levantarse temprano pa tomar la micro y llegar a estudiar a trabajar. De hecho al que madruga Dios no lo ayuda, ayuda al weón que se queda dormio tarde por ejemplo Longton. Otros dichos: Dios los cría y el diablo los junta, Dios castiga pero no a palos por suerte, se imaginan Dios castigara a palos, estaría lleno de weones con la cabeza hundía. Qué te pasó, no me castigó Dios weón, obvio.

3:03

También dicen que cuando alguién es bueno bueno de corazón dicen que es un pan de Dios, dicen ay ese niño es un pan de Dios. También hay otras versiones en chile por ejemplo

Luis Jara es una marraqueta de Dios y el negro Piñera un pan duro. Hay programas de televisión que terminan, hay programas de televisión que terminan así: "y bueno nos despedimos agradeciendo su sintonía y nos vemos mañana si dios quiere. ¿Hay algún programa que haya terminao si dios no quiere? no estoy aburrio del bueno días a todos no se da más la weá ya se acabó.

3:35

Hay gente que también estuvo super cerca de ser Dios por ejemplo Dioscoro Rojas estuvo así, así de ser dios. Dios era el dios Dioscoro rojas, pero el Dios de los curaos obvio, de hecho dioscoro rojas tiene un hijo que se llama Jesuscoro Rojas que multiplica a los guachaca. El terremoto de febrero lo mandó Dios y el terremoto pa tomar lo mandó Dioscoro Rojas, son tan parecidos.

3:56

Por último a mí me llama mucho la atención la gente que tiene un hijo y no sabe que nombre ponerle le ponen Jesús, qué pensaran, por qué hacen eso así como uh si le pongo Jesús a mi hijo y yo soy su papá yo soy Dios. ¡Muy buenas noches!

13.4.4 Transcription Rowan Atkinson´s routine

Hi hello, it's nice to see you all here [laughter]. Now, as the most perceptive of you probably realize by now, this is Hell [laughter], and I am the devil.

0:35

Good evening [laughter]. Emm, but you can call me Toby if you like [laughter], we try to keep things informal here, as well as infernal [laughter]. That's just a little joke [laughter]. I tell it every time. Now! You're all here for... eternity. Oh, which I heartedly tell you is a heck of a long time [laughter].

1:01

Em, so you'll all get to know each other pretty well by the end. But for now, I'm going to have to spread you up into groups. Will you stop screaming!? [laughter]. Thank you [laughter]. Now, murderers, murderers over here please. Thank-you [giggle]. Em, looters and pillagers over here. Thieves, if you could join them, and lawyers [laughter]. You were that... [laughter and claps].

1:33

Em, fornitcators, if you could step forward... My God! There're a lot of you [laughter]. Em, can I split you up into adulterous and the rest? [laughter]. Male adulterous, if you could just form a line in front of that small guillotine, in the corner [laughter]. Em, the French! Are you here? [laughter and claps].

2:00

Em, if you just liked to come down here with the Germans. [laughter]. I'm sure you have plenty to talk about [laughter]. Ok, emm, atheists? Atheists? over here please, you must be feeling allright bunch of nitwits [laughter]. Never mind. And finally Christians, Christians?

2:32

Oh, yes I'm sorry, I'm afraid the Jews were right [laughter].If you come down here as well [laughter]. I'd be really --- Thank you. Ok! Right, well, are there any questions? Yes?, em, no, I'm afraid we don't have any toilets. Em, if you read your Bible you might've seen that it was damnation without relief [laughter].So if you didn't **get** before you came, then I'm afraid you're not going to enjoy yourself very much [laughter].

