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DISCOURSES OF HUMOUR

Contents

Semantic and Pragmatic Mechanisms of Humour in Animal Jokes

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Abstract. The purpose of this paper is to take a close look at the interplay of semantic and pragmatic components of animal jokes. Rather than insisting on the priority of one particular theoretical tradition and selecting a few illustrative examples, 30 animal jokes – most of them translated into English from Hungarian – are presented to help identify the different mechanisms that make them amusing. Adopting a theory-by-theory approach, it becomes clear that some jokes fit well the explanation of frame or script semantics, while others are best captured by one or another pragmatic framework and classification. This leads to the related question of whether it is possible, at this stage of research, to integrate the diverse lines of thought or whether the semantic and pragmatic study of verbal humour will have to remain relatively fragmented. It is argued that certain basic elements of major pragmatic theories are important complements to frame/script semantics, the humour of animal jokes is reliant on the same meaning-generating processes as observed in other jokes, and that the attraction of animal jokes lies in their psychological and cultural-anthropological characteristics. Finally, their cross-cultural investigation is encouraged.

Keywords: animal jokes, frames, scripts, speech acts, conversational maxims, implicature, explicature, relevance theory, viewpoints

Introduction

Animal jokes are a well-known and much-liked thematic group of jokes. In the present paper, I seek to answer the question whether animal jokes are a special type of jokes semantically and pragmatically or whether they use the same humour-triggering mechanisms as do other jokes and genres of humour. I rely on five theoretical frameworks in doing so: frame- and script-based semantics, speech act theory, Gricean and neo-Gricean pragmatics, relevance theory, and functional cognitive pragmatics. From a cognitive semantic perspective, my aim is to highlight

the importance of drawing a principled distinction between frames and scripts that is applicable to jokes (and humorous texts in general). From a pragmatic point of view, I attempt to demonstrate the fundamental role some key pragmatic phenomena play in creating humour in animal jokes, arguing for the need for an integrative approach. The psychological and cultural-anthropological appeal of animal jokes is also worth yet another closer look. For comparison, I briefly discuss and test a relatively new typology of humour, dubbed the Intersecting Circles Model (Yus 2013, 2016), which distinguishes seven types of jokes. Most of the jokes cited as examples are taken from Hungarian collections of jokes and translated into English in the main text (the Hungarian versions are provided in footnotes), although in some cases original English-language jokes are chosen in order to avoid translation difficulties arising from polysemy, homonymy, homography, homophony, or paronymy.

1. Jokes and animal jokes

Even though the boundaries of the notion are rather fluid (cf. one-liners, banter, humorous anecdotes, cartoons with captions, Internet memes, etc.), a joke is primarily a short, fictional story with a surprising punch line at the end whose goal is to create a humorous effect in the audience/readers/viewers. It can be considered a text type or a discourse genre, so the focus is on either the linguistic form or the communicative function (see e.g. Attardo 1994: 293–331, Attardo and Chabanne 1992, Hetzron 1991, Norrick 1993). The prototypical (canned) joke has an unknown author, no title, and a non-canonical text passed on from speaker to speaker, in which a one- or two-sentence-long narrative introduction is followed by a short dialogue (or polylogue), the last turn of which contains the punch line. This scheme is not rigid: the narrative introduction is often absent if the background information necessary to understand the punch line can be gathered from the dialogue (1) or when the joke is a riddle or conundrum, with the "dialogue" being a pseudo-dialogue (2):

(1) Mother: "Billy, why did you pull the cat's tail?"
   Billy: "I didn't pull her tail, mom. I was standing on it, and she pulled it."
   (AA. 17)

(2) Q: "What does a rabbit use to comb its fur?"
   A: "A harebrush."
   (AA. 31)

   Rarely, the dialogue may actually be absent:

(3) The fox, the stork and the jackass plan a trip and agree to bring their partners along.
The fox brings his chick, the stork his babe, and the jackass his wife.[1]
(LVk. 46)

Most jokes, however, follow the structure of the joke in (4):

