



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Appreciation and interpretation of humour in American
English by Serbian EFL speakers“

Verfasserin

Ivana Turković, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2011

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 812

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Masterstudium English Language and Linguistics UG2002

Betreuerin:

Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Ute Smit

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people without whom this project would not have been possible.

First of all, I am very grateful to Professor Ute Smit for choosing to mentor a topic that is not entirely in her line of research interest. Her supervision and advice were invaluable. She helped me shape the topic and gave me very insightful comments that, hopefully, made this thesis better in quality. Thank you!

I am also very grateful to the participants of my study, for taking the time to watch the videos and talk to me about them and for letting me record them. This study would not exist without them.

Moreover, I want to thank Petar, for the past seven years, for bringing me to Vienna and for everything.

Last but not least, a very special thanks goes to my family, for their endless support and love, for believing in me and helping me in more ways than they can even imagine. This thesis is partly dedicated to them and partly to my grandparents, I wish I could share this with you.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research questions	3
1.2 Why EFL?.....	4
1.3 Outline of thesis.....	5
2. Defining culture.....	6
2.1 Cultural difference	7
2.2 Issues with taboo topics.....	9
3. Humour research	13
3.1 Definitions of humour	13
3.2 Types of Humour.....	16
3.3 Functions of humour.....	22
3.4 Joke competence and humour competence	25
3.5 Theories of humour.....	27
3.5.1 Incongruity theories.....	28
3.5.2 Hostility theories	29
3.5.3 Release theories	31
3.5.4 Considerations of the three theories	32
3.5.5 Hybrid theories	33
3.5.6 Sociological (social) theories.....	35
3.5.7 Linguistic theories of humour.....	38
3.5.7.1 Semantic script theory of humour	38
3.5.7.2 General theory of verbal humour.....	40
3.6 Conclusion	43
4 Material and methods.....	45
4.1 Mixed methods research design	45
4.1.1 Pilot study.....	46
4.1.2 Outline of the main study	49
4.1.2.1 The sample.....	50

4.2	“Fishsticks” episode and the selected humour examples	55
4.2.1	Video 1	55
4.2.2	Video 2	59
4.2.3	Video 3	61
4.2.4	Video 4	63
4.2.5	Video 5	65
4.2.6	Video 6	68
4.2.7	The song	71
5.	Results and analysis	74
5.1	Subtitles	77
5.2	Video 1.....	78
5.3	Video 2.....	81
5.4	Video 3.....	84
5.5	Video 4.....	87
5.6	Video 5.....	93
5.7	Video 6.....	96
5.8	The song.....	101
5.9	Comparison of gender results	102
5.10	Disfluencies and other features of speech	108
6.	Summary of findings.....	111
7.	Conclusion.....	115
	References	118
	Appendices	124
	Appendix 1.....	124
	Appendix 2.....	127
	Appendix 3.....	129
	Curriculum vitae	157

Abstract

Humour has become one of the most productive fields of research in the past 30 years. A great deal of this research is focused on humour production, interpretation and appreciation in the native language, or on the translation of entertainment products for audiences worldwide. The purpose of the present paper is to attempt a research into humour-related processes in a foreign language. The starting point was Carrell's (1997) theory of joke and humour competence and the idea that foreign language acquisition entails the development of these competences.

The study has been conducted on 14 Serbian EFL speakers, divided into two equal age groups (16-17 and 25-26). They were asked to watch several clips from an episode of a US animated TV show, *South Park*, and then subsequently rate and discuss the perceived funniness and offensiveness of these clips. The videos were chosen so as to represent different humour types and potential taboo topics.

The findings show that these participants have a satisfactory level of joke and humour competence, but also give some insights into what types of humour appear to be more popular for this audience. The results also discuss speakers' reactions to taboo topics and their answers regarding the offensiveness aspect were analyzed bearing in mind that they were discussing contents of a fictional scene and not a real life situation.

Humor hat sich zu einem der produktivsten Gebiete der Forschung in den letzten 30 Jahren entwickelt. Ein großer Teil dieser Forschung ist auf Humorproduktion, -interpretation und -wertschätzung in der Muttersprache oder auf die Übersetzung von Entertainment-Produkten für ein weltweites Publikum ausgerichtet. Der Zweck der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, die Humor-Prozesse in einer fremden Sprache zu erforschen. Ausgangspunkt war Carrells Theorie der Witz- und Humorkompetenz (1997) und die Idee, dass Fremdspracherwerb die Entwicklung dieser Kompetenzen mit sich bringt.

Die Studie wurde an 14 serbischen Personen, die Englisch als Fremdsprache gelernt haben durchgeführt. Die Teilnehmer wurden in zwei gleich große Altersgruppen (16-17 und 25-26) aufgeteilt. Sie wurden gebeten, mehrere Clips aus einer Folge der animierten US Fernsehserie *South Park* zu sehen und anschließend die wahrgenommene Komik und Anstößigkeit dieser Clips zu bewerten und zu diskutieren. Die Videos wurden so gewählt, dass sie unterschiedliche Typen von Humor und potenziellen Tabuthemen beinhalten.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Teilnehmer ein zufriedenstellendes Maß an Witz- und Humorkompetenz haben. Außerdem bringen die Resultate zum Ausdruck, von welcher Art von Humor sich die Versuchsgruppe stärker angesprochen fühlt. Zudem dokumentieren die Ergebnisse die Reaktionen der Teilnehmer auf Tabuthemen sowie deren Antworten in Bezug auf Anstößigkeit des Humors unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, dass es sich um eine fiktive und nicht um eine reale Situation handelt.

1. Introduction

Humour studies have grown and spread significantly in the last 30 years. Humour is being studied from many different angles, from perspectives of different fields. In addition, Graddol (2004: 5) predicted that about a third of the world's population would be learning English in 2010. With this in mind, this thesis aims to investigate the transfer of humour produced in English to Serbian speakers of EFL and whether humour can be communicated outside national and cultural boundaries. Most of the encountered studies have either been dealing with the perception and comprehension of humour among the native speakers of a language or with problems of humour translation. Consequently, previous cases of verbal humour analysis have mainly been grounded in the framework that language as a socio-semiotic system determines that language users' potential for producing, understanding and appreciating humour. In other words, not much has been done in terms of researching humour in a foreign language.

Kothoff (2006: 282) notes that humour carries a culture and language specific appropriateness. In order to process humour, one needs to have and employ concrete knowledge of expectable formulations and sequence patterns. These conventions are culture-specific knowledge and, according to both conversation analysis and cognitive linguistics, are necessary in the process of meaning inference. Brône et al. (2006: 223) states that humorous utterances heavily depend on quantitative criteria, such as the time of delivery and the activation of key expectations, and qualitative criteria, such as cultural taboos, social context, shared knowledge, etc.

The idea behind this study is to check whether humour in English can travel beyond the understanding of native speakers of English by showing an episode of a critically acclaimed American animated comedy show, *South Park* to a group of native speakers of Serbian language with a certain degree of proficiency in English¹. The participants were observed as they watched the whole episode, then they were asked to rate the perceived degrees of funniness and offensiveness of selected scenes in the form of a scale questionnaire and finally, they were interviewed bearing in mind the answers given in the questionnaire. The basic idea was to test the participants' joke competence and humour competence in a foreign language, as defined by Carrell (1997).²

¹ B2 to C2, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, CEFR

² See section 3.4 for further information on joke competence and humour competence

It can often be heard that humour does not travel well. However, certain humour themes are thought of as universal, meaning that they are perceived as funny in any language or culture. Such themes are sex, racism, politics, social institutions (church, school, marriage...), death, misfortune, madness, handicapping and cannibalism (Possenti 1998, quoted in Chile 1999). Mismatches in humour perceptions between different cultures are believed to be caused by the fact that these cultures have different understandings of the world and structure reality differently. With this in mind, we will briefly take a look at definitions of culture and cultural differences in the following chapter.

In spite of the perceived “exclusivity” of humour, we are witnessing worldwide success of many English language comedies and TV shows (especially US production). However, it is not clear whether this is due to the quality of translations in dubbing and subtitling. Serbia does not have a dubbing tradition and foreign language programs are subtitled, with the exception of cartoons and animated movies targeted at children. Therefore, it can be asked whether these programs achieve success in Serbia due to the translations in subtitles or in spite of them. This paper will disregard translation entirely because translators are required to adapt humour to the target audience, meaning that some parts may be completely altered or omitted. This also means that potentially offensive occurrences might be toned down to be more acceptable for Serbian audience and offensiveness as an aspect of humour is something that is a part of investigation in this study. In addition, including translation would require analyzing the quality of subtitles. Although this was one of the initial interests of the author, it proved to be too complicated and space-consuming for this type of research.

Schmitz (2002) wrote an article arguing that humour should be an important part of both foreign language and translation courses. He claims that humour has proven to be a useful tool for improving students’ reading and listening skills, in addition to making classes more enjoyable. Bearing his claims in mind, the results of this study should be of interest to the teachers of English as a foreign language and translators, especially in Serbia, but also to anyone interested in cross-cultural humour research. Teachers could gain some new insights into the perceptions and general understanding of humour of their students and apply them to their teaching methods. This is also true of translators, as this thesis could be a starting point for discovering what types of humour seem to be perceived as offensive. Other researchers might find interesting the different approach to studying humour transfer from one culture to another.

1.1 Research questions

The main aim of the present study is to see whether Serbian speakers of English as a foreign language can identify, interpret and appreciate humour produced in English, without the help of Serbian subtitles. Additional aims are to check whether there are any perceivable differences or potential correlations in humour processing between the two age groups or between male and female respondents. In order to attempt to answer these questions, an empirical study has been designed by the author.

Although this study is a small-scale study, it shows some tendencies in humour appreciation and interpretation in a foreign language and might, hopefully, inspire additional research into the field. There are several research questions for this study, but the main is:

1. To what extent do the Serbian EFL speakers identify and interpret humour in English correctly and what effect does the cultural background have on the understanding of humour?

Other research questions that will be examined in this study are the following:

1. What type of gender difference, if any, is exhibited in humour comprehension and appreciation?
2. What sort of gender difference, if any, is there in perceptions of offensiveness in the selected examples?
3. Is there an age difference in humour comprehension and appreciation and of what sort?
4. Is there an age difference in perceptions of offensiveness in the selected examples and how does it manifest?
5. Is there an observable distinction in the identification and appreciation of various humour categories?

It needs to be mentioned that the issues related to humour are the primary focus of this study, whereas the offensiveness aspect is less prominent. Not all the examples contain something offensive, but they are all considered to be an example of some type of humour. Therefore, offensiveness will not be covered in as much detail as it could be if it were the centre of investigation.

The sample consists of 14 participants, regarded as either an entire group or divided into two clusters defined by the age or gender of the subjects. The first age group, U-group, consists of members that are 16-17 years old, and the second group, S-group, consists of 25

and 26 year olds. Needless to say, gender groups are male and female group, with female group having eight members and male six.

The lack of studies that investigate humour interpretation and comprehension in a foreign language has already been mentioned. Once again, it is clear that a study made on such a small sample cannot give any final, definitive answers on these questions, but there might be some interesting observations that may lead to large-scale studies in the future.

1.2 Why EFL?

The most common terms used for people learning English are English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL). These acronyms are usually associated with the verb 'teach' as they were invented for the purpose of the global English teaching business. At the beginning, they referred to native speakers teaching English either to foreigners or to people who spoke another language but needed English because they found themselves in an English speaking environment. Over time, the terms evolved into describing different community practices: a community or country in which users mostly learn English as a foreign language is labelled an EFL country, whereas a community or country in which people learn English in order to advance in an English-speaking environment is labelled an ESL country (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 121). In addition, the acronyms also acquired new connotations regarding the function of English. Namely, EFL stands for English being used for communication beyond community boundaries, usually with foreigners. ESL, on the other hand, stands for internal roles of English, usually in formal or official settings within a country. The English that is mentioned in these acronyms is Standard English as encoded in prescriptive grammar books and the ongoing debate about the legitimacy of Standard English in a global setting will not be made part of this paper.

As Serbian students learn English in school and additionally in language schools without the need to communicate in English in Serbia, it is safe to conclude that Serbian practice is to use EFL. Even though it does not seem to be appropriate to apply the acronym to an entire country as opposed to language learners themselves, it would require a lot of additional effort to determine whether the selected participants spoke English as a foreign or as a second language. English is a mandatory subject in grade school, either from the first or third grade, up until the eighth grade, which is the last grade of compulsory education. Most high schools also have English as a mandatory subject, taken for three or four years. As was

mentioned before, English programs are traditionally subtitled and a recent study by Berns (2007: 8) showed that many children in countries that keep the original soundtrack of programs can speak and understand a considerable amount of English before they start learning it formally. English is also the dominant language of the Internet (see Crystal 2001), music and gaming community. In Serbian cities in the 2000s, it is not unusual to hear that ‘all young people speak English’, although this claim still does not have a scientific background. English is mostly used for communication via social networks and other online means of communication, but studies on proficiency or frequency of English use are lacking. With all this in mind, this paper investigates perceptions of Serbian EFL speakers, not ESL speakers. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that there is an ongoing shift away from the traditional acronyms reflecting slowly disappearing values and practices to new terms, such as English as an International Language (EIL) or English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (see e.g. Gagliardi & Maley 2010 or Nunn 2005).

1.3 Outline of thesis

This introductory chapter is followed by two background chapters. Chapter 2 will introduce the concept of culture and cultural differences as this issue is at the very core of this research. Another cultural phenomenon under review here are taboos and the way people react to them as the participants were required to face some taboo topics in the interviews. Chapter 3 will give an account of the current state of humour research. Definitions of humour are numerous as the field is not yet united regarding this issue, so most scholars adopt their own definition when researching humour. However, most of these definitions overlap. There is also no final classification of humour as researchers categorize humour types as they understand them. Chapter 3 also takes a look at various functions humour has as many theories of humour focus on its perceived function. Here we will also explain the term ‘joking relationships’ because this concept is relevant for the study of humour outside national and cultural boundaries. The concepts joke competence and humour competence will be introduced here. Section 3.5 will present the history of humour research and some of the most prominent theories of humour to date. These theories come from various fields (sociology, linguistics...), but are equally important and relevant for a comprehensive study of humour. Chapter 4 presents material and methods while Chapter 5 offers an overview of the results and the analysis of results. Chapter 6 discusses the findings in the light of research questions and Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter in which there are also some suggestions for further research.

2. Defining culture

The purpose of this chapter is to give a sufficient background understanding of the term culture in order to be able to discuss the transfer of humour from one culture to another without the aid of cultural mediators – translators. This complex phenomenon can hardly be defined without including positions of various scientific fields. The following is an attempt to achieve a general understanding of what the term means.

Foley (1997: 108) defines culture as “a mental system which generates all and only the proper cultural behaviour.” Hymes, on the other hand, emphasized an important point, that “culture is here not understood in the narrower sense of man’s advanced intellectual development as reflected in the arts, but in the broader anthropological sense to refer to all socially conditioned aspects of human life” (Hymes 1964, quoted in Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: 39). Hofstede (1991) notes that culture can be viewed in a narrow and a broader sense. In the narrow sense, culture means the “refinement of the mind and in particular the results of such refinement, like education, art, and literature.” (ibid: 5) Culture in the broader sense is “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (Hofstede 2000: 9). This is the concise version of the famous anthropological definition of culture by Kluckhohn (1951):

Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values”

(Kluckhohn 1951: 86, quoted in Hofstede, 2000: 9)

Newmark made a link between culture and language in saying that culture is “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression” (1987: 94). Pym (1998: 177) introduced the concept of ‘interculture’ to describe the phenomenon where beliefs and practices overlap between cultures, with people combining elements of two or more cultures at once. This concept seems to be relevant as the prolonged exposition to Western culture through media has influenced Serbian culture in several ways, most notably in language. Not only has knowing English language become mandatory for young generations, more and more Anglicisms enter Serbian everyday language and slang (e.g. verb *hejtovati* from *to hate*, verb *hendlovati* from *to handle*). An

example of a cultural practice that is becoming widespread in Serbia is creating gift registries for weddings, something that was considered rude only 20 years ago (and still is by older people).

For this paper, the term culture in its broader sense will be used, that is, culture as a general tendency shared with others instead of a feature of individual personality. Although individual personality does play a very prominent role in humour appreciation, the scope of this paper is too narrow to include psychological investigations into personal humour styles of the participants.

2.1 Cultural difference

One of the most influential theories on cultural differences is Hofstede's work on cultural dimensions. From 1967 to 1973, he conducted a study on the sample of IBM employees in 72 countries and established five cultural dimensions: individualism/collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity and long-term orientation (Hofstede 2000). This theory will be used as a broad framework to show the difference between the US and Serbian cultures.

The Individualism/Collectivism dimension denotes the level of integration of an individual into a group. Needless to say, individualism stresses the importance of taking care of oneself and one's immediate family, whereas collectivism stands for a society as a strong, integrated group. According to Hofstede's Individualism Index Values (IDV), the United States is ranked first place with IDV 91 and former Yugoslavia shares the 33rd place with Portugal and East Africa with IDV 27 (2000: 215). Serbia as an independent country has IDV 25 (Bogićević Milikić and Janićijević 2009: 161). This means that the United States is a highly individualist country, whereas Serbia leans much more towards collectivism.

The Power Distance dimension denotes "the extent to which less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede 1991: 28). The higher the position someone has, the more valued their opinions and values are. Power distance is measured according to the Power Distance Index (PDI) and, in countries with low index, inequality is lower and all members work close together. In countries with a high PDI there is a strictly determined unequal relationship between less powerful members of organizations and institutions and their superiors. The inequality of the relationship is supported by both the leaders and the followers. The United

States scores 40 on the cultural scale and Serbia scores 86 (Bogićević Milikić and Janićijević 2009: 161). This means that Serbia has a much wider gap between the two groups, the ‘superiors’ and ‘subordinates’.

The Uncertainty Avoidance dimension describes the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity of a certain society. The cultures which prefer avoiding uncertainty try to minimize the possibility of unstructured situations by adopting laws and various other measures. People from these cultures are much more emotional. The uncertainty accepting cultures are open to accepting opinions and beliefs different than their own, they do not have many rules and are relativist. People within these cultures are not encouraged to display emotions. This dimension is measured via the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI). The United States has UAI 46, while Serbia scores 92. This means that uncertainty avoidance in the US is relatively low, whereas it is extremely high in Serbia.

The Masculinity dimension describes the roles of genders in a specific culture. The two poles were distinguished during the IBM study: the assertive pole, which is dubbed ‘masculine’, and the caring pole, which is called ‘feminine’. In feminine societies, men share the caring traits with women, but in masculine societies, there is a wider gap between the two genders because, although women do tend to be much more competitive and assertive in these cultures, they are not as much so as men. Masculine traits include assertiveness, power, strength, materialism and individual achievement. The United States scores 62 on Hofstede’s masculinity scale and Serbia is ranked at 43. This means that the US displays much more masculine characteristics than Serbia.

Long-term Orientation versus Short-term Orientation is the additional, fifth dimension discovered via a questionnaire designed by scholars in China with an aim to distinguish the difference between the East and West. Countries with long-term orientation show persistence and thrift, while countries with short-term orientation show respect for tradition and personal stability, protect their face and feel the need to reciprocate favours and gifts. The United States was one of the 23 countries included in the additional study examining Long-term Orientation (LTO). The LTO index for the US is 29, which means that it is a more short-term oriented society, appreciating cultural traditions and nurturing a belief in meeting its obligations. Unfortunately, there are no LTO indicators for Serbia. As a member of the culture, though, the author of this paper could make an educated guess that Serbia is a short-term oriented country because it fulfils the conditions listed above (respect for tradition, protecting face, returning favours and gifts).

Although highly regarded in academia, Hofstede's work was also criticized. Gooderham and Nordhaug (2003: 139-140) claim that the problem with Hofstede's research is that it was based on an attitude-survey questionnaire and applied to a sample from a single company comprising middle-class employees (IBM in 72 countries). However, as Mead said in 1998, "no other study compares so many other national cultures in so much detail. Simply, this is the best there is" (p. 43). This statement is still relevant to date.

2.2 Issues with taboo topics

Another cultural trait that varies from culture to culture is taboo. Tabooed topics range from politics and religion to issues related to sex. One of the common taboos is the use of offensive language. Taboos change along with societies, so certain topics may become acceptable with time. For example, homosexuality used to be an unacceptable topic for discussion, whereas today this issue is not so heavily emotionally charged. Similar thing happened with social issues like divorce or alcoholism and medical disorders such as AIDS and cancer.

Taboo topics are often explored by comedy programmes as this is an appropriate way of addressing some of these issues without causing offense about what was said. Also, the use of some common taboos in these programmes often serves the purpose of criticizing the position that society has towards these issues. *South Park* relies heavily on taboos and ridicule of social norms to achieve the effect of caustic satire it is so famous for. Therefore, the participants of this study had to address some issues that are commonly tabooed in Western society (especially in the United States), mostly foul language, but also issues of ethnicity and religion.

People are often shocked by swearing, especially when it comes from children, because it is considered to be offensive, rude and inappropriate. Swear words refer to things that are not in the domain of public discussion, that are tabooed (e.g. sex, bodily functions). Allan and Burrige (2006: 27) emphasize that there is no such thing as a universal taboo, i.e. there are no taboos that hold the same meaning everywhere in the world. Also, what is tabooed in some contexts may be perfectly appropriate in another (ibid.). Today, the most common taboos refer to bodies and their functions, the organs and acts related to sex, urination and defecation, diseases, death and killing (Allan and Burrige 2006: 1). Taboos are not necessarily applicable to an entire cultural entity as there are various groups and communities within a culture that may have a different view on certain taboos. In modern society, taboos are mostly

topics and not actions themselves. In other words, while defecation and sex are actions that are necessary for health and/or procreation, talking about them is seen as taboo and is, therefore, avoided whenever that is possible in order to protect one's face.

In the present study, participants were sometimes required to talk about taboo topics and what they did or did not find offensive in the examples. According to Allan and Burridge (1991: 6), when confronted with taboo topics, people have several strategies at their disposal to refer to them. Some of these are particle modification, hedging of phrases and the use of euphemisms and orthophemisms.

Pelikan (1986: 89) notes that, when talking about taboo topics, speakers tend to make a shift in their tone of voice and/or accent and to make more pauses, sometimes longer than when engaging in 'normal' discourse. This could be perceived at several occasions in this study. Another possibility is to diminish the force of the utterance by using a formulation that mitigates the quality and degree of offence. For example, when participants wanted to say that they found the use of the word 'dick' offensive, they would usually say 'swear words', 'swearing' or 'a particular word'. This was especially prominent in the interviews with the U-group since the members are much younger than me and were probably uncomfortable uttering certain words in my presence. In Serbia, talking about these issues is also considered impolite, especially in conversation with an older individual. Although I would like to consider myself young, I am probably somewhat of an authority figure to these participants because I am eight or nine years their senior.

Tannen (1993: 42-3) discusses the use of hedges such as 'like that', 'really', 'kind of', etc, and found that the use of this device is significantly higher when the topic of conversation is considered a taboo. The same can be said for the so-called *verba sentiendi* (De Cillia et al 1999: 168) which denote verbs describing personal opinions, beliefs, thoughts, etc. Formulations such as 'I think', 'I mean' or 'I don't know' serve as mitigators and present the statements as mere subjective perceptions. They serve as a face-saving strategy and evoke cooperation on the hearer's part. This is also true in the case of the Serbian language. The use of 'mislim', 'ne znam' (*verba sentiendi*, 'I think', 'I don't know') and 'i tako', 'i to' hedges ('and so on', 'and that') appears to be higher when discussing topics considered inappropriate.

The use of euphemisms and orthophemisms is another strategy for avoiding potential harm to speaker's and listener's face. The term orthophemism was coined by Allan and Burridge (2006: 32) and it is more polite than the taboo term, but more straightforward than a

euphemism. In practice, if the taboo term is ‘dick’, the euphemism would be ‘pee pee’ and the orthophemism ‘penis’. However, the authors emphasize that the distinction between these two categories is not always clear and that it might be culturally and contextually dependent or even individually dependent (e.g. a taboo term for sexual body parts may not be perceived as offensive between lovers).

The face-saving discourse techniques described above will be paid special attention to when analyzing participants’ data regarding potentially taboo topics. Although different cultures have different taboos, most of them are similar, as for example, topics related to sex and defecation. A different area is racial or religious groupings. One example in the present study includes talking about Jews in a pejorative manner. Whitehead (2009) claims that religion has become a greater taboo in the United States than sex and graphic language. To quote his words,

young people are growing up in a world in which GOD is the new four-letter word. Look around and you will find that while it is permissible for children in many public schools systems and homes to read novels with graphic language and watch sexually explicit commercials on TV, talking about God or religion is taboo.

Around the world, the United States is known as the country that welcomes people from all over the world. Consequently, this means that there is an abundance of religious beliefs, including Christianity and its numerous schools of faith, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and many others. From my personal experience, in 2008, I saw a town with 3,000 inhabitants with 12 different churches. Making fun of other person’s beliefs is a taboo and this is precisely the reason why religion is so often the target of parody for many films and comedians. On the other hand, Serbia is predominantly Orthodox Christian and, even though there are some minor groups of followers of other religions, there is not much tabooization around these issues. For this reason, it might be expected that the video which shows Cartman poking fun at Jews may not be perceived as offensive by the participants as it might be by the US Americans.

According to Tannen (1993: 30), when using video materials from films or series for research, it is necessary to bear in mind that the subjects are responding to the material as a fictional situation with fictional characters. In other words, what might be perceived as funny and/or inoffensive in a video, might not be so in a real life situation (e.g. if someone uses

derogatory language when talking about Jews in front of your Jewish friend). This aspect might be even more emphasized since the material for this study is an animated TV show in which characters are very simply drawn. The distance between these characters and the viewers might be even greater than in the case of human actors.

3. Humour research

Humour has been studied throughout history, from the ancient philosophers to contemporary scholars. The approaches to discussing humour are numerous as it is a matter of debate for philosophy, sociology, linguistics, anthropology, medicine, psychology and many other fields. It is seen as a social activity, psychological trait, cultural phenomenon or, as of recently, medicine, both physical and psychological. However, there is still no uniform definition of humour and the fact that the dictionary meaning of the word *humour* has changed over time does not help.

3.1 Definitions of humour

Many scholars (Croce and Eco, to name some) have claimed or still claim that a theoretical definition is not possible, mainly for terminological reasons. Before the 20th century, the term *humour* had a narrow meaning, denoting only a sympathetic amusement at the imperfections of the world and human race (Wickberg 1998: 23). Over the last century, the meaning of the word has become much broader and covers all sorts of laughter-related phenomena (Martin 2008: 486). The online *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/humour_1, June 8, 2011) defines humour as “the ability or tendency to think that things are funny, or funny things you say that show you have this ability” and “the quality in something that makes it funny and makes people laugh”. This definition focuses on the intention of a humorous utterance and not on the specific form or meaning of humour and cannot explain what exactly can be perceived as humorous. Another problem is that a variety of words and concepts are being used synonymously with humour (wit, mirth, comedy, etc.).

In academic research, due to the lack of a stable definition of humour, it is often difficult to distinguish the nuances in meaning and what a specific author means when using the terms *humour* or *wit*, *mirth*, etc. For example, Kronenberger (1972: 11) tried to explain the difference between humour and wit by stating that “wit is a form of criticism or mockery” whereas “humour includes an element of self-criticism or self-mockery”. Fleet (1970, first published in 1890: 7) related humour to imperfection stating that imperfection is what excites laughter as well as admiration. McGhee (1979: 42) defines humour as a form of intellectual play, manifested in two forms: one which is serious and involves knowledge expansion; and the other which is playful and focuses on resolving fantasy incongruities. For Gruner (1997,

quoted in Davis, 2008: 544), this intellectual play is actually a “game” which has a winner and a loser. This proposition has been disputed by many because the view that every instance of humour is a win/lose situation is too radical. Shibbes (1998) sees humour as an emotion and what can be applied to the theory of emotions applies to humour as well; therefore, humour is “statements which cause feeling and action in a certain context.”³ Nuñez-Ramos and Lorenzo (1997: 107) claim that humour emphasizes the role of emotion in thought as opposed to the value of conscious reasoning and liberates the individual from the constraints of conventional order of things. Martin (2007: 29) explains humour as a distinct positive emotion, or mirth, elicited by a cognitive appraisal process and expressed interpersonally by means of laughter, with an important role in social communication. Davis (2008: 547) proposes a broader and vaguer concept of humour as “any sudden episode of joy or elation associated with a new discovery that is self-rated as funny”. In line with this view is the psychological belief that “the core of the experience of humour is the perception that something is funny” (Ruch 2008: 20). Ruch also mentions the possibility of humour becoming much more prominent in psychological research as positive psychology has discovered humour as one of the key character strengths contributing to a good life.

In the end, although there are many definitions of humour, there is still no unison among researchers from various fields in terms of what is meant by the term. Nevertheless, the enjoyment of humour is universal for all people, regardless of the type of humour they prefer. To quote Nash:

Together with the power of speech, the mathematical gift, the gripping thumb, the ability to make tools, humour is a specifying characteristic of humanity. For many of us, it is more than an amiable decoration on life; it is a complex piece of equipment for living, a mode of attack and a line of defence, a method of raising questions and criticizing arguments, a protest against the inequality of the struggle to live, a way of atonement and reconciliation, a treaty with all that is wilful, impaired, beyond our power to control. (1985: 1)

Humour is highly dependent on the situated socio-cultural context. It depends on the listener’s beliefs and values, which are culture sensitive, on the circumstances, on the joke teller (if there is one) or the author, and on the relationship between the teller and the listener.

³ Shibbes’ online project can be found at: <http://www.drbarbaramaier.at/shibbesw/humorbook/h3.html>

Some definitions of humour that have been encountered during the research for this paper focus on laughter as the indicator that something is funny. However, some authors disagree with this position. Also, it seems reasonable enough to conclude that laughter does not necessarily mean that something is funny. We know from everyday life that we may laugh when we feel uncomfortable or nervous, or even when someone tickles us. Some people laugh because they are mentally unstable and some people use laughter against another as a means of derision. Jefferson (1984) claims that laughter itself may function as a stimulus or as a contextualization cue which gives additional meaning to the utterance, in the “take it easy” or “I am saying something funny” sense. So, even though humour usually evokes laughter, laughter cannot be the necessary condition for humour, nor can it be a sufficient one.

For the purpose of the study, it would be enough to employ the current dictionary definition of humour as “the ability or tendency to think that things are funny”. In terms of what is relevant for this paper, it should be said that the relationship between humour and thoughtful smile is important. That is to say, humorous occurrences should be simultaneously funny and thought-provoking. This is in line with Martin’s (2007: 29) view on humour as a result of a cognitive process. The participants in this study were asked to reflect on the presented humour examples and their (mis)understandings will be taken into account. It should also be said that each example used in the study is considered to be an example of humour, not because of the preference of the author of this paper (because I do not find all of the examples funny), but because the authors of the episode meant for them to be humorous. Otherwise, it would be difficult to select which conversations are humorous and which are not without the direct audience response. Fortunately, the South Park Studios website offers clips from each episode and these snippets are considered to be the humorous scenes from the episodes.

Another concept that bears some significance for this paper is sense of humour. Basically, sense of humour means the ability to produce, recognize, appreciate and produce humour. However, Martin (2008: 488) lists several different ways of conceptualizing sense of humour. Sense of humour has been seen as a cognitive ability to understand, produce, remember and reproduce jokes, as an aesthetic response to humour or as a behavioural pattern. Also, sense of humour is perceived as an emotion-related temperament trait (habitual cheerfulness), an attitude, a coping mechanism, etc. The relevance of sense of humour for this study is reflected in the need that its participants meet several standards; that is, to be able to understand, produce and appreciate humour in their mother tongue. This was not measured by

any of the available sense of humour tests⁴, but was determined either by my own personal experience with the participants or by recommendation from their friends.

3.2 Types of Humour

There are many different variants of humour: verbal, graphical (comic books, cartoons), acoustic (funny music), behavioural (impersonations, pantomime) and other. Attardo (1994) points out that there is no final taxonomy of humour that has been agreed upon by researchers. This chapter will show that there are numerous classifications that sometimes overlap, but usually only serve the purpose of the researcher who made them.

Raskin (1985: 22) offers the following classification of humour:

1. Ridicule, which usually cannot be verbalized and which focuses on a mishap that befalls another person, causing amusement in the observer. Ridicule can be deliberate, but also affectionate;
2. Self-disparaging humour, an example of which are Jewish jokes, told by the Jews;
3. Riddles, including conundrums or the punning riddles;
4. Puns; and
5. Suppression/repression humour, based on Freud's theory.

This classification is rather broad and a little bit vague for this paper. In his online humour project, Shibles (1998) gives a much more detailed list of possible humour types, although he claims that there is an infinite number of these. Also, the categories often overlap and one humour event can fall under several types. As mentioned before, Shibles sees humour as an emotion and classifies it accordingly, resulting in a very long list of finely nuanced humour manifestations. However, Shibles also gives a list of the most common humour types people use, which includes behavioural, black humour, blatant vice, deviation, escape, exaggeration, insight, irony, logical fallacy, pun, ridicule, satire and sublimation.

Long and Graesser (1988: 11-18) divided humour into jokes and wit and then distinguished various categories within these two classes. Jokes are classified into: social satire, sexual, hostile, ethnic, demeaning to men, demeaning to women, nonsense, philosophical, sick and scatological. Wit is classified into: satire, sarcasm, irony, over and

⁴ A good start for an inquiry into the variety of such tests is the web page of the International Society for Humor Studies <http://www.hnu.edu/ishs/TestCatalog.htm>.

understatement, teasing, replies to rhetorical questions, clever replies to serious statements, self-deprecation, double entendre, transformation of fixed expressions and puns.

Alexander (1997: 9) classifies humour primarily focusing on the intention of humour production. According to him, types of humour can be determined following six criteria, which are: intention of the speaker or writer, awareness of the speaker or writer, malevolent or benevolent intention, purpose to amuse, general light-headedness and wit. With these criteria in mind, Alexander distinguishes sixteen types of verbal humour, some of which correspond to types of text, some on linguistic or extra-linguistic features and so on. The categories are: joke, gag, epigram, crack, pun, spoonerism, howler, misprint, irony, satire, lampoon, caricature, parody, impersonation, sarcasm and sardonic (ibid. 10). However, Alexander himself states that types of humour are not mutually exclusive and that it is virtually impossible to give a description of exact features for each humour type. In addition to intent, Weinberger and Gulas (1992: 49) add another two dimensions to the classification of humour and these are content and technique. Kelly and Solomon attempted to give a technique classification of humour and they came up with the following list (1975: 32):

1. Pun: ambiguous use of words;
2. Understatement: presenting something as being less than is actually the case;
3. Joke: non-serious speaking or behaviour;
4. Something ludicrous: what is laughable or ridiculous;
5. Satire: sarcasm against folly and vice;
6. Irony: expressing thoughts opposite than what one actually thinks; and
7. Humorous intent: perceived intent to be humorous.

Obviously, there are quite a few problems with this list. At first glance, some of these categories may well overlap. On the other hand, the category 'something ludicrous' is too broad and could as well encompass all of the other items from the list. The same is true for the category 'humorous intent'. Finally, it can hardly be said that all of these seven categories are actually based on technique.

Catanescu and Tom (2001) propose a practitioner-oriented classification, with an addition of two categories. The list of humour types they propose is the following:

1. Comparison: use of two or more elements in order to produce a humorous situation;
2. Personification: attribution of human characteristics to animals, plants and objects;
3. Exaggeration: overstating, representation that is out of proportion;

4. Pun: ambiguous use of language, often creating new meanings;
5. Sarcasm: ironic responses or situations;
6. Silliness: a range of humour events, usually non-verbal, from making faces to ridiculous situations; and
7. Surprise: humour from unexpected situations.

Again, the list does not have a clear criterion for the selection of humour types since some rely on linguistic devices (e.g. puns) and some on psychological aspects (e.g. surprise). Also, categories overlap, which is almost exclusively the case with the attempts to classify humour, and explanations for each category are not specific and definitive enough.

Finally, from the field of translation studies comes Zabalbeascoa's categorization of humour, from a translator's point of view. Zabalbeascoa (1996: 251) states that there are seven types of jokes (by 'joke' is meant humorous occurrence): *international* jokes, ideally understandable by anyone as they do not depend on linguistic aspects or familiarity with the culture of the source text; *binational* jokes, similar to the first category; *national-culture-institutions* jokes, humorous only within the source text culture and have to be adapted in translation in order to be humorous in the target culture; *national-sense-of-humour* jokes, dealing with themes that are more popular in some countries than in others, usually culture-specific and also have to be adapted; *visual* jokes, represented by images in order to trigger humour; and *complex* jokes, which combine two or more of the previous aspects. He also pointed out that certain types of humour appear to be more popular in some countries than in other and as such form a sort of tradition. One of the examples would be the case of some communities that like to make fun of themselves, whereas others prefer to laugh at somebody else. These preferences depend on culture, religion and historical and political connections with neighbouring countries (ibid. 253).

None of these typologies has been generally recognized and most of them seem relatively arbitrary in their criteria. The categories often tend to overlap and merge and particular instances of humour can sometimes be classified under more than one label. On the other hand, researchers keep proposing new terms for the phenomena they observe, so the list of humour types and sub-types never stops expanding. It also seems that these typologies have not brought us much closer to the understanding of the phenomenon of humour. Given that there are many weaknesses with every classification presented, this paper will not take any single one of them as being the "correct" one, but will rather explain the humour examples used in the study and base itself on Ritchie's (2010: 34) observation that there is a

sort of an agreement that humour conveyed in language appears in two forms, either as referential or verbal humour. Referential (or conceptual) humour is the use of language to describe, for example, some situation or event which is a source of humour in itself. On the other hand, verbal humour relies on language features to convey humour (e.g. words that sound similar or ambiguous sentences). However, the distinction between referential and verbal humour is not always very clear and there is no strict definition of the boundary between them. Consequently, the classification of examples is left to general intuition, which appears to be more suitable for the examples used in this study. Another broad but acceptable classification of humour occurrences is Schmitz's (2002: 93) classification of humour into linguistic, cultural and universal humour. Universal jokes are those that work in the worldwide context and can be understood by everyone regardless of the language and culture. Cultural jokes are based on cultural knowledge and can be understood only by those possessing background knowledge of the target culture/society. Linguistic jokes are based on linguistic features such as phonology, morphology or syntax and can, therefore, be understood only by those with sufficient proficiency in a given language. This classification can also be criticized on the basis that these categories are also difficult to identify. However, the humour examples of this study will be analyzed according to these two broad classifications as they are directly relevant for the matter under investigation.

The study was conducted using seven scenes as seven examples of humour, each representing a different type of humorous occurrence. According to classifications offered by Schmitz and Ritchie classifications, these humour examples represent instances of both referential and verbal humour and linguistic, cultural and universal humour. Some of these videos have more than one humorous occurrence so they will now be listed separately and categorized:

1. The 'Fishsticks' joke – linguistic, verbal – H1
2. Kanye West spoof – cultural, referential – H2
3. If I had wheels, I'd be a wagon – universal, referential – H3
4. Fat turd taking credit for something he didn't do – universal, referential – H4
5. Jew me out/Jew defensive moves – linguistic/cultural, verbal – H5
6. Cartman remembering the events – universal, referential – H6
7. Carlos Mencia spoof – cultural, referential/verbal – H7
8. Parody of Kanye West's song – cultural, referential – H8

Table 1. The classification of the selected humour examples

Humour categories	Subcategory	Example number
Linguistic joke	Phonological ambiguity	H1
	Neologism	H5
	Accent and intonation	H7
Cultural joke	Cultural ambiguity	H2, H7, H8
Universal joke		H3, H4, H6
Referential joke	The situation	H2, H3, H4, H6, H8
Verbal joke	The language	H1, H5, H7

The examples are listed in table 1 according to the humour category they belong to. Example H5 is primarily a linguistic joke, but can also be classified as cultural joke because the background cultural knowledge of the Jewish stereotypes plays an important part in identifying the sense of the coined expressions and finding humour in them. Example H7 was classified as belonging to several categories, as both referential and verbal humour, because what constitutes the humorousness is the entire situation and the background story, but also the language that the main character uses, his tone of voice and intonation and also the feigned Mexican accent.