3:00

But then I believe that's the idea. [laughter]. Ok! Well, it's over to you... Adolf [laughter]. And I'll catch you all later at the barbecue. Bye. [laughter]

13.4.5 Transcription Jerry Seinfield´s routine

Candy was my whole life when I was a kid. That was...the first ten years of my life I think the only clear thought I had was "get candy" [laughter]. That was it. Family, friends, school...they were just obstacles in the way of the candy. I'm out for the candy here. I'm just thinking "get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy". That's why you have to teach kids not to take candy from a stranger if they're playing in a playground because they're such candy- moron-idiot brains that just..."this man has candy, I'm going with him, goodbye, ok so...get candy, get candy, get candy, get candy" [laughter].

0:30

"Don't go, they'll torture you, they'll kidnap you".

"It doesn't matter, he has an ---- I have to take that chance [laughter]. Get candy, get candy, get candy". So the first time you hear the...the concept of Halloween when you're a kid, your brain can't even process the information [laughter]. You...you're like "what is this...what did you say? [laughter]. So what did you say about giving out candy? Who's giving out candy? [laughter].Everyone that we know is just giving out candy!" [laughter].

1:00

"Are you kidding me? When is this happening? Where? Why? Take me with you I got to be a part of this...I'll do anything that they want! I can wear that [laughter and claps]. I'll wear anything that I have to wear! I'll do anything that I have to do to get the candy from those fools that are so stupidly giving it away" [laughter].

1:30

So the first couple of years I made my own costume which of course sucked...the ghost, the ----, no good [laughter]. Then, finally, third year, begging the parents, got the Superman Halloween costume not surprisingly [claps]. Cardboard box, ------, mask included. Remember the rubber bands on the back of that mask? That was a quality item there. Wasn't it? [laughter]. That was good for about ten seconds before it snapped out that cheap little staple they put it in there with [laughter].

2:00

You go to your first house "trick or...snap! It broke, I don't believe it [laughter]. Wait up you guys, I got to fix this! [laughter]. Hey wait up! Wait up!" That's what kids say. They don't say "wait", they say "wait up! Hey wait up!" Because when you're little your life is up, your future is up, everything you want is up. "Wait up, hold up, shut up [laughter]. Mom I'll clean up, let me stay up" [laughter].

2:30

Parents of course are just the opposite, everything is down. They just..."calm down! Slow down! Calm down here, sit down, put that down!" [laughter and claps]. So I had my little costume, I was physically ready, I was preparing myself...I did not try on the costume prior to Halloween. Do you remember...this is an obscure one but...

3:00

On the side of the box...I remember this...on my Superman costume, it actually said "do not attempt to fly" [laughter]. They printed that as a warning because kids would put it on and...going off the roof so you know [laughter]. I loved the idea of the kid who is stupid

enough to think he actually is Superman but smart enough to check that box before he goes off the roof [laughter]. "Wait let me see if it says anything about me being Superman. Oh wait a second here I... [laughter].

3:30

So anyway but my hopes were up. I was thinking that this was probably the same exact costume that Superman wears himself. And then you put these things on and it's not exactly the "superfit" [laughter] that you are hoping for. It looks more like Superman's pajamas it's what it looks like [laughter]. It's all kind of loose and flowing and the neckline kind of comes down about there [laughter]. A flimsy little ribbon string in the back. Plus my mother makes me wear my winter coat over the costume anyway [laughter and claps]

4:00

I don't recall superman wearing a jacket [laughter]. Not like I had...cheap corduroy...phony fur [laughter]. "Boy I'm Superman but it's a little chilly out [laughter] and I'm glad I got this cheap little ten-year old kid's jacket". So I'm going out, I'm trick or treating but the mask...the rubber band keeps breaking and it keeps getting shorter. I'm fixing it and it's getting tighter and tighter on my face [laughter].

4:30

You know when it starts slicing into your eyeballs there and you try to breathe through that little hole [laughter]. Getting all sweaty. "I can't see, I can't breathe but we got to keep going, I got to get the candy!" [laughter]. And a half hour into it you just take that mask "oh, the hell with it!" [laughter]. Ding-dong "yeah it's me, give me the candy! [laughter]. Yeah I'm Superman, look at the pant legs, what do you care? [laughter].