(4) Mama stork sends her three fledglings out to learn about life. A few months later, she calls them back to the nest and asks them to tell her what they have accomplished.
The oldest fledgling boasts, "I delivered triplets to the grocer!"
The second one says, "I delivered quintuplets to an army officer."
"And you?" the mama stork asks her youngest fledgling.
"I'm still too small and weak to deliver babies, but I managed to scare the young woman behind the cash register pretty badly."[2]
(AK. 84–85, HÁv. 138–139, LÁv. 29–30, LVk. 41)

Joke book editors as well as non-experts categorize jokes according to thematic groups. In the Hungarian language area, the most popular jokes include absurd jokes, animal jokes, artist jokes, blonde jokes, child jokes, doctor jokes, driver jokes, drunk jokes, exotic jokes, gangster jokes, Gypsy jokes, historical jokes, Jewish jokes, madman jokes, marriage jokes, mother-in-law jokes, policeman jokes, politician jokes, restaurant jokes, school jokes, scientist jokes, Scotsman jokes, sex jokes, and Szekler jokes (cf. the chapters of LVk.). Other cultures have their own preferred joke topics: for instance, lawyer jokes are very widespread in the United States (cf. Davies 2011, T. Litovkina 2016a).

There are many reasons for the general appeal of animal jokes. Of course, we need to clarify what an animal joke is to begin with since in collections of jokes fisherman jokes and hunter jokes are frequently subsumed under the heading of "animal jokes" even when no animal appears in the joke at all, as in (5):

(5) "Why are you so stressed?"
"Because I'm fishing."
"I thought fishing calmed the nerves."

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1   A róka, a gólya és a marha közös kirándulást terveznek, s megbeszélik, hogy mindegyikük viszi magával a partnernőjét is. A róka elviszi a tyúkját, a gólya a babáját, a marha pedig a feleségét.
2   A gólyamama kiküldi az életbe három fiókáját, hogy önállósodjanak. Néhány hónap múlva visszahívja őket a családi fészekbe, hogy számoljanak be élményeikről.
      – Én hármas ikreket vittem a fűszereshez – dicsekszik a legidősebb.
      – Én ötös ikreket egy katonatisztnek – mondja a második.
      – És te? – fordul a gólyamama a legkisebbhez.
      – Én még kicsi és gyenge vagyok a gyerekcipeléshez, de a pénztáros kisasszonyra jól ráijesztettem.

"Only if you have a fishing license."[3]
(HÁv. 26, LVk. 30)

Although the notion of *fisherman* is no doubt closely connected with that of *fish*, the joke in (5) is not an animal joke (at best, an animal-related one) in the sense that in animal jokes animals talk or do something, and, if not, at least one animal species is named in them (cf. (1)–(4)). The dialogue of a prototypical animal joke is carried out between animals (i.e. interanimal communication) or between one (or more) animal(s) and one (or more) person(s) (i.e. human–animal communication). Two of the main characteristics of animal jokes are that they emphasize or even exaggerate the most salient features of animals (the slowness of the snail, the long neck of the giraffe, etc.), and they anthropomorphize animals (cf. Andor 2002, 2014, 2018). Some animal jokes zoomorphize instead: for instance, humans can understand or speak the "language" of animals, behave like an animal (cf. T. Litovkina 2016b), and have sex with animals:

(6) An entertainer arrives in a village and says to one of the farmers, "I understand the language of animals. If you invite me to your house for dinner, I can tell you which animal has a problem." The farmer invites the entertainer to his house. They go up to the cow, and the entertainer says, "She is complaining of an aching udder because she was not milked properly." They go on to the rooster, which is crowing painfully. "He says the chickens didn't get enough hatching feed." Suddenly, a goat runs to them, bleating happily. The farmer looks at his guest in dismay and blurts out, "Don't you believe a word this lying beast says!"[4]
(LVk. 43)

Human–animal relationships go back to the dawn of humanity, and animal myths are as common in the cultures of the world as are animal symbols. Folklore studies consider animal tales as a subgenre of folktales and fairy tales, while linguistics focuses attention on the phraseology in animal proverbs and sayings (e.g. Forgács 2005, Haase 2008, Mieder 1993, Szirmai et al. 2018, Werness 2003).