At the same time, these examples fit into some of the more ‘traditional’ humour categories that most other humour typologies, some of which were presented above, operate with. The first example is based on wordplay, i.e. punning. Delabastita (1996: 128) defines puns as textual phenomena contrasting “linguistic structures with *different meanings* on the basis of their *formal similarity*” (emphasis in the original). In other words, a pun is a humorous use of a word emphasizing different meanings or applications. Two words or expressions need to be similar in sound but with different senses for the wordplay to work. Also, these senses need to be close, meaning that they need to represent two frames that can be sensibly evoked when interpreting a joke. At the same time, these senses need to be in conflict (Attardo 1994: 133). Delabastita (1996: 128) classifies puns into homonymy, homophony, homography and paronymy. Attardo (1994: 114) adds polysemy and antonymy into this categorization. Furthermore, puns can be vertical or horizontal. Vertical wordplay occurs when the two linguistic structures are present in the same portion of text and horizontal wordplay requires that these elements occur one after another in the text.

The second example can be classified as a witticism. A witticism is a clever and humorous utterance in a conversation. Witticisms are context bound and spontaneously occur in the frame of bona fide communication mode. They are comprehensible even outside the context

of a conversation, but tend to occur in specific contextual environments. The function of witticisms is not to bring humour but to convey a message. For more on witticisms, see the works of Norrick (e.g. 1993, 2003).

The third example is a subtle allusion, but not in the general sense of the word. Allusions usually entail some sort of intertextuality, requiring certain cultural knowledge in order to be comprehended properly. However, this example is an allusion to the events happening in the episode and, therefore, can be detected by any alert viewer.

In the fourth video, we have an example of ethnic humour paired with the creation of neologisms. One of the characters uses stereotypes about the Jewish people when coining new phrases such as ‘Jew someone out’ and ‘Jew defensive moves’. According to Davies (1982), ethnic jokes can be divided into three groups: jokes about stupidity, jokes about sexual behaviour and jokes about canniness. The Jew jokes fall into the third category as Jewish people are internationally seen as being economically successful and well-integrated into society.

The fifth scene is an example of exaggeration of events that was depicted with irony. *Dictionary.com* defines irony as “the use of words to convey a meaning that is the opposite of its literal meaning” and literary irony as “a technique of indicating, as through character or plot development, an intention or attitude opposite to that which is actually or ostensibly stated.” (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/irony>, June 4, 2011). According to Mateo (1995: 172), “irony depends on context, since it springs from the relationships of a word, expression or action with the whole text or situation.” Irony operates on the principle of incongruity between the perceived reality and the meaning and intention of words and actions. Many researchers (e.g. Norrick 2003) pointed out that irony does not necessarily entail humour and only a part of extensive research on irony can fall into the category of humour research.

The sixth example is an instance of derogatory humour against one individual with the aim to ridicule that person and point out their (perceived) flaws. Another aspect of this example is that it abounds in foul language, much more than any of the other clips used in the study.

Finally, the last humour example is a parody of Kanye West’s hit single ‘Heartless’ that was subsequently named ‘The Gay Fish song’ by the *South Park* fans. *Merriam-Webster online dictionary* defines parody as “a literary or musical work in which the style of an author

or work is closely imitated for comic effect or in ridicule” and the Supreme Court of the United States (<http://supreme.justia.com/us/510/569/case.html> August 3, 2011) stated that parody "is the use of some elements of a prior author's composition to create a new one that, at least in part, comments on that author's works". This is precisely what this humour example is trying to achieve.

3.3 Functions of humour

Humour has more than just one function in human life, depending on context. Functionalist theories claim that humour serves as a boost for morale and solidarity amidst feelings of adversity (Davies 2008: 166). Davies (ibid.) criticizes this notion as not all ethnic jokes originate from fear that the social order would be destroyed by the target group, on the contrary, there are usually more powerful opponents who are not joked about. Jokes can also be a way to avoid official constraints on language – political jokes in oppressive regimes, sexual jokes, jokes about bodily functions, politically incorrect jokes (about death, disasters, race, etc.). In the case of great tragedies and disasters, joke cycles serve as coping mechanisms, enabling both tellers and listeners of jokes to distance themselves from the event (Oring 2008: 195). Humour is also a way to exclude the control of the media and other public definitions of the event from the domain of private coping with the tragedy. The influence of media on the perceptions of great tragedies and disasters can be constraining and overwhelming and humour is sometimes the only mechanism that brings some sense of control to individuals. Mintz (2008: 296) notes that, in the United States, late night talk-show hosts and cartoons such as *South Park* and *The Simpsons* are closely watched to see whether it is acceptable to make jokes about certain events and circumstances surrounding them (for example, the war on terrorism).

Ziv (1984: 3) lists five functions of humour: aggressive (socially acceptable), social (interaction), sexual (expressing repressed desires), defence mechanism (black humour, self-deprecation) and intellectual function (creativity). The social function has been discussed by various other researchers (see Attardo, 1994; Hay, 2000) and they are in general agreement that this function enables the parties involved to define and/or modify their relationship. As humour is seen as a cultural phenomenon, shared knowledge and worldview are believed to be of great importance for its success. Therefore, humour can strengthen both in-group and

out-group bonding. With this in mind, the social function of humour is of interest for this paper because it will investigate transfer of humour between two culturally different groups.

Another function, which was studied by Frymier and Wanzer (1998), is the educational function, in the sense that humour requires intellectual effort on both parties, the sender and the receiver. Since this paper aims to investigate humour appreciation and interpretation in a foreign language, this function will also be regarded as significant. Weinberger and Gulas (1992: 38) draw attention to the fact that comprehension evaluation is problematic because there is no scientific definition of comprehension. Another problem with humour comprehension is that different types of humour require different amounts of intellectual investment, and cultural knowledge, linguistic competence and context also play a role.

The psychological function of humour is not of great importance for this paper, but should none the less be mentioned. Hay (2000: 725) mentioned three different types of psychological functions of humour: defence, coping with contextual problems and coping with non-contextual problems. When serving a defence function, humour is used to protect one's face, usually by identifying a personal weakness before someone else does. When its function is to help people cope with problems, humour usually serves as a stress release when dealing with unpleasant topics (e.g. disease, drugs). The so-called 'nervous' laughter is closely related to this function of humour as it helps diminish stress from the body. Another psychological function of humour would be its perceived healing power, which is not going to be discussed here. However, this is a rapidly developing field of humour research and can be read about in works of Lefcourt (e.g. 2001), McGhee (e.g. 1999) and many others.

Humour also has individual functions in smaller social contexts and these have been studied by communication humour research. Persuasion, teasing and releasing boredom are only some of the identified functions of humour within this field. Humour also has a role in establishing initial relations between strangers, easing communication and negotiating roles (see Vinton, 1989). Another role of humour in social context has been widely researched. Raskin pointed out:

It seems to be generally recognized that the scope and degree of mutual understanding in humor varies directly with the degree to which the participants share their social backgrounds. (1985: 16)

This statement is in direct correlation with the phenomenon of joking relationships. First discovered in Africa in 1920s by anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, it stands for a relationship between individuals or groups that allows a free flow of verbal or physical interaction. The original definition of a joking relationship is that it is

a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offense

(Radcliffe-Brown 1965: 90; quoted in Apte 1985: 33)

The definition was expanded upon the realization that such practices take place in developed, 'industrial' societies as well, where kinship is not the base of joking relationship. This practice is believed to be a sort of a "social regulator" because it often serves as an instrument of tension relief. Joking relationship can be symmetrical (mutual) or asymmetrical, in which case one group is formally allowed to joke about the other while the other is not allowed to respond. The joking can take many forms, such as teasing, verbal abuse, chastisement etc, and is influenced by many factors. Apte mentions the following factors:

the social setting, the participants' role, age, sex, and social status, their conscious and unconscious motivations and expectations regarding the outcomes of joking encounters, the presence or absence of an audience, the collective goals of social groups such as group solidarity and social differentiation, and so forth.

(Apte 1985: 64)

Today, it is believed that societies in general are widely influenced by this type of relationship and not only African countries. For example, the so-called stupidity jokes that one nation tells about another nation fall into the category of joking relationships. To avoid using the typical example of stupidity jokes, the jokes about the Poles told by the US Americans, such jokes are also told by the French about the Belgians:

A Belgian goes to the cinema, buys a ticket and enters the room. One minute later, he comes back and buys another ticket. Then a few minutes later, he comes back and asks for another ticket.

I don't understand, says the cashier.

I know, answers the man, but any time I get inside the room, there is man there who tears my ticket. (<http://library.thinkquest.org/06aug/02308/pages/aworld.htm> August 6, 2011)

On the other hand, the Belgians tell jokes about the French, for example, their alleged aversion to take showers. In addition to telling jokes, joking relationships are also present in British English and French language. Both languages have expressions about one another that idiomatically denote cowardly fleeing the scene ('to take a French leave' and 'filer à l'Anglaise'). These ethnic groups have established joking relationships (symmetrical, in this case) and, therefore, have a kind of agreement that serves as a vent for anger, hatred and other sources of potential conflict. Sometimes, these connections are made after a conflict as a remedy and preventive (e.g. the case of the British and the French). However, joking relationships are not only formed between ethnic groups. Individuals can also establish this specific type of relationship, within the family, with friends, at work and so on. Again, the targets of the joke are not supposed to be offended but to respond in the same manner.

In the present paper, joking relationships are relevant because they represent what is acceptable for humour in the United States and what is considered tabooed for humour. If, for example, the jokes about the Jews are seen as widespread and as a manner of acknowledging their integration into the community as an economically successful group, then poking fun at their canniness and thriftiness may not be seen as necessarily offensive and insulting. Also, joking relationships have been established in the show between the characters and these might figure as relevant in the discussion of the selected videos. For example, there is a recurring theme of Cartman's mocking of the Jews in the presence of Kyle Broflovski, who is Jewish. Although Kyle occasionally does get enervated with these comments, he usually lets them slide, as in one of the examples used for the study. In return, Kyle is the only kid who repeatedly calls Cartman out for being fat.

3.4 Joke competence and humour competence

In her 1997 article, Carrell posited a theory that joke competence and humour competence are a part of a native speaker's linguistic competence. In the same way as native speakers have an intuitive ability to judge the grammaticality of a sentence, they can determine whether a text is actually a joke text and whether it is funny or not. Joke competence is "that ability of the

native speaker (audience for a joke text) to recognize a text as a joke without determining whether or not the text is funny” (Carrel, 1997: 174). After a text has been identified as a joke text, the audience judges the funniness (or lack thereof) of that text and this constitutes the humour competence. This also presupposes that a joke text is not inherently humorous, although a successful joke text has humour as its consequence. Humour competence is much more dynamic as it depends on various factors (e.g. mood of the recipient, situation...). Both joke competence and humour competence usually operate at an unconscious level, unless presented with an unexpected format of joke text. In that case, the audience consciously attempts to process the text, often resulting in questions such as: “Is that a joke?” (ibid. 177). The shift between the bona fide and non bona fide modes of communication occurs either when the audience correctly interprets a part of otherwise serious discourse as joking, or when the joke teller signals that what he is saying is supposed to be a joke (e.g. “Did you hear the one about...?”).

According to Carrell, there are two main factors contributing to the failure of a joke text (ibid. 179). The audience can either be unfamiliar with the format of the joke text or the audience is not familiar with semantic script(s) necessary for the identification and/or processing of the joke. If the scripts are available, the joke will most likely be successful, although there are degrees of amusement that can be measured by various scales. If and when a text is identified as a joke text, there is an immediate switch from bona fide to non bona fide communication. There is also the possibility that the teller did not intend for the text to be humorous, but Carrell believes that humour depends on the audience and not on the teller (ibid. 181).

There are three reasons for a joke text that has been identified as such to be rated as not funny. The first is that the audience for some reason refuses to reprocess the text if they fail to understand it initially. The second reason may be that the audience has heard the joke before. This way, the joke loses the element of surprise and potentially fails to amuse. The third reason for a joke to fail with an audience is that the audience cannot find anything humorous in at least one of the semantic scripts necessary to process the text (ibid. 183). The response to humour can also be influenced by various emotional, psychological and physical reasons (religious beliefs, disease or death, sexual orientation, etc.). These factors determine which scripts are available for humorous interpretation and which are not. However, as humour competence is a dynamic construct, it is possible that what is at some point marked as tabooed

for humour could become a source of humour at a later time due, perhaps, to the development of certain joking relationships.

Carrell's proposition of joke competence and humour competence is the matter of investigation in this study. Although the original construct refers to the competence of native speakers, it can also be applied to the linguistic competence of foreign language learners. This paper also does not share the conviction that humour resides in audience only, but rather that it needs to be shared by both the teller and the audience. In the context of this particular study, it was not possible to check the native speakers' responses to the selected examples so these examples were considered as humour instances based on the *South Park* authors' intent. Therefore, participants' joke competence was tested by checking whether they were able to correctly identify the humorous intent of each example, as listed at the end of section 3.2.

3.5 Theories of humour

The study of humour is believed to have begun with the Greek philosophers. Beginning with Aristotle's *Rhetorics*, in which he discusses metaphors and puns, the so-called incongruity theories have begun developing. Relying on Greek sources, Latin authors also discussed humour and some of their work is still relevant today, as for example Cicero's distinction between *de re* (referential) and *de dicto* (verbal) humour. The Middle Ages did not bring any original theories about humour, but the Renaissance period and, most notably, Madius (Vincenzo Maggi) put emphasis on the surprise element of humour and introduced the interest in the physiology of humour (Attardo 2008: 102). After this period, as in many other scientific fields, humour theories underwent specialization and this resulted in today's division into psychological, philosophical, sociological, etc. theories of humour. However, it could be said that humour research goes into two directions: first, the individual level, investigating the reasons why individuals use humour, and second, the macro level of society in general, focusing on the role of humour in a social setting. The most prominent theories can be classified into the first category and can be divided into three groups. To follow Raskin's (1985: 31) categorization, they are incongruity theories, hostility theories and release theories. Incongruity theories are also called contrast theories, but hostility theories may appear under such names as superiority theories, disparagement theories, aggression theories etc. Release theories are also known as sublimation, liberation or economy theories. Attardo (1994: 47) classified these groups of theories as cognitive (incongruity), social (superiority) and

psychoanalytical (release). Cognitive theories concentrate on the humorous stimulus, social theories focus on the interpersonal relations and psychoanalytical theories consider the audience's reaction. These three families of theories do not contradict, but rather complement each other. They all focus on the motivation of an individual to create and interpret humour.

3.5.1 Incongruity theories

Since Aristotle, it is widely believed that a necessary condition for humour is incongruity. Humorous incongruity is explained as bringing together two distinct concepts, ideas or situations in a surprising manner. These theories are cognitive/perceptual theories and they claim that the perception of humour arises from an incongruity between a set of expectations and what is perceived. The theorists who espouse this group of theories emphasize the significance of the element of surprise in a joke and it is usually the punch line that contains this element. The first book which gave a full and complete account of the Incongruity theory is Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, first published in 1790 (Morreall 1987: 45). To summarize, Kant states that wit is the play of thought and laughter follows from absurdity. In the early 19th century, Schopenhauer stated that the incongruity is between our abstract concepts and our sensory experiences of the things that are supposed to fit under those concepts (Morreall 2008: 226). Essayist and critic William Hazlitt noted that human being is the only animal that laughs and weeps because only man can perceive the discrepancy between what is and what ought to be (Morreall 2008: 231). We laugh when we feel lack of sympathy for that which is unreasonable and unnecessary, and the absurdity only provokes our mirth, rather than serious thinking. In conclusion, incongruity theories believe that humour is in the incongruity itself and it is up to the audience to resolve the incongruity and succeed in finding the humour.

Although many scholars agree that incongruity is a necessary condition for humour, some also argue that it is not a sufficient one. Incongruity alone may lead to confusion and aversive reaction. Therefore, many additional variables have been proposed. The resolution of the incongruity (Suls 1972; quoted in Ruch 2008: 25) and appropriateness of the incongruity (Oring 1992; quoted in Ruch 2008: 25) are only some of these variables. Morreall (2008: 234) critiqued Suls' line of thinking by showing that there is not always a resolution of incongruity in verbal humour. In Bob Newhart's TV show that was aired in the 1990s, one of the running gags was having three men come into a hotel. One would introduce himself and then turn to the other two men, his brothers, and say: "This is my brother Darrell, and that is my other

brother Darrell.” The show never offered any explanation why these two brothers would have the same name. Morreall (ibid.) also adds that the mere perception of incongruity is not sufficient for humour because feelings of fear, anger, sadness also include the perception of something that violates the expectations. What sets humour apart from these negative feelings is that humorous incongruity includes enjoyment. Morreall (1989; quoted in Carrell 2008: 311) sees humour as uniquely human trait and because humans can perceive incongruities, they are also able to have a non-practical worldview which leads to the development of art and science. According to Suls (1972; quoted in Ruch 2008: 26), there are two possible outcomes for incongruity – laughter or puzzlement. The processing of incongruity includes two stages, the first is the violation of expectations and the second is the problem solving process in order to restore expectations. Lipps adds a third stage in which detecting that what is actually nonsense makes sense in a playful context only and this is what distinguishes humour from problem-solving (Ruch 2008: 27). An objection to the Incongruity theory is based on irrationality: enjoyment of something that does not fit the ordinary way of processing experiences and understanding seems to be perverse. It should be confusing, not delightful, and this objection was best put forward by George Santayana. For him, it is not incongruity that is enjoyable, but the stimulation it brings (Morreall, 2008: 228).

Still, incongruity theories struggle with explaining the undeniable interpersonal aspect that humour has. They focus on the psychology of individual and also ignore the disparagement elements of humour (cases of jokes in which protagonists make mistakes, appear incompetent or are attacked by others).

3.5.2 Hostility theories

Hostility theories are also called disparagement theories and superiority theories and this line of thought can be traced back to Plato. Plato believed that malice is the core of every humorous occurrence because we laugh at the misfortune of others and rejoice in the fact that we do not share them. Hostility theories have been most espoused by Hobbes (*On Nature*, quoted in Gruner 1978: 29-30) and, in modern times, by Charles Gruner and Michael Billig (cf. 2005). They claim that the feeling of superiority over something, of overcoming something, or attacking a target is what constitutes humour and this puts them in the category of social/behavioural theories. In 1978, Gruner stated that humour helps avoiding aggression and Feinberg suggested that it is a non-violent and socially acceptable form of aggression.

Essentially, every humour event is actually an act of social exclusion. Funniness here depends on the level of identification with the target and/or source of humour and, as noted by Wolff, Smith and Murray (1934; quoted in Chapman and Foot 1976: 95), disparagement against a target one negatively identifies with is perceived as funnier than humour instances in which the target is positively identified with. This theory was further developed by Zillmann and Cantor (1976), who introduced a function model relying on the degree of affective disposition towards the parties in a joke. Humour appreciation is increased in cases of positive identification with the disparaging party and negative identification with the disparaged; also, humour perception is diminished in cases of negative identification with the disparaging party and positive identification with the disparaged. This model proved successful in projecting how funny an instance of disparagement humour will be to an individual, but cannot predict whether or not that instance will be funny to begin with.

Ruch (2008: 31) states that these theories have proven to be successful in predicting enjoyment in ethnic, gender, racial and political jokes, but have not been able to definitively explain why research showed that traditionally inferior groups (e.g. women) sometimes appreciate jokes against their own members more (see Cantor, 1976; Zillmann and Stocking, 1976; Losco and Epstein, 1975). However, several studies showed the possibility of a correlation between women's association with feminist movement and appreciation of humour victimizing women. Namely, women who have not been associated with the movement show a tendency to appreciate this type of jokes more than feminist women (see e.g. Chapman and Gadfield, 1976).

This family of theories has been widely criticized by many, mostly because not all instances of humour include feelings of superiority and because there are many cases of feeling superior that do not involve humour. Morreall (2008: 233) offers an example of laughing at Charlie Chaplin's silent cleverness and acrobatics which almost certainly does not occur because of the feeling of superiority over him and which probably involves feelings of inferiority. The earlier success of these theories is attributed to the fact that most of the incongruities that are perceived as humorous are actually human shortcomings – moral vices, stupidity, laziness, misunderstandings, etc. However, to perceive these shortcomings in another person and to laugh at them does not necessarily entail feeling superior to them. As Rapp said, "...we laugh at the mishap of others; but they must be minor mishaps" (1951: 35). What is more, we might perceive these same shortcomings in ourselves as well. Nevertheless,

the significance of this group of humour theories rests in the fact that they were the first to draw attention to interpersonal relations as a factor in humour.

3.5.3 Release theories

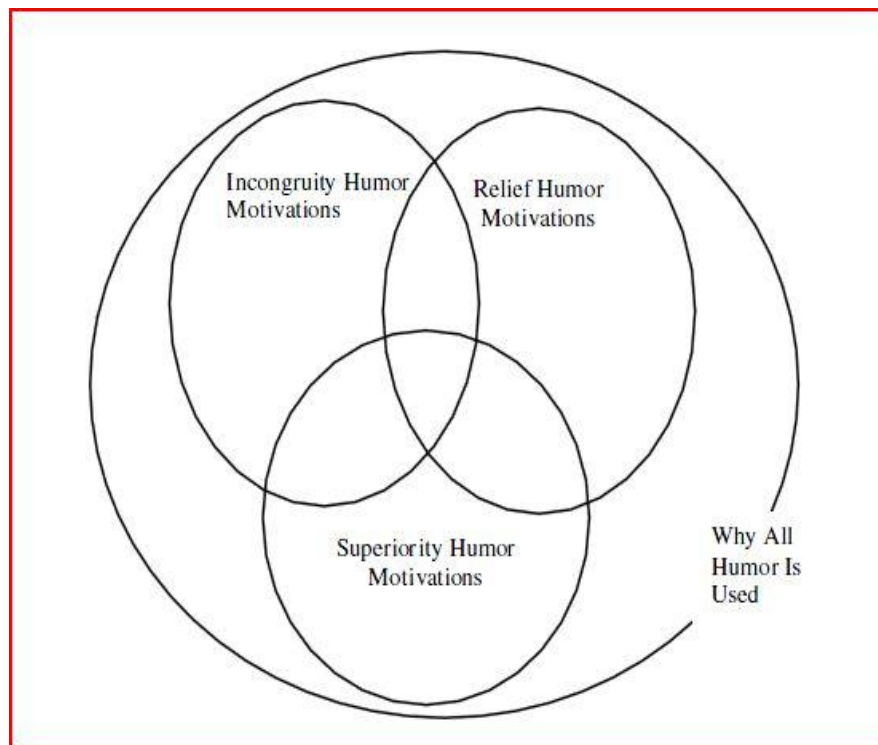
These theories fall into the category of psycho-analytical theories and the best known release theory is Freud's (1905) "economy of psychic energy" theory and, as other release theories, it claims that humour "releases" some form of psychic energy and frees the individual from some constraints, usually social ones. When joking, humans indulge hostile or sexual feelings they would usually repress and this saves the mental energy that would have been expended on repressing those feelings. Freud also focused on the linguistic mechanisms of humour and, although critics state that the mechanisms he identified are present in any linguistic form, credit still goes to Freud for bringing attention to the linguistic aspects of humour. Freud's theory as presented in *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905) is believed to be the first full-fledged theory of humour, introducing the idea that humour serves as a means to circumvent social taboos. Mindess (1971; quoted in Attardo 2008: 104) agrees with this line of thought because he believes that humour liberates from conventional systems of morality, language and logic. Another proponent of this type of theory is folklorist Alan Dundes (1987; quoted in Oring 2008: 194), whose theory of joking is focusing on the cathartic role of humour. For him, joking is expressing repressed sexual or aggressive desires and relief of anxiety. Dundes also claims that humour is an outlet for aggression and the means for feeling superior. Grotjahn (1957, viii-ix) claims that humour is a guilt-free release of aggression after which people are more capable of understanding each other. A special kind of release is related to sex and sexual inhibitions. Greig (1923: 71) wrote that sexual humour directs attention to private body parts and such humour excites sexual behaviour resulting in energy being released in laughter.

Carrell (2008: 304) notes that these theories also presuppose that humour is inherent in the text of the joke and the joke is only successful if the audience experiences some sort of relief or release. Some scholars (e.g. Fry 1992; Haig 1988) also put theories of healthy and/or healing effects of humour within this group of theories.

3.5.4 Considerations of the three theories

Humour literature is full of different theorists opting for one category of humour theories, usually disregarding the others. It appears that the main goal of humour scholars is to disprove the rationality of espousing a source of humour motivation other than their own. The positive result of this academic war is that it has pinpointed flaws in each of the categories of humour conception and, hopefully, will lead to the spread of the view that supporting only one group of theories, be it incongruity, hostility or relief, has considerable limitations. In line with Lynch (2002), this paper also presupposes that these theories overlap and cannot be used exclusively. Figure 1 shows that none of these theories can offer a complete account and explanation of humour, but together they manage to give a clearer image.

Figure 1. The overlapping of theories of humour (Lynch 2002: 430)



Apart from these three major groups of theories there are so-called hybrid theories and sociological theories. Hybrid theories attempt to explain why we laugh by combining two or more of the theories belonging to the three major groups of theories. Sociological theories, on the other hand, do not attempt to explain *why* we laugh, but to identify the ways jokes are contextually interpreted based on societal and cultural factors. Some of these theories will be

mentioned only briefly in the following sections, with detailed attention paid only to Veatch's theory as it is closely related to the study of this paper.

3.5.5 Hybrid theories

One of these is Henri Bergson's theory according to which laughter is a means to mock those who do not think and act in a flexible, context-sensitive manner. The function of humour and laughter is to humiliate people who act mechanically into seeing their inadequacy and to return them to well-adapted ways of thinking and behaving. This is a metaphysical theory of "Creative Evolution" and it has elements of both Incongruity and Hostility theories (Morreall 2008: 229).

Amy Carrell presented her Audience-Based Theory of Verbal Humor in her 1993 PhD thesis and she claims that humour is dependent on the audience, meaning that no text is inherently funny. There are four necessary conditions for humour: the joke teller, the joke text, the audience and the situation in which the other three conditions operate and which sets the context for attempts at humour. These conditions are interdependent and equally necessary for a successful joke.

Herbert Spencer viewed humour from a sociological perspective and combined incongruity and relief approaches in saying that laughter is a release of "arrested feelings" into the muscular system when there is a perception of incongruity (Morreall 1987: 108).

Another hybrid theory is Veatch's Theory of Humour (1998), also called Moral Theory. It can be seen as an attempt to bring together different aspects of previous classical theories in order to create a global theory of humour.

For Veatch, humorous events have to have three components:

- Violation of perceiver's subjective moral principle (how things ought to be) (**V**),
- Perceiver's predominating view that the situation is normal (**N**), and
- Both V and N understandings are simultaneously present in perceiver's mind (**Simultaneity**).

If any of these conditions is lacking, there is no perception of humour. Therefore, humour occurs when everything seems normal, but also wrong at the same time. Veatch believes that if something is not perceived as funny, then it must either be offensive (if the perceiver identifies with the violated principle) or senseless (if the perceiver does not feel any emotional

or moral attachment to the violated principle). Veatch manages to include both emotional and cognitive aspects into his theory and to show that both ambiguity and surprise play a role in a humour event as these are two ways of instigating two different views of the same situation. Subjective moral principles explain why humour is universal to all human beings, yet highly culture-sensitive or even individual at the same time.

Veatch also argues that his theory can encompass linguistic forms of humour because language is not only a cognitive system but a system that involves emotions and moral opinions. The critics of this theory often used puns as an example of Veatch's shortcomings, but he analyzed a pun in order to show that there is a moral violation at play with puns as well (Veatch 1998: 199-202). First of all, puns operate on the basis of ambiguity, which means that there are two possible interpretations, the 'normal' one (N) and the one that is unusual, that has some sort of violation in it (V). He gives the following example (p. 200):

(1) Q: When is a door not a door?

A: When it's ajar.

The pun here is based on the homophonous quality of 'ajar' and 'a jar'. Veatch then goes on to logically explain the moral violation:

1. X is a door.
2. a) X is ajar AND X is a jar.
3. If X is a jar, X is not a door.
4. X is not a door.

Statements 1 and 4 are illogical and this is where the moral violation is. On the other hand, the logical reasoning presented above is correct and, therefore, normal. In conclusion, both conditions are met for the humorous event according to Veatch's theory.

The Moral Theory of Humour was often classified as an Incongruity theory, but the fact is that it goes beyond the scope of other incongruity-resolution theories. It is supposed to account for the affective components of humour, including non-verbal humour. Veatch also claims that his theory can explain relief laughter and uses peek-a-boo game to illustrate this. As babies do not have intrinsic knowledge of object permanence, the objects that they at first see but that then leave their field of view are perceived as objects that no longer exist. Therefore, when the object reappears, the situation is mended, the object has not disappeared and babies laugh with relief laughter. Needless to say, Veatch's theory also has elements of a Hostility theory because the types of jokes that fall under this category violate some moral

principle, but what defines their funniness is whether one identifies with the target or not (see Zillmann and Cantor, 1976).

This study will make use of Veatch's theory because it encompasses the subjective aspect of humour perception and explains the cases in which humour is lacking. Also, this theory explains why some humour instances are offensive, although this study will show that perceivers sometimes rate examples as offensive even though they do not fully identify with the violated principle. In this case, it is possible that a humour example be rated both offensive and funny.

3.5.6 Sociological (social) theories

Sociological studies of humour have investigated how humour functions in the social and cultural context. The early psychologically motivational context of humour production and reception has expanded to the social setting. For sociology, humour is purposeful and constitutes an effective way of managing situation and environment. However, the three major categories of humour theories are reflected in sociological studies of humour as well. Different researchers investigated superiority (Collinson 1988), incongruity (Mulkay 1988) and relief aspects (Gregory and Zorn 1997) in various social contexts. However, it is important to emphasize that sociological theories do not concern themselves with why we laugh or why we find something to be humorous, but rather with contextual interpretation of jokes. Simply put, sociological theories attempt to understand the meaning of a joke in its context, the consequences it brings and the influence it has on interpersonal relations.

Jason Rutter (1997: 26) proposes a threefold division of sociology theories into Maintenance theories, Negotiation theories and Frame theories. Maintenance theories focus on the role of humour in maintaining social order and established roles. Humour can strengthen relationships within a group or emphasize divisions between two groups. These theories are based on Radcliffe-Brown's anthropological work in which he defines joking relationships⁵ as:

[A] custom by which persons standing in certain relationships resulting either from kinship, or more usually from marriage, were permitted or required to

⁵ For more on joking relationships see section 3.3

behave towards one another in a disrespectful or insulting way at which no offence might be taken.

(Radcliffe-Brown 1949: 133)

He also notes that mockery, joking and teasing in a group is simultaneously a marker for solidarity and differences within the group. Joking relationships are asymmetrical because one party always assumes superiority. Davies (1988: 48) gives the example of stupidity jokes being told about other ethnic groups (e.g. Americans joke about Poles) and explains that the butts of these jokes are not alien, distant, actual enemies, but quite the contrary and there is a need to highlight the differences and establish a boundary between the in-group (Americans) and out-group (Poles). The problem with maintenance theories is that they imply that humour only reinforces the established social roles and values, and cannot account for the changes in social context.

Negotiation theories focus on humour as a means of communication and interaction between two or more participants. An in-depth study of humour is believed to be able to reveal some aspects of a culture that are otherwise not easily observable. Zijderveld (1983: 3) states that humour is an event involving agents, situation and interaction. Humour is a shared, group experience and its meaning and success depend on the interpretation of the audience. The audience decides whether something is funny or not and their choices are culturally and socially informed. For Zijderveld, this interpretation can reveal false assumptions and lead to revelations.

Finally, Frame theories propose that humour serves as a break from everyday serious life. A shift between a serious frame and a humorous frame is made and this allows the joke-teller to criticise, comment and breach taboos without running the danger of causing offence (given that all parties involved agree that the humour occurrence is actually humorous). The joke teller can bring up volatile issues with the “only joking” excuse readily available.

In order to talk about this group of theories, we need to define frames. Fillmore defines a frame as “any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them, you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits” (1982, quoted in Croft and Cruse 2004: 15). Tannen (1993: 16) wrote that

on the basis of one’s experience of the world in a given culture (or combination of cultures), one organizes knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to

predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events, and experiences.

Frames are linguistic and non-linguistic sets of ideas that are evoked when we hear a word, phrase or a string of utterances. Frames are shaped by our experience in the society and culture that surrounds us. In interaction, both the speaker and the hearer expect that interaction will flow in accordance with frames activated and this is in line with Grice's cooperative principle and his maxims of quantity, quality, manner and relevance. Usually, it is precisely the violation of these expectations that results in humour.

Frame theories presuppose an understanding that the ordinary rules are suspended during the humorous frame and so status roles are disregarded, responsibility for opinion is removed and taboos can be breached. Douglas is a proponent of Frame theories and she believes that there is a connection between the joke and the social culture, and that we should study the social context in which the humour occurred, the "relation between symbolic systems and experience" (1968: 361). In other words, jokes can only be understood if we know the culture that produced it and the social system they challenge. Mulkay (1988) attempted to explain how the shifts of frame happen. He claims that vocal and physical cues are used, as well as gestures, actions and inflection, but fails to analyze them systematically and actually suggests that humour is such a complex form of social interaction that it is impossible or destructive to analyze it (p. 50). Mulkay also appears to be uncertain whether these cues belong to the humour instance or are transition signals, so he cannot actually explain where humour begins and ends in discourse and whether it requires at least two persons or it can be enjoyed individually.

Frame theories are in correlation with Raskin's (1985) Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH). According to cognitive psychology, one of the primary construal mechanisms of various semantic phenomena is comparison (Brône et al 2006: 207). This is reflected in human need for categorization or framing. In other words, humans tend to compare a linguistic expression to the background of a frame of reference or previous experience. The idea that frames (scripts) play a crucial role in humour production and comprehension is the foundation of both SSTH and Attardo's (1991) General Theory of Verbal Humor. SSTH defines jokes as linguistic expressions that are based on the opposition, overlap and switch between two or more scripts (frames), but this theory will be discussed in detail in section 3.5.7.1.

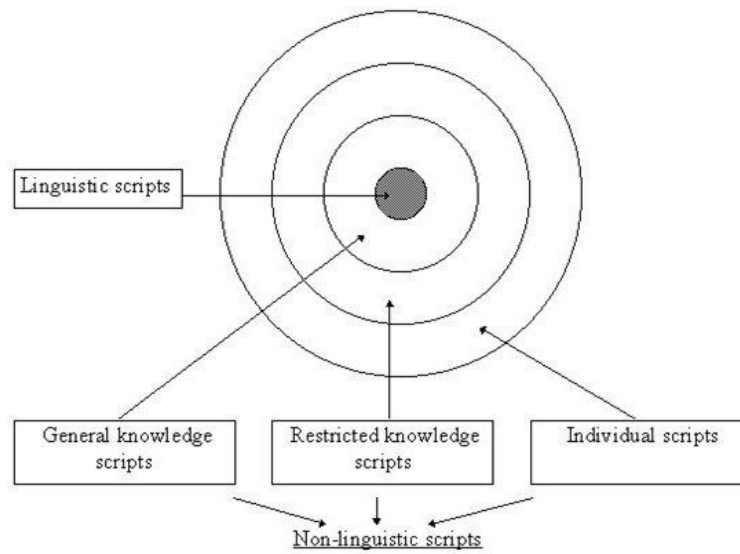
3.5.7 Linguistic theories of humour

Linguistic theories of humour are mostly based on incongruity theories because they aim at identifying the essence of humour, what makes something funny. Release theories find their place in linguistic research as puns, irony, sarcasm and other types of verbal humour are seen as a means of liberation from linguistic code. Puns also have an incongruity aspect because of the speakers' assumption that similar sounds carry similar meanings, so the two meanings are brought together (Attardo 2008: 106).

3.5.7.1 Semantic script theory of humour

From a linguistic point of view, researchers have been preoccupied with trying to provide a precise description of what makes a text funny or what linguistic properties a text should have in order to be humorous. The rationale behind the linguistic research of humour is that native speakers have the ability to rate the texts according to the degree of funniness, which means that this is a part of their linguistic competence. Therefore, it should be possible to formulate a linguistic theory modelling this aspect of speakers' competence. The first formal semantic theory of humour is Raskin's (1985) Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH). This theory is especially significant for its radical departure from the traditional taxonomies of humour research and focus on semantic and pragmatic aspects as central aspects of humour. In addition, it also introduces into humour studies the idea of studying the humour competence of speakers. Raskin defines script as a structured chunk of information and bases his theory on the notion that human semantic competence is organized in bunches of closely related chunks of information. This theory presupposes two necessary and sufficient conditions for a humorous occurrence: the text must be compatible, fully or partially, with two distinct scripts and these scripts are opposite, i.e. the negation of each other, local antonyms (e.g. real/unreal, possible/impossible...). There are two types of scripts: lexical and non-lexical. Lexical scripts are those from the domain of lexical knowledge, giving information about words and their meaning and use. Non-lexical scripts are those that relate to the encyclopaedic knowledge, giving information about the world in general.

Figure 2. Types of scripts⁶



Linguistic scripts indicated in the centre of the circle in Figure 2 are those presumed to be familiar to all native speakers of a language as part of their native linguistic competence. General knowledge scripts are those that are generally known to speakers and restricted knowledge scripts are known to a limited number of people due to their membership of a certain group. Individual scripts are characteristic of an individual. The larger the scope of this knowledge, the better a chance a person has to understand a humorous occurrence. Triezenberg (2008: 538) adds that scripts should take the form of shared stereotypes so that they would be recognized by, and non-offensive to, the audience.

This theory perceives humour as a violation of Grice's cooperative principle and posits special maxims for the non bona fide communication. These maxims are:

- Maxim of Quantity: Give as much information as is necessary for the joke;
- Maxim of Quality: Say only what is compatible with the world of the joke;
- Maxim of Relation: Say only what is relevant to the joke; and
- Maxim of Manner: Tell the joke efficiently.

(Raskin 1985: 103)

⁶ Image from <http://www.beta-iatefl.org/817/blog-publications/humour-in-the-efl-classroom/> (June 2, 2011)

The violation of Grice's maxims in humour has long posed a problem for humour researchers and Yamaguchi (1988: 327) was the first who attempted to explain this problem. His "Character-Did-It" Hypothesis proposes that one of the characters of the joke is free to violate the maxims of conversation as long as the narrator avoids breaking these rules. This way the necessary ambiguity for humorous occurrence is preserved and the narrator's responsibility for violating the principle is diminished. Attardo (1993: 556) criticized Yamaguchi's hypothesis for being applicable only to direct speech. For him, Raskin's explanation is more credible as jokes do involve the violation of at least one maxim of bona fide communication and either the narrator or the character of the joke (or even both). Joking is an abnormal mode of communication and is thus governed by a different set of maxims. In reality, what happens is that, upon hearing the joke, the hearer processes the text, identifies the violation of the cooperative maxim(s), backtracks and reinterprets the text on the basis of maxims for non bona fide communication. This inferential process is similar to Relevance Theory (RT) process as it also points out that the understanding of a joke is possible only if the joke is reinterpreted in a non bona fide manner of communication.

Although Raskin's intention was to posit a theory that was neutral to the three major groups of theories, Attardo (1997: 396) has argued that the SSTH can be reduced to an Incongruity theory, with the opposition requirement being the case of incongruity. Another issue is that this theory is almost exclusively focused on jokes, not being able to account for other types of humour.

3.5.7.2 General theory of verbal humour

One of the main problems with the SSTH is that it has not been notably successful in explaining humorous texts other than jokes. For this reason, Attardo and Raskin worked together and, in 1991, presented a new, extended version of the SSTH under the name of the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH). The GTVH offers six knowledge resources (KRs) which contain the information necessary for a joke instead of only two mentioned in the SSTH. These resources are:

1. SO: the Script Opposition, which is in essence the same mechanism described by the SSTH as the condition for humour;
2. Logical Mechanism (LM): the mechanism whereby the incongruity of the SO is playfully and/or partially explained;

3. Situation (SI): activates background knowledge, those are the textual materials evoked by the script of the joke that are not funny;
4. Target (TA): what is known about the butt of the joke;
5. Narrative Strategy (NS): the “genre” of the joke or the structure of the joke (question and answer, riddle, etc.);
6. Language (LA): the lexical, syntactic, phonological and other choices at the linguistic level.

Let us take a closer look at the six KRs. The script opposition (SO) KR is thoroughly explained in the section on SSTH so there is no need to spend much time on it here. Logical mechanism (LM) describes the way in which the two scripts are connected, ranging from direct juxtapositions to false analogies and other forms of errors in reasoning. Situation (SI) KR sets the scene for the joke, whether it is a bar or walking down the road, changing a light bulb or flying on a plane. This KR gives information on the objects, participants, activities, instruments and other backup elements of a joke. The target (TA) is simply the butt of a joke. Non-aggressive jokes (those that do not ridicule anyone or anything) do not have a target and, therefore, no value for the TA KR. Narrative strategy (NS) underlines the fact that every joke needs to have a narrative form, meaning it can either be a simple (framed) narrative, a dialogue, a riddle, an aside in conversation, etc. The language (LA) KR is the actual verbalization of the joke, including all the linguistic components of the final text of the joke, the wording and the ordering of elements in such a way that the punch line comes last.