5:00

Remember those last couple of years trick or treating, getting a little too old for it. Still out there going through the motions. Ding-dong "come on lady, let's go [laughter]. Halloween, doorbells, candy, let's pick it up in there [laughter]." Coming to the door they always ask you those same stupid questions. "What are you supposed to be?" [laughter] . "I'm supposed to be done by now, you want to move it along, the three musketeers" [laughter].

5:30

 "I got eighteen houses on this block sweetheart [laughter]. Just hit the bag and we hit the road. That's the way it works" [laughter]. Sometimes they give that little white bag twisted on the top and you know that's going to be some crap candy [laughter]. It doesn't have the official Halloween markings on it. "Hold it lady, wait a second. What is this the orange marshmallow shaped like a big peanut? Do me a favor, you keep that [laughter]. Yeah we have all the door stops we need already, thank you" [laughter].

6:00

"We're going for named candy only this year" [laughter].

13.4.6 Transcription George Carlin´s routine

Religion has actually convinced people that there's an invisible man, living in the sky, who watches everything you do, every minute of every day. And the invisible man has a special list of ten things he has not want you to do, and if you do any of these ten things he has a special place full of fire, and smoke, and burning, and torture, and anguish where he will send you to live and suffer, and burn, and choke, and scream,
00:30

and cry forever and ever 'till the end of time. But he loves you. He loves you. He loves you and he needs money. He always needs money. He's all powerful, all perfect, all knowing and all wise, and somehow just can't handle money.

01:03

Religion takes in billions of dollars, they pay no taxes and they always need a little more. Now, you talk about a good bullshit story, Holy shit! Thank you, thank you. But, --- thank you very much.

01:30

But I want you to know, I want you to know something, this is sincere, I want you to know when it comes to believing in God, I really tried, I really really tried, I tried to believe that there is a God who created each of us in his own image and likeness, loves us very much, and keeps a close eye on things. I really tried to believe that but I gotta tell you. The long you live, the more you look around, the more you realize something is fucked up. Something is wrong here:

02:00

 war, disease, death, destruction, hunger, filth, poverty, torture, crime, corruption and The Ice Capades. Something is definitely wrong. This is not good work. If this is the best God can do, I am not impressed. Results like these do not belong on the resume of a supreme being. This is the kind of shit you'd expect from an office champ with a bad attitude. This is between you and me, and between you and me, in any descently wrong universe this guy would've ---

02:30

 his own powerful ass a long time ago. And by the way, I say this "guy" because I firmly believe looking at these results that if there is a God, it has to be a man. No woman could or would ever fuck things up like this. So, so, if, if, if there is a God, if there is, I think most reasonable people might agree that it's at least incompetent and maybe, just maybe

03:00

doesn't give a shit, doesn't give a shit which I admire in a person I --- explain a lot of these bad results. So rather than be just another mindless, religous robot, mindlessly and aimlessly and blindly believing that all of this is in the hands of some spooky incompetent father figure who doesn't give a shit, I decided to look around for something else to worship, something I can really count on and immediately I thought of the Sun. Happened like that,

03:30

overnight I became a Sun worshiper. Well, not overnight, you can't see the Sun at night. First thing the next morning I became a Sun worshiper. Several reasons, first of all I can see the sun, ok? Haha. Yeah. Unlike some other guys I can mention, I can actually see the Sun. I'm big on that, If I can see something, I don't know, turns to help the credibility along you know.