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3   – Miért ilyen ideges?
     – Mert horgászom.
     – Azt hittem, az nyugtat.
     – De csak azt, akinek van horgászengedélye.
4   Mutatványos érkezik a faluba. Azt mondja az egyik gazdának:
     – Én értek az állatok nyelvén. Ha meghív ebédre, megmondom, melyiknek mi a baja.
     A gazda rááll a dologra. Odamennek a tehénhez, s azt mondja az állatértő:
     – Szegény arról panaszkodik, hogy fáj a tőgye, mert nem fejték meg rendesen.
     Mennek tovább. A kakas hangosan, fájdalmasan kukorékol.
     – Azt mondja, hogy a tyúkok nem kaptak elég tojótápot.
     Ekkor vidám mekegéssel elébük szalad a kecske. A gazda megdermed, és habogva mondja a vendégnek:
     – Egy szavát se higgye el ennek a hazug dögnek.

2. Scripts, frames, and schemas

Some humour researchers prefer to investigate jokes for methodological reasons, i.e. their relatively short, fairly homogeneous, and easily accessible nature, drawing conclusions about humour on the basis of analysing them (Hetzron 1991, Raskin 1985, Ritchie 2004). Perhaps the most influential linguistic hypothesis regarding jokes is Raskin's (1985, revised and further developed as Attardo and Raskin 1991), according to which a text is a joke if it is compatible with two distinct scripts, these scripts overlap fully or in part but clash in a special predefined sense, evoking actual/non-actual (existing/non-existing), normal/abnormal (expected/unexpected), or plausible/implausible (possible/impossible, much less possible) states of affairs. What can trigger the switch from the first script to the second is ambiguity or contradiction. Consider the syntactic ambiguity of the opening utterance in (7), more effective in oral performance. The two scripts here are SHARK ATTACK and RESTAURANT.

(7) "I just saw a man eating shark."
    "Where??"
    "In a restaurant."
    (AA. 76)

Interestingly, thanks to Schank and Abelson's (1977) ground-breaking work in cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, RESTAURANT has become the most famous textbook example of scripts. As they assert, "a script is a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation" (1977: 41). It allows us to tell and understand a story in an economical way, leaving out what is unnecessary or retrievable from this knowledge structure stored as an interconnected whole in the long-term memory. The compactness of joke texts is largely due to the schematic mental representations we have of things and of a wide range of social settings. Several types of scripts can be described: for example, in contrast to simple or concrete scripts, metascripts consist of scenes with a minimum of specification such as doing standard favours, empathic helping, visiting a health professional, and the like (Abelson 1981: 725). At a higher level of abstraction, therefore, we may have a FAIRY TALE metascript, of which the story of Little Red Riding Hood is a concrete realization. If a joke begins with "Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother…", a listener who grew up in our culture will immediately recall the script of the tale with the Big Bad Wolf as the third main character:

(8) Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother are wondering what could be up with the wolf since they had not seen him for days. Could something have happened to him? So, they decide to visit him. They knock on the door of the

wolf's den, and in a short while the wolf appears, looking awful: he is pale, his face is gaunt, with bags under his eyes.

"What's up with you, wolf, are you sick or something?"

"Oh no, not at all. It's just that I had to dance with Kevin Costner all night…"[5]

(AK. 43)

Notice that the narrative introduction in (8) breaks with the Little Red Riding Hood script by inventing that the little girl and her grandmother decide to visit the wolf because they worry about him. Then, in accordance with Raskin's (1985) hypothesis, the punch line switches from this modified first script to another one: that of the Oscar-winning 1990 movie *Dances with Wolves* starring Kevin Costner.