The KRs are hierarchically organised and influence each other in the order presented above, from less similar and less determined to more similar and more determined. In other words, if we, for example, select the dumb/smart SO, this determines the choice of TA we have at our disposal, as it has to be a person or a group that is traditionally targeted in stupidity jokes (e.g. Poles in the United States or blondes in various parts of the world, including Serbia, etc.). On the other hand, if we choose a target first, then we have a choice of traits that are associated with this particular TA, which means that SO determines TA, but not the other way round. Therefore, SO is independent from TA and TA is dependent on SO.

In 1993, Ruch, Attardo and Raskin tested the GTVH on a sample of 534 subjects. They used three sets of jokes (“blonde”, “light bulb” and “chicken” jokes) in which one joke was an ‘anchor’ and the other six jokes were used for comparison by varying one of the six knowledge resources. Subjects were supposed to rate the degree of similarity between the anchor joke and comparison jokes. The study showed that there is a hierarchy between the

KRs as the similarity judgment was affected depending on the type of the KR manipulated, although the order of SI and LM was not supported. In other words, jokes were perceived as more similar if the varied KR was LA than if it was SO⁷:

- What do you call it when a blonde dyes her hair brown? Artificial Intelligence. (Anchor);
- What's the result of a blonde dyeing her hair brown? Artificial Intelligence. (LA);
- What do you call it when a blonde dyes her hair brown? Serial murder: her five boyfriends hang themselves. (SO)

The variation of situation KR was perceived as generating more dissimilarity than the variation of logical mechanisms:

- What do you call it when a blonde "lipsyncs" Einstein on the screen? Artificial Intelligence. (SI);
- What do you call it when a blonde dyes her hair brown? Illiteracy: she could not read the label on the bottle. (LM)

In time, the question whether LM is actually a KR became an issue. In 1997, Attardo stated that LM is the resolution of the incongruity (SO) and in case of jokes without resolution (nonsense jokes), LM can be an optional KR. It is also possible that LM is only the resolution and no KR at all (ibid. 407).

Attardo (1998: 233) also claims that the GTVH can be used to analyze humour in any type of media, including television, cinema, comics, music and so on. In addition, he believes that this theory can also be applied to the translation of humour because it can measure similarities between two texts regardless of the language in which they are written. Some of the criticism directed at this theory is that it is in danger of becoming too vague if attempting to account for all possible instances of humour (Binsted and Ritchie 2001: 280-1). Another objection is that the GTVH does not offer formal definitions for some of its central concepts. Attardo (2002: 175) himself stated that the GTVH is a linguistic theory with the purpose to measure similarities and differences between texts, without trying to explain the mechanics of producing or understanding humour.

These two linguistic theories are highly influential and drawn upon in the field of linguistic humour research, and, therefore, needed to be mentioned in this paper. However,

⁷ The example set of blonde jokes was taken from Ruch, Attardo and Raskin, 1993

since the matter under investigation is not what constitutes humour in a text and since the examples used in a study are already perceived as humour instances, there will not be much need for reliance on these theories.

3.6 Conclusion

Humour is a complex phenomenon that cannot be studied through the prism of any single exclusive theory, but needs to be approached with different scientific perspectives in mind (sociology, linguistics, psychology and so on). Yet, scholars keep trying to discover how humour operates in each individual humour occurrence. This “code” still eludes them and it might be revealed at some point in the future, but at the moment, although rapidly growing, knowledge on humour is somewhat disorganized and chaotic. Researchers collect more and more data on humour, but there is no comprehensive, encompassing framework within which to analyze and discuss the results. Consequently, they turn either to one of the general theories, such as incongruity, hostility and release theories, which means that they are disregarding other important aspects of humour discussed by other theories, or they pick and choose elements from each of these theories in a more or less unprincipled manner (Jauregui 1998: 81). What is more, there is no unique definition of humour, no classification of the different types of stimuli, no final typology of humour types. On one hand, this lack of unison in research of humour has its weaknesses, but it also allows the scholars from various fields to approach the matter as they deem appropriate and contribute to the discovery of humour phenomenon.

However, bearing in mind the review of humour research presented above, this thesis is mostly situated in the area of sociological definitions and theories of humour. In line with Martin’s (2007) definition who describes humour as a positive emotion that is a result of a cognitive appraisal process, this paper is based on the notion that humour is expressed by means of laughter and serves a strong social purpose. Since most people intuitively know whether something is funny or not and what makes it funny (Carrell’s humour competence), this paper will draw on the assumption that this construct develops in a foreign language as well. As far as theories of humour go, Veatch’s theory of humour and sociology theories of humour (especially Frame theories) seem to be the best foundation for the present study because they emphasize cognitive and sociological aspects of humour. In addition, this study will make use of the affective disposition model proposed by Zillmann and Cantor (1976) and

test its applicability on the participants. For the purpose of this paper, I will not use any of the available humour classifications because they are often inconclusive or the criteria for the making was either not clearly indicated or followed. Also, the examples that were used for the study do not fit the encountered categorizations of humour because of the different mechanisms that were used to create these examples. Consequently, the focus will be on the seven specific humour types that appear in the episode that is used in the study.

4 Material and methods

This chapter will present the design and procedure of the research conducted. The material and the various methods of research will be discussed, along with a description of the sample. Concerns regarding limitations and reliability of the study will also be mentioned.

4.1 Mixed methods research design

Mixed methods research is defined by Dörnyei (2007: 42) as research that combines qualitative and quantitative methods. In this study, the qualitative part is larger and carries the most information load. However, they are both equally important because the quantitative data is the base for the qualitative part. According to Dörnyei (2007: 164), mixed methods research design helps to achieve a fuller understanding of the target phenomenon. The questionnaire was designed under the influence of Ruch's (2008: 20) statement that "subjective experience is most frequently measured via a 7-point Likert scale ranging from not at all funny (=1) to extremely funny (=7)." The scale for this study has four points because the sample is small and the study is primarily qualitative, so having seven points would dilute the results. By adapting the 7-point Likert scale and then discussing the answers in an interview, the matters under investigation are intended to be better understood. The quality criteria for the present study will be determined in accordance with Dörnyei (2007: 50-2).

The quality criteria for quantitative research are reliability, measurement validity and research validity. Reliability is concerned with "the extent to which our measurement instruments and procedures produce consistent results in a given population in different circumstances" (Dörnyei 2007: 50). In order to test the reliability of the scale-questionnaire, two of the participants from the pilot study were tested again after a period of two months and their results were almost the same with regards to funniness and the same with regards to offensiveness. The only difference in funniness rating was that what was initially perceived as 'extremely funny' was subsequently rated as 'funny' and what was rated as 'funny' was later marked as 'a little funny'. These results can be attributed to the fact that the participants had already known what they were about to see and hear and the surprise element of the humour had disappeared. Nevertheless, there were no changes from 'funny' to 'not funny' and vice versa.

The measurement validity criterion is met if the test measures what it is set out to measure and nothing else (ibid., 51). However, Dörnyei points out that measurement validity depends on the interpretation of the scores more than on the test and score themselves (p. 52). Research validity concerns the overall quality of the project and reflects on the meaningfulness of the interpretations made in a study and the general applicability of these interpretations.

Quality criteria for qualitative research are more difficult to define as qualitative research carries a significant load of subjectivity and results are interpreted according to individual perceptions. In essence, the researcher is one of the instruments of the study and qualitative analysis depends on “the researcher’s subjective sensitivity, training, and experience” (Dörnyei 2007: 28). In spite of methodological problems that arise with qualitative research, it is necessary because quantitative research is unable to distinguish the subtle meanings that are associated with each individual informant’s response. The reliability criterion for qualitative research refers to the degree of consistency a researcher shows when describing and categorizing data (Silverman 2005: 224). Dörnyei (2007: 59) claims that, as far as the validity criterion is concerned, the investigator’s research integrity plays a major role in audience reception of his or her validity arguments.

4.1.1 Pilot study

The pilot study was conducted in May 2011 in order to achieve several goals: to test the equipment for reproducing videos and recording interviews; to gain some experience in conducting interviews and see whether this method would be suitable for the study; to check whether the participants would respond properly to the episode and to the questions, and whether the design of the semi-structured interview needed to be amended by adding some additional questions; and finally, to see whether the interviews would yield data suitable for analysis.

The video material for the study is an episode of an Emmy-award winning American animated sitcom *South Park* created by Trey Parker and Matt Stone about four 10-year old boys, Kyle Broflovski, Stan Marsh, Eric Cartman and Kenny McCormick, who live in a fictional small town in Colorado (<http://www.comedycentral.com/search/?term=south+park>, July 3, 2011). Other residents of South Park include other elementary school students, school staff, families and various other characters that appear occasionally on the show. According to

the show's official website, Kyle Broflovski is a Jew and Stan Marsh is supposed to be an average American kid. Cartman is the opposite of these two – obese, obnoxious, racist, sexist... His anti-Semitic views make him and Kyle perpetual rivals. Kenny McCormick comes from a poor family and mumbles when speaking, so his lines are usually unintelligible to the audience although the rest of the characters seem to understand him just fine. The humour of the show centres on satire, mockery and slapstick, frequently dealing with taboo topics and toilet humour, using religion for comic effect and generally disregarding political correctness.

The show has been airing since August 1997 and it has been shown on several TV networks in Serbia, including B92 (information taken from website <http://www.c21media.net/news/detail.asp?area=1&article=49321>, July 15, 2011) and MTV Adria. A major part of Serbia's cultural import comes from Western audio-visual production, especially films and series produced in the United States. These programmes are quite popular with Serbian audience, as the number and frequency with which television networks include them in their airing schedule and the fact that cinemas almost exclusively play US-produced films clearly show. Although I could not find any data for *South Park* ratings in Serbia, it should be enough to say that MTV Adria is currently airing the latest season (15th), which is not a very common practice in Serbia since networks buy TV shows with a delay of several seasons. Also, 1236 Serbian viewers rated *South Park* with 9.3/10 (http://port.rs/saut_park_south_park/pls/fi/films.film_page?i_film_id=18285&i_city_id=-1&i_county_id=-1&i_topic_id=1, October 12, 2011).

Although a cartoon, the show is intended for a mature audience and is famous for its use of foul language and satirical representation of current events and hot topics. According to the 1996 Telecommunications Act, the rating of *South Park* is TV-MA, meaning that is unsuitable for under 17 year olds due to its explicit language use (<http://transition.fcc.gov/vchip/>, July 15, 2011). The children and most other characters use profanities and only some words are censored.

In 2004, the documentary *The 100 Greatest Cartoons* placed *South Park* at the third place, following *The Simpsons* and *Tom and Jerry*. In 2007, *Time* magazine put the show on its "100 Best TV Shows of All Time" and *Rolling Stone* stated it was the funniest television since the premiere of the first episode. In 2008, *Entertainment Weekly* placed *South Park* at the twelfth place on the list of greatest TV shows of the previous 25 years. The show is aired on Comedy Central in the USA and, with fifteen seasons and 216 episodes, is the longest

running and one of the highest rated shows on this network (<http://www.aoltv.com/2008/11/20/and-the-highest-rated-show-in-comedy-central-history-is-vi/>, May 12, 2011). This goes to say that the type of humour this show espouses is generally successful in the United States. Episodes can be watched and downloaded for free on the official South Park Studios website (www.southparkstudios.com). According to Entertainment Weekly website, the show has been signed on through 2013, which will bring it two more seasons (<http://popwatch.ew.com/2011/07/19/south-park-return-date-announced/>, July 29, 2011). The same website posted a poll to vote for 25 greatest animated series and *South Park* firmly took first place with 33.98% of votes on July 15, 2011 (http://www.ew.com/ew/gallery/0,,20497419_20966286,00.html#20966287, July 29, 2011).

The rationale for selecting *South Park* as the source of humour in this study is that the show is extremely popular and successful both in the United States and in Serbia. *South Park* is also one of the few short comedy programmes that do not have canned laughter (the original audience response to the action) and this extra-linguistic feature might influence participants' perceptions whether something is funny or, better said, whether something is supposed to be funny. Another relevant feature of the show is that it is animated, but by no means intended for children as it uses profane language and deals with advanced topics in an unconventional way. *South Park* humour is generally considered to be very brittle and offensive, which is a trait desirable for this study. Cartoons are also heavily influenced by culture and they represent the popular opinion and feelings.

The episode that is used for this study is "Fishsticks", the fifth episode of the thirteenth season, aired on April 8, 2009. The reasons for choosing this particular episode is that it was one of the highest rated *South Park* episodes on *Internet Movie Database* website (rated 8.4/10 by 787 users, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1397943/>, April 17, 2011), was relatively recent and had enough different examples of humour for this study. Other highly rated episodes proved to be focusing on visual humour more than on verbal humour which is the focus of investigation. Also, according to the statistics of the South Park Studios website, the "Fishsticks" episode is the most viewed episode on that site (<http://www.southparkstudios.com/fans/faq/355101>, July 3, 2011).

In the episode, Jimmy Valmer, a physically handicapped elementary school student, writes a joke that becomes wildly successful throughout the nation and Eric Cartman tries to take credit for it. Rapper Kanye West is the only one who does not understand the joke, but would not admit it as he is a self-proclaimed genius and a voice of a generation (something

the rapper actually told the Associated Press). Comedian Carlos Mencia tries to present himself as the creator of the joke and must face Kanye West's anger. After airing, Mencia praised the episode and Kanye West wrote in his blog that he found the episode to be funny and thanked the writers of the show, stating that he realizes that he needs to work on his ego. The episode was replayed several times after Kanye West interrupted the MTV Video Music Awards when country singer Taylor Swift was given an award for the best female video, saying that Beyoncé had one of the best videos of all time (Rodriguez, 2009). More on the episode plot and selected humour examples in section 4.2.

In the pilot study, five participants were interviewed, three belonging to the U-group and two belonging to the S-group. The participants were asked whether they wanted English subtitles or not, but since all of them opted to have subtitles shown in the video, the main study did not have the option to choose and all participants were showed subtitles. Also, all participants had a discernible reaction to the song at the end of the episode, so it was included in the study, but only in the interview phase, not in the questionnaire. The question whether the participant had ever watched *South Park* or not was also added because it proved to be of some importance for the results. Overall, the results of the pilot study showed that interviews are a good method of complementing the questionnaire, which essentially serves as a means of effectively organizing participants' personal data and their quantitative answers, in addition to proving to be stimulating for the participants in the sense that they get to think about their answers before talking to me. During the screening of the entire episode, I observed the participants, with special attention paid to their reactions to the scenes that will be replayed later and their overall emotional state (nervousness, discomfort, etc.) and reactions.

4.1.2 Outline of the main study

The main study was carried out in June and July 2011. The investigation makes use of a 7-page questionnaire in the form of a gradation scale and a semi-structured interview designed to elicit explanations of the humour situations from the clips. The questionnaire has one page asking about the participant's personal information and six identical pages, one for each of the clips. Participants were asked to evaluate the degrees of perceived funniness and offensiveness of the selected clips in the questionnaire and then elaborate on their answers in the interview. The focus of the investigation is on the interviews, the research portion of the questionnaires consists of only two questions per clip. The rates for funniness and

offensiveness of clips were presented on the scale of ‘not at all’, ‘a little’, ‘funny’ and ‘extremely’ (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire aimed to measure the perceived funniness and offensiveness of each of the video clips. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted either in English or in Serbian, depending on the participant’s preference. As was mentioned above, questionnaires were also used to provide general background information about the participants, such as their age, mother tongue and level of English proficiency.

The interviews were semi-structured around the initial questions based on the answers in the questionnaire (*Was the video funny and why/why not? Was the video offensive and why/why not?*). These questions were followed up by specifying questions and additional questions, depending on the conversation and participant’s readiness to talk. The participants were mostly willing to talk, probably because humour served as a mediator and because they were repeatedly assured that the questionnaire/interview was not a test, with no right and wrong answers. In some cases, I had to tell the participant that even I do not find each of the clips funny because I felt they were still a little bit apprehensive to mark ‘not funny at all’. However, this should not have biased the participants because this comment was given during the course of the interview, when it was clear that the participant felt that marking ‘not funny’ would be wrong. For some participants, telling them that they were not being tested was not enough to convince them. On average, the interviews lasted about 15 minutes, with two striking exceptions of 8 and 22 minutes. The interviews took place either at my home or at the participant’s home, hoping that this would create a non-threatening environment. In addition, this was the only way privacy could be guaranteed. The conversations were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. The main purpose of the interviews was to obtain additional comments on the ratings provided in the questionnaire and to examine whether the participants actually understood the scenes that they claimed to understand.

4.1.2.1 The sample

At the outset of the study, 21 people were approached. Seventeen agreed to participate, which is a positive response rate of about 81%. Out of the 17 potential participants, 15 were actually interviewed (88%), but one interview was not viable for the study because of two reasons. One was a misunderstanding concerning the participant’s level of English proficiency, which turned out to be significantly lower than the requirement for the study, and another one is equipment malfunction, causing the discussion on the last two videos to not be recorded.

Overall, it was fortunate that this problem occurred with a participant who was not suitable for the study in any case. The other two potential participants were not interviewed due to the fact that they happened not to be in the same city at the time I was doing the interviews. The response rate was satisfactory, although it was higher with the female subjects I approached. The reason for this can be speculated upon, but it is possible that this is due to the fact that I am female and they were much more at ease with the idea of talking with me about what they think is funny and/or offensive than male subjects. One of the mandatory conditions for participation in this study was that the mother tongue of the subject was Serbian.

The subjects consist of two groups. The first group consists of seven participants aged 16-17, four female and three male. They learn English in school and some of them take extracurricular courses in English. All of them were able to follow the story with English subtitles. Interviews with them were roughly transcribed (see Appendix 3, for transcription conventions see Appendix 2) and participants were marked Ux-m/f, where U stands for underage since they are not of legal age, x stands for the number of the participant (1-7) and m or f stands for the gender. They will be referred to as the U-group further on in the study. Table 2 describes the U-group sample.

Table 2. The U-group

Code	Age	School	Residence	Interview location
U1-f	17	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Belgrade
U2-m	16	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Belgrade
U3-m	16	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Belgrade
U4-f	16	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Belgrade
U5-f	17	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Vienna
U6-f	16	Gymnasium	Belgrade	Belgrade
U7-m	17	Technical Engineering	Belgrade	Belgrade

The second group consists of seven participants aged 25-26, four female and three male. These are people who are postgraduate students of English, economics or physical education. Some of them also work apart from studying. They either use English as part of their work or study, or they have learned it in a language school. All of them were able to follow the story with English subtitles. Interviews with these participants were also transcribed (see Appendix 3) and labelled Sx-m/f, where S stands for senior since they are older than the previous group, x stands for the number of the participant (1-7) and m or f stands for the gender. They will be referred to as the S-group further on in the study. Table 3 describes the S-group sample.

Table 3. The S-group sample

Code	Age	School	Residence	Interview location
S1-f	25	Physical education	Belgrade	Belgrade
S2-f	26	English language	Vienna	Vienna
S3-m	26	English language	Vienna	Vienna
S4-m	25	Economics	Belgrade	Vienna
S5-m	25	Economics	Belgrade	Belgrade
S6-f	25	Organizational sciences	Belgrade	Belgrade
S7-f	25	English language	Vienna	Belgrade

The U-group was chosen for the following purposes: one was to check whether a younger audience perceives and understands humour differently than the somewhat older audience, especially in case of culture sensitive humour, and the other purpose was to see whether younger viewers had a different attitude towards taboo and offensive topics covered in these clips. In this sense, the S-group can serve as a reference group for the U-group.

The members of the U-group are all minors, aged 16-17. However, there was no need to collect written forms of consent from their parents or guardians as consent was given in personal communication. The families of participants were either already familiar with me or my sister, so they had absolutely no objections to their children participating in my thesis

research. In addition, both the participants and their guardians were repeatedly assured that they will remain completely anonymous, even though this did not seem to matter to them.

Given that the aim in this research is an examination of participants' attitudes and understandings, an approach to transcription was chosen which does not focus on structure and/or phonetic properties of the talk, but rather on the message conveyed. The conventions used for the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) were adapted for the purpose of this paper (see Appendix 2). Turns were properly recorded, as well as hesitations, laughter and overlapping speech. Most pronunciation traits were not recorded as these phenomena are not relevant for the research. Although the author of this paper believes that spoken language does not follow the grammar rules for written language, it seemed to be easier to use some punctuation marks in order to make the conversation easier to follow in written form. Therefore, full stops were used to denote the end of a thought or a group of thoughts that were uttered in such a way that there was no definite, end-of-sentence pause between them. Question marks were used to denote that the utterance was pronounced in a question-like manner. Commas were not used as all continuations with pauses under two seconds were marked with (.) and those longer than two seconds with (n), where n is the approximate number of seconds. There were very few inaudible and unclear segments and they are not of much relevance to the conversation as they occur outside of the formal interview (i.e. they are remarks or questions with no relation to the subject of the interview). Therefore, they were not specifically recorded in the transcription.

As in the case of questionnaires, the participants remained entirely anonymous in the transcriptions and the data is kept strictly confidential. There were no names in the transcript materials and they were also screened for any other type of identifying information. The participants were given codes, the same ones used for the questionnaires.

In the thesis, when there was a need to reference a particular segment of a transcription, the speaker is indicated by the code assigned to them and the video and the line(s) in which that particular segment appears. Since the interviews were structured around the individual video clips, the line numbering starts from 1 with each video discussion.

As mentioned earlier in the paper, the episode was screened with English subtitles and participants were then observed and asked whether they read the subtitles and whether they found them helpful. In addition, when they did read them, they were asked whether they noticed anything about the quality of subtitles. Subtitling is usually constrained by space on

the screen and time between the utterances. On average, written information on screen fits into two lines and forty characters. The time these lines are shown on the screen depends on the amount, complexity and speed of information, but must also bear in mind the viewers' reading speed. Consequently, many utterances heard in the original are omitted in the subtitles, mostly interjections, intensifiers, vocatives and greetings, i.e. the information that is not essential for the understanding of the exchange. Another point relevant for the subtitles of this particular episode is that they were supposed to aid the understanding of the joke around which the action revolves. The joke is a wordplay centred on the homophony of the word 'fishsticks' with the phrase 'fish dicks' and this was not always reflected properly in the subtitles. In any case, it was interesting to see whether people paid attention to these omissions and differences between the original audio track and subtitles.

The study admittedly has its limitations and weaknesses. First of all, the scope of the study is limited and time-constricted and, therefore, the number of participants is small and constrained to only these two age groups. The response of the participants may not be entirely accurate, both in the questionnaires and in the interviews. Some participants were not sure whether they found something funny and/or offensive or not and some felt uncomfortable (hesitation to fill out the questionnaire, silence, etc.). Some subjects had watched *South Park* before and knew the characters and the overall tone of the show, whereas others had not. In addition, some had seen the episode before so their reactions might have not been exactly as they would have been if they had seen it for the first time. Embarrassment also plays a significant role in this study, however, most of the participants have some degree of familiarity with me and I tried to make the encounter as non-threatening as possible. The interviews were held in private rooms, with only me and the participant present. Still, the threat of the 'Observer's Paradox' remains.⁸ When given the instructions, participants were assured that there were no right and wrong answers and that their opinion was what matters. Nevertheless, the speakers are always influenced by whom and why they are asked a certain question and their answers are contextually influenced (Cameron 2002: 13-14). By drawing on the observation methods, I gained new insights into participants' answers about perceptions and was also able to readjust the interview technique in the case when the subject seemed uncomfortable. Needless to say, the responses of these participants do not represent the responses of the entire English-speaking Serbian population aged 16-17 and 25-26, respectively. Nevertheless, their answers reveal how these particular individuals interpret and

⁸ Labov (1978: 209) defines the 'Observer's Paradox' as the affect that the researcher's presence may have on the subject while recording data.

appreciate humour in English language and this research can thus be regarded as a contribution to the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic study of humour success.

4.2 “Fishsticks” episode and the selected humour examples

Six clips were selected from this episode and replayed and discussed with participants. In addition, they were also asked to comment on the final song, but this clip was only played back again at the participant’s request. The official *South Park* website offers fifteen clips from the episode, but the time frames were modified for the purpose of this paper so that the scenes finish with a sort of a punch line. The examples were chosen in such a way as to present several different humour types. After viewing each clip, the participants were asked to rate their appreciation of the clip on two 4-item scales aimed at assessing the funniness and offensiveness. Then they were asked whether they understood what was supposed to be humorous in the clip and to explain it. After seeing all videos, the participants were asked to say what helped them understand the messages, whether it was the original dialogue or the subtitles. An interesting point is that all these humour examples can be perceived and interpreted as coming from two sources: one would be the character that voices the utterance that is supposed to be humorous and the other would be the voice of the *South Park* creators. This will become clear in the interviews as some participants evaluate funniness and offensiveness as sometimes coming from the characters and sometimes from the authors.

What follows is a review of these select humour examples, with tables showing the original audio script of the dialogue and the subtitles. The distinctions between the script and the subtitles were emphasized in bold and underlined.

4.2.1 Video 1

The first humour example is the scene that shows Kanye West appearing on Tom Snyder’s talk show and discussing the ‘Fishsticks’ joke. The reason Kanye was invited to the show was that he does not understand the joke and gets angry when people use it on him. Snyder tries to explain the joke to West as if he were a child, but it does not help and Kanye becomes more and more aggravated until he finally physically attacks the host. The script is in Table 4.

Table 4. The script of Video 1 with subtitles

First clip, length 4:10-5:16		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Tom Snyder:	It is quite possibly the funniest joke ever conceived, and its origin is unknown. The fishsticks joke crosses all borders, all races, all ages and ethnic groups and is slowly uniting our country. In fact, the only person who appears to not get the joke is rapper Kanye West, who becomes furious when <u>people use the joke on him.</u>	It is quite possibly the funniest joke ever conceived, and its origin is unknown. The fishsticks joke crosses all borders, all races, all ages and ethnic groups and is slowly uniting our country. In fact, the only person who appears to not get the joke is rapper Kanye West, who becomes furious when <u>the joke is used on him.</u>
Kanye:	<u>Yo</u> , that is messed up, yo! I am not gay, and I sure as hell ain't no fish! Alright?!	That is messed up! I am not gay, and I sure as hell ain't no fish, all right?
Tom Snyder:	You. Really. Don't. Get it.	You really don't get it?
Kanye:	<u>Hey man</u> , I'm a genius, alright?! I'm the most talented musician in the world! If I was a homosexual, or a fish, I would know!	I'm a genius, all right? I'm the most talented musician in the world. If I was a homosexual or a fish, I would know.
Tom Snyder:	You're a rapper.	You're a rapper.
<u>Kanye:</u>	<u>Yes.</u>	=
Tom Snyder:	An entrepreneur.	An entrepreneur.
<u>Kanye:</u>	<u>Yes.</u>	=
Tom Snyder:	And you like fishsticks.	And you like fishsticks.
<u>Kanye:</u>	<u>Yes.</u>	=
Tom Snyder:	You're a gay fish.	You're a gay fish.
Kanye:	No! I am not no gay fish!	No, I'm not no gay fish.
Tom Snyder:	Just gay?	Just gay?
Kanye:	I'm not gay and I'm not a fish! Man!	I'm not gay and I'm not a fish. Man!
Tom Snyder:	You are male?	You are male.
Kanye:	Damn right I'm male.	Damn right, I'm male.
Tom Snyder:	A male that likes fish dicks.	A male that likes fish dicks.
Kanye:	Yeah, I like fishsticks	Yeah, I like fishsticks.
Tom Snyder:	You like to put fish dicks in your mouth.	You like to put fish dicks in your mouth.

<u>Kanye:</u>	<u>Yeah.</u>	=
Tom Snyder:	You're a gay fish.	You're a gay fish.
Kanye:	Alright, that does it! I'm gonna kick your motherfuckin' ass!	All right, that does it. I'm gonna kick your motherfucking ass!

There are several humour devices at play in this example. First of all, the joke itself is based on wordplay, in this case punning. On the practical example of the 'Fishsticks' joke, the pun is based on the homophonous pronunciation of the word 'fishsticks', which denotes a type of food, and the phrase 'fish dicks', which denotes male fish genitalia. Upon asked the question "Do you like fishsticks?", the first interpretation is that someone is asking whether you like a type of food. When hopefully answering 'yes', the punchline is "What are you, a gay fish?". This calls for backtracking and reinterpretation of the joke set-up, resulting in the evoking of another frame, that of male fish genitalia, which resolves the incongruity and possibly leads to humour appreciation. The closeness of the two frames, 'type of food' and 'male fish genitalia' is described in the additional question sometimes asked during the telling of the joke: "Do you like putting fishsticks in your mouth?" Both things can be put in one's mouth, except that if it is food, there is no humour there, but if it is male sexual organ, it refers to homosexuality and, combined with fish as a species, the idea is that this should be humorous. The ambiguity of words or phrases is purposeful in puns. As was mentioned before, puns can be vertical or horizontal. Vertical wordplay occurs when the two linguistic structures are present in the same portion of text and horizontal wordplay requires that these elements occur one after another in the text. The 'Fishsticks' joke is an example of horizontal punning.

This instance of humour is an example of humour relying on incongruity between the two different frames of understanding. The first script that is evoked is that of 'fishsticks' as a type of food, but upon being called a gay fish, the hearer needs to reinterpret the initial question and activate the script of 'male fish genitalia' in order to resolve the incongruity. In line with Veatch's theory, the ambiguity that is inherent to puns means that there are two possible interpretations, the normal one and the one that has some type of violation in it.

Another element of humour in this video is cultural reference to rapper Kanye West. In the episode, he is portrayed as arrogant, egotistical and obsessed with fashion. However, he cannot comprehend the "funniest joke of all time" and sees it as a personal attack. He repeatedly loses his temper in the episode when people use the joke on him. In reality, in an interview for *VH1 Storytellers*, Kanye said: "God chose me. He made a path for me. I am

God's vessel. But my greatest pain in life is that I will never be able to see myself perform live." (<http://www.metro.co.uk/metrolife/565894-kanye-i-am-gods-vessel>, August 4, 2011).

This humour example fits more into the hostility category. If looked at from the perspective of *South Park* authors, they chose Kanye West as one of the butts of their jokes. The joking relationship between them as the authors and the characters that they make fun of, real or fictional, is asymmetrical as they are the party that assumes superiority. All but one participant knew who Kanye West is and most of them were aware of his reputation. In accordance with Zillmann and Cantor's (1976) theory of affective disposition, the participants who did not particularly like Kanye West's attitude and behaviour, found the video to be funny and explained that the reason for that was precisely the critical depiction of him. Comments were most frequently made about his alleged geniality and inability to comprehend "the simplest joke ever", as several participants put it. Every participant comprehended the basic meaning of the 'Fishsticks' joke around which the plot of the episode revolves, although not many found it funny. What is more, most participants found it to be simple and stupid and certainly not the funniest joke in the world. The reason for this might be in the fact that Serbian language does not have as great a capacity for wordplay as English language does. Serbian humour does not rely that much on puns and other types of linguistic devices, but mostly on referential and cultural jokes, as defined in section 3.2. Another possible reason could be that some participants objected to the hyperbolic definition of the 'fishsticks' joke as 'the funniest ever'.

At the end of the scene, West becomes furious and curses Tom Snyder using the term 'motherfucker'. In his *Dictionary of American Slang and Colloquial Expressions*, Spears (2007) defines the term as "a despicable adversary; a moronic jerk. (Also a dangerous, derogatory, and provocative term of address. Taboo.)" In 1991, Rawson stated that the word has lost much of its sting and "now has about as much punch as *bastard* and *bitch*." (p. 258).

There was no specific reaction to this word among the participants of this study. Only one participant pointed out the cursing in the video as being offensive. The only claims of offensiveness were made to the persona of Kanye West and his portrayal in this scene, as well as in the entire episode. The Serbian language, although very rich in swear words, does not have a counterpart for 'motherfucker' so this word is usually translated with some other term and is never interpreted literally.

4.2.2 Video 2

Video 2 finds the boys sitting in the school cafeteria eating lunch. When Cartman leaves after bragging about the popularity of the joke and his alleged contribution to it, Kyle asks Jimmy whether Eric had any role in the creation of the joke. When Jimmy answers negatively, Kyle tries to convince him to take a stand and not let Cartman take any part in the credit for the joke. However, Craig interferes and says that Jimmy should just give Cartman half and not try to resist.

Table 5. The script of video 2 with subtitles

Second clip, length 06:00-06:39		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Kyle:	<u>Jimmy, exactly</u> what part of the fishsticks joke did Cartman write?	What part of the fishsticks joke did Cartman write?
Jimmy:	Well, he didn't actually... write any of it. He just uh...	Well, he didn't actually write any of it. He just...
Kyle:	Let me guess: you wrote the joke, and Cartman just laid on the couch eating Twizzlers.	Let me guess. You wrote the joke and Cartman just laid on the couch eating Twizzlers.
Jimmy:	Actually it was potato chips.	Actually, it was potato chips.
Kyle:	I knew it! Don't let that fat turd walk all over you, <u>Jimmy!</u> Stand up for yourself!	I knew it! Don't let that fat turd walk all over you. Stand up for yourself!
Jimmy:	<u>W-well, I-I</u> mean <u>he, he</u> was in the room.	Well, I mean, he was in the room.
Craig:	Then just give him half.	Then just give him half.
Kyle:	What?	What?
Craig:	I like you Jimmy, but you're not gonna win this. Consider yourself lucky he's only asking for half.	I like you, Jimmy. But you're not gonna win this. Consider yourself lucky he's only asking for half.
Kyle:	<u>Craig</u> , if Cartman didn't do anything, then he doesn't deserve any of the credit!	If Cartman didn't do anything, he doesn't deserve any of the credit.
Craig:	<u>Yep</u> . And if I had wheels I'd be a wagon.	And if I had wheels, I'd be a wagon.

The punchline of this clip is in the last line, when Craig says: “If I had wheels, I’d be a wagon.” With this unusual sentence, he emphasizes that there is nothing that can be done about Cartman when he sets his mind on something. The same way that Cartman will never realize that he had nothing to do with the joke, Craig will never grow wheels. The reality of the situation cannot be changed. This comment brings special emphasis to the futility of Kyle’s tirade against Cartman. In this sense, the expression can be classified as a witticism. Witticisms can be understood outside the context of the conversation, but tend to occur in specific contextual environments (e.g. as in this case, when the speaker wants to emphasize that there is no use denying the reality of the situation).

According to Veatch’s Theory of Humour, the violation here is in the ‘wagon’ joke because it requires the listener to imagine humans having wheels, which is impossible. However, this can be only perceived as funny because the violation is not serious and the resolution is offered immediately.

This expression in the show is at the same time an allusion to a 1984 film, *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*. In this film, the character Scotty says: “Aye, and if my grandmother had wheels, she’d be a wagon.” An allusion is broadly defined as “an implicit reference, perhaps to another work of literature or art, to a person or an event.” (Cuddon, 1991: 29) In the field of humour research, Leppihalme defined allusions as discourse elements that involve frame modifications (1996: 200). The frames in question can be idioms, proverbs, catchphrases and allusions to other sources and they are modified for the purpose of humour (ibid.). Allusions are culture-bound and are, therefore, limited in their intelligibility across cultural borders. The sources of allusions may not be familiar beyond their original cultures. In case of American television shows and films which belong to the domain of popular culture, the transfer seems to be much wider as these cross cultural borders on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the participants of the study did not recognize the allusion to the movie, probably because one should be a fan of the *Star Trek* saga in order to remember such details.

It is believed that the expression originated from German, as its earlier records are found in the book *Jüdische Sprichwörter* by Ignaz Bernstein and B. W. Segel, published in Frankfurt, Germany in 1908 (<http://idiomation.wordpress.com/2011/01/03/if-my-grandmother-had-wheels/>, July 11, 2011).

As there are other variations of the saying (e.g. “If I had a crown, I’d be the Queen of England” and, more colloquial, “If my grandmother had balls, she’d be my grandpa”),

there is a direct pairing between the English and Serbian languages. Serbian also has several sayings to convey the same meaning. The most common are:

1. Da je baba muško, zvala bi se Duško.
(If grandma were a man, her name would have been Duško)
2. Da je deda ženka, zvao bi se Zdenka.
(If grandpa were a female, his name would have been Zdenka)

Both versions play on the rhyming quality of Serbian words *muško/Duško* and *ženka/Zdenka*, which is not reflected in English. On the other hand, there is a direct Serbian correlate for the English “If my grandmother had balls, she’d be my grandpa”. For this reason, the participants were expected to recognize this utterance as the humour example of this video and possibly connect it to Serbian counterparts. However, this was not the case. Only five participants correctly identified the punchline when explaining why they said the scene was funny. Another four participants found the video to be funny but for some other reasons, and the rest of them did not find any humour in this example, claiming that it was just an ordinary conversation. However, it could be argued that there is no such thing as an ordinary conversation in *South Park*, since every dialogue is used to draw attention to something, to mock, satirize, etc.

4.2.3 Video 3

In this very short clip, we see Cartman approaching Jimmy with some patent papers drafted by a lawyer. When Jimmy refuses to sign them, Cartman says the following line: “But Jimmy, some fat turd is taking credit for something he did not do!”

Table 6. The script of video 3 with subtitles

Third clip, length 08:31-08:51		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Cartman:	Jimmy, dude , did you see?! Carlos Mencia is taking credit for <i>our joke</i> !	Jimmy, did you see? Carlos Mencia is taking credit for our joke!
Jimmy:	Really?	Really?
Cartman:	Yeah dude . I told you this would happen. Now look , I got a lawyer to draw up some	I told you this would happen. I got a lawyer to draw up some patent papers.

	patent papers. <u>We've got to</u> sign these so that people know that the joke belongs to you and me!	<u>Let's</u> sign these so that people know that the joke belongs to you and me.
Jimmy:	<u>Aahhm</u> , I don't know, <u>Eric</u> . I really don't think I want to sign that very much.	I don't know. I really don't think I want to sign that, very much.
Cartman:	But <u>Jimmy</u> , some fat turd is taking credit for something he didn't do!	But some fat turd is taking credit for something he didn't do!

The humour of this particular example lies in the allusion that Cartman inadvertently makes. The last sentence of the clip is perfectly applicable to what Cartman is trying to do. Although Jimmy was the one who came up with the joke entirely on his own, Cartman is presenting himself as if he was responsible for half of the effort. By the end of the episode, he actually makes himself believe that he was the sole creator of the joke. The allusion here is much simpler than the one presented in Video 2 because there are no concepts that need to be evoked from outside the episode. Every bit of information is given in the scenes preceding this one. Still, this bit of humour was very subtle and “under the radar” so I was not expecting very high level of appreciative response by the subjects. However, quite a few of them said the video was funny, but most of them did not pick up on the allusion. As far as the offensiveness goes, people reacted to calling Mencia fat and some also found this to be ethnically derisive, both of which came as a surprise. Those who understood the joke of the clip did not find it offensive because they felt that the fat turd remark referred to Cartman and he is a fictional character.

When analyzed from a theoretical point of view, this joke can be seen as another example of hostility humour, but in this case, it can be approached from two directions (frames). One frame is within the realm of the show, between the characters. Here the hostility is addressed to Carlos Mencia, but for Jimmy Walmer the irony of Cartman’s utterance should be clear. The other frame is positioned between the authors of the show and their characters and storyline. In this sense, the hostility is directed towards Cartman and his behaviour. If we go back to Veatch’s theory, the ambiguity in this example offers two possible interpretations. The first would be the “normal” one, the literal meaning of the utterance, addressing Carlos Mencia. The second interpretation is the one that requires some additional effort to discern and contains a violation, in this case of the expectation that one would not judge so harshly when others behave in the same manner.

4.2.4 Video 4

Video 4 takes place in a boys' restroom in school. The characters are Kyle Broflovski and Eric Cartman. Kyle is at the urinal when Cartman comes in and asks him a question. Even though Kyle tells him to leave him alone with his business, Cartman ignores him and keeps talking. He needs advice from Kyle on how to protect himself from Jimmy trying to deny him the co-authorship of the joke. However, the reason why he asks Kyle for help is that Kyle is Jewish and, for Cartman, this means that he is well versed in cheating people and stinginess techniques.

Table 7. The script of video 4 with subtitles

Fourth clip, length 11:25-11:42		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Cartman:	Hey Kyle, can I talk to you for a second?	Hey, Kyle, can I talk to you for a second?
Kyle:	Dude , get out of here! I'm peeing.	Get outta here. I'm peeing!
Cartman:	It's just... I don't know what to do about Jimmy. I'm starting to think he might try and Jew me out of my half of the fishsticks joke. I just... need you to teach me some Jew defensive moves, Kyle. Because we really both did come up with it.	It's just... I don't know what to do about Jimmy. I think he might try and Jew me out of my half of the fishsticks joke. I just need you to teach me some Jew defensive moves. Because we really did both come up with it.