04:00

So everyday I can see the Sun as it gives me everything I need: Heat, light, food, flowers in the park, reflections on the lake, an occasional skin cancer but hey. At least there are no crucifixions, and I`m not setting people on fire simply because they don't agree with us. Sun worship is fairly simple, there's no mistery, no miracles, no pageantry, no one asks for money, there are not songs to learn, and we don't have a special building where we all gather once a week to compare clothing. And the best thing,

04:30

the best thing about the Sun, it never tells me I'm unworthy. Never tells me I'm a bad person who needs to be saved, hadn't said an unkind word. Treats me fine. So, I worship the Sun but I don't pray to the Sun, know why? I wouldn't presume on our friendship, it's not polite. Often people treat God rather rudely, don't you? Asking trillions and trillions of prayers everyday, asking, pleading and begging.for favours:

05:00

Do this, give me that, I need a new car, I want a better job. And most of these prayers take place on Sunday, it's day off. Not nice. And it's no way to treat a friend. But people do pray and they pray for a lot of different things. You know, your sister needs an operation on her crotch, your brother was arrested for defecating on a mall. But most of all, you really like to fuck that hot little red-haired down at the convenience store.

05:30

You know, the one with the eye patch and the ----- huh? Do you pray for that? I think you'd have to. And I say fine, pray for anything you want, pray for anything. But, what about the divine plan? Remember that? The divine plan. Long time ago God made the divine plan, gave it a lot of thought, decided it was a good plan, put it into practice, and for billions and billions of years the divine plan has been doing just fine. Now, you come along and pray for something.

06:00

Well, suppose the thing you want isn't in God's divine plan. What do you want him to do? Change his plan? Just for you? That'll seem a little arrogant? The divine plan. What's the use of being God if every run-down shmuck with a two-dollar pray can come along and fuck up your plan? And here's something else, another problem you might have. Suppose your prayers aren't answered. What do you say? Well, it's God's will, thy will be done. Fine. But if it's God's will he's gonna do what he wants to anyway. Why the fuck bother praying in the first place?

06:30

See? Like a big waste of time to me. Couldn't he just skip the praying part and go right to his will? It's all very confusing. So, to get around all of this, I decided to worship the Sun. But, as I said, I don't pray to the Sun. You know who I pray to? Joe Pesci. Joe Pesci. Joe Pesci. Who is he? First of all, I think he's a good actor. OK? To me that counts. Second, he looks like a guy who can get things done.

07:00

Joe Pesci doesn't fuck around. Doesn't fuck around. In fact, in fact Joe Pesci came to a couple og things that God was having trouble with. For years I asked God to do some about my noisy neighbor with the barking dog. Joe Pesci straight not --- suck around with one visit. It's amazing what you can accomplish with a simple baseball bat. So, I've been praying to Joe for about a year now.

07:30

And I noticed something. I noticed that all the prayers I used to offer to God and all the prayers I now offer to Joe Pesci are being answered in about the same fifty percent rate. Have the time I get what I want, have the time I don't. Same as God, fifty-fifty. Same as the polish clover in the horse shoe, the wishing well, and the rabbit's foot. Same as the mojo man. Same as the voodoo lady who tells you're a fortune by squeezing the goat's testicles.

08:00

It's all the same, fifty-fifty. So, just pick your supersticions, sit back, make a wish and enjoy yourself. And for those of you who look to the Bible for moral lessons and literally qualities I'd like to suggest a couple of other stories for you. Emm, you might wanna look at the three little pigs, that's a good one. Has a nice happy ending. I'm sure you'll like that. Then, there's little red riding hood. Although it does have that extraeted part where the big bad wolf actually eats the grandmother, which I didn't care for by the way.

08:30

And finally, I often always draw on a great deal of moral comfort from Humpty-Dumpty. The part I like the best: all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't put Humpty-Dumpty back together again. That's because there is no Humpty-Dumpty, and there is no God. None, not one, no God, never was. In fact, I'm gonna, I'm gonna put it this way: if there is a God, if there is a God, may he strike this audience dead!

9:00

See? Nothing happened. Nothing happened. Everybody is OK. Allright. Tell you what, tell you what. I'll raise the stakes. I'll raise the stakes a little bit. If there is a God may he strike

me dead. See? Nothing happened. Oh, wait, a little cramp on my leg, and my balls hurt. Plus, I'm blind, I'm blind. Oh!, now I'm OK again. Must've been Joe Pesci, huh? God bless Joe Pesci. Thank you all very much. God bless you. Thank you very much. Thank you.