At first glance, it might appear that the idea of script opposition as the source of humour is on the right track, especially if we adopt Raskin's broad view of scripts as large chunks of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it (1985: 81) and not restricted to stereotyped event sequences (cf. Schank and Abelson 1977). Unfortunately, the terminology within frame semantics is far from consistent, as is clear from the following alternatives to script opposition in humour literature: "schema conflict" (Norrick 1986), "frame-shifting" (Coulson 2001), "frame and scriptal break" (Andor 2002). This is obviously not the place to offer an overview of various approaches to the relationship between *schema*, *frame*, *script*, *scenario*, *scene*, and other similar notions (see e.g. Andor 1986, Attardo 2001: 2–8). To me, however, it seems quite counterintuitive to suppose that there exist "atemporal scripts" (Raskin 1985: 126). Instead, I will remain closer to Schank and Abelson's definition, using *schema* as an umbrella term, *frame* for the network of conceptual associations around a word (cf. "a graph with lexical nodes and semantic links between them", "a lexical script"; Attardo 2001: 7, Raskin 1985: 81), and *script* as synonymous with *scenario*. This is not to deny that frames as lexical domains and scripts as higher-order packages of information are related to one another.

The joke in (9) does not involve script switching. It stays within the Walking the dog and petting it script from beginning to end, yet it is funny because Danny wants to satisfy his curiosity at the expense of Johnny's well-being:

(9) Danny is walking his new dog when he runs into Johnny.

"Oh, what a cute dog you have!"

"Go ahead, pet him!"

"He doesn't bite, does he?"

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5   Piroska és a nagymama azon tanakodnak, mi lehet a farkassal, merthogy már napok óta nem látták. Talán valami baj érte? Elhatározzák, hogy meglátogatják. Bekopogtatnak a farkasbarlang ajtaján. Kisvártatva kijön a farkas, szörnyen néz ki: sápadt, beesett a pofacsontja, karikásak a szemei.
    – Mi van veled, farkas koma, talán beteg vagy?
    – Ugyan, dehogy. Csak egész éjjel Kevin Costnerrel kellett táncolnom.

"That's what I'd like to find out!"[6]
(HÁv. 116, LÁv. 69, LVk. 37)

The question arises how this joke fits into any semantic theory of humour. Impoliteness is a pragmatic phenomenon, and (9) is best understood as a violation of Leech's (1983, 2014) politeness maxims (Tact, Generosity, Sympathy).

Andor (2002, 2014, 2018) stresses, rightly in my view, the importance of frames in animal jokes. These frames internalize objective characteristics, personal experience, cultural stereotypes or beliefs – the point is that they are relatively unified within a given community. That is why animal jokes can be based on them. For instance, snails, as we know, move slowly, a fact that the joke in (10) greatly exaggerates:

(10) A curious snail crawls up an oak tree. It crawls and crawls. Fifty years pass. Then another fifty years pass. Then, half way up, the snail slides off and falls back to the ground. It hurts itself really badly and says resentfully: "See? That's what hurrying does to you!"[7]
(AK. 67; HÁv. 136; LVk. 36)

Does (10) break or switch the SNAIL frame or the CLIMBING UP THE TREE script? The answer is surely "no" (except that the snail speaks like humans do); rather, slowness as a salient behavioural feature of snails is extremely exaggerated and perspectivized in it.

Other animal jokes borrow frames or scripts from various fields of human experience that have nothing to do with animals. The joke in (11) requires knowledge of what people in East-Central Europe generally think about "the communist party" or communist parties of the former Eastern Bloc led by the Soviet Union (cf. Raskin 1985: 242):

(11) The rabbit is running east in the Siberian steppe when he is stopped by the fox. "Where are you running, Rabbit?"
"The Communist Party decided that all five-legged rabbits will be shot."
"But you only have four legs…"

6　Új kutyáját sétáltatja Peti, amikor találkozik Sanyikával.
　　– Jaj, de aranyos kutyád van!
　　– Simogasd meg!
　　– De nem harap?
　　– Ezt szeretném én is megtudni.