The humour of this example plays on the ethnic stereotypes about Jews. Specifically, on the belief that they are stingy and crafty. Cartman actually creates neologisms such as 'to Jew someone out' meaning 'to take all the credit' and 'Jew defensive moves' meaning 'strategies to protect oneself from being cheated out of one's part'. Although some researchers claim that ethnic humour can maintain and strengthen an in-group identity of individuals (see works of Christie Davies), it is much more likely that Cartman's intent is to ridicule and depreciate Jews and especially Kyle. His use of Jew neologisms is an example of ethnic slurs that only reinforces the stereotype.

Lately, with the propagation of political correctness, ethnic humour has become a social taboo, but this depends on the joke-teller. For example, it may be seen as inappropriate if a white person tells a joke about African Americans, but an African American making a joke about his/her own culture is seen as acceptable. There is a distinction between 'inside' and

‘outside’ humour. ‘Inside’ humour is a form of self-mockery and serves to strengthen the in-group bonds and express pride. ‘Outside’ humour is usually hostile and derogatory, even if it is not more critical than the ‘inside’ humour. Outsiders are not in a position to strengthen the group or bring any positive change so their comments are viewed as negative and stereotypical. What does this mean in practice? Consider the following joke:

- Why aren’t Jews concerned about the abortion controversy?
- Because they don’t consider a foetus viable until after it graduates from medical school.

(Rappoport 2005: 2)

If the tellers of this joke are outsiders, it can be read as anti-Semitic, criticizing Jewish ambition and portraying them as arrogant. However, if the tellers are insiders, it can be seen as a demonstration of Jewish pride for the unconventionally high standards of children’s upbringing. Jewish humour is known to be an excellent example of ‘inside’ humour as there is a long lasting tradition of Jewish people telling Jewish jokes. Some scholars justify this phenomenon as the witticism of oppressed people, but Rabbi Moshe Waldoks, co-author of the book *The Big Book of Jewish Humor*, explained that, as much as there is humour directed at people of high stature in Jewish tradition, there is also a lot of self-deprecating humour that is supposed to be a device for self-criticism

(<http://www.tbzbrookline.org/about/leadership/our-rabbis/reb-moshe/humorist-raconteur/>, August 6, 2011).

However, this is not a case of inside humour but rather an example of a hostility joke. Although not a joke in a traditional sense of the word, this instance shows an established joking relationship within the show in which Cartman repeatedly offends Kyle on the basis of his religion. For the authors, this joking relationship usually serves as a means of emphasizing issues such as intolerance, stereotyping, bigotry, etc. From the point of view of sociological theories, this example would be best explained under the domain of Maintenance theories since this type of humour serves the purpose of preserving certain roles in the show.

Most of the participants of the study found this clip to be funny. Four of them said that the scene was not offensive at all, whereas others answered with ‘a little’ and ‘offensive’. The humour was correctly identified in most cases, although some stressed that the setting of the scene in a boys’ restroom while one of them is urinating added significantly to the humorousness of the situation. Surprisingly, many did not react to the taboo of bathroom conversation, claiming that it is irrelevant where the scene takes place or that it is normal.

4.2.5 Video 5

This video shows the second instance of Cartman recalling the events that led to the creation of the Fishsticks joke. As it can be expected, it has nothing to do with the actual situation, which becomes painstakingly clear when a dragon appears in Jimmy's living room and Cartman takes out a sword out of nowhere and kills it. In addition, all the other characters, who otherwise think that Cartman is obnoxious and treat him accordingly, suddenly appear to be extra nice to him. Jimmy, who actually told him that he was busy writing jokes and could not hang out with him, said that he always wanted to work with him because he is really funny. He adds that he is not fat at all. Jimmy's mother, who brought them fruit and actually commented on Eric eating chips as being bad for him, brings potato chips and tells him he is not fat at all. The actual process of writing the joke shows Cartman as coming up with the idea to use the play on the word 'fishsticks' out of the blue. Jimmy takes part in the creation of the joke only by answering "Yeah" to the question "Do you like fishsticks?". The black widow that Jimmy's mother killed becomes a dragon, which Cartman kills with a sword that appears out of nowhere. At that point, all the other children come and cheer for him because "He's the most awesome kid in school!" and "He's not fat at all".

Table 8. The script of video 5 with subtitles

Fifth clip, length 12:13-13:04		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Cartman:	<u>Hey</u> Jimmy, what's up dawg?	Jimmy, what's up, dawg?
Jimmy:	<u>Oh</u> hey Eric. Just workin' on some jokes.	Hey, Eric! Just working on some jokes.
Cartman:	<u>That's cool.</u> You wanna write some together?	You wanna write some together?
Jimmy:	That'd be great! I've always wanted to work with you. You're really funny and you're totally not fat.	That'd be great! I've always wanted to work with you. You're really funny and you're totally not fat.
Cartman:	Cool, thanks. Let's get to work! Now let's see... something that's a play on words, I don't know... fishsticks. You know, ' <u>cause it, 'cause</u> dicks	Cool, thanks. Let's get to work. Now, let's see. Something that's a play on words. I don't know. Fishsticks. You know, ' <u>cause of</u> dicks.
Jimmy:	<u>Hey</u> , you're really onto something there.	You're really onto something there!
Mrs. Valmer:	Hello Eric. Have some chips, because you're totally not fat at all.	Hello, Eric, have some chips, because you're totally not fat at all.

Cartman:	<u>Oh</u> thank you Mrs. Valmer. <u>Now</u> let's see... The setup could be... "Do you like fishsticks?"	Thank you, Mrs. Valmer. Let's see. The set-up could be... "Do you like fishsticks?"
Jimmy:	Right. And then I say, "Yeah."	Right. And then I say: "Yeah."
Cartman:	So then I can say, "What are you, a gay fish?"	So then I can say: "What are you, a gay fish?"
Jimmy:	<u>Oh wow</u> , this is incredible!	This is incredible!
Mrs. Valmer:	What is that??	What is that?
Cartman:	It's a dragon of some kind! Don't worry, I can save you all!	It's a dragon of some kind. Don't worry, I can save you all!
Butters:	Hey look, Eric killed a dragon.	Hey, look, Eric killed a dragon!
Clyde:	He's the most awesome kid in school!	He's the most awesome kid in school!
Wendy:	And he's not fat at all.	And he's not fat at all!
Cartman:	Thanks you guys!	Thanks, you guys!

The humour of this clip is in Cartman's exaggeration of the perception of events. Although it is not necessary to be familiar with *South Park* and the character of Cartman in order to appreciate the ridiculousness of this scene, those who do watch the show know that this is not out of the ordinary for Cartman. He lives in his own world in which he is the most awesome kid whom everyone adores. This contrasts with the actual situation, where the only reason the other children spend time with him is because he imposes himself on them. The girl Wendy, who says "And he's not fat at all" in this clip, probably hates him the most and even beats him up in front of everyone in the episode "Breast cancer show ever" (season 12, episode 9).

Earlier in this episode, Kyle says that Cartman's ego is

so out of whack that it will do whatever it can to protect itself. And people with a messed up ego can do these mental gymnastics to convince themselves they're awesome, when really, they're just douchebags!

Although it is a little bit strange that a 10 year old gives such an adequate psychological analysis (then again, they pretty much do everything but having sex in this show), it is absolutely correct in Cartman's case.

This is another example in which the humour comes from outside the show, i.e. from the authors making fun of the characters. This can be seen as another instance of hostility (although this is more a case of superiority) humour, but it can also fit under the category of incongruous. There are several incongruities in this clip. First, there is a matter of perception of Cartman's physique and everyone saying that he is not fat (at all). Then there is the question of who wrote the joke, which is not in accordance with the actual events from the beginning of the episode. Finally, a dragon appears in Jimmy Walmer's living room and Cartman kills it with a sword that he pulled out of nowhere. Violations of expectations are abundant in this example and, according to Veatch's theory, the only matter is which ones the audience finds funny, if any.

As far as the funniness of the clip goes, participants stressed the repeated mentioning of Cartman not being fat as being the primary source of humour here. The appearance of the dragon was perceived as senseless humour. However, only four participants noticed that Jimmy's role in writing the joke was reduced to coming up with "Yeah" part. Overall, the participants did not rate this clip as being offensive, as was expected. There is no use of swear or demeaning words, no ethnic slurs and overall, nothing happens in the video that is demeaning to anyone. Except maybe to dragons, as pointed out by one participant. However, some pointed out that stressing that Cartman is not fat is actually a little bit offensive because he obviously is fat and it is used ironically. Generally, irony is linked to speaker's intention, but in the case of a complex text such as a TV show, every utterance can be perceived as having multiple authors and should be analyzed as such. In this case, the surface meaning is that employed by Eric Cartman through the voices of other characters – he is not fat. The underlying meaning is that of the authors of the series – Eric Cartman is fat, nobody likes him and, what is more, he is so delusional that he goes to great lengths to convince himself otherwise. The mismatch between the context and the proposition of the utterance is what constitutes irony in this example. It is up to the audience to distinguish what the authors actually meant by what was said, what is the illocutionary force of what is going on in the scene. Apart from being a rhetorical figure, irony can be used as a device for character development. Irony is often used as an indirect insult, but for the audience that watches removed from the context, the result can be humorous.

4.2.6 Video 6

The sixth clip is a combination of ethnic and sexual humour, swearing and self-derision. The main characters are Kanye West and comedian Carlos Mencia, who had a show on Comedy Central called “Mind of Mencia”. After claiming that he invented the joke on Conan O’Brien’s show, Mencia is captured by West’s entourage. Scared to death, Mencia admits he had nothing to do with the joke and begs Kanye for mercy. The tone of voice that he uses in this scene is different than his first appearance in the episode, speaking with a shaky voice and a very emphatic mock-Mexican accent. This is somewhat emphasized in the script of the original audio track below (see words in bold), but was not reflected in the subtitles.

Table 9. The script of video 6 with subtitles

Sixth clip, length 13:30-14:19		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Carlos Mencia:	Come on, maaaan . What is this, maaaan ? What the fuck is goin' on maaaan ? Oh fuck maaaan , Kanye Wehhst? Noo shiiit maaan , okay look it wasn't me. I didn't really start the fishstick thing, alright?	C'mon, man! What is this, man? What the fuck is going on, man? Fuck, man. Kanye West! Oh shit, man. OK, look it wasn't me. I didn't really start the fishstick thing, all right?
Kanye:	You're just sayin' that now 'cause you're scared.	You just saying that now 'cause you're scared!
Mencia:	No man it's truuuue . I stole it maaaan . I took credit for it 'cause I'm not actually funneee . Come on, maaaan , do you know what it's like? Being a comedian but not being funneee ? Come on, Kanye, I just take jokes and repackage them with a Mexican accent, maaaan .	No, man, it's true! I stole it, man! I took credit for it, 'cause I'm not actually funny. C'mon, man. Do you know what it's like? Being a comedian, but not being funny? Come on, Kanye, I just take jokes and repackage them with a Mexican accent, man!
Kanye:	Think you can make fun of me? I'm a genius! I'm the voice of a generation! What are you?!	You think you can make fun of me? I'm a genius! I'm the voice of a generation! What are you?
Mencia:	Nothing! Look at me maaaan . I'm not funny, I steal jokes, my dick don't work maaaan . I got to piss in a plastic bag, man, I got no dick.	Nothing! Look at me, man. I'm not funny, I steal jokes, my dick don't work, man. I got to piss in a plastic bag, man. I got no dick!

In “Fishsticks”, Mencia is portrayed as deliberately stealing the credit for a joke he did not write and this is an allusion to real-life accusations against this comedian. His fellow colleagues have repeatedly accused him of plagiarising the work of others. In 2005, comedian Joe Rogan wrote in his blog (*italics and swearing as in the original*):

The latest, and most disgusting joke thief off all is a guy named “Carlos Mencia.” The REALLY crazy thing, is that’s not even his real name. He sells himself as being mexican, but the reality is his real name is Ned Holness, and he’s actually half German and half Honduran. The mexican hook is something he did to ingratiate himself with the local Mexican population of LA where he started. [...] [talking to Mencia] *I’ve seen you steal over and over again. I’ve seen you steal from Paul Mooney, I’ve seen you steal from Dave Chappelle, I’ve seen you steal from old Richard Pryor albums, I’ve seen you steal from Jeff fucking Foxworthy.*

(<http://blog.joerogan.net/archives/92>, August 3, 2011)

Rogan continued to attack Mencia in the following years and also posted videos of Mencia’s comedy routines compared to other comedians on his blog. George Lopez also accused Mencia of stealing approximately 13 minutes of his routine in an HBO special done by Mencia. Another accusation is that he stole material from Bill Cosby and there are video clips on YouTube comparing Cosby’s scene from the film *Bill Cosby: Himself* and the bit from Mencia’s special *No Strings Attached*. Other comedians from whom Mencia reportedly stole are Ari Shaffir, Paul Rodriguez, Morgan Murphy, and D.L. Hughley (<http://southpark.wikia.com/wiki/Fishsticks/Trivia>, July 29, 2011). However, Mencia is very successful, he had his own show and several specials, he appeared in several films, including 2010 *Our Family Wedding* and 2007 *The Heartbreak Kid*, and he also tours regularly.

Another cultural reference in the episode is Mencia being portrayed as a character named Lalin from the 1993 movie *Carlito’s Way* who is handicapped in a wheelchair and needs a catheter to urinate. The subsequent death scene, when Kanye West kills Mencia with a baseball bat, is also a reference to the movie. However, recognizing this intertextual feature of the video is not essential for the understanding and appreciation of its content.

This particular clip is an example of derisive humour directed against one individual, in this case, Carlos Mencia. The claims made about his Mexican origin do not state any opinions or stereotypes against all Mexicans, but only himself. The humour behind the statement “I just take jokes and repackage them with a Mexican accent” is precisely in the fact that he is known in the United States for stealing other comedians’ work and not being truly Mexican.

Ethnic jokes, on the other hand, are humorous remarks about an ethnic, racial or cultural group, enforcing an existing stereotype of the group. If looked at from the aspect of Mencia's character in the show, this could be seen as an instance of self-deprecating humour, mentioned in section 3.2. Lampert and Ervin Tripp (2006) talk about this type of humour as self-teasing, where the speaker does not actually think that he is in any way incompetent, but actually uses this technique as a manner of self-presentation politics. In this particular case, Mencia pleads his case to Kanye West and puts himself down in order to convince West that he had nothing to do with the joke and save himself.

In terms of which of the three main groups of theories would suit this example the best, my opinion is that release theories offer most logical explanation. Although a cartoon, this video contains some violent scenes (although the scene in which Mencia is beaten to death was not included) and profane language. According to release theories, directing such emotions towards a medium for humour releases the accumulated negative energy and serves a sort of a cathartic purpose.

The language of the video contains several obscenities, such as 'shit', 'fuck' and 'dick'. These words are not censored in the audio track. Swearing is a typical trait of *South Park* series and is arguably one of the humorous aspects of the show, seeing as it is mostly the 10 year olds who utter the worst profanities. Swear words are generally perceived as shocking, rude, inappropriate and offensive. These words mostly refer to things that are otherwise not talked about in public, taboo topics. People swear when they need to achieve some tension release or to express intense feelings of anger, frustration, annoyance and so on. The expletives 'shit' and 'fuck' are often used for this purpose. Ayto and Simpson (1993: 75-6) noted that the word 'fuck' is the most frequently used taboo word in American cinema, usually to express strong dislike, contempt or rejection. Due to the increased use over time, particularly in entertainment media, 'fuck' has become less powerful and less shocking. Even though it is still considered rude, 'bad language' and offensive, everyone knows it and many use it daily. When used in the middle of a sentence, as in the example from the scene "What the fuck is goin' on maaaaan?", it gives more emphasis to the phrase and shows the speaker's frustration.

On the expletive 'shit', Sagarin (1965: 53) said that it is used to express frustration, disgust, dismay or unhappiness, and this is still the case. Finally, Mencia's character uses the slang word 'dick' to refer to his 'penis' and this word is rated as extremely common and 65% vulgar on the *Online Slang Dictionary* (<http://onlineslangdictionary.com/meaning-of/dick>,

August 4, 2011). The reason for this is probably not that the authors wanted to be especially vulgar, but just that ‘penis’ sounds too conservative and is not used in everyday language.

The participants of the study, however, did not mark the use of swear language as being particularly offensive. Only three participants commented on the use of explicit language and, curiously, two of them are male, one from the U-group and one from the S-group, and the female participant is from the S-group.

None of the participants in this study were familiar with Carlos Mencia and his work. Most of them said that they could deduce from the context of the episode that he is a Latino comedian who is not very funny. Consequently, they did not know about the allegations of plagiarism that follow him. Some participants mistakenly concluded that he is not successful, whereas other argued that he must be someone who is on the *South Park* creators’ black list.

4.2.7 The song

The episode ends with Kanye West humbly realizing that people have been trying to help him embrace his true nature all along. He finally makes peace with him being a gay fish and breaks out into a song as he dives into the ocean from the Santa Monica pier. The song is a parody of his original tune called ‘Heartless’, with lyrics adapted to fit the theme of the episode.

Table 10. The lyrics of the “Gay Fish” song with subtitles

Seventh clip, length 20:55-21:36		
Character	Original audio track	Subtitles
Kanye:	(Uh. Come on.) I’ve been so lonely, girl, I’ve been so sad and down. Couldn’t understand why haters joked around I wanted to be free with other creatures like me And now I got my wish... ‘Cuz I know that I’m a gay fish gay fish (Gay fish, yo) Motherfuckin’ gay fish gay fish (I’m a fish, yo) Girl I am a gay fish gay fish (it’s alright, girl)	I’ve been so lonely, girl, I’ve been so sad and down Couldn’t understand why haters joked around I wanted to be free with other creatures like me And now I got my wish ‘cause I know that I’m a gay fish Motherfuckin’ gay fish Girl, I am a gay fish

Makin' love to other gay fish gay fish (Unh) All those lonely nights at the grocery store In the frozen fish aisle feeling like a whore 'Cuz I wasn't being true even though everyone said That I had to make a switch (dead fish)... Now I know that I'm a gay fish gay fish (Gay fish, yo) Motherfuckin' gay fish gay fish (I'm a, I'm a fish, yo) Girl I am a gay fish gay fish (Yes, now where I belong, girl) Making love to other gay fish.	Makin' love to other gay fish All those lonely nights at the grocery store In the frozen fish aisle feeling like a whore 'cause I wasn't being true even though everyone said That I had to make a switch Now I know that I'm a gay fish Motherfuckin' gay fish Girl, I am a gay fish
--	---

The “Gay Fish” song, as it is now popularly called among fans, is actually a parody of West’s smash hit, “Heartless”, from his 2008 album “808 & Heartbreak”. The rapper is ridiculed, among other things, for using a lot of auto-tune pitch audio processing, something that appears to be a trend in contemporary mainstream music. The *South Park* version of the song uses so much auto-tune that it is almost painful to listen to. The melody and production were replicated, whereas lyrics were altered in order to fit the theme of Kanye’s epiphany. The incongruity lies in the fact that a hip-hop artist raps about being a gay fish and making love to other fish. Rappers are traditionally associated with being tough and extremely masculine, mostly writing about such themes as money, sex and violence. Homosexuality or identification with a member of the fauna do not find place in their lyrics. An especially humorous aspect of the song is the backing vocal, echoing lines such as “Gay fish, yo” and “I’m a fish, yo”. Unfortunately, these lines were omitted in the subtitles, together with the final line. The reason is not known but it is probably due to some technical difficulty with the subtitle editing application or the person who made the subtitles missed that line.

Veatch’s theory could explain this as another instance of violated principle. For those who know the original song, the beginning notes should lead them to expect to heart that particular song. On the other hand, those who do not know the original song probably do not expect an African-American rapper to sing about being a gay fish and accepting his “true” nature. Therefore, the lyrics of the song and even the actions on the screen, with West first locking eyes with a fish and then fondling and kissing it, are the violated principle.

The interviews showed great appreciation for this humour example from both groups. Even though some participants were not familiar with Kanye West's original song, they enjoyed the foolishness of the lyrics and most of them noticed and commented on the excessive use of auto-tune.

5. Results and analysis

This chapter presents the context, methods of analysis and the discussion of results of the empirical study. The data were clustered in two ways: first, according to the age of participants (U-group and S-group) and then according to the gender of participants. The main aim of this clustering was to create groups that would answer the research questions and make the presentation of results easier.

Before each interview, I gave brief instructions to participants. The exact phrasing varied from occasion to occasion, but the core message was always the same:

The research I am doing concerns individual perceptions on humour. There are no right and wrong answers, only your opinion matters. First, I would like you to fill out the first page of the questionnaire with your information. Then, we will watch an episode of *South Park* together and you do not have to memorize or worry about anything, just relax and pretend that you are watching the episode for fun. Do you watch *South Park*? (if the answer is negative, I would ask whether they were familiar with the basic idea of the show and the characters) After we have watched the entire episode, I will replay six scenes from it and, after each scene, I will ask you to fill out the corresponding sheet in the questionnaire. As you can see, there are only two questions and they ask you to tell me what YOU think about the scene. After that, I will ask you to tell me why you marked that specific rating and we will talk a little bit about the scene. I will record this conversation, but the recordings will be anonymous and no one will listen to them but me.

The message was the same in Serbian. Most of the interviews were held in Serbian due to the participants' choice – only four were taken in English. When offered a choice between the two languages, several participants answered with something in the line of 'whatever suits you best', but after I told them that it is all the same to me, most of them opted for Serbian. All the translations of talk produced in Serbian into English were done by me.

The participants' talk was most likely influenced by the fact that this was a sort of an experiment. They were aware that they were recorded and that these recordings will be analyzed later. All participants agreed to being recorded with an mp3 player and did not seem to pay attention to the device once the interview started. The fact that interviews were structured in such a way that videos were played first, after which they noted their answers in the questionnaire sheet and then talked with me, might have helped to keep their minds off recording.

Some of the topics that have been discussed may be classified as sensitive. Namely, these are swear words, ethnic issues and issues of sexuality. Some participants were more open discussing these issues, whereas some did not feel comfortable and gave very short responses. I did not insist on talking about anything that the participant did not seem to be at ease with. However, their reluctance to speak was also noted and will be counted as a variable in the analysis.

The participants approached the interview situation differently. Some waited for me to tell them to fill out the corresponding questionnaire sheet and ask the questions after seeing each clip, some needed these ‘instructions’ only after the first video and the others started writing and elaborating on their answers as soon as the video was paused. I noticed that those who waited for me to tell them what to do and ask them questions usually gave very short responses and showed reluctance to elaborate. Participants were also observed during the screening of the whole episode to see what their reaction would be to the selected scenes and whether this reaction would correspond to what they say in the questionnaire/interview. In most cases this was so. Whenever the participants laughed at the scene in the episode, they would rate it as funny (various degrees) after replaying. However, there were cases when the participants did not react to the scene but then marked it as funny or even extremely funny. One possible reason for this is that they did not feel comfortable expressing their amusement and perhaps felt the need to protect their face. For example, the participant S5-m did not show any specific reaction to Video 6 (the scene with Carlos Mencia), but marked it as ‘a little bit funny’. This video is probably the most sensitive in terms of tabooeness and the participant might have felt that laughing or even smiling at such topics in front of me (a female) would harm his face. Also, the chapter on humour research introduced the possibility of humorous amusement without laughter and this example is an illustration of this phenomenon.

Participants often felt the need to react to the videos after they have just been played. In some cases, it is just laughter, but in others, they commented on the video and/or what they thought about it. For example, after seeing Video 6, speaker U3-m said:

- 1 U3-m: kad bi bilo ono koliko si uplašen (.) sav sam se naježio
(trans.) If there was that [a scale] how scared are you (.) I have goose bumps all over

After seeing Video 1, participant S1-f immediately commented:

- 1 S1-f: Why do they keep writing fishsticks? I mean (.) they (.) they always
2 say fish DICKS

This way, she indicated both that she does not only focus on subtitles but also listens to the dialogue and that she understood the principle of the ‘Fishsticks’ joke. Other comments include remarks such as: “Interesting!”, “Wow!”, “I like it”, etc. Although these comments are short, they seem to serve a specific purpose, that of breaking the awkward silence after I pause the video and they need to fill in the questionnaire sheet. Therefore, they are more interactive than informative.

As regarding the task they were presented with, sometimes the participants would ask what they were supposed to do even though they were given thorough instructions beforehand and then asked a subsequent question after seeing the clip. For example:

- 1 U1-f: @@@@ This one was really funny. (3) And no it wasn't
2 offensive. Should I tell you what happened?

(participant U1-f on Video 2)

Curiously enough, there were no instances of asking such questions in the S-group sample. Perhaps this could mean that these questions serve as a method to make sure that the task was not misunderstood and avoid potentially harming one’s face image in front of an authority figure (in this case me as an older postgraduate student to high school students).

Even though every participant was asked whether they watch the show or have any degree of familiarity with it, some participants purposefully indicated during the interview that they watch the show regularly and that they are answering the questions within the frame of the entire series. Here is an example:

- 5 U1-f: Um well it was funny because in South Park the racial jokes (2) are
6 kinda like OK there so (2) I don't really (.) mind them at all that much.

(participant U1-f on Video 4)

This shows that these participants chose to position themselves as ‘experienced viewers of *South Park*’ and throughout their answers it can be seen that their answers were affected by their familiarity with the show and characters. This is mostly the case with offensiveness since

the comments emphasized that particular scenes were not perceived as offensive as they might have been precisely because they were in *South Park*. However, it should be noted that this is not the case with all participants who watch the show.

As mentioned before, the data was analyzed for the entire group and then compared according to participants' age and gender. The younger, U-group consists of seven 16 and 17 year olds, four female and three male. The older, S-group consists of seven 25 and 26 year olds, four female and three male. After showing them a video, I would ask them to fill out the questionnaire sheet and then I would ask them why they rated the video in such way. The transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix 3.

One speaker was strikingly different than the others and that is speaker S5-m. Although the S-group was much more talkative in their interviews, which can be attributed to the fact that they are my peers and do not see me as much as an authority as U-group members probably do, S5-m had the longest interview and digressed on almost every question. His philosophical musings and examples from real life, though interesting, usually do not have much relevance for this study.

5.1 Subtitles

When asked whether the subtitles were helpful, everyone in the U-group but speakers U1-f and U5-f stated that they were. U1-f said that she read them because they were there, but she did not have problems understanding the talk, whereas speaker U5-f said that she started reading subtitles but could not focus on the action and the reading at the same time so she stopped. Only speakers U1-f and U5-f noticed that the subtitles were not entirely true to the original soundtrack.

In the S-group, speaker S7-f, who is a fellow translator, also pointed out the ongoing problem with poor quality of Serbian subtitle translations. She also commented on the fact that the message was sometimes shortened in the subtitles because of space constraints. However, she criticized the writing of the fishsticks – fish dicks wordplay because it was not done consistently.

Speakers S1-f, S2-f, S3-m said that having subtitles helps in cases when one is not sure whether one understood or heard correctly, but are not necessary to be able to follow the show. S1-f even gave an example with the phrase 'conceive a joke', which she had not heard

before and was not sure if she had understood properly. Speaker S6-f said she had not read the subtitles because the characters speak really fast and it was easier for her to just focus on listening. When the authenticity of the subtitles is concerned, S2-f did not notice any mistakes. S3-m noticed both the missing words and inconsistency in wordplay distinction, while S4-m only commented on the wordplay issue.

Overall, it can be said that the S-group had more things to say about the subtitles than the U-group and they also proved to be much more attentive to the subtle differences between the audio and the written part. Also, the S-group emphasized that subtitles were not really necessary, but could be useful at times, whereas the U-group participants mostly found them helpful. This can be attributed to their difference in age and, accordingly, level of English. The S-group participants feel more comfortable with their English skills, which is also mirrored in the fact that three speakers opted for an interview in English as opposed to only one in the U-group.

5.2 Video 1

The interview answers to Video 1 showed greater frequency of false starts, pauses and generally inconsistent language, especially for the U-group. This can be seen as an indicator of participants' unfamiliarity with the task they have been presented with and uncertainty of what is expected of them. After this first conversation, the number of these occurrences diminished and the participants got more comfortable with the task and they appeared clearer about what they want to say. The S-group participants mostly seemed to understand the task and did not appear to be extremely uncomfortable with it or with the interview situation.

The questionnaire answers to Video 1 are summarized in Table 11:

Table 11. Responses to Video 1

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	Funny	Not at all
U2-m	A little	Not at all
U3-m	Extremely funny	Not at all
U4-f	Funny	A little

U5-f	Not at all	Not at all
U6-f	Funny	A little
U7-m	Not at all	A little
S1-f	Funny	Not at all
S2-f	A little	Not at all
S3-m	A little	A little
S4-m	Funny	Offensive
S5-m	A little	Offensive
S6-f	A little	Not at all
S7-f	Funny	A little

The overall frequency of answers for Video 2 is presented in Table 12:

Table 12. Answers to Video 1 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
14.28%	35.71%	42.85%	7.14%	50%	35.71%	14.28%	-

Video 1 was prevalently rated as funny (42.85%) with another 43.85% of answers attributed to the other two ratings that state that the video carries some degree of funniness. Only two people said that the video was not funny at all, but both of them do not watch *South Park* at all, and U5-f even specifically stated that she does not like their type of humour:

13 U5-f: Mislim inače mi (.) Saut Park mi inače (.) ne sviđa mi se ta vrsta

14 humora (.) nije mi inače smešno.

(trans.) I mean I generally (.) South Park generally (.) I don't like that kind of humour (.) I don't find it funny.

In the S-group, Video 1 was rated as either a little funny or funny by all participants. As opposed to the U-group participants, everyone in the S-group is familiar with the show and watches it except for speaker S2-f, who said that she knew about the show and had seen several episodes, but did not follow it regularly.

With regards to the offensiveness aspect, half of the participants stated that the video was not offensive and two opted for the 'offensive' rating. The rest said that it was only a little offensive. The reasons given for such answers were various. For example:

- 17 S4-m: Pa stavio sam da jeste uvredljivo ali (.) u suštini uvredljivo je zbog
18 tih eksplicitnih reči koje se koriste mada (.) nekako mislim u cilju (.) kada
19 je u pitanju humor da bi to trebalo malo da se zanemari.

(trans.) Well I put that it is offensive but (.) basically it is offensive because of this explicit language that is used although (.) I somehow think that for the purpose (.) when it is for the purpose of humour that it should be tolerated a little bit.

- 5 S5-m: Pa između pomalo i da ali dobro ajde (.) mislim to je sad (.) to je
6 sad to pitanje (.) ja nemam nikakav problem s tim ali realno kad razmisliš
7 (.) kada bi u bilo kojoj situaciji tebe neko postavio na televiziju (.) nije
8 bitno da li je osnovano ili nije osnovano (.) i krenuo da proziva (.) ne bi ti
9 bilo prijatno.

(trans.) Well between a little and yes but OK well (.) I mean that is (.) that is the usual question (.) I don't have any problems with it but when you think about it realistically (.) if someone put you on TV in any situation (.) regardless whether it's justified or not (.) and started talking bad (.) you wouldn't be comfortable.

These are two different reasons. S4-m thought that the use of the word 'motherfucker' at the end of the clip was offensive, whereas S5-m related the offensiveness to making fun of Kanye West. It must be noted that S5-m is the only participant of the study who had not heard of Kanye West and, therefore, was not familiar with his music or any of his personal life and statements. Since he did not have a previous negative disposition towards Kanye West, he found the ridicule of him in this example to be offensive. This answer is in line with both Zillmann and Cantor's affective disposition model (1976) and Veatch's (1998) theory of violation of moral principles. In the same manner, those who found the video funny and inoffensive often pointed out that the reason for this is that the butt of the joke is Kanye West:

- 8 I: Was it offensive?
9 U1-f: No.
10 I: Not even a little?
11 U1-f: To Kanye West <3>yeah</3>
12 I: <3>but generally</3> not?
13 U1-f: No.
14 I: OK.
15 U1-f: (3) But I don't care about Kanye West <4>@@</4>

According to Veatch's theory, the participants who found the video funny perceived the situation of the scene normal while at the same time noticing some sort of a violation. The moral principle at play here is the idea of protecting one's face from direct ridicule, in this case, Kanye West's. Since there was no positive identification with West, the video was rated funny and not very offensive.

As far as the 'Fishsticks' joke goes, it was only amusing to speaker S4-m, who actually said that this was the primary source of humour for him in this video, the rest of them did not find it very humorous. Some participants even commented that it was "the simplest joke ever" and "the stupidest joke" (S1-f, S7-f).

5.3 Video 2

The questionnaire answers to Video 2 are summarized in Table 13:

Table 13. U-group responses to Video 2

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	Extremely funny	Not at all
U2-m	Not at all	Not at all
U3-m	Funny	A little
U4-f	A little	Not at all
U5-f	Not at all	A little
U6-f	Not at all	Not at all
U7-m	Not at all	Not at all
S1-f	Extremely funny	Not at all

S2-f	A little	Not at all
S3-m	Funny	Not at all
S4-m	Funny	Not at all
S5-m	A little	Not at all
S6-f	Funny	Not at all
S7-f	A little	Not at all

The overall frequency of answers for Video 2 is presented in Table 14:

Table 14. Answers to Video 2 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
28.57%	28.57%	28.57%	14.28%	85.71%	14.28%	-	-

The funniness ratings for Video 2 are rather evenly distributed with four votes for each of the first three categories and two for ‘extremely funny’. However, the overall U-group rating for Video 2 is ‘not funny’ (four participants) with only one answer for each of the other three ratings, whereas each S-group member found at least some degree of humour in this example. The wagon joke was not really noticed by the U-group which means that they perceived this as a regular conversation.

Speaker S1-f thought the video was extremely funny because of the wagon joke and she recognized it as something that people would say in Serbia. Speakers S6-f and S7-f also identified the punchline of the video correctly:

- 10 S7-f: The last line (.) when he says if I had wheels I'd be a wagon (.)
- 11 because (.) we have some similar sayings in Serbian and (.) they are
- 12 usually quite humorous and so that reminded me of that (.) and it was
- 13 funny to see (.) it was kind of funny to see (.) there are things like that in
- 14 English also.

Speaker U1-f rated the video as extremely funny because of the entire situation with Craig. She also identified the punchline as the funniest part of the clip:

- 12 [...] And
13 the funny part is that (.) that would be everything that the dude in the
14 blue cap cap @@
15 I: What?
16 U1-f: If I had a wheel I'd be a wagon @@@@<2>@@@</2>

Other participants found humour in the entire situation. Speaker S2-f said that making fun of the whole situation with taking the credit for an achievement reminded her of the Facebook affair. S3-m, S5-m and S6-f pointed out Cartman's personality and the fact that everyone knows how he is, the other characters and the audience alike, as the humorous bit in this video. Speaker U3-m rated the video as funny because Craig did not understand what the problem was and why Kyle seemed to be so agitated. This does not seem to be a correct perception of the situation because Craig understands everything perfectly, but his point is that there is no use fighting against Cartman because he always gets what he wants at the end. When asked what was supposed to be the punchline of the video, the speaker did not have an answer. Therefore it could be said that this speaker did not understand this example. Speaker U4-f rated the video as a little funny because it revolved around Cartman's behaviour but did not mention the "if I had wheels, I'd be a wagon" line at all.

Video 2 is not offensive at all according to the sample of participants aged 25-26. When asked to explain, they usually said that there were no ethnic stereotypes and that the joke was on fictional characters, which was not offensive. Similarly, the video was not perceived as offensive by a majority of U-group members, with only two participants mentioning that the video could be a little offensive because:

- 1 U3-m: Smešno je zato što (.) Kreg ne shvata (2) to jest um (.) Kreg se
2 tako lako miri sa tim a to mi je i pomalo uvredljivo (.) um (.) sa sa time da
3 (.) miri se sa time da Kartman dobije ono što želi. [...]

(trans.) It is funny because (.) Craig doesn't get (2) that is um (.) Craig easily accepts the situation and I find that a little bit offensive (.) um (.) with with that (.) accepts that Cartman gets what he wants. [...]

- 4 U5-f: Pa mogu da kažem (.) da li je bio uvredljiv (.) mogu da kažem
 5 pomalo (.) ali samo za tog lika (.) kako se već zove (.) za tog debelog (.)
 6 ali koliko sam ja shvatila njega uvek ismevaju.

(trans.) Well I can say (.) was it offensive (.) I can say a little (.) but only to that guy (.) what's his name (.) the fat one (.) but as far as I understood he's always being made fun of.

The first answer focuses on the offensiveness on a more altruistic level stating that Craig's acceptance of the situation in which Cartman imposes himself on Jimmy and takes half of the credit for something he did not do is what is actually offensive in this clip. This answer is in line with Hofstede's cultural dimension of individualism and low power distance, which is in contradiction with index ratings for Serbia. The smaller, handicapped Jimmy Valmer is being forced by much bigger (obese) Eric Cartman to share the credit for the writing of the 'Fishsticks' joke and, while this might be acceptable for people with high power distance and collectivistic perceptions, it is seen as unjust bullying by others. The other participant related the offensiveness of the clip to Eric Cartman because he is being called 'a fat turd'. However, as she does not watch *South Park* and cannot remember his name, she refers to him as 'the fat one', so it seemed a bit paradoxical that she pointed out that as the offensive instance.

5.4 Video 3

The humour instance that is supposed to be identified in this clip is subtle and not easily perceivable. The questionnaire answers to Video 3 are summarized in Table 15:

Table 15. Responses to Video 3

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	A little	A little
U2-m	A little	Not at all
U3-m	Funny	Not at all
U4-f	A little	Not at all
U5-f	Not at all	Not at all
U6-f	Not at all	Not at all
U7-m	Not at all	Not at all

S1-f	Funny	Not at all
S2-f	A little	Not at all
S3-m	A little	Not at all
S4-m	A little	A little
S5-m	A little	Not at all
S6-f	Not at all	Not at all
S7-f	A little	Not at all

The overall frequency of answers for Video 3 is presented in Table 16:

Table 16. Answers to Video 3 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
28.57%	57.14%	14.28%	-	85.71%	14.28%	-	-

As can be seen, this clip was not perceived as particularly funny. Those who did find some humour in it had very diverse answers to the question what was funny:

- 3 U2-m: To je ono kad (2) to što je smešno se zapravo odnosi na celu
4 epizodu (.) mislim to celo ubeđivanje Kartmana kako Džimi (.) kako su
5 zajedno pisali a u stvari nisu (.) koliko on deluje uvereno u to.

(trans.) That's like when (2) what is funny is actually related to the entire episode (.) I mean the entire persuasion of Cartman that Jimmy (.) that they wrote together and they didn't actually (.) how he seems convinced of that.

- 6 U3-m: Zato što sam se prisetio Karlosa Mensije i (2) zato što (.) je Erik
7 nabavio advokata da mu pomogne (.) da patentira.

(trans.) Because I remembered Carlos Mencia and (2) because (.) Eric hired a lawyer to help him (.) to patent.

- 1 U4-f: Smešno je zato što on kaže (.) neki debeli koji hoće zasluge za nešto
2 što nije uradio.

(trans.) It is funny because he says (.) some fat guy who wants credit for something he didn't do.

Speaker U3-m was amused by the fact that Cartman hired a lawyer to patent the joke. Also, he mentions that this clip made him remember Carlos Mencia and that was funny. In all honesty, these answers were a bit unexpected

Speaker U4-f is the only U-group member who identified the subtle humour that rests in the allusion to Cartman trying to take half of the credit for Jimmy's joke. However, she did not find it particularly funny. Therefore, it can be said that this type of humour was mostly undetected in the U-group and did not fire.

On the other hand, the S-group rated this example a little higher on the funniness scale and was a little bit more successful in discerning the humorous intent of this example. The subtle message in this example was picked up on and appreciated more by the older group. S6-f understood that the point of the scene was to show an allusion to Cartman's behaviour, but said that she did not find it funny. Speaker S1-f, who thought the video was funny, actually misunderstood the scene:

- 12 I: OK but what is exactly funny in this clip particularly? Who is he talking
13 about? Cartman (.) now.
14 S1-f: He's talking about the lawyer
15 I: Yeah he (.) he drafted the patent thing.
16 S1-f: Yeah.
17 I: But he's talking about the Mexican comic.
18 S1-f: Oh yeah yeah yeah.
19 I: He's talking about him (.) and he says fat turd is trying to take credit.
20 S1-f: Oh I didn't catch that.

Participant S4-m said that the video was funny, but when answering why, he showed that he did not quite understand the point:

- 2 S4-m: Zbog Kartmanovih opaski za fat turd.
3 I: Što se u stvari odnosi na?
4 S4-m: Pa na Kanjea (.) ne u stvari na ovog Meksikanca.

(trans.) S4-m: Because of Cartman's remarks about fat turd.

I: which is actually related to?

S4-m: Well to Kanye (.) no actually to that Mexican guy.

S2-f related the previous example to this one by stating that this clip again made fun of the concept of taking credit for something one did not do in a sarcastic manner. The whole situation with Cartman fighting for a cause that is not even his to fight (although he refuses to admit that) is what was humorous to her.

Overall, the groups did not find this example to be offensive. Participants S3-m, S5-m and S7-f correctly identified the allusion to Cartman and explained that they did not find it offensive precisely for this reason. According to them, ‘fat turd’ is not addressed to Carlos Mencia but to Cartman, so it is offensive to a fictional character. Speaker S7-f thought the video was ironic:

10 S7-f: So it's kind of ironic that (.) he is (.) upset about someone doing the
11 same thing he is doing (.) but I don't think it's offensive (.) because calling
12 someone (.) fat (.) is not really an issue (.) for me (.) I don't think so (.) I
13 mean at least not for South Park (.) and also (.) there's this transference
14 of (.) the name fat turd from (.) mister Mencia to Cartman so (.) you think
15 of Cartman not of Mencia (.) as the fat turd.

She framed the task within her position as someone who watches *South Park* regularly and answered accordingly. Also, as she correctly identified the allusion to Cartman in the remark about Mencia, she again framed her answer about offensiveness in such a way that she entirely excluded Mencia from it, as if it did not actually apply to him at all.

5.5 Video 4

Video 4 is the first clip that exposes participants overtly to the taboo of bodily functions and restroom etiquette. Therefore, each participant was also asked to comment on the setting of the scene in the interview.

The questionnaire answers to Video 4 are summarized in Table 17:

Table 17. Responses to Video 4

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	Funny	Extremely offensive
U2-m	A little	Not at all
U3-m	Funny	Not at all
U4-f	A little	Not at all
U5-f	Not at all	A little
U6-f	Funny	Not at all
U7-m	Not at all	A little
S1-f	Extremely funny	A little
S2-f	Not at all	A little
S3-m	Funny	Offensive
S4-m	Extremely funny	Offensive
S5-m	Funny	A little
S6-f	Funny	Offensive
S7-f	Not at all	Offensive

The overall frequency of answers for Video 4 is presented in Table 18:

Table 18. Answers to Video 4 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
28.57%	14.28%	42.85%	14.28%	28.57%	35.71%	28.57%	7.14%

This example was generally perceived as funny, with 10 participants opting for one of the three degrees of funniness. However, both age groups showed inconsistency in their answers, resulting in uneven distribution of ratings.

The humour of this example was mainly perceived in Cartman's behaviour towards Jimmy and how he firmly believes that he participated in the making of the joke. Another humorous item was the phrase 'Jew defence moves', which was identified as strange and unfamiliar. The Jewish population is not a butt of humour in Serbia and although there is an awareness of the stereotype of canniness and thrift, it is not played upon for the purpose of amusement. There is a Jewish community in Serbia, but they do not have as prominent a role in the country as they do in the United States. Prior to the World War II, there were about 10,000 Jewish people in Belgrade, but their communities were almost completely destroyed during the Holocaust (<http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1408>, October 12, 2011). According to the 2002 census, there were 1,185 Jews in Serbia (<http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/axd/Zip/VJN3.pdf>, October 12, 2011). For this reason, they are not perceived as either an enemy or members of in- or out-group so, according to anthropological theories of humour, there is not much need for humour targeting them.

The following comments from the interviews show what was perceived as funny in this example:

- 5 U3-m: Prva stvar je to što je ovaj ušao dok je ovaj piškio (.) onda Jew
6 defense moves (2) um šta ima još?

(trans.) The first thing is that he came in while this guy was peeing (.) then the Jew defence moves (2) um what else?

- 13 S3-m: Pa prvo mi je smešna cela ta situacija u WCu (.) drugo mi je
14 smešno (.) ova kovanica Jew me out of the contract (2) i treće kao teach
15 me some Jew defensive moves.

(trans.) Well first I find the whole situation in the toilet funny (.) second I find funny (.) this coined word Jew me out of the contract (2) and third like teach me some Jew defensive moves.

These answers include comments on the scene setting. Namely, these speakers identified the humour in the fact that the encounter happened in boys' bathroom while Kyle was urinating. The U-group participants did not seem to perceive this issue as much of a taboo because they did not use any specific hedges, pauses or other avoiding devices while speaking about it, nor

did they show any discomfort. Some speakers actually said that the fact that this conversation happened in the boys' restroom added to its funniness.

The location of the scene was only mentioned by speakers U3-m and U6-f, the rest were asked about their opinion on the matter. Participants mostly said that this was funny:

11 U1-f: <1>dude I'm peeing</1> @@ that's funny.

There was only one term that the participants used to refer to the restroom and that is 'WC', the international term that denotes a room that is used only as a toilet and not for bathing. It is an orthophemistic term most commonly used in Serbia. There is not much tabooeness related to this term and it is very widely used, along with 'kupati' (bathroom).

The topic of urination was not much of a taboo for either group when talking about it, but speaker S3-m mentioned that he would not appreciate it if someone entered the restroom while he was using it and started talking to him. Similarly, speaker S7-f put herself in that position and stated that it would be even more uncomfortable for her because boys use urinals and they find themselves in the open:

11 S7-f: Well (.) I do think it's kind of (.) weird that (.) someone is peeing
12 and then someone just comes and starts talking (.) and they say dude get
13 out of here I'm peeing but they just disregard that and keep talking (.) but
14 then on the other hand I'm not really sure how guys act (.) in the
15 bathroom but (.) I personally wouldn't like anyone talking to me (.)
16 especially with (.) because they have these (.) urinals (.) and they're kind
17 of peeing in the open (.) in my personal opinion.
18 I: Would it be any different if it were those stalls?
19 S7-f: @@ I don't know (.) probably. This is just a little bit weird (.) and
20 they're kids and (.) you know they're just little kids and this is like an adult
21 scene.

In line with her last comment, that the characters are just children put in an adult situation, speaker S4-m pointed out the following:

9 S4-m: Pa u suštini (.) mesto nije nije toliko (.) mislim smešno (.) ali je
10 situacija smešna zato što su stavili tipa decu (.) koja otprilike glume kao
11 odraslu osobu (.) uđe Kartman i onda mu kaže (.) kaže mu (.) počne da
12 mu se (.) krene da mu se obrati nešto (.) nešto (.) a ovaj tipa Kajl mu

13 odbrusi kao odrasli muškarac da ne narušava njegovu privatnost.

(trans.) Well basically (.) the location is not that much (.) I mean funny (.) but the situation is funny because they put like kids (.) who basically act like adults (.) Cartman comes in and then tells him (.) tells him (.) starts to (.) starts to tell him something (.) something (.) and he like Kyle retorts like a grown man not to impose on his privacy.

The same as in the U-group interviews, there were no specific hedges or other devices commonly used to protect one's face when talking about taboo issues. The pauses in the talk were mostly due to speakers' inability to express their thoughts in a clear and organized manner. The word used for the room is again 'WC' and the action is referred to by using an orthophemistic term, 'piškiti' (to pee). Overall, it can be said that the issue of little boys having a conversation in the restroom while one urinates did not seem to be shocking, offensive or taboo for the participants of the study.

It should be mentioned that not all answers regarding the funniness of the clip included the scene setting. Humour was also found in some other aspects, as evidenced by the following examples:

5 U1-f: Um well it was funny because in South Park the racial jokes (2) are
6 kinda like OK there so (2) I don't really (.) mind them at all that much.
7 The the Jew thing (.) the the Jew defensive moves (2) what does that
8 even mean? And the Cartman thing (.) that he still believes it's his joke (.)
9 that's also kind of funny.

2 U2-m: Pa ono opet ta (.) Kartmanova ubedenost i ono (.) onaj odbrambeni
3 mehanizam od Jevreja.

(trans.) Well like again that (.) Cartman's convincement and that (.) that Jew defence mechanism.

4 S1-f: Because he always (.) he has such a low opinion of Jews and he's
5 like Woody Allen (.) he always picks on Jews (.) and I watched other
6 episodes and he's always picking on Jews and it was extremely funny
7 because of the term Jew me out (.) like @@@ that was really funny (.)
8 and I marked a little for offensive because it (.) it (.) the whole show is
9 like that (.) it's not anything new (.) the show is even mild compared to (.)
10 other stuff.

As evidenced by these examples, making fun of Jews in front of Kyle, who is Jewish, is the main source of humour for this video. Most of these answers mention the stereotyped

neologic phrasal verb ‘Jew someone out’ and phrase ‘Jew defence moves’ as being funny. At the same time, this mockery of the Jewish population was offensive:

- 5 S7-f: Well (.) the thing is that Cartman is talking about Jews and coining
6 new phrases like Jew defensive moves and Jew- Jewing someone out (.)
7 while talking to Kyle who is Jewish (.) and he always does that in South
8 Park (.) which is ridiculous. So in that sense it's offensive yes (.) but I
9 don't think it's funny.

When discussing offensiveness of this example, participants pointed out derogatory comments about the Jews. Depending on the level of identification with the violated principle, the rates of offensiveness varied. Speaker U5-f first marked that the video was not offensive, but since she did not watch *South Park* and was not familiar with the characters, I decided to tell her that Kyle was Jewish. She then decided to change her answer to ‘a little offensive’. Still, this means that using stereotypes about Jews is only (a little bit) offensive when doing so in front of them and not otherwise:

- 7 U5-f: Nisam znala da je on Jevrejin. Pa onda je malo uvredljivo.
(trans.) I didn't know he was Jewish. Well then it's a little offensive.

Others identified this as an instance of ethnic humour and pointed that out in their answers:

- 2 U7-m: Pominju dosta Jevreje ja mislim (.) i to mislim da je uvredljivo na
3 nacionalnoj osnovi.
(trans.) They mention Jews a lot I think (.) and I think that is ethnically offensive.

The repeated use of verba sentiendi ‘mislim’ interrupted by a pause indicates that U7-m wanted to emphasize the subjective value of his statement and that ‘mentioning Jews’ was what he perceived as being offensive.

Overall, the answers of the two age groups were similar in terms of funniness, but the offensiveness rating was perceivably higher in the S-group answers.

5.6 Video 5

In this scene, Cartman remembers the events and circumstances around the writing of the joke for the second time.

The questionnaire answers to Video 5 are summarized in Table 19:

Table 19. Responses to Video 5

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	Funny	Not at all
U2-m	Funny	Not at all
U3-m	Extremely funny	Not at all
U4-f	Funny	Not at all
U5-f	A little	A little
U6-f	Extremely funny	Not at all
U7-m	Not at all	A little
S1-f	Funny	Not at all
S2-f	Funny	Not at all
S3-m	Not at all	Not at all
S4-m	Funny	Not at all
S5-m	A little	Not at all
S6-f	Funny	Not at all
S7-f	Funny	Not at all

This is the first example in which the S-group was unanimous in their offensiveness ratings. When asked whether they found it offensive, participants usually explained that there was not anything offensive about this video because everything in it is fictional. The humour was identified in Cartman's exaggeration of the events in his recollection, which was directly related to his personality. The U-group also showed a high level of agreement, with only two participants rating this video a little offensive. Similarly to Video 1, it could be said that the

video was not perceived as offensive and was rated as funny because the butt of the joke is Eric Cartman, who is not a very likeable character. Following the model of affective disposition (Zillmann and Cantor 1976), making fun of Cartman would be funny to those who do not identify with him. This is corroborated in S7-f's comment:

- 20 I: Why wasn't it offensive?
 21 S7-f: Because it basically dealt only with Cartman (.) who is fictional (.)
 22 and not really likeable so (.) I don't find anything that is bad for him really
 23 offensive.

The overall frequency of answers for Video 5 is presented in Table 20:

Table 20. Answers to Video 5 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
14.28%	14.28%	57.14%	14.28%	85.71%	14.28%	-	-

Only one U-group participant did not find this video funny, the rest of them reacted mostly to Cartman's distorted perception of reality and how he imagined that everyone else said he were not fat. The same is true for the S-group. Only one participant did not find any humour in this video, while most of the group considered it funny. Since most of these participants watch *South Park*, they thought that this instance of poking fun at Cartman's character was amusing:

- 6 S1-f: Well (.) every frustration he has is basically mended in that video.
 7 Yeah (.) like being fat or being everybody's best friend or being the
 8 superhero and killing the dragon @ (.) like being helpful (.) towards the
 9 other children.

Both groups identified the appearance of the dragon as nonsensical. It was there only to show the level of Cartman's exaggeration.

Speaker U6-f had an interesting response when asked what she found funny in the example:

- 1 U6-f: Pa smešno mi je zato što je nemoguće da ubije zmaja @@@@
(trans.) Well, I find it funny because it is impossible to kill a dragon @@@@

She does not watch *South Park* so she did not find the exaggeration of Cartman's popularity amusing. Since she is not familiar with the show and its characters, she may have missed the irony with which the authors 'attacked' Eric Cartman. Therefore, she found humour in the absurdity of the dragon appearance. Speakers U1-f and U3-m also mentioned the dragon scene when talking about the funniness of the video.

Speaker U1-f retold the events of the scene. She made a small mistake when she said that this was the first time Cartman remembered what happened and in fact it was the second. Also, she mentioned several times that everyone saying that Cartman is not fat is funny:

- 9 U1-f: It's funny because of how they acted (.) the others (2) how they
10 were all like (.) Cartman you're totally not fat at all (.) classic. And then
11 the not fat (.) at all (.) then the dragon (2) and he's the most awesome
12 kid in school and he's totally not fat at all.

She mentioned this once in the previous example and then three more times in this one. It is safe to say that this made the greatest impression on this speaker and that this was in fact the primary source of humour in this video for her. Some of the other participants pointed out the same thing:

- 2 U4-f: Smešno je (.) zbog Kartmana. Ono kao (.) nije debeo (.) on je
3 najbolji (.) spasilac svih. A leči svoje komplekse (.) njegov naduvani ego.
(trans.) It is funny (.) because of Cartman. Like (.) he's not fat (.) he is the best (.) saviour of all.
And he's acting on his issues (.) his inflated ego.

Speaker S6-f mentioned the register Cartman uses in this video and which is usually associated with hip hop music. A small white boy from Colorado would most likely not talk like that, but, for Cartman, it is a sign of being cool.

- 3 S6-f: When he comes in he's what's up dawg (.) that's kind of stupid
- 4 because (.) that's not really something you guess he would say and (.) the
- 5 fact that he'd come up with the joke in a second (.) that was really (.)
- 6 stupid.
- 7 I: OK (.) but what about the
- 8 S6-f: Dragon? Yeah (.) that's also (.) that's also idiotic to me.

She also assumed that I was going to ask her about the dragon appearance in the video so she interrupted me and answered. This shows that she was going to include the dragon scene in her answer, but did not and then took the chance to finish her answer. Another interesting thing happened with speaker S7-f. When asked whether the video was funny, she repeated the question and then used the word ‘funny’ three more times, as if she was negotiating or even convincing herself in the answer:

- 2 S7-f: Was that funny? Yeah (.) it was funny (.) it was funny actually that
- 3 was funny (.) and was it offensive? I don't find it offensive at all.

Speaker U5-f also could not immediately verbalize why she marked that the video was a little funny. Her first sentence has the sense of ‘it is funny because it is funny’ and then she laughs. After that she repeated the question and only then offered the answer. Curiously enough, she found the behaviour of other characters towards Cartman funny and offensive at the same time. Similar answers were given in discussions of other videos by other participants, mostly those who follow the show, which may lead to the conclusion that offensiveness does not pose an obstacle to humour. What is more, sometimes it may even be that the offensiveness that a certain humour instance contains adds to the perception of humour. *South Park* is notorious for being a politically incorrect show and people watch it as such.

5.7 Video 6

The U group answers to Video 6 regarding the offensiveness aspect were in the least unexpected. Only one participant rated the video as offensive, two did not find anything tabooed in it, and the rest of them marked ‘a little’. The S-group responses to Video 6 regarding the offensiveness aspect were a little bit more in line with what was expected. Only one participant rated the video as inoffensive, while the rest of them found it either offensive or a little offensive. The questionnaire answers to Video 6 are summarized in Table 21:

Table 21. Responses to Video 6

Participant	Funniness	Offensiveness
U1-f	Funny	Offensive
U2-m	Extremely funny	Not at all
U3-m	Extremely funny	A little
U4-f	A little	A little
U5-f	A little	Not at all
U6-f	Not at all	A little
U7-m	Not at all	A little
S1-f	Funny	A little
S2-f	Not at all	Not at all
S3-m	Extremely funny	A little
S4-m	Extremely funny	A little
S5-m	A little	Offensive
S6-f	Not at all	Offensive
S7-f	Funny	Offensive

The overall frequency of answers for Video 6 is presented in Table 22:

Table 22. Answers to Video 6 in percentages

Not funny at all	A little funny	Funny	Extremely funny	Not offensive at all	A little offensive	Offensive	Extremely offensive
28.57%	21.42%	21.42%	28.57%	21.42%	50%	28.57%	-

Only participant S4-m said that he had heard of Carlos Mencia but did not know much about him. The rest of the interviewees were not familiar with Mr. Mencia and the rumours that

follow him, but they all managed to deduce that he is a Mexican comedian who supposedly steals jokes because he is not funny:

- 1 I: Do you know who Carlos Mencia is?
- 2 S1-f: No but I got that he was some kind of Mexican comedian with no
- 3 sense of humour @@@ and a lot of hand gestures @@@

This video has the most evenly distributed answers regarding its funniness. Some participants mentioned Kanye's role in this clip as humorous, again for the same reason that he talks of himself as the voice of a generation. While Mencia is not known to the Serbian audience, Kanye West is and the interviewees shifted their attention more toward him and his behaviour. As noted by speaker U4-f:

- 4 U4-f: Pomalo (.) zbog seksualnih aluzija (.) da nema onu stvar (2) bilo bi
- 5 smešnije da su uzeli nekog poznatijeg (.) kao što je Kanje Vest. Smešno je
- 6 zbog toga što (.) Kanje i dalje ne shvata poentu vica. Te uvredljive stvari
- 7 su često smešne (.) ali takav je Saut Park humor.

(trans.) A little (.) because of the sexual allusions (.) that he doesn't have the thing (2) it would've been funnier if they had taken someone more famous (.) like Kanye West. It is funny because (.) Kanye still doesn't get the point of the joke. These offensive things are often funny (.) but that's South Park humour.

Another frequently mentioned humorous aspect was Mencia's tone of voice and his (mock) Mexican accent. Speaker S3-m compared the way he spoke in Conan O'Brien's show and in this scene, noticing that the quality of his voice shows that he is terrified. S7-f also mentioned that his voice is different now, semi-female and half-crying. The explicit language and mockery of Mencia's sexuality only added to the perception of humour for this group:

- 10 S3-m: Pa (.) prva stvar (.) kako govori (.) u smislu (.) dok je bio u emisiji
- 11 normalno je pričao (.) ovde mu glas žestoko podrhtava (.) znači ukenjo se.
- 12 Druga stvar ono klasično meksičko man I have no balls man dick man (2)
- 13 tek to mislim kad krene ono sve (.) I'm not funny I steal jokes (.) pee in a
- 14 plastic bag (.) have no dicks man.

(trans.) Well (.) first thing (.) the way he talks (.) in the sense (.) while he was on the show he spoke normally (.) here his voice trembles horribly (.) meaning he shit his pants. Another thing that classic Mexican man I have no balls man dick man (2) when that starts like (.) I'm not funny I steal jokes (.) pee in a plastic bag (.) have no dicks man.

Given that this example contained a lot of swearing and touched upon a few taboo topics (man's penis, bodily functions), the ratings for offensiveness were expected to be higher. However, there are several reasons why this expectation was violated. First of all, the participants were not familiar with Carlos Mencia and some of them even stressed that their offensiveness rating was affected by this fact. This result is in line with Veatch's Theory of Humour because the violation of moral principle in this case was not as strong as it would have been if the butt was someone familiar to and liked by the participants. This is illustrated in speaker U3-m's comment:

- 10 U3-m: Pa: I've got no dick man (2) i:: i ono (2) krade fore (.) možda bih
- 11 (.) možda bih zbog toga stavio da je pomalo uvredljivo (.) krade fore (.)
- 12 stavlja meksički (.) mislim iskreno ne znam da li on stvarno krade fore i
- 13 stavlja meksički (.) možda bih stavio pomalo. Ali pomalo zato što ne znam
- 14 (.) nisam za njega čuo ranije.

(trans.) We'll I've got no dick man (2) and and that (2) steals jokes (.) maybe I would (.) maybe I would put a little offensive because of that (.) steals jokes (.) uses Mexican (.) I mean I honestly don't know whether he actually steals jokes and uses Mexican (.) maybe I would put a little. But a little because I don't know (.) I haven't heard of him before.

At the beginning, this speaker wanted to rate this video as inoffensive and commented that he did not find this video offensive "in the true sense of the word" because it was taken from *South Park*. As he started explaining what was his take on the funniness of the clip, he decided that accusing Mencia of stealing jokes and repackaging them with a Mexican accent was a little bit offensive. He avoided speaking about the taboo aspect of the video entirely, as was the case with most of the other U-group participants. Speaker U1-f asked me whether the sexual allegations were true and used the euphemism 'the thing', speakers U2-m and U5-f avoided mentioning this aspect entirely, and others only referred to it when speaking about offensiveness by stating that there was some swearing in the video or by using euphemistic terms. In the entire U-group, only speaker U3-m overtly quoted the "I have no dick" line from the video, not showing any face concerns when talking to a female interviewer. The S-group interviewees did not have much problem discussing Mencia's plea on the basis of his issues with sexuality. However, they usually avoided using any type of offensive terms unless quoting the lines from the show (S3-m), except for S1-f who did not have any problem saying 'dick' several times in the interview. S2-f avoided the topic altogether, only mentioning the Mexican aspect, and S5-m and S6-f avoided using any terms when talking about the issue.

They actually let me say 'sexuality' and then referred to it with the pronoun 'it'. The euphemisms that have been used are 'eksplicitne reči' (explicit words) and 'male parts'.

Another possible reason why the events depicted in this video were not rated very offensive could be that there is a lot of swearing in Serbian language. Swear words are used on a daily basis, in any situation, to express both frustration and joy. There are not many constraints on the topics of swear phrases, from someone's immediate family to religion. Some swear words and phrases are so commonly used that they are sometimes not even perceived as such. For example, the curse 'jebote' (literally 'he fucked you' in English) has become a sort of a catchphrase and even has its texting form 'jbt'. It rarely, if ever, actually evokes any images of sexual context and is not pejorative. It is only occasionally used to show frustration with someone. Mostly it is being used as an intensifier when expressing shock or surprise, some sort of great impression. It is somewhat similar in use to the expletive 'fuck' in English. However, that is not to say that curses are not perceived as 'bad language' in Serbian as well, only that they are very widespread in everyday use of the people. Bearing this in mind, the cursing may not be perceived as offensive as it might be by a speaker of another language. When talking about the use of swear words in this video, speaker S1-f said:

25 S1-f: On today (.) today's television it's only funny. Dicks are mentioned
26 all the time.

The use of foul language on television, especially in the cultural products imported from the United States, makes this language less and less a taboo. Add to that the already mentioned increased use of swearing in everyday Serbian language and the tradition of subtitling foreign programmes and it is clear that profanities are no longer perceived as very offensive. However, speaker S6-f shifted the audience frame towards typical viewers of cartoon programmes and said she found this to be unsuitable for the children who watch the cartoon. While this might be true, it needs to be said that *South Park* is an adult programme and is not meant to be viewed by children under 17.

One more possible reason for the low offensiveness ratings comes to mind and that is, since this was the last video of the interview, the participants were familiar with the task and they knew that they had to explain their answers. Perhaps, even if they did find that poking fun at Mencia's 'manhood' was offensive, they opted for not expressing it in order to save face and avoid talking about the issue.

5.8 The song

For the U-group, the parody of West's hit single 'Heartless' was probably the most successful humour instance in the entire episode. During the screening of the entire episode, every participant except U7-m laughed at the song and reiterated their amusement again in the interview. On the other hand, in the S-group, participants S2-f, S3-m and S5-m did not know that this was a spoof of West's original song, although S5-m guessed that this was the point. There is a perceivable age difference in reactions to this example. While the majority of the U-group recognized the original song and was very much amused by the parody, the S-group members were only semi-successful in discerning that this was a parody, although they all laughed when the song started. What is more, S2-f thought the whole idea was stupid and S5-m said that the authors went too far with this because the point had already been made. He pointed out the locking of eyes between Kanye and a fish:

36 [...] kažem što se mene tiče su tu preterali iz prostog razloga što je
37 uhvatio tu taj pogled ribe <2>@@@</2>

(trans.) I say as far as I am concerned they went too far here simply because he caught that fish's
eye <2>@@@</2>

Again, Kanye West as the butt of the joke proved to be successful for the Serbian audience. Regardless of whether the celebrity is Serbian or famous worldwide, a Serbian audience does not usually tolerate arrogance. Although it is not the case that Kanye does not have any fans in Serbia, many of those who know about him and his position seem to dislike him. Therefore, examples of humour taken from this episode that included mockery of Kanye West proved to be the most successful ones in terms of humour appreciation, especially for the U-group:

13 U1-f: That was great (.) the funniest part (2) that's the ultimate putdown.
14 Imagine Kanye (.) so arrogant rapping about gay fishes @@ classic (2)
15 they ripped heartless apart plus the autotune @@@

The S-group participants appreciated this type of humour on a more general level. Speaker S3-m said that seeing a rapper rapping about being a gay fish is funny, while S4-m and S7-f

appreciated the ridicule of modern music, especially the excessive use of auto-tune and the senselessness of lyrics in so many songs:

21 S7-f: Yeah I know (.) it's heartless of Kanye West and (.) I didn't
22 recognize it at the beginning when the beat started (.) and I figured the
23 episode would end with him jumping into the water and then when they
24 started with the autotune and the melody of the song (.) I realized it was
25 his song and (.) the lyrics were ridiculous (.) especially the part with (.)
26 feeling like a whore in the frozen isle @@ that was so funny. I don't know
27 (.) I think it was a good parody (.) especially because Kanye West uses
28 autotune all the time and (.) it's something that has been used in modern
29 music (.) too much in my opinion so I really like (.) how they (.) they
30 overautotuned everything in this parody of his song so (.) it's a really good
31 parody.

This example was somewhat dependent on the cultural knowledge of the audience, but the results have showed that it is also possible to find humour in it without knowing the underlying message.

5.9 Comparison of gender results

The questionnaire and interview answers have been analyzed in the previous sections so the comparison of data for the two genders will be presented without the repeated detailed analysis of responses. The sample was reorganized and divided into two clusters according to gender, disregarding the age difference. There were 8 female and 6 male participants, so the data will be shown in percentages. The funniness ratings are presented in Table 23:

Table 23. Comparison of funniness ratings according to gender

Funniness								
	Not funny		A little funny		Funny		Extremely funny	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Video 1	16.67%	12.5%	50%	25%	16.67%	62.5%	16.67%	-
Video 2	33.33%	25%	16.67%	37.5%	50%	12.5%	-	25%
Video 3	16.67%	37.5%	66.67%	50%	16.67%	12.5%	-	-
Video 4	16.67%	50%	16.67%	-	50%	37.5%	16.67%	12.5%
Video 5	33.33%	-	16.67%	12.5%	33.33%	62.5%	16.67%	12.5%
Video 6	16.67%	37.5%	16.67%	25%	-	37.5%	66.67%	-

When examining the data presented in Table 23, there does not seem to be much variation between male and female groups. There was usually slight variation whether the video was perceived as a little funny or funny, but the only differences that stand out are responses to Video 4 and Video 6. While only one male participant did not find Video 4 to be humorous, four of the female interviewees did not laugh and did not appreciate it. Male comments on this video usually included the scene setting in the bathroom, while girls mostly talked about it only when asked and focused on the slurs against Jews.

Another example is Video 6. While only one male interviewee did not appreciate this type of humour, three females rated it ‘not funny’. The rest of the girls opted for either ‘a little’ or ‘funny’, almost evenly. On the other hand, the majority of males thought the video was extremely funny (66.67%). Again, their comments showed a better understanding of male ‘issues’ and usually mentioned Mencia’s alleged sexual dysfunction when elaborating on their answers. Females did not find poking fun at a man’s sexuality extremely funny and they mostly did not even mention that aspect of the video.

The data for the offensiveness scale is shown in table 24:

Table 24. Comparison of offensiveness ratings according to gender

Offensiveness								
	Not offensive		A little offensive		Offensive		Extremely offensive	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Video 1	33.33%	62.5%	33.33%	37.5%	33.33%	-	-	-
Video 2	100%	87.5%	-	12.5%	-	-	-	-
Video 3	83.33%	87.5%	16.67%	12.5%	-	-	-	-
Video 4	33.33%	12.5%	33.33%	50%	33.33%	25%	-	12.5%
Video 5	83.3%	87.5%	16.67%	12.5%	-	-	-	-
Video 6	16.67%	25%	66.67%	37.5%	16.67%	37.5%	-	-

What is striking about the data in this table is that nothing is striking. The answers are virtually the same with only slight variations in the degree of offensiveness. Another interesting observation is that the majority of answers is either ‘not offensive’ or ‘a little offensive’. Many participants revealed in their evaluations that their answers have been influenced by the fact that these scenes were taken from *South Park*, so perhaps if the material for the study had been a different show or a movie, their perceptions might be different. Also, it should be noted that interpretations in the frame of ‘film viewer’ might be different from perceptions of real life situations.

When talking about the scene setting, four male participants advocated the position that having a conversation in the bathroom while someone is using it is not common practice while the other two did not notice anything strange. To illustrate this, I will use two excerpts from the interviews:

5 U2-m: Da kao neko spopadanje @

(trans.) U2-m: Yeah like some kind of ambush @

- 4 S3-m: Sve @@ Ulaziš u WC dok jedan ovaj (.) dok čovek piša i prilaziš
 5 nešto da ga pitaš (.) da meni neko tako pride nešto da me pita (.) alo
 6 majmune jesi normalan (.) i to kao (.) beži napolje ovaj ostaje ovde kao
 7 normalno (.) kao da mu ništa nije rekao čovek i postavlja svoje pitanje

(trans.) Everything @@ You go into the toilet while someone um (.) while the guy pisses and you approach him to ask something (.) if someone came up to me like that to ask me something (.) hey idiot are you insane (.) and like (.) get out of here he stays like everything's normal (.) like the guy didn't say anything and asks his question

U2-m characterizes the event as an ambush and finishes the utterance with an uncomfortable laugh. He would not have mentioned the issue if he had not been asked, which shows that he was probably uncomfortable discussing this with a female interviewer. In addition, his answer was very short and he avoided addressing the location or action verbally.

On the other hand, S3-m was very vocal about his evaluation of the situation. He used the orthophemistic term 'WC' and used a dysphemistic term 'pišati' when talking about the location and action. He also put himself into Kyle's position and expressed how annoyed he would be if something like that happened to him ('hey idiot are you insane'). The fact that his answer to this question is rather long and even angry in a sense could be one of the reasons why he chose the dysphemistic term when talking with a female interviewer.

In the female group, some of the answers show that they imagine that that is how guys behave in the restroom, similar to women who usually go together and talk. On the other hand, S7-f specifically said that she found that strange but was not sure whether that is something that men do while in the bathroom:

- 11 S7-f: Well (.) I do think it's kind of (.) weird that (.) someone is peeing
 12 and then someone just comes and starts talking (.) and they say dude get
 13 out of here I'm peeing but they just disregard that and keep talking (.) but
 14 then on the other hand I'm not really sure how guys act (.) in the
 15 bathroom but (.) I personally wouldn't like anyone talking to me (.)
 16 especially with (.) because they have these (.) urinals (.) and they're kind
 17 of peeing in the open (.) in my personal opinion.

The only participant who appeared to be uncomfortable with the topic of conversation was S2-f, who made several pauses in her talk trying to think of the proper way to express herself and laughed uncomfortably after saying 'pisoar' (urinal):

- 2 S2-f: Pa dobro ono kao (.) on kaže izlazi vidiš da piškim (.) u stvari to je
3 pisoar ono mislim @@@@ [...]

(trans.) Well OK like (.) he says get out of here you see I'm peeing (.) actually that's a urinal like I mean @@@@ [...]

She also used several mitigating linguistic devices in such a short utterance ('pa', 'ono kao', 'ono' and 'mislim'). Next, she switched immediately to talking about other events in the clip without being asked to, showing that she did not want to discuss this topic.

When discussing Video 6, only three male participants directly addressed the issue with Mencia's penis and bodily functions. However, even they avoided to use a personal perspective and opted to imitate the Mencia character by using direct speech:

- 10 U3-m: Pa: I've got no dick man (2) i:: i ono (2) krade fore (.) možda bih
11 (.) možda bih zbog toga stavio da je pomalo uvredljivo [...]

(trans.) Well I've got no dick man (2) and and that (2) steals jokes (.) maybe I would (.) maybe I would put a little offensive because of that [...]

U3-m found the accusation that Mencia stole a joke more offensive than his alleged lack of penis. Speaker S3-m tried to imitate Mencia's line but did not manage to reproduce it correctly:

- 12 Druga stvar ono klasično meksičko man I have no balls man dick man (2)
13 tek to mislim kad krene ono sve (.) I'm not funny I steal jokes (.) pee in a
14 plastic bag (.) have no dicks man.

S3-m made an error which he promptly corrected when saying "I have no balls man dick man". After saying that, he made a longer pause and then listed other things he found funny and repeated that Mencia said that he did not have a penis. Again, he made another mistake by adding a plural suffix to the noun 'dick', which could be another indicator that he was not entirely comfortable talking about this and he started making grammatical mistakes. Speaker S4-m tried hard to avoid using any face-harming terms even when asked directly:

- 6 I: Što se tiče njegove seksualnosti?
7 S4-m: Pa da (.) svih (.) što se tiče svih tih eksplicitnosti koje su bile.

(trans.) I: Regarding his sexuality?

S4-m: Well yes (.) all the (.) regarding all the explicit events that occurred.

S4-m hesitated when answering a direct question whether he referred to Mencia's sexuality in his previous comment. He paused in search for a safe term and then decided to avoid talking about the terms used or the entire conversation and put it all under the umbrella term 'eksplicitnosti'.

On the other hand, the female group did not address the issue and they talked about it only when asked. They did not try to imitate the character at all and only S1-f felt free to use the term 'dick'. What is more, her perception of things was a bit curious:

25 S1-f: On today (.) today's television it's only funny. Dicks are mentioned
26 all the time.

29 S1-f: Well it's funny because in correlation with fishsticks (.) they mention
30 it all the time it's funny. It's funny but it's always like the last resort for
31 people who are begging for mercy (.) I have no dick or (.) I have family to
32 feed.

Personally, I have not had the chance to watch any other programme in which the character begs for mercy by stating that he has no penis. Another interesting point is that she equated this type of plea with 'I have family to feed' as if these two had the same strength.

U1-f used the technique 'respond to a question with a question' in order to avoid actually responding:

8 I: And what about the sexual aspect of it?
9 U1-f: Yeah I'm not sure if that's true or?

Other female participants who addressed the issue used different euphemistic expressions, e.g. male parts (S7-f), sexual allusions, the thing (U4-f) and those words (S6-f).

In terms of humour identification, the results were similar for the two gender groups. However, half of the female group correctly identified the humour instance in Video 2, while none of the male participants did. Although 50% of the male group rated this video as 'funny', none of them pointed out the 'wagon' joke as the source of humour for them. Their

answers revolved more around the situation of the entire episode and Cartman's character. Video 5 was perfectly understood by the entire sample of respondents, even those who had not watched *South Park* before. The example was very simple and it was expected to be understood. Similar expectations were made for Video 1, but one female participant is considered not to have understood the example entirely because she explained that the joke was on the entire celebrity scene and not only on Kanye West because of his arrogant attitude. She lacked the cultural knowledge to understand this because, even though she had heard of West, she did not know anything about him or his career.

As far as the 'Heartless' parody is concerned, the joke fired more for the female group. Seven girls found it funny, some of them even claimed that this had been the best part of the episode. On the other hand, the male group was divided, with three who opted for funny and three who did not like it. Only one male participant did not recognize the parody as opposed to five who did. In the female group, five members understood the point, while three did not.

5.10 Disfluencies and other features of speech

There were various speech disfluencies noticed in participants' interviews. Various breaks and irregularities in speech are described under the term speech disfluencies and these include false starts (words and sentences that are cut off mid-utterance), fillers (mostly non-lexical utterances, such as "um" and "well" in English), repetitions, reparations (corrections of mispronunciations, etc.), prosody (intonation, rhythm and stress), etc. Chomsky considers disfluencies as evidence that there is a difference between linguistic competence and performance of a speaker (1965: 4). This position was contested by numerous linguists, particularly those who believe that the distinction between the ideal language (competence) and the actual production (performance) is not relevant for studying the role of language in everyday life (e.g. Fillmore, 1979). In this sense, disfluencies are not flaws in communication, but rather an integral part of communication that carries valuable information.

According to Clark & Wasow (1998), disfluencies can be seen as either the result of speaker strategies and thus under speaker control, or as an involuntary phenomena that is beyond speaker control. If believed to be used purposefully, disfluencies are a useful tool when communication becomes problematic. For example, fillers can be used when a longer delay in speech is expected and unfilled pauses when the interruption is expected to be brief.

In this study, these linguistic features would usually appear when participants were either unsure of, or uncomfortable with what they were meant to do or say. For example, in some cases, participants were not sure whether just simply answering the question would be enough to fulfil the task, which is indicated in the following example:

- 22 U1-f: [...] the dude tried to explain the
23 joke but he doesn't get it and kicks his ass? what else do you want me to
24 say?

The rising intonation in this example indicates that the speaker sees her account of events as subjective and a certain level of uncertainty about her level of knowledge. The use of fillers ‘well’ and ‘um’ in English and ‘pa, ‘um’, ‘ovaj’, ‘ono’ and ‘kao’ in Serbian shows that participants are not always certain about what they are saying or going to say. These markers also serve as a method of ‘buying time’ to consolidate one’s thoughts or as a way of connecting one’s response to the preceding question without yielding control of the dialogue. This is also in line with Livant’s (1963) finding that fillers have an antagonistic function in that they increase speakers’ control of the conversation, but reduce their production quality.

Speaker U1-f was generally unsure of her role as an interviewee and some of her answers showed that uncertainty. When talking about video 3, she marked that the video was a little funny but then could not actually identify in the interview what was funny and just stated that she did not find it very funny. Also, the rising intonation underlined her uncertainty in this conversation. When asked whether she found the video offensive, she got confused again:

- 3 I: Was it offensive?
4 U1-f: No: well if you count the turd @@ I don't know.
5 I: Well do YOU find it offensive?
6 U1-f: For me? or or

In this example, even I as an interviewer used a prosodic device in order to stress the pronoun ‘you’ and show that what I needed her to say was her personal opinion.

Speaker U2-m also had some problems expressing himself. His answers contain several false starts, syllable prolongations and discourse markers such as ‘ono’ and ‘kao’:

- 3 U2-m: **Pa::** opet **ono** ta (.) **kao** Erikova (.) **ta njego- ta njegova** mašta **počev**
 4 **od stvaranja tih** (.) kako on ulepšava sve u svoju korist i uvek te neke
 5 komplimente nestvarne @
 (trans.) **We::ll** again **like** that (.) **like** Eric's (.) **tha- that** imagination of his **starting with creating**
these (.) how he embellishes everything to suit him and always these unrealistic
 compliments @

He did not ask any clarifying questions and he seemed to understand what the task was. The problem appeared to be in what he was saying, as if he was not sure how to express his thoughts. The experimental situation of the interview made him uncomfortable, which was also evident in his behaviour. When the interview was over, he immediately got up and moved away from the computer.

The S-group used much less 'redundant' language and they seemed clearer in what they wanted to say than the U-group. They did not use many discourse markers. The most frequent occurrences in their talk were false starts, when they would start a sentence but decide that different wording would better suit their purpose. The only exception to this was speaker S2-f who abundantly used prolongations (pa:), discourse markers ('ono kao', 'ono', 'kao', 'znači', 'nemam pojma'), verba sentiendi ('mislim'), repetitions ('da da da') and repeatedly started sentences in one manner but ended them in another. She did not appear to be uncomfortable or unsure of her task, so this could probably be attributed to her insecurity about what she wanted to say.

6. Summary of findings

This thesis has set out to give some initial answers to the questions of humour comprehension and appreciation in a foreign language. As the sample of participants in this study is small and the investigation has been mostly qualitative, it should be noted that the results cannot be considered general but primarily revealing individual perceptions that differ from one person to another. Another issue is that the pool of humour examples is narrow as it was taken from a particular episode of an animated TV show. However, one of the goals was to examine whether there are some noticeable tendencies that could be left to future research.

The results of the study show that Serbian EFL speakers demonstrate a satisfactory level of understanding and interpretation of humour in English. The examples that were culturally sensitive were interpreted correctly in most cases and when participants did not have the necessary cultural knowledge, they usually managed to infer enough data from the context to be able to enjoy the humour. Interestingly, the two examples that were not comprehended correctly did not have much cultural charge and those were videos 2 and 3. In Video 2, the boys are in the cafeteria discussing Cartman's role in the creation of the joke. The targeted humour instance in this example was the so-called 'wagon' joke, when Craig says: "If I had wheels, I'd be a wagon." Although this is a reference to a *Star Trek* movie, recognition of this is not essential for the comprehension and appreciation of the humorous saying, so having this bit of cultural knowledge was not relevant. What is more, the Serbian language also has several similar sayings which are also examples of humour. For this reason, it was expected that more participants would recognize this, but that was not the case. Video 3 was the example that was considered to be the most difficult to discern because, at the surface, the dialogue between Cartman and Jimmy looks like an 'ordinary' conversation, typical for these characters. However, in it, Cartman unintentionally alludes to himself and his actions when he says of Mencia: "Some fat turd is taking credit for something he didn't do." Many participants did not notice this and they just interpreted the video as if it was aiming to offend Mencia. Overall, it can be said that the level of joke competence with these EFL speakers is relatively high, but what needs to be researched further is how speakers acquire this aspect of linguistic competence in a foreign language and how it can be taught.

There was not much perceivable difference between genders in comprehending and appreciating the selected humour examples. The only noticeable difference in comprehension was in the case of Video 2 and the 'wagon' joke, where 50% of the female group identified the humour instance correctly while no male members did. The reason for this is unknown,

especially since many male members remembered the similar sayings in Serbian after I specifically asked or told them. As far as the appreciation of humour goes, it could be said that females appreciated this example a little more, although 50% of male respondents rated this video as funny, even if for reasons other than the 'wagon' joke. Video 5 was appreciated more by the female group and Video 6 was rated higher by the male group. Mitchell (1985: 172-3) stated that men tend to tell obscene jokes, religious jokes, ethnic and racial jokes, jokes about death and jokes about drinking, while women prefer to tell absurd jokes, morbid jokes, jokes about authority figures and jokes based on wordplay and language in general. This statement is backed up by these results because men rated Video 6 (Mencia joke) the highest of all examples and this is an example of obscene and ethnic joke in one. On the other hand, females chose Video 2 which is a joke that plays on language primarily and Video 5 (Cartman's imagination) which is an example of absurdity. There is also a slightly higher funniness rating of Video 1 by females and this is simultaneously a wordplay (the 'Fishsticks' joke) and a joke about authority figures. In this case, the authority figure would be Kanye West because of his celebrity status. Another feature that seems to stand out from these results is that women prefer incongruity based humour while men enjoy examples of hostility humour.

In the area of offensiveness, both Serbian males and females demonstrated a surprising level of tolerance. Almost all of the answers were in the 'not offensive' or 'a little offensive' area, with comments claiming that they do not really mind the offensive bit but that they are rating it a little offensive because someone who does not watch *South Park* could interpret it differently. This sort of framing has been discussed by Tannen (1993) and her conclusion was that participants frame their task of discussing films or series so that they are aware that they are talking about fictional events and characters. Therefore, their answers regarding the situations from an animated series may not be the same were those situations actual events from real life. Again, in line with Mitchell's statement about gender preferences when it comes to humour, men tended to rate Video 1 higher on the offensive scale than women who actually appreciated this example more. Also, women rated Video 6 (Mencia joke) slightly more offensive than men did and this is also in accordance with humour preferences.

In terms of humour identification and appreciation according to participants' age, it appeared that the older group was somewhat better equipped to identify and interpret the examples used in this study. They demonstrated a better understanding of examples 2, 3, 4 and 6, while the results for Video 5 were identical (100%) and only one member of the S-

group did not fully comprehend the point of Video 1. One of the reasons for this is that S-group English skills are higher because most of them had had more training (three of them are English students). Linguistic issues could have been at play with the comprehension of the selected humour in Video 4 since, although they did notice that the joke was on Jews, they did not realize that Cartman's phrases 'Jew me out' and 'Jew defence moves' were not part of the standard English vocabulary and this is what makes them funny. In the case of the 'wagon' joke, it appears that many of the younger participants were not familiar with the Serbian correlate sayings nor did they find this humour instance funny on its own. All but one U-group member failed to discern the humour in Cartman's 'fat turd' statement. The comprehension of Video 6 is also on the side of the S-group because they tended to notice the verbal aspect (language and ridicule of Mencia's accent and tone of voice) of the example more. However, it must be noted that this example was the most taboo charged example of the study and, therefore, it is possible that U-group members also noticed these aspects but avoided talking about them due to face concerns.

Generally speaking, there was not much difference between the two age groups in terms of culturally charged examples and it could be claimed that the primary reason for any difference at all is the linguistic factor. When it comes to appreciation of the examples, the only noticeable difference was the case of Video 2, which is in line with the comprehension results. Given that the younger audience did not really understand that the 'wagon' joke was the punchline of this video, they perceived this example as just a serious conversation and consequently did not rate it as funny. On the other hand, the funniness ratings for this example are much higher for the S-group. Video 3 was also rated slightly higher on the funniness scale by the S-group, which is in line with the fact that they had been more successful in interpreting this example. Similarly to Video 2, the U-group usually perceived this dialogue as an ordinary conversation and those who did find it humorous usually commented on offending Mencia or Cartman's behaviour towards Jimmy.

When asked about offensiveness, the S-group was slightly less tolerant. The most striking difference was perceived in Video 4 with no S-group members rating it inoffensive as opposed to four such rates in the U-group. There are several possible reasons for this. First of all, the U-group members have not yet taken the history course on World War II at this point, except for a very brief one in elementary school. Therefore, it is possible that they are not that sensitive to the issue of Jewish people. On the other hand, some S-group members mentioned the war in their answers. Another reason could be that the U-group shows more tolerance

towards *South Park* humour as they have practically grown up with it. The S-group members, who are my peers, grew up watching Disney movies and Hannah and Barbera cartoons. Video 6 was also rated slightly higher on the offensiveness scale by the S-group and their comments often included the use of foul language as quite inappropriate for the younger audience. The younger audience mostly found this video a little offensive or inoffensive and only one person marked 'offensive'.

Finally, in terms of humour categories, the sample of participants had least problems identifying and comprehending the humour examples in videos 1 and 5. Ridicule of a worldwide famous celebrity, wordplay and ridicule of one's complexes through absurd exaggeration was almost perfectly understood. Somewhat lesser but still satisfactory level of comprehension was demonstrated in cases of videos 4 and 6. Video 3 was not understood by almost 65% of the sample and Video 2 by nearly 79%. These two examples posed the greatest challenges for the participants of this study in terms of comprehension. Video 3 contains an allusion, which was missed by most of the interviewees, and Video 2 is an example of a humorous witticism, which has also passed undetected by a great majority of the group. Both of these examples required heightened attention in order to be detected and, even though the whole episode was played before replaying the selected clips, most interviewees still missed them. If we disregard the fact that not everyone can identify every single humour instance correctly at all times, one of the reasons for these results could be the stress due to the experimental nature of the interview. Some participants may have been too nervous to discern these subtler humour examples and some may have tried too hard to focus on remembering the events in videos. Either way, it does not seem that failures to identify these two humour examples were caused by a lack of language skills.

7. Conclusion

The objective of this study was to give some insight in humour perception, interpretation and appreciation of speakers of foreign language. The empirical study was performed on 14 Serbian speakers of English as a foreign language. They were shown the 'Fishsticks' episode from the 13th season of the US animated TV show *South Park* and then asked to rate and comment on the humour and offensiveness of seven selected examples. The examples show different types of humour and some of them touch upon the taboo topics of male sexuality and ethnic stereotyping.

The starting assumption was that learning a foreign language develops one's joke competence and humour competence in that language. These competences allow the speakers to determine whether a text is a joke and whether it is meant to be humorous or not. The study was based on the adaptation of a 7-point Likert scale and particular focus was placed on humour comprehension and appreciation, as well as on the perception of offensiveness of these examples. Participants reacted differently to the artificial nature of the interview and adopted different strategies when talking about potentially face-threatening topics. They also demonstrated a lot of individual opinions and interpretations of the replayed scenes so qualitative analysis proved to be the best option for examining the data.

For the purpose of the investigation of the six research questions, the sample was analyzed as a whole with special attention paid to the difference between the two age groups and then reclustered into two groups according to their gender. In the analysis of the two age groups, it was discovered that the older group showed a slightly higher level of comprehension and a tendency to rate examples as more offensive than the younger group. The younger respondents also showed greater insecurity towards the task and asked more questions for clarification even after detailed instructions. This showed their discomfort when put in an experimental interview situation with an older interviewer who they might perceive as figure of authority. The analysis of the answers according to gender showed that, in line with Mitchell's (1985) claim, the female group appreciated more jokes based on authority ridicule and language play, while the males preferred obscene and ethnic jokes. The female group also showed a greater comprehension for humour based on language. Overall, the differences observed according to age or gender were minor.

When analyzing the entire sample, it was evident that humour examples of videos 2 and 3 were the most difficult to identify and interpret. In terms of funniness, Video 5 and the

'Heartless' parody were the most appreciated. The group did not find the examples much offensive, but Video 4 had the highest offensiveness ratings of all. Most participants offered some sort of an interpretation of the events in the scenes as backup for their answers. In addition, a lot of interviewees repeatedly mentioned their knowledge of the *South Park* show and justified their answers with this.

The study used Veatch's (1998) Theory of Humour and Zillmann and Cantor's (1976) affective disposition model. The results were in line with this model, meaning that when the participants disliked the characters who were butts of jokes in videos, the ratings for funniness increased and offensiveness decreased. In the opposite case, the videos were rated as either not funny or a little funny and offensiveness was rated higher. Although Veatch's theory explains why some videos could be perceived as funny and some not, it does not give a perfect explanation for the cases in which videos were rated both funny and offensive. However, Veatch's theory seems to be focusing on what one finds subjectively offensive, that is, offensive to that person, whereas this study mostly offered examples of "general" offensiveness or political correctness. People who are not Jewish may also find that jokes about Jews are offensive or, in the least, impolite. Tannen (1993: 16) draws attention to the fact that knowledge about the world is organized according to personal experience which is closely linked to the culture(s) in which we have lived our lives. In other words, different stimuli may evoke different frames for members of different cultures. Another point Tannen makes (1993: 30) is that fictional events and characters may inspire different reactions than real-life situations would.

This study has also demonstrated the importance of cultural transfer in the world today. Schiller's (1973) Cultural Imperialism Theory is maybe even more relevant now than it was 35 years ago, with Internet becoming the main source of news and entertainment. According to this theory, Western nations dominate the media worldwide and thus have a very strong impact on other cultures. As mentioned before, Serbia is mainly influenced by US cultural products in the domain of entertainment. This has resulted in a development of a sort of a cross-cultural competence of Serbian audience where it has become familiar with the American culture and way of life, but also with American stereotypes. However, the answers of the selected group of participants showed that knowing about the culture does not necessarily entail adopting its ways (e.g. taboos, stereotypes). In order to better test this finding, a comparative study with the US audience as the reference group should be undertaken.

Compared to other studies in humour research, this study is taking a new course in investigating humour development in a foreign language. Despite its limited scope, it has managed to show that joke and humour competences are quite developed at higher levels of proficiency. However, there are many other issues that remain to be addressed by future research. Primarily, a similar study could be conducted on a much larger sample, with greater differences in age (more age clusters within the sample) and foreign language proficiency. Also, further research could pay more attention on subjects' socio-cultural background or include many more humour types. Logically, studies could be done with subjects with L1 other than Serbian and with foreign language other than English. Another possibility is to conduct a study in which the answers of foreign language speakers would be compared to those of native speakers of that language. The field of language teaching could also benefit from studies in this direction.

References

- Alexander, Richard J. 1997. *Aspects of Verbal Humour in English*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Allan, Keith; Burridge, Kate. 1991. *Euphemism and Dysphemism. Language used as shield and weapon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allan, Keith; Burridge, Kate. 2006. *Forbidden Words. Taboo and the Censoring of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Apte, Mahadev L. 1985. *Humor and Laughter. An Anthropological Approach*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 1993. Violations of conversational maxims and cooperation: The case of jokes. *Journal of Pragmatics* 19(1). 537–558.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 1994. *Linguistic Theories of Humor*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 1997. The semantic foundations of cognitive theories of humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 10(4). 395–420.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 1998. The analysis of humorous narratives. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 11(3). 231–260.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 2002. Translation and humor. An approach based on the General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH). *The Translator* 8(2). 171–192.
- Attardo, Salvatore. 2008. A primer for the linguistics of humor. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 101–155. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Attardo, Salvatore; Raskin, Victor. 1991. Script theory revis(it)ed: Joke similarity and joke representation model. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 4(3/4). 293–347.
- Ayto, John; Simpson, John. 1993. *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berns, Margie. 2007. The presence of English: Sociocultural, acquisitional, and media dimensions. In M. Berns, K. de Bot & U. Hasebrink (eds.), *In the Presence of English: Media and European Youth*, 1–14. New York: Springer.
- Bernstein, Ignaz; Segel, B. W. 1908. *Jüdische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Frankfurt: Germany.
- Billig, Michael. 2005. *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Binsted, Kim; Ritchie, Graeme. 2001. Towards a model of story puns. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 14(3). 275–292.
- Bogićević Milikić, Biljana; Janićijević, Nebojša. 2009. HRM trends in transition economies: Two reflections on the shared background. *Sociologija* 51(2). 157–176.
- Brône, Geert; Feyaerts, Kurt; Veale, Tony. 2006. Introduction: Cognitive linguistic approaches to humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 19(3). 203–228.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2002. *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage Publications.
- Cantor, Joanne. 1976. What is funny to whom? The role of gender. *Journal of Communication* 26(3). 164–172.
- Carrell, Amy. 1993. “Audience/community, situation, and language: A linguistic/rhetoric theory of verbal humor”. Phd thesis. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University.
- Carrell, Amy. 1997. Joke competence and humor competence. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 10(2). 173–185.
- Carrell, Amy. 2008. Historical views of humour. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 303–332. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Catanescu, Codruta; Tom, Gail. 2001. Types of humor in television and magazine advertising. *Review of Business* 22(1/2). 92–95.
- Chapman, Anthony; Foot, Hugh (eds.). 1976. *Humour and laughter: theory, research and applications*. Chichester: Wiley
- Chapman, Anthony J.; Gadfield, Nicholas J. 1976. Is sexual humor sexist? *Journal of Communication* 26(3). 141–153.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Clark, Herbert H. & Thomas Wasow. 1998. Repeating Words in Spontaneous Speech. *Cognitive Psychology*, vol. 37, pp. 201–242.
- Collinson, David. 1988. Engineering humor: Masculinity, joking and conflict in shop floor relations. *Organization Studies* (9). 181–199.
- Croft, William; Cruse, Allan. 2004. *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David. 2001. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cuddon, John A. 1991. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. London: Penguin Books.
- Davies, Christie. 1982. Ethnic jokes, moral values, and social boundaries. *The British Journal of Sociology* 33: 383–403.
- Davies, Christie. 1988. Stupidity and rationality: Jokes from the iron cage. In Powell, Chris & Paton, George E.C. (eds.).
- Davies, Christie. 2008. Undertaking the comparative study of humor. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 157–182. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davis, Dineh. 2008. Communication and humor. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 569–608. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- De Cillia, Rudolf; Reisigl, Martin; Wodak, Ruth. 1999. “The discursive construction of national identities”. In *Discourse and Society* 10(2). 149–173.
- Delabastita, Dirk. 1996. *The Translator Studies in Intercultural Communication, Vol. 2: Wordplay and Translation*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Douglas, Mary. [1968] 1975. Jokes. In Douglas, Mary (1975) *Implicit Meanings*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Dörnyei, Zoltan. 2007. *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dundes, Alan. 1987. *Cracking Jokes: Studies of Sick Humor Cycles and Stereotypes*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.
- Feinberg, Leonard. 1978. *The Secret of Humour*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1979. On Fluency. In: Charles J. Fillmore, Daniel Kempler & William S.Y. Wang (eds.), *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 85–101.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1982. Frame semantics. In *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*. Seoul, Hanshin Publishing Co., 111–137.
- Fleet, F. R. 1970. *A Theory of Wit and Humour*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.
- Foley, William A. 1997. *Anthropological Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1905/1960. *Der Witz und seine beziehung zum Umbewussten*. Engl. trans. Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious. New York: Norton.
- Fry, William. 1992. The physiological effects of humor, mirth, and laughter. *Journal of the American Medical Association* (267). 1857–1858.
- Frymier, Ann Bainbridge; Wanzer, Melissa Bekelja. 1998. “Make ‘em laugh and they will learn: A Closer Look at the Relationship Between Perceptions of Instructors’ Humor

- Orientation and Student Learning". New York: Paper presented at the 84th Annual Meeting of the National Communication Association.
- Gagliardi, Cesare; Maley, Alan (eds.). 2010. *EIL, ELF, Global English: Teaching and Learning Issues*. Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang.
- Gooderham, Paul N.; Nordhaug, Odd. 2003. *International Management: Cross-Boundary Challenges*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Graddol, David. 2004. *The Future of English Next - Envisioning the future world of English language learning*. British Council.
- Gregory, Kimberly Weller; Zorn, Theodore. 1997. Friendship and organizational socialization: A study of first-year male medical students. Paper presented at the *National Communication Association Conference*. Chicago. November, 1-23.
- Greig, John Y. T. 1923, 1969. *The Psychology of Laughter and Comedy*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc.
- Grotjahn, Martin. 1957. *Beyond Laughter*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gruner, Charles R. 1978. *Understanding Laughter: The workings of Wit and Humor*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Gruner, Charles R. 1997. *The Game of Humor: A Comprehensive Theory on Why We Laugh*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Haig, Robin. 1988. *The Anatomy of Humor*. Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas.
- Hay, Jennifer. 2000. Functions of humor in the conversations of men and women. *Journal of Pragmatics* (32). 709–742.
- Hofstede, Geert H. 1991. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, Geert H. 2000. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations*, 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hymes, Dell. (ed.) 1964. *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Internet Movie Database: South Park. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0121955/> (2 May, 2011).
- Ioppi Chile, Daniela M. 1999. "The Sitcom Revisited: The Translation of Humor in a Polysemiotic Text." *Cadernos de Tradução*. Santa Catarina, Brazil: Núcleo de Tradução (NUT): Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. 167-204.
- Jauregui, Eduardo S. 1998. *Situating Laughter: Amusement, Laughter, and Humour in Everyday Life*. Florence, Italy: European University Institute Phd thesis.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1984. On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In Max Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of Social Action*, 346–369. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, Patrick J.; Solomon, Paul J. 1975. Humor in television advertising. *Journal of Advertising* 4(3). 31–35.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde. 1951. The Study of Culture. In Lerner D. (ed.), *The Policy Sciences*, 86–101. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kothoff, Helga. 2006. Pragmatics of performance and the analysis of conversational humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 19(3). 271–304.
- Kronenberger, Louis. 1972. *A Mania for Magnificence*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Labov, William. 1978. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lampert, Martin; Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 2006. Risky laughter: Teasing and self-directed joking among male and female friends. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38. 51–72.
- Lefcourt, Herbert M. 2001. *Humor: the psychology of living buoyantly*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers

- Leppihalme, Ritva. 1996. Caught in the frame. A target-culture viewpoint on allusive wordplay. *The Translator* 2(2). 199-218.
- Livant, William Paul. 1963. Antagonistic functions of verbal pauses: filled and unfilled pauses in the solution of additions. *Language and Speech*, vol. 6, part 1, pp. 1-4.
- Long, Debra L.; Graesser, Arthur C. 1988. *Wit and Humor in Discourse Processing*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co.
- Losco, Jean; Epstein, Seymour. 1975. Humor preference as a subtle measure of attitudes toward the same and the opposite sex. *Journal of Personality* 43(2). 321-334.
- Lynch, Owen H. 2002. Humorous communication: Finding a place for humor in communication research. *Communication Theory* 12(4). 423-445.
- Martin, Rod A. 2007. *The Psychology of Humor: An Integrative Approach*. Burlington, MA: Elsevier Academic Press.
- Martin, Rod A. 2008. Humor and health. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 479-522. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mateo, Marta. 1995. The translation of irony. In *Meta* 40 (1): 171-178.
- McGhee, Paul E. 1979. *Humor, its Origin and Development*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- McGhee, Paul E. 1999. *Health, Healing and the Amuse System: Humor as Survival Training*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Mead, Richard. 1998. *International Management: Cross-Cultural Dimensions*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Merriam-Webster English Dictionary. Online edition. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Inc. <http://www.merriam-webster.com> (July 28, 2011).
- Mindess, Harvey. 1971. *Laughter and Liberation*. Los Angeles: Nash Publishing.
- Mintz, Lawrence. 2008. Humor and popular culture. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 281-302. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mitchell, Carol. 1985. Some differences in male and female joke-telling. In R. A. Jordan & S. J. Kalcik (eds.), *Women's Folklore, Women's Culture*, 163-186. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Morreall, John. 1987. *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Morreall, John. 1989. Enjoying incongruity. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 2(1). 1-18.
- Morreall, John. 2008. Philosophy and religion. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 211-242. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mulkay, Mike. 1988. *On Humor: Its Nature and Its Place in Modern Society*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Nash, Walter. 1985. *The Language of Humour*. Harlow: Longman.
- Newmark, Peter. 1987. *A Textbook of Translation*. New York and London: Prentice Hall.
- Norricks, Neal R. 1993. *Conversational Joking. Humor In Everyday Talk*. Bloomington And Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Norricks, Neal R. 2003. Issues in conversational joking. *Journal of Pragmatics* 35 (9), 1333-1359.
- Nunn, Roger. 2005. Competence and teaching English as an International Language. *Asian EFL Journal* 7 (3). http://www.asian-efl-journal.com/September_05_rn.php, accessed on June 30, 2011.
- Núñez-Ramos, Rafael; Lorenzo, Guillermo. 1997. On the aesthetic dimension of humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 10 (105-116).
- Oring, Elliott. 2008. Humor in anthropology and folklore. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 183-210. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*: Online edition. Pearson Education Limited. <http://www.ldoceonline.com/> (June 8, 2011).
- Parker, Trey; Stone, Matt. 2009. *Fishsticks*. season 13 episode 5 (South Park). USA: Comedy Central.
- Pelikan, Johanna. 1986. "Die NS-Vergangenheit als Tabu-Thema in Österreich. Eine qualitative, textlinguistische Analyse des Hearings zum Präsidentschaftswahlkampf". In *Wiener Linguistische Gazette* 38/39, Universität Wien: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 77-93.
- Possenti, Sírío. 1998. *Os Humores da Língua*. Campinas: Mercado de Letras.
- Pym, Anthony. 1998. *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. 1949. White's view of a science of culture. In *American Anthropologist* 51, 503-512.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. 1965. "On Social structure" in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. New York: The Free Press.
- Rapp, Albert. 1951. *The Origin of Wit and Humor*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Rappoport, Leon. 2005. *Punchlines: The Case for Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Humor..* Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Raskin, Victor. 1985. *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.
- Raskin, Victor (ed.). 2008. *The Primer of Humor Research*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rawson, Hugh. 1991. *A Dictionary of Inveective: A Treasury of Curses, Insults, Put-downs and Other Formerly Unprintable Terms from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present*. London: Robert Hale.
- Ritchie, Graeme. 2010. Linguistic Factors in Humour. In Delia Chiaro (ed.), *Translation, Humour and Literature*, 33–48. London: Continuum.
- Rodriguez, Jayson. 2009. Kanye West asked to leave VMAs after rant against Taylor Swift. <http://www.mtv.com/news/articles/1621404/kanye-west-asked-leave-vm-as-after-rant-against-taylor-swift.jhtml> (10 July, 2011).
- Ruch, Willibald. 2008. Psychology of humor. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 17–100. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ruch, Willibald; Attardo, Salvatore; Raskin, Victor. 1993. Toward an empirical verification of the general theory of verbal humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 6(2). 123–136.
- Rutter, Jason. 1997. *Stand-Up as Interaction: Performance and Audience in Comedy Venues*. Salford, UK: University of Salford.
- Sagarin, Edward. 1968. *The Anatomy of Dirty Words*. New York: The Polyglot Press.
- Schiller, Herb J. 1973. *Communication and Cultural Domination*. White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press.
- Schmitz, John R. 2002. Humor as a pedagogical tool in foreign language and translation courses. *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, 15 (1), 89-113.
- Shibles, Warren. 1998. Humor Reference Guide. Online Project. <http://www.drbarbaramaier.at/shiblesw/humorbook/index.html> (2 June, 2011).
- Silverman, David. 2005. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage Publications.
- Snell-Hornby, Mary. 1988/1995. *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach Revised Edition*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Spears, Richard A. 2007. *Dictionary of American Slang and Colloquial Expressions*. Fourth edition. New York: McGraw Hill.

- Suls, Jerry M. 1972. A two-stage model for the appreciation of jokes and cartoons. In Jeffrey H. Goldstein and Paul E. McGhee (eds.), *The psychology of humour. Theoretical perspectives and empirical issues*. New York: Academic Press. 81–100.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1993. What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In Tannen, Deborah (ed.), *Framing in Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Triezenberg, Katrina E. 2008. Humor in literature. In Victor Raskin (ed.), *The Primer of Humor Research*, 523–542. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Trudgill, Peter; Hannah, Jean. 1994. *International English*. London: Arnold.
- Veatch, Thomas C. 1998. A theory of humor. *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 11(2). 161–216.
- Vinton, Karen. 1989. Humor in the workplace: It's more than telling jokes. *Small Group Behaviour*(20). 151–166.
- Weinberger, Marc G.; Gulas, Charles S. 1992. The impact of humor in advertising: A review. *Journal of Advertising* 4(21). 35–59.
- Whitehead, John W. 2009. Why is religion taboo in American schools? http://www.rutherford.org/articles_db/commentary.asp?record_id=579 (8 August, 2011).
- Wickberg, Daniel. 1998. *The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Wolff, H. A.; Smith C. E.; Murray, H. A. 1934. The psychology of humor: 1. A study of responses to race-disparagement jokes. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (28). 341–365.
- Yamaguchi, Haruhiko. 1988. How to pull strings with words: Deceptive violations in the garden-path joke. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12. 323–337.
- Zabalbeascoa, Patrick. Translating jokes for dubbed television situation comedies. In, *Delabastita (Ed.) 1996 – The Translator Studies in Intercultural*, 235–257.
- Zijderveld, Anton. 1983. The sociology of humor and laughter: An outstanding debt. *Current Sociology*, 31, 1-47.
- Zillmann, Dolf; Cantor, Joanne. 1976. Effect of timing of information about mitigating circumstances on emotional responses to provocation and retaliatory behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* (12). 38–55.
- Zillmann, Dolf; Stocking, S. Holly. 1976. Putdown humor. *Journal of Communication* 26(3). 154–163.
- Ziv, Avner. 1984. *Personality and Sense of Humor*. New York: Springer.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Section I: Personal Information

1. Age

2. Gender

☐ male

☐ female

3. What is your first language?

4. How would you describe your proficiency in English?

☐ almost native-like (C1/C2)

☐ an independent user (B1/B2)

☐ basic user (A1/A2)

☐ very low

Section II: Response to videos

1. Was the video funny?

- ☐ not at all
- ☐ a little
- ☐ it was funny
- ☐ it was extremely funny

2. Did you read the subtitle?

3. Was the video offensive?

- ☐ not at all
- ☐ a little
- ☐ it was offensive
- ☐ it was extremely offensive

UPITNIK

Deo 1: Lični podaci

1. Godine

2. Pol
 - ☐ muški
 - ☐ ženski
3. Koji je Vaš maternji jezik?

4. Kako biste opisali Vaše znanje engleskog jezika?
 - ☐ skoro kao maternji (C1/C2)
 - ☐ veoma dobro, mogu da komuniciram bez problema (B1/B2)
 - ☐ poznajem osnove engleskog jezika (A1/A2)
 - ☐ veoma loše

Deo II: Odgovor na snimak

1. Da li je snimak bio smešan?
 - ☐ ne, nimalo
 - ☐ pomalo
 - ☐ da
 - ☐ da, izuzetno je smešan
2. Da li ste čitali titlove?

3. Da li je video bio uvredljiv?
 - ☐ ne, nimalo
 - ☐ pomalo
 - ☐ da
 - ☐ da, izuzetno je uvredljiv

Appendix 2

Transcription conventions were adapted from the mark-up conventions used for the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English

(http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf, June 2, 2011).

Speaker ID	Speaker IDs are marked according to the age group they belong to (U or S), number 1 to 7 and letter m or f denoting their gender, e.g. S1-f, U5-m
Intonation	Utterances spoken with a rising intonation are marked with a question mark ‘?’; Utterances with a falling intonation that are denoting a complete (line of) thought are marked with a full stop ‘.’
Emphasis	Parts of speech that are given special emphasis are written in capital letters.
Pauses	Shorter pauses are marked with a full stop in brackets (.). Longer pauses are marked with a number of seconds in brackets (x).
Overlaps	When utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with numbered tags: <1> </1>, <2> </2>, ... Everything that is simultaneous gets the same number.
Lengthening	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon ‘:’, and exceptionally long sounds are marked with a double colon ‘::’

Repetition	All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.
Word fragments	A hyphen is used to mark where a part of the word is missing
Laughter	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number (e.g. ha ha ha = @@@).
Pronunciation variation	When the pronunciation of the word was given prominence, a phonetic representation was given between <ipa></ipa> tags.
Spelling out	The <spel> </spel> tag is used to mark words or abbreviations which are spelled out by the speaker.
Non-verbal feedback	Whenever information about it is available, non-verbal feedback is transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets < >.
Capitalization	All personal names are capitalized. When the speaker begins a new line of thought after finishing the previous with falling intonation, the first letter is capitalized.

Appendix 3

U1-f

Video 1

- 1 U1-f: @
2 I: OK, so what do you think about this one (.) um (.) this part?
3 U1-f: The whole thing or <1>just</1>
4 I: <1>No</1> just the part that I showed you because you're going to (.)
5 fill out each (.) one of these for <2>each short</2> one (.) just the short
6 one.
7 U1-f: <2>aha OK</2> it was funny (2) u:m
8 I: Was it offensive?
9 U1-f: No.
10 I: Not even a little?
11 U1-f: To Kanye West <3>yeah</3>
12 I: <3>but generally</3> not?
13 U1-f: No.
14 I: OK.
15 U1-f: (3) But I don't care about Kanye West <4>@@</4>
16 I: <4>now can you</4> (2) can you tell me what happened in the video?
17 U1-f: You want me to retell it?
18 I: Yes yes to retell it in your own words what happened and why did you
19 mark that in the questionnaire.
20 U1-f: Aha (2) u:m well he was on <spel>TV</spel> talking to I don't know who that dude
21 is probably someone famous and (2) interviewed about the joke because
22 he doesn't get it (.) that he is a gay fish @ the dude tried to explain the
23 joke but he doesn't get it and kicks his ass? what else do you want me to
24 say?
25 I: And why is it funny?
26 U1-f: Because he doesn't get it. He basically said DICK a bunch of times
27 and he still didn't get it.
28 I: So the misunderstanding of the joke that's what's funny?
29 U1-f: <nods> yeah. (4) And they're generally making fun of Kanye West.
30 I: OK.

Video 2

- 1 U1-f: @@@@ This one was really funny. (3) And no it wasn't
2 offensive. Should I tell you what happened?
3 I: Yeah.
4 U1-f: Still want me to retell it or just tell you what I think?
5 I: Retell it and then tell me what (.) <1>why</1>
6 U1-f: <1>OK</1> they're sitting in the cafeteria talking about who wrote
7 the joke and did Cartman write any of it um and of course he didn't (.)
8 Kyle figured it out (2) that he was only sitting there eating not twizzlers
9 but potato chips and Jimmy doesn't know what to do so (.) Kyle and who
10 is the kid? The one with the blue hat (2) cap um: they keep telling him to
11 (3) well (.) not to give anything to Cartman while the other dude is saying
12 that that he should give him half because that's just how Cartman is. And
13 the funny part is that (.) that would be everything that the dude in the
14 blue cap cap @@
15 I: What?
16 U1-f: If I had a wheel I'd be a wagon @@@@<2>@@</2>
17 I: <2>@@</2> Was that?
18 U1-f: I ono kao just give him half (.) don't ask me anything just give him
19 half @@
20 I: OK (.) but why is if I had a wheel I'd be a wagon <3>funny</3>?

21 U1-f: <3>@@</3>
 22 I: Why is that funny? What does that actually mean?
 23 U1-f: That's like <ipa>pə'teɪ tə pə'tætə</ipa> (.) because (.) it's Cartman so
 24 whatever Cartman want he gets so (.) if I had a wheel I'd be a wagon.

Video 3

1 I: Was that funny?
 2 U1-f: Um not that much. A little.
 3 I: Was it offensive?
 4 U1-f: No: well if you count the turd @@ I don't know.
 5 I: Well do YOU find it offensive?
 6 U1-f: For me? or or
 7 I: Not just to you but in general (.) I mean not if something is offending
 8 YOU but is it something that is generally offensive like if you have a joke
 9 about Jews or about crippled people do you find that offensive? It doesn't
 10 offend you personally but do you think that's offensive in general?
 11 U1-f: Then maybe just a little bit.
 12 I: OK so (3) so why it wasn't as funny as the other ones you watched?
 13 U1-f: Well (5) basically he just doesn't want to sign the the (2) the
 14 contract so <1>people could</1>
 15 I: <1>But could you</1> identify in the video which part is actually
 16 supposed to be funny?
 17 U1-f: I guess the (7) I don't know the Jimmy's part? I don't know I don't
 18 find it funny pretty much.
 19 I: OK.

Video 4

1 I: What do you think?
 2 U1-f: It was funny. Not extremely it was just funny. And it was offensive.
 3 Like (.) REALLY offensive. Like (.) if I was a Jew I would write a letter @@
 4 I: Why was it funny?
 5 U1-f: Um well it was funny because in South Park the racial jokes (2) are
 6 kinda like OK there so (2) I don't really (.) mind them at all that much.
 7 The the Jew thing (.) the the Jew defensive moves (2) what does that
 8 even mean? And the Cartman thing (.) that he still believes it's his joke (.)
 9 that's also kind of funny.
 10 I: And what about the <1>scene (.) the setting</1>? Yeah, the setting.
 11 U1-f: <1>dude I'm peeing</1> @@ that's funny.
 12 I: And why are you saying that it's EXTREMELY offensive?
 13 U1-f: Well because it is for the Jew. Jew defensive moves.
 14 I: Did you notice that he mentioned something else also?
 15 U1-f: Jew me out yeah like (.) con me.
 16 I: Yes, he basically made a word (.) a verb out of um (.) out of the name.
 17 U1-f: <nods>

Video 5

1 U1-f: Yeah it was funny (.) but was it offensive? hm (.) no.
 2 I: Can you retell it?
 3 U1-f: I think it's the first time he was trying to recall what was (.) what
 4 actually (.) how it actually went down. The fact that he mentions that he's
 5 not fat at all is really ridiculous and (.) then when the dragon comes in
 6 that just (.) didn't make sense at all. He made Jimmy (.) the first time he
 7 made it look like Jimmy only had come up with YEAH part @@
 8 I: What would you say (.) why was it funny exactly?
 9 U1-f: It's funny because of how they acted (.) the others (2) how they
 10 were all like (.) Cartman you're totally not fat at all (.) classic. And then
 11 the not fat (.) at all (.) then the dragon (2) and he's the most awesome

12 kid in school and he's totally not fat at all.
 13 I: And what would you say what type of humour that was?
 14 U1-f: Um: (4) Unreal? Unrealistic? Is there a name for it?
 15 I: No. Just what you think about it. What do you think that the writers'
 16 intention was when they put this?
 17 U1-f: To make Cartman look like (.) to portray Cartman like he actually is
 18 (.) kind of a liar and (4) he hates everything (.) he's egomaniac.

Video 6

1 I: First of all do you know the characters?
 2 U1-f: I guess that dude really is a comedian in real life (.) but I don't know
 3 him.
 4 I: What happened in the video?
 5 U1-f: It was funny yeah (2) not that funny (.) not extremely. Was it
 6 offensive yeah (.) totally. It was offensive (.) not extremely but. (3)
 7 Because of the Mexican and whatever (.) jokes. And the comedian jokes.
 8 I: And what about the sexual aspect of it?
 9 U1-f: Yeah I'm not sure if that's true or?
 10 I: I don't know. I also don't know who that guy is. (3) But why was it
 11 funny? You said it was funny and it was offensive but why is it funny? Is it
 12 funny because it's offensive or is it funny because of something else? For
 13 YOU.
 14 U1-f: It's funny because (.) I guess that dude really is a (.) comedian (.)
 15 but I don't know him so I can't really tell but if he really is a comedian it is
 16 funny because they are making a joke of him (.) like he's not really a
 17 comedian and he has to steal jokes then (.) the jokes about his thing (.)
 18 jokes about him not having the thing (.) and Kanye always saying I'm a
 19 genius who are you I'm a genius voice of a generation and whatever he
 20 said. And also him saying man man (.) made him look like (3) like all
 21 Mexicans talk like that (2) which is a little bit (.) dumb.

1 I: Did you pay attention to the subtitles?
 2 U1-f: This this time? Did I watch it this time or?
 3 I: Anytime (.) throughout the whole episode.
 4 U1-f: This time no (2) last time maybe. (3) Sometimes.
 5 I: What do you think of them (.) the subtitles? Did they help you to
 6 understand some of the jokes or some of the narrative of the show?
 7 U1-f: No. I just read them because (.) they catch my eye.
 8 I: OK. But did you notice anything about them (2) were they true to the
 9 original audio?
 10 U1-f: I don't think at all times. I think there were a couple mistakes but I
 11 wasn't really paying attention. I wasn't paying THAT much attention to it.
 12 I: And what do you think of the song?
 13 U1-f: That was great (.) the funniest part (2) that's the ultimate putdown.
 14 Imagine Kanye (.) so arrogant rapping about gay fishes @@ classic (2)
 15 they ripped heartless apart plus the autotune @@@

U2-m

Video 1

1 I: To je bio prvi. Da li možeš da mi (.) kao (.) prepričaš video?
 2 U2-m: Pa ovaj lik je (.) Kanje (.) došao kod ovog i on je kao objašnjavao
 3 šalu (.) i on je opet se uvredio (2) jer nije razumeo.
 4 I: Dobro. A šta je (2) konkretno bilo pomalo smešno? Šta je bilo smešno?
 5 U2-m: Pa najviše ono Kanjeovo Kanjeovo nerviranje. I nije bio uvredljiv.

Video 2

- 1 I: To je to. Da li je bilo smešno?
2 U2-m: Um (2) nije. @
3 I: Dobro. To su tvoja LIČNA viđenja. Dobro (.) znači
4 U2-m: Prepričavanje?
5 I: Zašto nije bilo smešno?
6 U2-m: Ne znam (.) jednostavno nije bilo nekih (.) posebnih šala.
7 I: OK.

Video 3

- 1 U2-m: Čekaj da vidim. Smešno je (2) da (.) uvredljivo pomalo.
2 I: Šta je bilo smešno?
3 U2-m: To je ono kad (2) to što je smešno se zapravo odnosi na celu
4 epizodu (.) mislim to celo ubeđivanje Kartmana kako Džimi (.) kako su
5 zajedno pisali a u stvari nisu (.) koliko on deluje uvereno u to.
6 I: A možeš li da identifikuješ u ovom (.) u konkretno ovom snimku što sam
7 ti sada pustila šta je ono u stvari <1>punchline</1>?
8 U2-m:<1>Da da</1> um:: (3) ne bih znao.
9 I: Šta bi najviše trebalo da bude smešno (.) pošto napravili su tu aluziju
10 U2-m: Razmišljam.
11 I: Pošto on priča o onom komičaru
12 U2-m: Da
13 I: I onda je rekao kao fat turd trying to take credit for something he didn't
14 do
15 U2-m: Da
16 I: I to je u stvari aluzija na njega samog (.) jer on radi isto to.
17 U2-m: Da da pa da. To je to.

Video 4

- 1 I: Šta je ovde bilo smešno?
2 U2-m: Pa ono opet ta (.) Kartmanova ubeđenost i ono (.) onaj odbrambeni
3 mehanizam od Jevreja.
4 I: A šta misliš o (.) celoj sceni (.) gde se dešava i to?
5 U2-m: Da kao neko spopadanje @
6 I: Da da

Video 5

- 1 U2-m: @@
2 I: Šta je smešno tu?
3 U2-m: Pa opet ono ta (.) kao Erikova (.) ta njego- ta njegova mašta počev
4 od stvaranja tih (.) kako on ulepšava sve u svoju korist i uvek te neke
5 komplimente nestvarne @
6 I: Leči komplekse
7 U2-m: Da da @

Video 6

- 1 I: Znači šta je smešno?
2 U2-m: Pa: ovde je doveo Kanje onog Meksikanca koji je kao smislio šalu
3 (.) i ništa ono preti mu da će da ga prebije ako mu ne objasni šta je tu
4 smešno i on tu onda priznaje kako je jadan @@@ i to je pomalo smešno i
5 Kanje koji je ono pun sebe konstantno (.) voice of a generation.
6 I: A da li možda znaš ovog komičara?
7 U2-m: Inače ovako? Ne.
- 1 I: Reci mi još samo za titlove (2) jesi li obraćao pažnju na njih

- 2 U2-m: Da.
 3 I: I? Jesu li pomogli?
 4 U2-m: Jesu jesu.
 5 I: A šta misliš o pesmi na kraju?
 6 U2-m: Aha (.) pa kul je (.) mislim baš su ga isprozivali @@
 7 I: Znaš li originalnu pesmu?
 8 U2-m: Da.

U3-m

Video 1

- 1 I: Možeš li da mi kažeš zbog čega si to obeležio? U stvari da li znaš koje su
 2 ličnosti bile?
 3 U3-m: Um: nisam siguran ko je ono (.) nije Džimi Kimel nije.
 4 I: Dobro on nije bitan ali znaš ko je Kanje Vest?
 5 U3-m: Da.
 6 I: I šta ti je tu smešno?
 7 U3-m: Očigledno je (.) mislim (.) to što on ne razume (.) foru i to.
 8 I: Da li bi bilo smešno da je neko drugi a ne Kanje Vest? Ili to daje neku
 9 dodatnu
 10 U3-m: U stvari (2) pa (2) možda bi čak bilo manje smešno da je neko
 11 drugi zato što on je u centru pažnje u skorije (.) u skorije vreme bio (2)
 12 <spel>VMA EMA<spel/> (.) da.

Video 2

- 1 U3-m: Smešno je zato što (.) Kreg ne shvata (2) to jest um (.) Kreg se
 2 tako lako miri sa tim a to mi je i pomalo uvredljivo (.) um (.) sa sa time da
 3 (.) miri se sa time da Kartman dobije ono što želi. (2) A smešno je (.) da
 4 na isti fazon.
 5 I: A šta misliš da je ovde to glavno što bi trebalo da bude smešno? Mislim
 6 pored čitave te situacije ali on na kraju kaže (.) Kreg na kraju kaže if I had
 7 wheels I'd be a wagon (.) tako da je to ta šala. Da li nalaziš da je to
 8 smešno (.) da li mi imamo slične izraze?
 9 U3-m: Da da (2) sigurno sam čuo tako nešto.
 10 I: Ima ima tako nekih izraza.
 11 U3-m: Da (.) da (.) da li se misli na to? Da.

Video 3

- 1 U3-m: Ovo je možda bilo pomalo (.) ali ali o tome se i radi u Saut Parku
 2 (.) nisu (.) ne shva- (.) nisu rasisti o tome se radi (.) tako da (2) ja kao
 3 iskusan gledatelj Saut Parka bih rekao da nije. Nisam siguran da im je bio
 4 cilj da prozivaju (.) pripadnike. Da li je smešan? Jeste.
 5 I: Dobro (.) zbog čega?
 6 U3-m: Zato što sam se prisetio Karlosa Mensije i (2) zato što (.) je Erik
 7 nabavio advokata da mu pomogne (.) da patentira.

Video 4

- 1 U3-m: Da li je smešno? Da.
 2 I: Zbog čega?
 3 U3-m: Zašto je smešno?
 4 I: Da. Mislim (.) zašto je TEBI smešno?
 5 U3-m: Prva stvar je to što je ovaj ušao dok je ovaj piškio (.) onda Jew
 6 defense moves (2) um šta ima još?
 7 I: Jew me out of my part.
 8 U3-m: Da.

Video 5

- 1 I: Da li je ovde bilo nešto smešno? U stvari (.) možeš li mi reći šta ti je bilo
2 smešno?
3 U3-m: Pa to što je njegov ego totally out of whack (.) um (2) što (.)
4 smišlja svakakve igre da bi zaštitio sebe (.) svoj ego kako god (.) i
5 posebno ta scena sa zmajem (2) i you're totally not fat at all.

Video 6

- 1 U3-m: kad bi bilo ono koliko si uplašen (.) sav sam se naježio
2 I: @@@
3 U3-m: Ali (.) opet (.) ja mislim da (.) nije uvredljivo u pravom smislu tog
4 izraza. A da li je smešno?
5 I: Nema tačnog odgovora (.) šta god ti napišeš (.) to je to.
6 U3-m: OK (.) da (.) pa bio je. Smešan je (.) crtani film.
7 I: Znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija (.) znaš li za njega?
8 U3-m: Verovatno neki komičar.
9 I: A šta je smešno?
10 U3-m: Pa: I've got no dick man (2) i: i ono (2) krade fore (.) možda bih
11 (.) možda bih zbog toga stavio da je pomalo uvredljivo (.) krade fore (.)
12 stavlja meksički (.) mislim iskreno ne znam da li on stvarno krade fore i
13 stavlja meksički (.) možda bih stavio pomalo. Ali pomalo zato što ne znam
14 (.) nisam za njega čuo ranije.
- 1 I: Još samo da te pitam za (.) titlove (2) da li si primetio da li su dobri (.)
2 da li si obraćao pažnju toliko pri čitanju? I da li misliš da su ti titlovi
3 pomogli (.) možda koliko toliko pomogli da neke delove bolje razumeš?
4 U3-m: Da (.) na primer onaj cover Heartless (.) na primer (.) neki stihovi
5 (.) nisam onako (.) mogao da razumem. Iznenadili su me ti titlovi tu (.) ti
6 stihovi tu. Da po- pomažu dosta.
7 I: I šta misliš o tom kaveru?
8 U3-m: Super

U4-f

Video 1

- 1 I: To je bilo to. Sad odgovaraš na pitanje (.) da li je bilo smešno (2) i da li
2 je nešto (.) bilo uvredljivo.
3 U4-f: Da li je uvredljivo? Aha (.) dobro.
4 I: Sad mi reci šta je bilo smešno (.) šta je tebi tačno smešno?
5 U4-f: Aha (.) pa meni ovaj deo sa Kanje Vestom (2) ovaj (.) kao (.) što ne
6 može da mu objasni što je (.) gay fish (.) i što on kaže znam ko sam.
7 I: A šta je tebi uvredljivo?
8 U4-f: Te stvari (.) ne znam (.) kao gay fish i što ga prikazuju kao da ne
9 razume (.) mislim nije toliko uvredljivo ali @

Video 2

- 1 I: Šta jeste odnosno NIJE bilo smešno?
2 U4-f: Oni tu sede i pričaju (.) i to što je Kartman u pitanju (.) da li je
3 uvredljiv? Nije (.) nije mi ništa tu.

Video 3

- 1 U4-f: Smešno je zato što on kaže (.) neki debeli koji hoće zasluge za nešto
2 što nije uradio.
3 I: Aha.
4 U4-f: A da li je uvredljiv? Pa: ne baš @@@ on aludira na sebe.

Video 4

- 1 I: Reci mi prvo (.) šta misliš o sceni? Gde se odigrava radnja i to.
2 U4-f: A (.) pa dobro to (.) to je normalno za dečake. Kao što žene idu
3 zajedno u WC.
4 I: @@ Dobro (.) a da li je smešno?
5 U4-f: Pomalo je smešno (.) zbog toga što je Kartman kao (.) ovaj (.)
6 uveren da je on pomogao u smišljanju vica.
7 I: A da li ima nešto uvredljivo?
8 U4-f: Pa: ne (.) ne nije uvredljiv.

Video 5

- 1 I: Šta misliš o ovome?
2 U4-f: Smešno je (.) zbog Kartmana. Ono kao (.) nije debeo (.) on je
3 najbolji (.) spasilac svih. A leči svoje komplekse (.) njegov naduvani ego.
4 A da li je uvredljiv? Nije.

Video 6

- 1 I: Reci mi prvo znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija?
2 U4-f: Ne znam.
3 I: A da li je uvredljivo?
4 U4-f: Pomalo (.) zbog seksualnih aluzija (.) da nema onu stvar (2) bilo bi
5 smešnije da su uzeli nekog poznatijeg (.) kao što je Kanje Vest. Smešno je
6 zbog toga što (.) Kanje i dalje ne shvata poentu vica. Te uvredljive stvari
7 su često smešne (.) ali takav je Saut Park humor.
- 1 I: Dobro (.) reci mi još za titlove (.) jesi li ih čitala?
2 U4-f: Da da (.) čitala sam ih (.) pomogli su mi mnogo.
3 I: A da li si primetila da li su dobri (.) da li su ispravni?
4 U4-f: Pa da (.) jesu.
5 I: A šta misliš o pesmi na kraju?
6 U4-f: Ono kad on skoči?
7 I: Da.
8 U4-f: Pa smešno je (.) tu su ga skroz isprozivali.

U5-f:

Video 1

- 1 I: To je to.
2 U5-f: Ne nije bio smešan video.
3 I: Dobro (.) zašto?
4 U5-f: Zašto? To treba da objasnim?
5 I: Da (.) pa pretpostavljam da znaš ko je Kanje Vest i to sve.
6 U5-f: Da (.) ali nije mi smešno @
7 I: Pa dobro (.) ako ti nije smešno onda u redu. A za uvredljivost?
8 U5-f: Ne.
9 I: Ok (.) dobro (.) ali shvataš koja je poenta (.) šta bi trebalo u stvari da
10 bude smešno.
11 U5-f: Da.
12 I: Šta?
13 U5-f: Mislim inače mi (.) Saut Park mi inače (.) ne sviđa mi se ta vrsta
14 humora (.) nije mi inače smešno.
15 I: Dobro ali samo mi reci šta misliš da je poenta ovog klipa (.) mislim (.)
16 kad bi ti BILO smešno (.) u stvari šta misliš da je namera autora (.) u
17 ovom konkretnom klipu (.) šta bi trebalo da bude smešno.
18 U5-f: Misliš što se tiče baš za njega (.) njega da uvrede? Pa namera je
19 njega da uvrede.

Video 2

- 1 U5-f: Ja na sve odgovaram da ne @@@
2 I: Pa dobro (.) to je u redu (.) nemaš tačne i pogrešne odgovore (.)
3 bukvalno je šta ti misliš.
4 U5-f: Pa mogu da kažem (.) da li je bio uvredljiv (.) mogu da kažem
5 pomalo (.) ali samo za tog lika (.) kako se već zove (.) za tog debelog (.)
6 ali koliko sam ja shvatila njega uvek ismevaju.
7 I: Pa da (.) zato što on u stvari predstavlja-
8 U5-f: -debila.
9 I: Sve što ne valja (.) ima sve najgore osobine. Dobro (.) ali (2) šta inače
10 misliš opet da je poenta ovog dela konkretno (.) u epizodi?
11 U5-f: Pa kao kao da je ovaj (.) glup i da ovi hoće da mu objasne (.) da u
12 stvari ovaj jedan pokušava da objasni da ne može sa ovim da se svađa (.)
13 tačnije da ga ubedi (.) da mora da uzme pola (.) a ovaj što se (.) što se
14 uvek pravi da je pametan (.) ovaj kao šta kao mora da istera svoju
15 pravdu.

Video 3

- 1 U5-f: Ne (.) Uvredljivo? Ne.
2 I: OK.
3 U5-f: A poenta je što on (.) da ovaj hoće da uzme pola para i onda
4 objašnjava da (.) treba da ga prijave.
5 I: Misliš da onaj komičar pokušava da im uzme pare ili?
6 U5-f: Ovaj kao ovome objašnjava kako će da mu (.) da im uzme pare.

Video 4

- 1 U5-f: Ne i ne.
2 I: Dobro.
3 U5-f: I ne razumem poentu snimka. Mislim ovaj kao
4 I: Pa ovde je uglavnom poenta (2) pošto on je Jevrejin a ovaj dolazi i kao
5 he's trying to Jew me out i you need to teach me some Jew defence moves
6 i to.
7 U5-f: Nisam znala da je on Jevrejin. Pa onda je malo uvredljivo.
8 I: Dobro <1>@@@</1>
9 U5-f: <1>@@@</1>
10 I: A šta misliš o sceni (.) gde se odigrava i to sve?
11 U5-f: Pa: normalno (.) mislim u WCu.
12 I: Da ali mislim ono kad ulazi (.) on piški i ovaj samo prilazi i priča mu (.)
13 on kađe ajde izađi piškim a ovaj samo nastavi da priča (.) to ti je OK?
14 U5-f: Da.

Video 5

- 1 U5-f: Smešno je pomalo (2) uvredljivo (3) pomalo.
2 I: Zašto?
3 U5-f: Smešno ili uvredljivo?
4 I: Pa i jedno i drugo.
5 U5-f: Smešno je zato što (.) je smešno @@ mislim šta mi je smešno?
6 Smešno mi je što je on to tako istripovao u svojoj glavi što njemu tako svi
7 pričaju ti si super (.) a uvredljivo je što mu svi pričaju kao ti si super nisi
8 debeo i to.
9 I: Uvredljivo je zato što u stvari on jeste debeo?
10 U5-f: Da.

Video 6

- 1 U5-f: Smešno je pomalo (.) kad se (.) kad se ovaj gubi (.) Kanje kao (.) ja

2 sam (.) i to sve.
 3 I: A reci mi da li znaš ko je Karlos Mensija?
 4 U5-f: Ne.
 5 I: I nije uvredljivo?
 6 U5-f: Ne.

1 I: Još da te pitam za titlove (.) da li si čitala?
 2 U5-f: U početku da posle ne.
 3 I: Da li si možda (.) primetila da li su korisni?
 4 U5-f: Nisu korisni.
 5 I: I da li si primetila koliko su verodostojni (.) da li je sve što oni kažu
 6 napisano?
 7 U5-f: Ne zato što sam samo na početku čitala i onda sam videla da mi
 8 odvrća koncentraciju (.) nisam mogla da se skoncentrišem.
 9 I: I za pesmu na kraju da te pitam (.) šta misliš o pesmi? Je l' znaš u čemu
 10 je fazon?
 11 U5-f: Pa da (.) da je on kao (2) ne da kažem poludeo nego (.) a je l' misliš
 12 <2>na</2>
 13 I: <2>Mislim</2> samo na pesmu konkretno (.) nevezano za tekst nego
 14 (3) vezano konkretno za to nego jednostavno što je melodija i sve.
 15 U5-f: On tu kao priznaje (.) mislim ne da priznaje nego je pristao.
 16 I: Da ali znaš li da je to prava njegova pesma?
 17 U5-f: Da da da.
 18 I: To je to u stvari (.) pošto ovo je parodija.
 19 U5-f: Da da da.
 20 I: Dobro (.) i šta misliš o tome?
 21 U5-f: O ovoj sada pesmi? O celoj?
 22 I: O parodiji generalno i da li je smešno?
 23 U5-f: Pa smešno je (.) u ovom slučaju da (.) zato što se baš slaže (.) baš
 24 je dobro odrađeno.

U6-f

Video 1

1 I: Gledaš li inače Saut Park ili ne?
 2 U6-f: Ne.
 3 I: Znači ne znaš ko su likovi i to sve?
 4 U6-f: Ne znam ništa.
 5 I: OK. Znači (.) kažeš smešno.
 6 U6-f: Smešno je bilo zato što ga je na kraju udario (.) a da li je bio
 7 uvredljiv (.) pa jeste pomalo zato što ga je nazvao gej.
 8 I: Dobro (.) a pretpostavljam da znaš ko je Kanje Vest?
 9 U6-f: Da.

Video 2

1 U6-f: Pa nije.
 2 I: Nije ništa od svega?
 3 U6-f: Da. Nije smešno (.) a nema ni ničeg uvredljivog.
 4 I: A o čemu se radi?
 5 U6-f: Pa ništa (.) ovi tu (.) oni objašnjavaju njemu zašto ne treba da
 6 podeli sa onim.

Video 3

1 U6-f: Opet nije ni smešno ni uvredljivo (.) pošto (.) nije mi ništa bilo
 2 smešno ovde.
 3 I: OK.
 4 U6-f: On samo hoće da se zaštiti šala (.) preko advokata.

Video 4

- 1 U6-f: Smešno mi je (.) zato ga je sreo (.) bukvalno je ušao i pitao ga dok
2 je piškio. Zato mi je smešno (.) a da li je bilo uvredljivo (.) pa nije.

Video 5

- 1 U6-f: Pa smešno mi je zato što je nemoguće da ubije zmaja @@@@
2 I: OK.
3 U6-f: Nije mi uvredljivo.
4 I: Ima li još nekih delova (.) samo zmaj ili? Pošto on se nekoliko puta u
5 epizodi priseća kao kako je-
6 U6-f: Uvek je lagao (.) svaki put je izmislio da je sve drugačije i drugačije
7 (.) dok je od prave verzije napravio da su i roboti tu bili (.) da je ubio
8 zmaja i sve je izmislio takoreći.
9 I: Pošto ne gledaš (.) on je inače sav takav (.) misli za sebe da je najbolji
10 a niko ga ne podnosi u stvari (.) i rasista je i stalno maltretira druge.

Video 6

- 1 U6-f: Bilo bi mi smešno da je bio onaj deo kada ga je pretukao (.) ovako
2 nije i zato stavljam da ne. I pomalo zato što ima psovki u jednom delu.
3 I: A znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija inače?
4 U6-f: Ne.

1 I: A da te pitam (.) titlovi (.) čitala si ih?
2 U6-f: Da da da.
3 I: Jesu ti pomogli?
4 U6-f: Više nego ovako kad pričaju (.) jer brže pričaju nego-
5 I: Isto je l' si primetila da li su dobri titlovi?
6 U6-f: Da da.
7 I: OK. A za onu pesmu na kraju (.) šta misliš o njoj?
8 U6-f: Meni se sviđa (.) dobar je ritam a i reči su ono (.) simpatične.
9 I: Opet je šala na račun Kanjea (.) ali da li znaš da je to u stvari prava
10 njegova pesma (.) samo su stavili druge reči.
11 U6-f: Nisam znala.

U7-m

Video 1

- 1 I: Gledaš inače Saut Park?
2 U7-m: Ne.
3 I: Nisi upoznat sa likovima i to sve?
4 U7-m: Uopšte.
5 I: Zašto si to obeležio?
6 U7-m: Zašto?
7 I: Pa da.
8 U7-m: Pa ovo vezano za smešno mi jednostavno nije.
9 I: Dobro (.) nije smešno. A da li znaš ko je Kanje Vest?
10 U7-m: Da (.) a da li je uvredljivo? Pa ima par stvari koje su uvredljive.
11 I: Šta?
12 U7-m: Pa psovke.

Video 2

- 1 I: OK. Oba odgovora su ne.
2 U7-m: Da.
3 I: Zašto?
4 U7-m: Pa nije bilo ništa ovde (.) ni uvredljivo ni smešno.

- 5 I: A u čemu misliš da je poenta klipa?
6 U7-m: Pa (2) ništa (.) razgovaraju (.) jedan ga ubjeđuje da mu da pola (.)
7 drugi da mu ne da.

Video 3

- 1 I: Nije smešno? OK.
2 U7-m: Ne.
3 I: A reci mi samo šta misliš da bi trebalo da bude smešno (.) šta je u
4 stvari namera?
5 U7-m: U ovom delu ili ovako inače?
6 I: Pa u ovom konkretno klipu. Kad on dođe sa svojim patentom i (.) tvrdi
7 da neki debeli hoće da ih prevari (.) da preuzme zasluge za nešto što nije
8 uradio.
9 U7-m: Šta tu treba da bude smešno? Bukvalno ništa.

Video 4

- 1 I: OK (.) nije smešno (.) a šta je uvredljivo?
2 U7-m: Pominju dosta Jevreje ja mislim (.) i to mislim da je uvredljivo na
3 nacionalnoj osnovi.
4 I: On je generalno kao lik (.) pošto kažeš da ne gledaš (.) on je takav (.) i
5 rasista je i seksista je (.) ne voli hipike ne voli (.) beskućnike (.) sav je
6 takav onako (.) a ovaj dečko je u stvari Jevrejin.
7 U7-m: Aha (.) da da.
8 I: A reci mi samo šta misliš o sceni (.) mislim odigrava se u WCu i (.) šta
9 misliš o tome?
10 U7-m: On dolazi i (3) da li je smešno?
11 I: Misliš da je nebitno? Ne (.) jednostavno šta misliš.
12 U7-m: Da je ovo u nekom velikom filmu (.) definitivno se ne bih setio
13 posle toga da je to uopšte bilo.

Video 5

- 1 I: Dobro (.) nije smešno.
2 U7-m: Pomalo je uvredljivo (.) stalno pričaju da je debeo debeo (.) a u
3 stvari to je ironično (.) kao nije debeo nije debeo a u stvari je debeo. To
4 malo vređa.
5 I: Dobro.

Video 6

- 1 I: Znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija inače?
2 U7-m: Ne (.) možda neki (.) komedijáš.
3 I: Da li je smešno ili nije?
4 U7-m: Nije smešno.
5 I: Nije smešno (.) a uvredljivo?
6 U7-m: Pa ima dosta psovki (.) jedna reč se ponavlja dosta.
- 1 I: Reci mi (.) titlovi (.) jesi ih čitao?
2 U7-m: Da.
3 I: I da li pomažu?
4 U7-m: Da li pomažu?
5 I: Da se razumeju šale i uopšte.
6 U7-m: Da.
7 I: I da li si primetio da li su dobri (.) da li ima nekih grešaka?
8 U7-m: Pa greške nešto nisam primećivao (.) možda ima par grešaka (.)
9 vezano (.) skratili su možda neke reči (.) koje možda ne bi trebalo da budu
10 skraćene na taj način.
11 I: Misliš da su izbačene?

12 U7-m: Da (.) skraćene mislim.
 13 I: Slušaš li muziku Kanje Vesta (.) znaš neke njegove pesme?
 14 U7-m: Znam.
 15 I: I šta misliš o onoj pesmi na kraju?
 16 U7-m: Kojoj pesmi?
 17 I: Ako hoćeš da pustim ponovo?
 18 U7-m: Aha (.) setio sam se setio sam se. Da (.) kad uđe u vodu (.) setio
 19 sam se.
 20 I: Je l' znaš pesmu (.) originalnu?
 21 U7-m: Mislim da znam.
 22 I: Onu njegovu (.) to je u stvari parodija na to. Šta misliš o tome?
 23 U7-m: Pa mislim (.) lepo su uklopili ovo vezano za (.) ovaj crtani (.) ali
 24 ništa naročito (.) vezano za humor ništa.

S1-f

Video 1

1 S1-f: Why do they keep writing fishsticks? I mean (.) they (.) they always
 2 say fish DICKS
 3 I: What do you think about the video?
 4 S1-f: Was it offensive? No. @@@@ i don't like Kanye so @@ And I'm pro-
 5 gay so it's not offensive @@@@
 6 I: OK, so (.) is it funny?
 7 S1-f: It's funny.
 8 I: So why exactly? You know who Kanye is and all that?
 9 S1-f: Yeah I know who Kanye is (.) I know he is very modest and @ and it
 10 was funny because (.) he couldn't get the simplest joke ever.
 11 I: And (.) anything else? I mean (.) would it be funny if it was someone
 12 else not Kanye West?
 13 S1-f: Well it's funny because of Kanye West really. It's funny because of
 14 his self image (.) whatever.

Video 2

1 S1-f: @@@@
 2 I: Here you go.
 3 S1-f: Was it funny? Extremely. Was it offensive? Not at all.
 4 I: OK so (.) what was funny?
 5 S1-f: The wagon joke.
 6 I: Right and (.) did you get it?
 7 S1-f: I got it because it's so funny like we said (.) we would say something
 8 like that totally here and the other thing was funny when he said dude I
 9 like you just give him half because he knows how Cartman is.

Video 3

1 S1-f: @@@ that one I get (.) that one I really get @@@ yeah (.) it was
 2 funny (2) offensive (.) not at all.
 3 I: So what is funny about this?
 4 S1-f: Well he was trying to take credit for other guy's work (.) the
 5 Americans would totally like that (.) bullying (.) the other one is the
 6 victim.
 7 I: Which one?
 8 S1-f: The the the crippled guy.
 9 I: So Cartman is trying to?
 10 S1-f: Manipulate him (.) bully him practically. He convinced him basically
 11 that they wrote the joke together.
 12 I: OK but what is exactly funny in this clip particularly? Who is he talking
 13 about? Cartman (.) now.

14 S1-f: He's talking about the lawyer
 15 I: Yeah he (.) he drafted the patent thing.
 16 S1-f: Yeah.
 17 I: But he's talking about the Mexican comic.
 18 S1-f: Oh yeah yeah yeah.
 19 I: He's talking about him (.) and he says fat turd is trying to take credit.
 20 S1-f: Oh I didn't catch that.
 21 I: So it's an allusion
 22 S1-f: No (.) because I already knew who he's gonna mention so I didn't
 23 catch that.

Video 4

1 I: What did you say? Is it funny?
 2 S1-f: It (.) It was extremely funny.
 3 I: OK (.) why?
 4 S1-f: Because he always (.) he has such a low opinion of Jews and he's
 5 like Woody Allen (.) he always picks on Jews (.) and I watched other
 6 episodes and he's always picking on Jews and it was extremely funny
 7 because of the term Jew me out (.) like @@@ that was really funny (.)
 8 and I marked a little for offensive because it (.) it (.) the whole show is
 9 like that (.) it's not anything new (.) the show is even mild compared to (.)
 10 other stuff.
 11 I: And what do you think about the whole scene?
 12 S1-f: Like he's peeing?
 13 I: Yeah.
 14 S1-f: Yeah (.) it's funny (.) it's always funnier if you do something like
 15 that.

Video 5

1 I: What was funny about this one?
 2 S1-f: The part how Cartman is like (.) that he made the joke and how he
 3 made himself believe that he did (.) and all the (.) all the parts where he
 4 (.) overexaggerates the making of the joke (.) it's so (.) it's so typical.
 5 I: OK. But is that (.) is that what's funny?
 6 S1-f: Well (.) every frustration he has is basically mended in that video.
 7 Yeah (.) like being fat or being everybody's best friend or being the
 8 superhero and killing the dragon @ (.) like being helpful (.) towards the
 9 other children.

Video 6

1 I: Do you know who Carlos Mencia is?
 2 S1-f: No but I got that he was some kind of Mexican comedian with no
 3 sense of humour @@@ and a lot of hand gestures @@@
 4 I: OK (.) so what did you mark?
 5 S1-f: It was funny.
 6 I: Why exactly?
 7 S1-f: Well (.) so many things (.) like this particular one shows Kanye being
 8 like the (.) the guy with no sense of humour as opposed to the comedian
 9 with no sense of humour in that joke (.) that's the first thing (.) the
 10 second thing is that he is still doing gestures with his hands and the the
 11 the (.) Kanye saying he's a genius and (.) like (.) the guy the guy is
 12 practically begging him (.) the comedian guy (.) and he still doesn't get it
 13 @@ really funny.
 14 I: And why did you mark it was a little offensive?
 15 S1-f: It's a little offensive again because they always pick on every
 16 nationality and everything (.) because of he's Mexican and he just said he
 17 cannot write jokes and I guess it's offensive to the rapper (.) because like

18 he's black and he's like about to beat him up and everything. But it's a
 19 little offensive (.) I I think that anybody who watches the show knows (.)
 20 it's a joke and it's like (.) overblown to be funny (.) but if somebody
 21 watched it not knowing what it's about then it would be like (.) wow what's
 22 this.
 23 I: And what do you think about the part (.) dick being mentioned and
 24 everything?
 25 S1-f: On today (.) today's television it's only funny. Dicks are mentioned
 26 all the time.
 27 I: Yeah (.) but I'm not asking you about just saying dick on TV but (.)
 28 particularly here that this guy is saying I have no dick man and all that.
 29 S1-f: Well it's funny because in correlation with fishsticks (.) they mention
 30 it all the time it's funny. It's funny but it's always like the last resort for
 31 people who are begging for mercy (.) I have no dick or (.) I have family to
 32 feed.

1 I: And just one more question about the (.) subtitles. Did you find them
 2 helpful? At some points.
 3 S1-f: It's a really simple show (.) it's not a lot of big words so (.) it was
 4 funny because I didn't think I heard right when he said the joke was
 5 conceived. Like (.) I've never heard that one before (.) it was really funny.
 6 Conceive a baby (.) not a joke. So definitely helpful (.) it's nice to have
 7 subtitles (.) nothing too difficult but you don't have to wonder what what
 8 (.) did they say this or that.

S2-f

Video 1

1 I: O čemu se radi?
 2 S2-f: Ništa (.) znači naglašavaju ono kao kako u stvari se ljudi primaju
 3 svuda ono (.) to tako kako se širi (.) te neke stvari se šire (.) šta je ono
 4 rekao (.) rase bla bla.
 5 I: Znaš ko je Kanje Vest?
 6 S2-f: Pa: znam (.) ono kao čula sam ali nemam pojma (.) mislim (.) ne
 7 pratim ono to.
 8 I: Dobro (.) a šta je tačno (.) šta ti smatraš u stvari da je smešno u ovom
 9 konkretnom klipu bilo (.) taj intervju sa Kanje Vestom?
 10 S2-f: Da da da. Pa (.) znači (2) te ono kao zvezde (.) nemam pojma (3)
 11 mislim konkretno ovde (2) ta priča kako (.) nemam pojma (.) on je sad
 12 neka faca i kao nešto tako @@@ nemam pojma kao (.) glupost (.) mislim
 13 glupo je pa kao.
 14 I: Da da da. Reci mi samo (.) znači nije uvredljivo? Dobro. Opet te pitam
 15 zašto?
 16 S2-f: Zato što (.) mislim oni ismejavaju u principu (2) te takve širom (.)
 17 ono kako se kaže (2) raširene to kako ljudi se prime na takve stvari ono
 18 nemam pojma (.) gluposti ono @

Video 2

1 I: To je to.
 2 S2-f: Mislim nije sad to ništa ono kao hilarious smešno (.) ali @@
 3 I: Dobro. To je apsolutno do tebe (.) da li je TEBI smešno (.) to te u stvari
 4 pitam. Znači (.) šta misliš da bi ovde trebalo da bude smešno (.) u ovom
 5 segmentu?
 6 S2-f: To je opet ono ismejavanje (.) to me podseća ono kao (2) ono who
 7 takes the credit for something i tako to nemam pojma (.) podseća me ono
 8 kao na ovu priču o fejsbuku u principu @@@@ u smislu ono šta sad kao
 9 (.) on uzima njegov (.) to je bila njegova ideja (.) sad ovaj koji njega (.)
 10 ovaj koji brani ovog ovaj kao daj mu half (.) daj mu @@@

11 I: A šta misliš da je konkretno u ovom klipu (.) ako treba mogu ponovo da
12 ti pustim (.) šta misliš da je konkretno punchline?
13 S2-f: Pa ono kao (.) ne znam (.) tu on kaže (.) consider yourself lucky he's
14 only asking for half @@
15 I: OK. I? Offensive (.) jeste nije?
16 S2-f: Pa nije (.) doduše (2) dobro sad baš ovaj klip (.) u principu nije (.)
17 mada to kao ono malo (.) ne znam ovaj je sad (.) disabled i onda kao.

Video 3

1 I: Komentar na ovo?
2 S2-f: Mislim smešno je to što ismejavaju opet (.) to ono ko (.) kako opet
3 sad neko drugi uzme kredit za nešto što su kao oni uradili (.) da pritom (.)
4 ovaj skroz ono kul (.) a ovaj kao se bori za to nešto nemam pojma @@ i
5 to ono (.) mislim nije to smešno (.) to je više kao neki sarka- sarkastični
6 humor.
7 I: A uvredljivost?
8 S2-f: Pa: ono (.) ništa posebno u stvari.

Video 4

1 I: Prvo mi reci (.) šta misliš o sceni (.) u stvari gde se dešava?
2 S2-f: Pa dobro ono kao (.) on kaže izlazi vidiš da piškim (.) u stvari to je
3 pisoar ono mislim @@@@ a generalno (.) nemam pojma (.) to je ta priča
4 što on stalno za Jews (.) mislim ne znam Jew me out (.) ne znam baš taj
5 izraz @@
6 I: I Jew defensive moves.
7 S2-f: Da da da to je to (.) ali to se provlači ono stalno kod njih @@@
8 I: Ali (.) znači (.) ovo nije smešno (.) a uvredljivo?
9 S2-f: Uvredljivo ono (.) mislim (2) jedino ta priča o Jevrejima i to.
10 I: U kontekstu Saut Parka i nije toliko pretpostavljam (.) mislim (.) pošto
11 si stavila pomalo.
12 S2-f: Da da.

Video 5

1 S2-f: Ovo je već ono kao (.) vic prirode (.) preuveličavanje i ta njegova
2 verzija priče ono @@ to je ono naše (.) uvek (.) znaš ono kad ne znam (.)
3 ribarske priče kad uloviš @@ krupnu ribu @@
4 I: @@ a veća od tebe @@
5 S2-f: Da da. I ono naravno (.) šta mu je mama donela?
6 I: Čips ja mislim.
7 S2-f: Čips pa ono kao (.) you're not fat at all @@
8 I: I to se ponavlja više puta.
9 S2-f: Da (.) kroz celu.
10 I: A uvredljivo?
11 S2-f: Pa uvredljivo (.) ništa posebno.

Video 6

1 I: Znaš li ko je (.) Karlos Mensija?
2 S2-f: E pa ne znam. Mislim to je neki (.) mislim iz priče vidim ono kao (.)
3 neki comedian ali (.) ne znam.
4 I: Nisam ni ja znala (.) mislim pretpostavljam samo iz te priče verovatno
5 neki komičar koji ide na živce očito kreatorima Saut Parka ali inače ne
6 znam ko je (.) znam ko je Kanje Vest ali ne znam ko je on. Znači nije
7 smešno?
8 S2-f: Pa da (.) nije ništa posebno.
9 I: A uvredljivo?
10 S2-f: Uvredljivo (.) pa ono ništa (.) mislim više kao ta neka priča (.) ono

11 Mexican (.) bla bla (.) ne znam (.) ništa posebno ono.

1 I: Dobro. I (.) da (.) sad tvoj komentar na titlove (.) da li si (.) da li si
 2 primetila uopšte da li si ih čitala ili nisi?

3 S2-f: Pa jesam da da da (.) znači ono kao (.) ne znam (.) mislim da ih nije
 4 bilo ono kao super ali (.) ali kad imaš titlove uvek gledaš nekako.

5 I: Da li si primetila nešto (.) da li su ti pomogli (.) nisu ti pomogli? Da li si
 6 primetila da li su verodostojni skroz?

7 S2-f: Pa nisam nešto obratila pažnju (.) mislim nisam primetila da nisu
 8 verodostojni tako da (.) ono pretpostavljam da je to OK.

9 I: A misliš da su ti pomogli možda?

10 S2-f: Pa (3) šta znam u stvari (.) da ih nije bilo (.) razumevanje bi bilo isto
 11 verovatno (.) ali ono nekako se uvek skoncentrišeš i ono kao čitaš to.

12 I: A da li si nekad primetila da piše fishsticks a nekad fish dicks?

13 S2-f: Aha da da da. Mislim primetila sam recimo kad (.) na intervjuu kad
 14 (.) sa njim (.) da onaj tip kaže valjda fishsticks (.) odnosno fish dicks (.) a
 15 on kaže fishsticks.

16 I: I na kraju pesma ona? Šta misliš o tome?

17 S2-f: Pa ono to je tek glupost @@ mislim mnogo je glupo (.) sad su iz cele
 18 priče izvukli ono kao (.) lyrics pesme.

19 I: A znaš li pesmu?

20 S2-f: Ne ne ne.

21 I: To je njegova pesma u stvari (.) mislim ta je melodija i tako samo što
 22 su oni napisali one bezvezne.

23 S2-f: Uopšte ne pratim njega (.) znam da je ono poznat i tako (.) vuče se
 24 po tim tabloidima (.) ali ne znam (.) možda sam nekad i čula ali uopšte.

S3-m

Video 1

1 I: To je to. Obeleži tu šta želiš a onda ćeš mi objasniti šta si napisao i
 2 zašto. prvo mi samo reci (.) znači znaš ko je Kanje Vest?

3 S3-m: Da.

4 I: OK. Šta si rekao da li je smešno ili nije? Pomalo smešno. Zbog čega?
 5 Zbog čega si baš tako ocenio?

6 S3-m: Zbog čega samo pomalo? pa nije mi baš bilo umiranje od smeha (.)
 7 ali simpatično mi je bilo.

8 I: Zašto?

9 S3-m: Pa zato što ono kao (.) tipa ga ismevaju da je glup (.) zato što ne
 10 kapira o čemu se radi (.) a ono tipa čovek mu razlaže na atome (.) ovaj i
 11 dalje u tripu (.) da je bog i batina (.) tako da ono.

12 I: A šta misliš da je poenta humora? Mislim (.) koja je poenta cele te
 13 scene? Šta misliš da su autori Saut Parka hteli da

14 S3-m: Ismevanje osobe koja smatra da je (3) mnogo pametna.

15 I: Misliš li da je (.) Kanje Vest generalni predstavnik takvih ljudi ili da su se
 16 baš ono uhvatili za Kanje Vesta?

17 S3-m: Mislim da su se iz nekog razloga uhvatili za njega (.) zbog nečeg ih
 18 je iznervirao.

19 I: Dobro. A šta si napisao za uvredljivost? Isto pomalo. Za koga uvredljivo
 20 i kako?

21 S3-m: Pa ovako za video sam kao video (.) možda ne bih rekao da je
 22 uvredljiv ali s obzirom da prozivaju jednu osobu onda je verovatno malo
 23 uvredljivo za tu osobu. Mislim ono (.) mislim malo vređaju tu osobu pa ono
 24 kao. Nema ništa o crncima ili nešto slično.

25 I: @@

Video 2

1 I: Dobro (.) šta misliš da bi u ovom klipu trebalo da bude glavna fora (.)

2 takozvani punchline?
 3 S3-m: Ismevanje cele situacije oko Kartmana.
 4 I: Dobro (.) šta si obeležio?
 5 S3-m: Da i nije uvredljiv.
 6 I: A šta je smešno tačno (.) mislim šta je tebi smešno? Da li ti je neka
 7 replika smešna ili čitava situacija?
 8 S3-m: Pa čitava situacija s obzirom da znaš kako će se završiti ovaj (2) u
 9 čemu je fora cela s Kartmanom (.) i tu je Kajl koji pripoveda (.) da ne bi to
 10 trebalo tako da bude (.) a znaš da će na kraju crevca da iscure (.) ovom
 11 Džimiju ako ne posluša iskusniju osobu koja mu govori šta treba da uradi
 12 @@ Pritom je kul što onako staloženo mu lepo kul objašnjava mislim.
 13 I: Ko?
 14 S3-m: Ovaj (.) kako se zove (.) Klajd (.) lepo mu objašnjava ovaj (3) šta
 15 će se desiti.

Video 3

1 S3-m: Pomalo i ne nimalo.
 2 I: A šta je smešno (.) mislim šta je to malo smešno?
 3 S3-m: Malo je smešno mislim što (.) može se situacija reflektovati na
 4 njega najopuštenije (.) some fat turd taking credit for something he didn't
 5 do.
 6 I: I nije uvredljivo?
 7 S3-m: Nije uvredljivo.

Video 4

1 I: prvo reci mi šta misliš o ovoj sceni (.) znači (.) gde se odigrava i sve to.
 2 S3-m: Sviđa mi se.
 3 I: Šta tačno?
 4 S3-m: Sve @@ Ulaziš u WC dok jedan ovaj (.) dok čovek piša i prilaziš
 5 nešto da ga pitaš (.) da meni neko tako priđe nešto da me pita (.) alo
 6 majmune jesi normalan (.) i to kao (.) beži napolje ovaj ostaje ovde kao
 7 normalno (.) kao da mu ništa nije rekao čovek i postavlja svoje pitanje (2)
 8 i onda kreće da ga proziva za Jevreje (.) čovek sam Jevrejin naravno (.)
 9 interesuje ga (.) jevrejski odbrambeni potezi u tako nekim situacijama
 10 pošto su poznati kao škrt narod je l'?
 11 I: Dobro (.) a šta je smešno (.) tebi šta je smešno kad kažeš da je
 12 smešno?
 13 S3-m: Pa prvo mi je smešna cela ta situacija u WCu (.) drugo mi je
 14 smešno (.) ova kovanica Jew me out of the contract (2) i treće kao teach
 15 me some Jew defensive moves.
 16 I: Znači izrazi ti vezani za Jevreje?
 17 S3-m: Yeah (.) it's cool.
 18 I: A uvredljivo je?
 19 S3-m: Pa malo za Jevreje (.) nakon drugog svetskog rata oni su malo
 20 osetljivi.
 21 I: @@@ OK.

Video 5

1 I: U čemu je po tvom mišljenju poenta ovog dela?
 2 S3-m: Uzdiže sam sebe (.) konstruiše mišljenje o sebi oblikujući stvarnost.
 3 I: Dobro (2) ali kako to (.) mislim (.) koliko je realno?
 4 S3-m: A ne ne (.) totalno nerealno ali svejedno. S obzirom da je u
 5 stvarnom životu (2) neomiljena ličnost u društvu (.) recimo da ga mrze i
 6 preziru svi (.) sem Batersa (2) iskonstruisao je sebi ovaj totalno drugačiji
 7 svet gde ga svi vole (.) i glavni je baja u školi.
 8 I: I postoje zmajevi.
 9 S3-m: Šta kažeš?

10 I: I postoje zmajevi. Misliš da nije smešno?
 11 S3-m: Nije nije mi smešno.
 12 I: I misliš da nije uvredljivo?
 13 S3-m: Možda za zmajeve.
 14 I: @@@@
 15 S3-m: Što ga Kartman probo (.) mislim (.) da sam zmaj (.) mene bi
 16 uvredilo.
 17 I: Dobro.

Video 6

1 I: Znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija?
 2 S3-m: Ne. Pretpostavljam da je komičar iz konteksta.
 3 I: Inače ne znaš ko je?
 4 S3-m: Inače ne znam.
 5 I: I da li je smešno?
 6 S3-m: Yeah. Rekao sam da je izuzetno smešno.
 7 I: Zašto?
 8 S3-m: Come on (.) genius.
 9 I: Objasni zbog čega je tebi smešno. Šta ti je smešno?
 10 S3-m: Pa (.) prva stvar (.) kako govori (.) u smislu (.) dok je bio u emisiji
 11 normalno je pričao (.) ovde mu glas žestoko podrhtava (.) znači ukenjo se.
 12 Druga stvar ono klasično meksično man I have no balls man dick man (2)
 13 tek to mislim kad krene ono sve (.) I'm not funny I steal jokes (.) pee in a
 14 plastic bag (.) have no dicks man.
 15 I: To je to?
 16 S3-m: Yeah (.) to je to.
 17 I: A za uvredljivost?
 18 S3-m: Pa pomalo je uvredljiv zato što su isprozivali gospodina Karlosa
 19 mislim (.) za njega lično ali ovako generalno ne.

1 I: To je to što se tiče klipova (.) nema više klipova. Još da te pitam za
 2 titlove (2) da li si gledao titlove?
 3 S3-m: Jesam:
 4 I: I šta misliš o njima (.) da li su ti pomogli da bolje razumeš neke delove
 5 ili možda da razumeš fazon negde ili tako nešto (.) ili nisu?
 6 S3-m: Pa jesu malo (.) jesu.
 7 I: OK (.) reci mi još da li si primetio da li su titlovi verodostojni ili nisu?
 8 S3-m: Nisu skroz (.) ima grešaka. Izostavljene neke reči (.) ne znam (.)
 9 najčešće sam primetio izostavljanje nekih reči.
 10 I: OK (.) i da li si primetio da (.) s obzirom da je fazon fish dicks fishsticks
 11 (.) da li si primetio kako se u titlovima to predstavlja?
 12 S3-m: Da. Pišu normalno kad je fishsticks piše onako jedna reč a fish dicks
 13 fish dicks.
 14 I: A kako je u titlovima to odrađeno (.) kada je jedno a kada je drugo?
 15 S3-m: Obraćao sam pažnju (.) nisam sad sto posto siguran da su pokrili
 16 sto posto ali u devedeset posto slučajeva mogu da kažem da je bilo skroz
 17 dobro. Mislim da je generalno bilo dobro ali
 18 I: Da ali mislim u kom smislu dobro? Pitam te u kom smislu dobro? Kako
 19 su koristili fish dicks a kada fish sticks?
 20 S3-m: S obzirom da se radi o igri rečima (.) morali su to kroz titl da
 21 predstave (.) pošto zvučno i nije skroz razumljivo (.) osim kad je Kanje
 22 gostovao pa mu je čovek razložio onako (.) FISH DICKS. Ali inače
 23 I: OK. I još komentar samo na pesmu na kraju.
 24 S3-m: Na pesmu?
 25 I: Da li znaš (.) u čemu je (.) u čemu je u stvari glavni fazon kod toga?
 26 Kod te pesme? Šta misliš u čemu je glavni fazon?
 27 S3-m: Glavni fazon (2) odradili su Kanjea kao repera koji repuje o tome da
 28 je ono kao postao gej riba.
 29 I: Da dobro tekst je (.) ponižavajući za nekoga ko ima tako visoko

- 30 mišljenje o sebi ali (.) da li znaš da je to prava pesma u stvari? To je
31 njegova pesma (.) mislim muzika i sve to (.) samo što su promenili reči.
32 S3-m: Ne slušam Kanjea tako da nisam znao.

S4-m

Video 1

- 1 S4-m: @@@
2 I: To je bio prvi. Pretpostavljam da znaš ko je Kanje Vest?
3 S4-m: Pa: (2) nesuđeni brat Paf Dedija.
4 I: @ Daj ozbiljno @@ Znači znaš ko je.
5 S4-m: Naravno naravno.
6 I: Reci mi da li ti je smešno?
7 S4-m: Bogami jeste (.) prilično.
8 I: Zbog čega?
9 S4-m: Pa zato što (4) zbog igre reči (.) to mi je (.) naj- najsmešnije.
10 I: Prvenstveno ona šala sa fishsticks?
11 S4-m: Pa da (.) da.
12 I: A to konkretno što ima veze sa Kanje Vestom? Šta misliš o tome?
13 S4-m: Pa i to mislim (.) znaš ono zbog njegove jel' te naravi i zbog
14 mišljenja o sebi (.) i zbog toga što su (.) tipa (.) na taj način doveli svu tu
15 njegovu pompeznost u pitanje (.) i sav taj njegov egocentrizam.
16 I: Dobro (.) a šta si rekao za uvredljivost?
17 S4-m: Pa stavio sam da jeste uvredljivo ali (.) u suštini uvredljivo je zbog
18 tih eksplicitnih reči koje se koriste mada (.) nekako mislim u cilju (.) kada
19 je u pitanju humor da bi to trebalo malo da se zanemari.

Video 2

- 1 I: Znači šta misliš o tome? Da je smešno (.) zbog čega? Šta tačno?
2 S4-m: Zbog Kregovih ironičnih opaski.
3 I: Dobro (.) šta misliš da je punchline ovog videa (.) ovog klipa kratkog?
4 S4-m: U smislu?
5 I: Pa šta bi trebalo u ovom delu da bude najsmešnije? U ovom kratkom
6 delu što sam ti pustila.
7 S4-m: Pa to što je Džimi (.) tako malo (2) slabašna osoba (.) ne znam (.)
8 barem meni.
9 I: I misliš da nije uvredljivo?
10 S4-m: Pa nije uvredljivo (.) zato što ne (.) ne proziva Džimija na neki sad
11 eksplicitan niti toliko agresivan način (.) samo mu jednostavno stavlja do
12 znanja kakva je ličnost
13 I: kakav je Kartman u stvari.
14 S4-m: Pa da (.) kakva je ličnost Kartmana i koliko je Džimi (.) u stvari
15 koliko je on slaba ličnost.

Video 3

- 1 I: Pomalo je smešno (.) zbog čega?
2 S4-m: Zbog Kartmanovih opaski za fat turd.
3 I: Što se u stvari odnosi na?
4 S4-m: Pa na Kanjea (.) ne u stvari na ovog Meksikanca.
5 I: A zbog čega je smešno (.) samo zato što ga tako zovu ili?
6 S4-m: Pa da zato što ga direktno proziva.
7 I: Dobro (.) a uvredljivo?
8 S4-m: Pa da (.) zbog toga.
9 I: Isti razlog?
10 S4-m: Pa da (.) zato što u suštini ističe (.) njegove fizičke mane.

Video 4

- 1 I: Šta je izuzetno smešno?
2 S4-m: Izuzetno smešno je crni ironični humor i prozivke.
3 I: Na račun?
4 S4-m: Na račun (2) Kajla.
5 I: Dobro (.) a šta je uvredljivo?
6 S4-m: Uvredljiva je ta (.) mislim sve te prozivke su uvredljive zato što (.)
7 vređaju etničku pripadnost Kajlovu (.) zato što su na toj etničkoj osnovi.
8 I: Reci mi šta misliš o sceni (.) gde se odvija i tako to.
9 S4-m: Pa u suštini (.) mesto nije nije toliko (.) mislim smešno (.) ali je
10 situacija smešna zato što su stavili tipa decu (.) koja otprilike glume kao
11 odraslu osobu (.) uđe Kartman i onda mu kaže (.) kaže mu (.) počne da
12 mu se (.) krene da mu se obrati nešto (.) nešto (.) a ovaj tipa Kajl mu
13 odbusi kao odrasli muškarac da ne narušava njegovu privatnost.

Video 5

- 1 S4-m: @@
2 I: Šta misliš o ovom? Smešno?
3 S4-m: Da (.) smešno je zbog prozivke Kartmanovog (.) nipodaštavanja
4 njegovih fizičkih karakteristika i njegovih ostalih odlika.
5 I: U kom smislu?
6 S4-m: Pa u smislu što (.) u tom smislu da on stalno i podsvesno sebe
7 predstavlja u drugačijem svetlu nego što jeste.
8 I: Dobro (.) a nije uvredljivo?
9 S4-m: Nije uvredljivo zato što (.) u suštini je (.) nije ta neka direktna
10 prozivka niti dolazi do direktnog vređanja već samo (.) ovako (.) sve je
11 otprilike na nekom fiktivnom nivou.

Video 6

- 1 S4-m: @@@
2 I: Šta je smešno kod ovog videa?
3 S4-m: Pa kao što je Karlos rekao (.) najsmešniji je njegov Mexican (.)
4 meksički akcenat (.) njegov meksički naglasak (.) a i te eksplicitne šale su
5 meni izuzetno smešne.
6 I: Što se tiče njegove seksualnosti?
7 S4-m: Pa da (.) svih (.) što se tiče svih tih eksplicitnosti koje su bile.
8 I: A znaš li ko je Karlos Mensija (.) inače?
9 S4-m: Pa čuo sam za njega ali (.) nisam nešto se baš interesovao toliko za
10 njegov rad.
11 I: OK. Šta je uvredljivo? Mislim (.) šta je pomalo uvredljivo?
12 S4-m: Pa pomalo uvredljivo te (.) očigledne eksplicitne reči.
13 I: To korišćenje?
14 S4-m: Pa da korišćenje tih eksplicitnih reči.
- 1 I: Da te pitam još samo za titlove (.) da li si obraćao pažnju (.) šta misliš o
2 njima (.) da li su dobri (.) <1>da li misliš da pomažu</1>?
3 S4-m: <1>E pa uglavnom</1> uglavnom nisam zato što meni lično
4 smetaju titlovi kad je emisija na engleskom (.) u suštini to je neka
5 profesionalna deformacija (.) ali generalno obratio sam pažnju (.) prilikom
6 prevoda ovih reči fishsticks i fish dicks i mislim da nisu uvek prevodili fish
7 dicks kad su oni (.) kad je onaj rekao fish dicks u emisiji (.) u epizodi onda
8 ovi nisu uvek prevodili fish dicks nego su samo stavljali fishsticks (.)
9 ponavljali su samo to.
10 I: I na kraju ona pesma (.) šta misliš o pesmi (.) na kraju?
11 S4-m: Skroz je gej.
12 I: @@@@ Pa dobro (.) ali mislim (.) da li ti se sviđa (.) u čemu je fora
13 (.) da li je možda smešna?

14 S4-m: E pa da (.) dobra je (.) dobra je sprdnja Kenjeeve (.) Kanjeeve
15 muzike.
16 I: Znaš pesmu (.) znaš originalnu pesmu?
17 S4-m: Baš je onako dobra muzička kritika čitavog njegovog muzičkog
18 opusa.

S5-m

Video 1

1 S5-m: Da li je snimak bio smešan i da li je uvredljiv?
2 I: Aha.
3 S5-m: Pa (5) negde između @@
4 I: Između čega?
5 S5-m: Pa između pomalo i da ali dobro ajde (.) mislim to je sad (.) to je
6 sad to pitanje (.) ja nemam nikakav problem s tim ali realno kad razmisliš
7 (.) kada bi u bilo kojoj situaciji tebe neko postavio na televiziju (.) nije
8 bitno da li je osnovano ili nije osnovano (.) i krenuo da proziva (.) ne bi ti
9 bilo prijatno.
10 I: Ne bi ti bilo svejedno.
11 S5-m: Ne bi ti bilo svejedno tako da u tom smislu jeste uvredljivo (.) ali
12 ovaj (2) pa ajde da kažem da jeste. Mada opet (.) to je ono što sam hteo
13 da ti kažem (.) recimo ovo što se sad dogodilo (.) to sam slučajno video
14 (.) nešto da su Amerikanci nas prozivali na njihovoj televiziji.
15 I: Aha (.) Čelzi Hendler (.) da da da.
16 S5-m: Recimo meni (.) ja nemam pojma ko su ti likovi kao oni su se tu
17 nešto izvinili (.) meni konkretno recimo to uopšte nije smetalo (.) ja sam
18 naviknut na tu vrstu humora gde svi prozivaju sve (.) nebitno na kojoj
19 osnovi svi narodi (.) Jevreji se prozivaju zbog ovoga ovi se prozivaju zbog
20 ovoga i tako dalje (.) ja uopšte (.) mene to nije pogodilo na primer (.) a s
21 druge strane kad razmišljaš (.) neko ko nema veze sa životom će
22 zahvaljujući tome (.) ostaće mu negde u glavi kako je neko takav i takav.
23 Tako da tanka je gran- (.) ono šta jeste uvredljivo šta nije uvredljivo šta
24 (.) ali ajde realno u tom smislu (.) da kažem da jeste pošto realno da je
25 ono (.) bilo ko neko koga znaš ili neko (.) sad mi je recimo jedna
26 koleginica sa fakulteta koju znam sa sa statistike (.) okačili su je nešto na
27 onog vukajliju (.) i nešto je isprovizovali žestoko kao da žena priča gluposti u
28 smislu da je pijana (.) a ona žena uopšte ne pije (.) potpuno neosnovano.
29 I: A profesorka na fakultetu?
30 S5-m: A profesorka na fakultetu. Sad (.) ono zajejavaju ćerku njenu u
31 školi i tako dalje ali (.) čak (.) još gore ako je neosnovano (.) čak i da je
32 osnovano ali ako je neosnovano onda je još tek (.) dobro ja sad tog lika ne
33 znam (.) siguran sam da nije neosnovano @@
34 I: A reci mi šta si napisao da li je smešno?
35 S5-m: Pa stavio sam pomalo da je smešno i uvredljivo je pošto (.) realno
36 da kažem za sve ovo što sam pričao (.) zbog toga realno ne mogu da
37 kažem da nije uvredljivo.
38 I: A šta je (.) šta ti je smešno tačno?
39 S5-m: Pa ono (.) humor prozivanje je (.) ono ja sam s tim OK (.) samo
40 nije mi ovo smešno na nivou ha-ha-ha da se smejem nego mi je
41 simpatično eto (.) i u tom smislu zato kažem pomalo (.) iako kažem
42 nemam pojma ko je taj lik @@@

Video 2

1 S5-m: Šta sad (.) da vratim film (.) nije ovde ništa bilo uvredljivo (.) nisu
2 se ovde ništa spominjali konkretno Jevreji nije bilo ništa uvredljivo ja
3 mislim (.) ne sećam se. U svakom slučaju ovde sam zaokružio pomalo iz
4 prostog razloga što to je sad (.) ovo inače ne bi bilo uopšte smešno nego
5 je to smešno ljudima koji gledaju Saut Park pa znaju ko je Kartman pa im
6 je Kartman simpatičan pa onda u tom smislu (.) pusti ovaj (.) daj mu pola

7 i to je to (.) tako da kažem za to bih isto mogao da kažem pomalo.

Video 3

1 S5-m: Pa recimo (.) ajde ne znam (.) recimo (3) pa što se tiče
2 uvredljivosti ovde isto ne bih rekao da je uvredljivo zato što (.) kad kaže
3 some fat turd (.) mislim nije (.) konkretno u ovoj sceni nisu prozivali njega
4 kao njega nego kao neki kreten (.) ali su to iskoristili da bi Kartmana (.)
5 mislim važi za Kartmana (.) tako da nije nešto uvredljivo u tom smislu (.) i
6 isto je ono pomalo (.) mislim kad kažem pomalo smešno to je ono na
7 nivou ono simpatično je (.) nije (.) retko šta je na nivou ha-ha-ha nego
8 više u smislu kao simpa je.

Video 4

1 S5-m: @@@ Pa ovde bih rekao da zato da mi je smešno zato što (.)
2 mislim ovo Jew me out i to (.) to je meni (.) meni je to dosta dobra fora
3 @@@ a da li je bio uvredljiv? Pa recimo ovo pošto je na nivou (2) ne znam
4 (.) meni je ovo ajde (.) ne bih rekao da je ovo nešto (.) u principu jeste
5 pomalo ali (.) ajde da kažemo pomalo.
6 I: A šta misliš o sceni (.) gde se odigrava i sve to?
7 S5-m: U WCu.
8 I: A šta misliš o tome?
9 S5-m: U kom smislu?
10 I: Misliš li da dodaje nešto na čitavu situaciju ili ne? Da li je OK?
11 S5-m: Misliš da li zbog toga uvredljivije?
12 I: Pa da zato što on piški a ovaj ulazi i kao (.) dude get out I'm peeing i
13 tako to.
14 S5-m: Da da da (.) pa ne (.) u tom smislu mi nije uopšte.
15 I: Ne smeta?
16 S5-m: Ne.
17 I: OK.
18 S5-m: Mislim dobro sad to (.) opet mogu da kažem (.) ja generalno Saut
19 Park ne gledam zbog toga što mi je (.) što su mi do jaja fore i što mi je
20 Saut Park smešan (.) nego ih generalno gledam zato što su oni uspeli da
21 tim svojim (.) agre- (.) mislim ako gledaš prvu epizodu ne znam šta je (.)
22 potpuno agresivnim humorom (.) u smislu ružnih reči i tako dalje i šta sve
23 pričaju (.) pozicioniraju sebe tako da bi mogli da kažu ono što zaista žele
24 (.) a to je (.) u principu se većinom odnosi na način kako funkcioniše
25 sistem i tako dalje (.) znači da to (.) manje ili više vidljivo ne znam (.) u
26 ovoj epizodi ono što bi bila poenta u tom smislu bi bilo recimo (.) kad su
27 sedeli za stolom kad Kartman kaže treba da uzmem pare za to što sam ja
28 napisao a onda mu ovaj kaže (.) odgovara nešto u stilu ali kao ne (.)
29 napisali smo da se svi smeju. To je recimo poenta u ovoj epiz- (.) na tome
30 je poneta i (.) ajde da kažem sporedno je ovo (.) ja sam umislio šta sam
31 uradio <1>@@@</1>
32 I: <1>@@@</1>
33 S5-m: A usput su uspeli da ih isprozivaju sve (.) tako da to je nekako
34 njihov stil (.) ono kao da isprozivamo da se ljudi smeju a u suštini to može
35 da bude manje ili više smešno (.) ali imamo ipak iza toga negde (.) jasno
36 kao dan i serviram šta sam hteo (.) mislim u tom smislu (.) eto.
37 I: Dobro.

Video 5

1 S5-m: Pa mislim isto (.) meni ovo ne bih ocenio kao uvredljivo (.) i isto bih
2 mogao da kažem pomalo (.) eto recimo.
3 I: Pomalo je smešno?
4 S5-m: Pa u smislu (.) Kartman za početak (.) i onda je to on ovaj (.) ta
5 priča šta je on umislio u svojoj glavi pa kao eto (.) simpatično je isto.

Video 6

1 S5-m: Mislim (.) ovaj video mi nije smešan u smislu (.) ovog Meksikanca
2 (.) nego u smislu opet bih mogao da kažem pomalo je simpatičan (.) jer u
3 smislu dokle (.) do koje granice on ide (.) ovaj kao da bi ga isprozivali (.)
4 logično (.) tako da ili nešto između ne nimalo i pomalo (.) sad ne znam ni
5 ja (.) ajde da kažem.
6 I: Za uvredljivost?
7 S5-m: Za smešno.
8 I: Aha (.) za smešno.
9 S5-m: Tako da ajde opet da ne kažem nimalo (.) mislim (.) a opet kad
10 kažem pomalo smešan većinom je to na nivou aha eto simpatično (.) ali
11 ništa nije smešno u smislu da je (.) ovaj.
12 I: U suštini to to i znači (.) ta stavka pomalo to znači (.) kao ha dobra ali
13 nije dovoljno da me nasmeje (.) mislim ono naglas da se nasmejem nego
14 više kao da se nasmešim @
15 S5-m: @ E sad da li je bilo uvredljivo (.) opet kažem (.) za tog čoveka
16 opet mogao bih da kažem da (.) tako da kazaću da (.) mada opet kažem
17 (.) meni kao gledaocu (.) nikad nisam nešto preterano razmišljao o tome i
18 to mi je (.) sva ta prozivanja su mi uvek bila OK (.) i razmišljao sam kao
19 šta što bi se neko ljutio (.) u fazonu opušteno zezamo se (.) a onda kažem
20 ti kad razmisliš (.) pogotovo ako te neko isproziva na nekoj osnovi koja
21 nije realna (.) e sad da li je realna ili nije u to neću da ulazim (.) verovatno
22 da to nije prijatno.
23 I: Ovde u konkretno ovom slučaju moguće je da on stvarno ima neke
24 glupe fore (.) da ih krade levo desno pošto (.) tu ga zezaju kako krade
25 fazone i onda ih kao (.) repackage with a Mexican accent (.) što je možda
26 sasvim tačno ALI (.) šta oni znaju o njegovom seksualnom životu i
27 njegovim sposobnostima?
28 S5-m: Dobro (.) to svakako da. Generalno dok tebe neko ne uzme (.)
29 verovatno ti je sve to OK (.) ali kad razmisliš malo onda verovatno jeste
30 uvredljivo.

1 I: A reci mi (.) za titlove (.) šta misliš da li su (.) mislim jesi li ih čitao
2 prvo?
3 S5-m: Verovatno (.) pogledao sam ih ali uglavnom nisam (.) ali jesam u par
4 navrata (.) u početku sam krenuo recimo sigurno da čitam a posle se
5 iskreno ni ne sećam tako (.) mislim što se titlova tiče (.) ako bih mogao da
6 biram negde (.) uvek bih možda stavio za svaki slučaj (.) jer nešto onako
7 ne vidiš tako da možeš da ispratiš (.) e sad kažem za srpski ili engleski (.)
8 u principu (.) bolje engleski (.) manje ima grešaka @@ tako da ne moram
9 da se nerviram što je neko (.) što je neko retardiran @@@
10 I: Da da. A da li i primetio da li titlovi valjaju?
11 S5-m: Pa ne bih znao da ti kažem jer većinom nisam (.) ne kažem uopšte
12 ali ne dovoljno da bih mogao da odredim da li su bili dobri ili nisu (.) ali
13 kapiram da jesu (.) verovatno jesu.
14 I: A kad si ih čitao (.) da li misliš da pomažu razumevanje (.) na primer
15 ako nekad previše brzo pričaju ili (.) neki ljudi su mi rekli da nisu u startu
16 shvatili onu šalu na početku sa fishsticks (.) pa su onda videli u stvari u
17 čemu je fazon.
18 S5-m: Kad su napisali?
19 I: Da.
20 S5-m: Konkretno (.) kažem u principu (.) titlovi pomažu zato što (.) svaku
21 stvar koju iole ne čuješ (.) ne razumeš (.) možeš da proveriš (.) da baciš
22 pogled (.) ali generalno (2) nema nekog pravila ali uglavnom recimo Saut
23 Park gledam bez tako da uglavnom nemam problema (.) doduše tu i tamo
24 uvek se pojavi neka reč koju ne znaš (.) logično (.) samo je pitanje da li
25 utiče na razumevanje ili ne.
26 I: A ona pesma na kraju?
27 S5-m: Da li uvredljiva ili šta?

28 I: Samo onako generalno (.) šta misliš?
 29 S5-m: Generalno mi se taj (.) to recimo nije dopalo (.) nije mi nešto bilo
 30 naročito smešno (.) bilo mi je čak preterano jer (.) dovoljno je bilo da se
 31 završilo sa njegovim uskakanjem u vodu i to bi bilo recimo (.) za mene
 32 sasvim @@ legitimno završiti epizodu u tom trenutku @@@ oni su
 33 jednostavno malo preterali.
 34 I: A možeš li da pretpostaviš u čemu je fazon sa tom pesmom?
 35 S5-m: Je l' to već prerađena neka njegova pesma (.) pretpostavljam? Ne
 36 (.) kažem što se mene tiče su tu preterali iz prostog razloga što je uhvatio
 37 tu taj pogled ribe <2>@@@</2>
 38 I: <2>@@@</2>
 39 S5-m: Mislim da nije bilo potrebe za time jer realno (.) poenta je već bila
 40 kad je on uskočio u vodu i ovde su ga još sabili do kraja.
 41 I: Uzeli su njegovu pesmu koja je kao veliki hit (.) i onda su samo na tu
 42 melodiju (.) i mislim da je velika poenta u svemu ovome što ga ubiše sa
 43 autotjunom pošto on mislim stvarno koristi autotjun (.) maksimalno.
 44 S5-m: Sad ne bih znao da dam primer (.) ali znam da sam milion puta čuo
 45 nešto od tih Amerikanaca manje poznatih (.) kad nešto čuješ (.) ne repera
 46 nego generalno ovako da li je žena (.) muškarac (.) nije bitno (.) a kad
 47 nešto čuješ da peva uživo da to (.) nije baš @@ nije baš to što je na ce-
 48 de-u @@ tako da <3>@@@</3>
 49 I: <3>@@@</3>

S6-f

Video 1

1 S6-f: Was it offensive? No.
 2 I: What was funny?
 3 S6-f: The interviewer explaining the joke to Kanye (.) like he was five (.)
 4 and he still doesn't get it.
 5 I: And you know who Kanye West is?
 6 S6-f: Yes.
 7 I: And what do you think of him?
 8 S6-f: I don't like him.
 9 I: So it wasn't offensive?
 10 S6-f: No (.) maybe to Kanye West (.) but not (.) to general public.

Video 2

1 S6-f: It was funny. Was it offensive? No.
 2 I: So what was funny about this one?
 3 S6-f: What's the name of the kid?
 4 I: Craig.
 5 S6-f: I like his voice (.) his voice is funny (.) his (.) the thing that he said
 6 (.) if I had wheels I'd wagon (.) that's funny and (4) you know that (.) just
 7 give him half it's Cartman (.) cause it's Cartman.

Video 3

1 S6-f: No (.) to me no (.) it wasn't funny.
 2 I: OK (.) so why wasn't it funny?
 3 S6-f: I get that he is the fat turd (.) but (.) it's just not funny to me.
 4 I: And it's not offensive (.) why not? I mean (.) you don't think it's
 5 offensive (.) why not?
 6 S6-f: Probably it's offensive to the (.) Carlos Mencia character (.) but I
 7 don't think it's that big a deal.
 8 I: OK.

Video 4

- 1 S6-f: Yeah that was funny (.) and it was (2) it was offensive (.) it was not
- 2 that serious.
- 3 I: What was funny exactly?
- 4 S6-f: Jew defensive moves (.) get out of here I'm peeing (2) and the fact
- 5 that he still thinks that he created the joke.
- 6 I: And what was offensive?
- 7 S6-f: It was offensive to the Jews (.) Jew defensive moves (.) what is
- 8 that?
- 9 I: OK (.) what else? The two of them talking about Jews.
- 10 S6-f: Well (.) Kyle is a Jew (.) right?
- 11 I: Yeah (.) and you said that the fact that he's peeing is funny (.) that he
- 12 comes in while he's peeing (.) that's funny.
- 13 S6-f: Yeah (.) a little bit.

Video 5

- 1 S6-f: It was funny (.) offensive? No (.) I don't think it was.
- 2 I: What was funny about this one?
- 3 S6-f: When he comes in he's what's up dawg (.) that's kind of stupid
- 4 because (.) that's not really something you guess he would say and (.) the
- 5 fact that he'd come up with the joke in a second (.) that was really (.)
- 6 stupid.
- 7 I: OK (.) but what about the
- 8 S6-f: Dragon? Yeah (.) that's also (.) that's also idiotic to me.

Video 6

- 1 I: So what do you think about this one?
 - 2 S6-f: I don't know it's not funny to me (.) and it's offensive to like (.)
 - 3 Mexicans and (.) and that (.) if that's (.) I guess that's a real person?
 - 4 I: Carlos Mencia (.) yes. So you don't know who that is?
 - 5 S6-f: No. Is he a comedian?
 - 6 I: Yes.
 - 7 S6-f: It's not funny because (.) I don't know (.) to me it's not (.) I don't
 - 8 like the (.) Mexican jokes and all.
 - 9 I: But what do you think about sexual parts of this?
 - 10 S6-f: Like is it funny to me or not?
 - 11 I: What do you think in general?
 - 12 S6-f: It's a bit offensive.
 - 13 I: Do you think it's offensive that they're (.) mentioning those words or
 - 14 that they're talking about it at all?
 - 15 S6-f: Yes. Because I think there are a lot of kids that watch this show (.)
 - 16 because it's like a cartoon (.) and it's offensive for them to mention those
 - 17 words.
-
- 1 I: What do you think about the song at the end?
 - 2 S6-f: The heartless (.) remix?
 - 3 I: OK (.) yeah.
 - 4 S6-f: I like that (.) that was the best part of the episode.
 - 5 I: Did you read the subtitles?
 - 6 S6-f: No (.) not at all.
 - 7 I: Why?
 - 8 S6-f: Because they mess with my concentration (.) and they talk really
 - 9 fast (.) so it's easier for me to just listen (.) and not try to read.

S7-f

Video 1

1 S7-f: I think the video was funny because it makes fun of Kanye West (.)
2 who is generally perceived as being very arrogant and (.) thinking very
3 highly of himself (.) and then he cannot understand the stupidest joke in
4 the world which is really really simple and (.) even though the host of
5 show explained it to him as if he was a little kid.
6 I: And was it offensive?
7 S7-f: I said it was a little offensive because (.) they do really (3) criticize
8 Kanye highly in this (.) I mean they portray him like an idiot in this
9 episode (.) the whole episode not even (.) not just in this clip (.) but I
10 don't think it was (.) very offensive because (.) if someone chooses to be a
11 public figure they (.) actually should be aware that they are putting their
12 actions out there to be criticized and their behaviour also (.) in front of the
13 whole world.

Video 2

1 I: why was it a little bit funny?
2 S7-f: Well (.) it wasn't very funny because in general the whole
3 conversation is (.) more or less normal (.) it's a typical thing for South
4 Park (.) like they (.) Kyle always talks about Cartman how he really is (.) a
5 bad guy actually @@ and he sees him for who he is and always tries to
6 explain to other people how they shouldn't (.) give in to him (.) and then
7 you have Craig who just has this (.) ridiculous tone of voice when (.) when
8 saying just give him half (.) don't even bother trying.
9 I: But what is funny then?
10 S7-f: The last line (.) when he says if I had wheels I'd be a wagon (.)
11 because (.) we have some similar sayings in Serbian and (.) they are
12 usually quite humorous and so that reminded me of that (.) and it was
13 funny to see (.) it was kind of funny to see (.) there are things like that in
14 English also.
15 I: And you don't think it was offensive?
16 S7-f: No I don't (.) I don't see anything offensive in this (.) because
17 Cartman is a fictional character so they're not really making fun of (.)
18 anyone actually (.) and even if he were it wouldn't be much (.) offensive.

Video 3

1 I: What do you think (.) was it funny?
2 S7-f: Well (.) this one (2) I don't know (.) it was a little funny maybe (3)
3 and
4 I: Offensive?
5 S7-f: I don't think it was offensive (.) no. So it was a little funny because
6 (.) while Cartman was trying to protect them from fat turd Carlos Mencia
7 at the same time he's doing the same thing (.) so he's also trying to take
8 credit for something he didn't do.
9 I: Yeah.
10 S7-f: So it's kind of ironic that (.) he is (.) upset about someone doing the
11 same thing he is doing (.) but I don't think it's offensive (.) because calling
12 someone (.) fat (.) is not really an issue (.) for me (.) I don't think so (.) I
13 mean at least not for South Park (.) and also (.) there's this transference
14 of (.) the name fat turd from (.) mister Mencia to Cartman so (.) you think
15 of Cartman not of Mencia (.) as the fat turd.
16 I: And do you like Cartman?
17 S7-f: No (.) not really.

Video 4

1 I: Was that funny to you?
2 S7-f: No (.) this was not funny for me (.) and I think it was (.) quite
3 offensive (.) I mean it was offensive (.) not extremely but it was offensive.
4 I: To whom?
5 S7-f: Well (.) the thing is that Cartman is talking about Jews and coining
6 new phrases like Jew defensive moves and Jew- Jewing someone out (.)
7 while talking to Kyle who is Jewish (.) and he always does that in South
8 Park (.) which is ridiculous. So in that sense it's offensive yes (.) but I
9 don't think it's funny.
10 I: What do you think about the bathroom scene?
11 S7-f: Well (.) I do think it's kind of (.) weird that (.) someone is peeing
12 and then someone just comes and starts talking (.) and they say dude get
13 out of here I'm peeing but they just disregard that and keep talking (.) but
14 then on the other hand I'm not really sure how guys act (.) in the
15 bathroom but (.) I personally wouldn't like anyone talking to me (.)
16 especially with (.) because they have these (.) urinals (.) and they're kind
17 of peeing in the open (.) in my personal opinion.
18 I: Would it be any different if it were those stalls?
19 S7-f: @@ I don't know (.) probably. This is just a little bit weird (.) and
20 they're kids and (.) you know they're just little kids and this is like an adult
21 scene.

Video 5

1 I: What do you think was it funny?
2 S7-f: Was that funny? Yeah (.) it was funny (.) it was funny actually that
3 was funny (.) and was it offensive? I don't find it offensive at all.
4 I: So tell me why do you think it was funny?
5 S7-f: I don't know (.) I mean generally (.) he remembers how they came
6 up with the joke several times in the episode and each (.) each instance of
7 that is more and more ridiculous (.) in his mind (.) it's funny how he
8 portrays himself as being really cool and perfect and loveable and life of
9 the party for the (.) for the group.
10 I: And not fat at all <1>@@</1>
11 S7-f: <1>@@</1> Yeah (.) that is really funny and how he is delusional
12 with imagining dragons and killing them (.) and while (.) at the beginning
13 it was just some spider that Jimmy's mother killed with a newspaper (.) or
14 whatever (.) no big deal (2) and he goes on from not doing anything at all
15 (.) not having anything to do with the joke (.) to actually (.) believing that
16 he wrote the entire thing in like (.) a nanosecond (.) and it's really
17 ridiculous how he always (.) he always eats the worst food ever (.) and
18 he's always like I'm not fat I'm not fat (.) so it shows how he actually
19 deals (.) copes with his self-image through these dilusions.
20 I: Why wasn't it offensive?
21 S7-f: Because it basically dealed only with Cartman (.) who is fictional (.)
22 and not really likeable so (.) I don't find anything that is bad for him really
23 offensive.

Video 6

1 I: Why was it funny?
2 S7-f: Well this one is funny (.) I don't know (.) the first time I saw it (.) it
3 was ridiculous (.) the way he talks (.) his voice is semi-female in this (.)
4 because he's like (.) half crying (.) and also he adds this weird (.) the
5 combination of the tone and his mock Mexican accent is (.) ridiculous.
6 I: Do you know who he is (.) Carlos Mencia?
7 S7-f: No (.) I haven't heard of him before (.) but I can only imagine that
8 he is a comedian (2) that is Mexican I don't know @@ but I haven't heard
9 of him before and I haven't (.) heard any of his jokes or shows or stand-
10 ups.

11 I: And why was it offensive?
12 S7-f: it was offensive because (3) it wasn't offensive in the sense that they
13 say that he is not funny and that he steals jokes and repackages them
14 with Mexican accent (.) because that again is a criticism of a celebrity that
15 can be personal (.) it's OK for me (.) but then again you have the (.) the
16 part with them saying that he has no male parts and (.) that he has to pee
17 in a bag (.) and I don't think that (.) that is appropriate at all (.) and also
18 a little bit offensive is (.) actually it wasn't shown in this clip (.) then they
19 beat him up and (.) I don't think that should be shown like that in a
20 cartoon.
21 I: Why do you think they picked Kanye West and Carlos Mencia for this
22 episode? Why them?
23 S7-f: I don't know (.) I think there must be some kind of a parallel
24 between them (.) I don't know exactly who Carlos Mencia is and (.) what
25 (.) how he is like (.) I only know of Kanye West how he is usually very
26 arrogant and full of himself (.) but then again they portrayed Carlos Mencia
27 in the episode when he is (.) when he is at that show and saying that he is
28 the one that made the joke (.) he tells the story as if he was (.) oh
29 everybody tells me that I'm so funny (.) your brain (.) you're so funny and
30 stuff (.) so he might be kind of a (2) a simpler version of Kanye West
31 maybe he is (.) a little bit full of himself and thinking he's so funny and
32 whatever (2) I'm not really sure if that's the case but that could be (.)
33 something. And they both probably annoy the writers of South Park @@

1 I: And did you read the subtitles?
2 S7-f: Yes I did (.) most of the time (.) but not all the time.
3 I: Did they help you?
4 S7-f: Well no no (.) there weren't (.) I usually read subtitles so that I can
5 see (.) whether I missed something or didn't hear something (.) but here
6 it was pretty clear what they said all the time (.) and there weren't any
7 words that I didn't know before (.) so in that sense no (.) but I think they
8 generally are helpful (.) especially if they're in English (.) when they're in
9 Serbian sometimes they can be misleading because a lot of translation are
10 done (.) are done improperly.
11 I: Were the subtitles correct?
12 S7-f: No not all the time (.) sometimes they they (.) I've noticed that
13 sometimes they didn't do the fish dicks fishsticks distinction correctly (.)
14 they could've done a better job with that (.) and also (2) they left out some
15 of the words (.) in some parts (.) I guess that's because of the space
16 constraints but still (.) I don't know.
17 I: What do you think of the song at the end?
18 S7-f: Well (.) actually I think the song is the best part of the whole
19 episode because I laughed so much when I heard that.
20 I: Do you know what the song is?
21 S7-f: Yeah I know (.) it's heartless of Kanye West and (.) I didn't
22 recognize it at the beginning when the beat started (.) and I figured the
23 episode would end with him jumping into the water and then when they
24 started with the autotune and the melody of the song (.) I realized it was
25 his song and (.) the lyrics were ridiculous (.) especially the part with (.)
26 feeling like a whore in the frozen isle @@ that was so funny. I don't know
27 (.) I think it was a good parody (.) especially because Kanye West uses
28 autotune all the time and (.) it's something that has been used in modern
29 music (.) too much in my opinion so I really like (.) how they (.) they
30 overautotuned everything in this parody of his song so (.) it's a really good
31 parody.
32 I: So would you call yourself a fan of Kanye West?
33 S7-f: No definitely not.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Details

Full Name: Ivana Turković

Date/place of birth: 19.11.1985 / Belgrade, Serbia

Nationality: Serbian



Education

09/2000 - 06/2004 Gymnasium Mihajlo Pupin, Belgrade, Serbia

09/2004 - 03/2009 Faculty of Philology, English language and linguistics, University of Belgrade

10/2009 - 11/2011 Postgraduate studies, MA, English language and applied linguistics, University of Vienna

Professional Experience

04/2010 - present On call interpreter for Carmeuse Group in Vienna

09/2008-01/2009 In-house translator for translating agency Alkemist, Serbian to English and English to Serbian (finance, technology and biochemistry)

2008 Translator for a project for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (history, law and politics)

2006 – present Freelance translator (finance, electronics, marketing, medicine, literature and journalism)

04/2005 – 07/2005 Translator at the Institute for Plant Protection and Environment, Belgrade (technology, machinery and biochemistry)