7　Egy kíváncsi csiga felmászik a tölgyfára. Mászik, mászik. Eltelik ötven év, majd még ötven. Akkor – talán félúton – a csiga véletlenül megcsúszik, és visszahuppan a földre. Keservesen megüti magát, s bosszúsan mondja:
　　– Na lám csak! Ez a vége a nagy sietségnek!

"Yeah, but these guys shoot first and count second…"[8]
(AK. 46)

No matter how they are labelled at the "meta-" and the concrete level, such underlying scripts interact with the animal frames as is the case in (11) with the RABBIT frame, which involves that rabbits run fast and hide from predators and hunters. One might argue that the COMMUNIST PERSECUTION script breaks the RABBIT frame, or the latter is embedded in the former, but the punch line does not serve to reveal script opposition or frame clash.

While it is indisputable that scripts and frames are useful cognitive semantic notions, there is no reason to ignore the pragmatic side of the coin in attempting to develop a full-fledged joke theory and, more widely, the understanding of humour. The whole process of text interpretation is tightly interwoven with pragmatic inferences, including the recognition of intention and contextual manipulation. For further discussion and criticism of the semantic script theory of humour and its later versions, see e.g. Attardo 1994, 2001, Brock 2004, Dynel 2009, Morreall 2004, Oring 2019, Raskin 2017, Raskin et al. 2009, Ritchie 2004, Yus 2016, and Kianbakht 2020. My claim here is that the humour of animal jokes can spring from breaking or switching frames or scripts, from combining or manipulating them, and that these operations incorporate several pragmatic factors.

3. Animal jokes as speech-act jokes

The founding fathers of speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) were somewhat reluctant to examine in detail the nature and "felicity conditions" (Austin's term) of non-serious and insincere speaker intentions expressed in the course of communication. In reality, however, humorous speech acts abound (Goatly 2012: 205–223, Hancher 1980, Nemesi 2016), and a number of far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from them for the theory itself. Locution, illocution, and perlocution can all function as the key elements of a joke's punch line, and it is important to add that humour, either intentional or unintentional, is closely intertwined with and often defined by its most frequent perlocutionary effect, i.e. amusement and laughter (Alexander 1997: 65, Attardo and Chabanne 1992: 168).

First, let us take a joke based on locution:

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8   Nyuszika fut eszeveszetten a szibériai pusztán keletnek, amikor megállítja a róka:
     – Hová futsz, nyuszika?
     – A kommunista párt úgy döntött, hogy kilövik az ötlábú nyulakat…
     – De hiszen neked csak négy lábad van!
     – Ja, de ezek előbb lőnek, aztán számolnak…

(12) Little worm: "Am I late, mother?"
   Mother worm: "Yes! Where in earth have you been?"
   (AA. 25)

Locutionary jokes are typically language-specific. In the above example, the common question "Where *on earth* have you been?" is replaced by "Where *in earth* have you been?", with a different preposition, in an untranslatable twist. For Austin (1962: 95), the rhetic act is the performance of an act of using "certain vocables or words […] with a certain more-or-less definite sense and reference"; this is the level at which the humour of the joke in (12) can be interpreted according to his classification and at the level of propositional acts in Searle's (1969) framework.

Secondly, the most central category of speech act theory is the illocutionary act. Searle (1965) regarded it as the minimal unit of linguistic communication. There are many kinds of jokes based on illocution. A typical one, a contemporary so-called Hungarian "aggressive piglet" joke (cf. Andor 2014: 42) involving the misunderstanding of the illocutionary act and a response that follows from it, is presented in (13):

(13) The aggressive piglet is riding on the bus. A ticket inspector comes:
   "Tickets, monthly passes, please!"
   The piglet says, "I don't want any!"[9]
   (AK. 6)

The directive (or exercitive, in Austin's terms) illocutionary act performed by the ticket inspector is not an offer or begging, as interpreted by the aggressive piglet, a character whose aggressiveness is his defining attribute, accompanied by his imperfect pragmatic competence (also see below).

Finally, the humour of the joke in (14) is based on perlocution because by speaking as a human the dog scares old Uncle Steve (unintentional effect), even though that is exactly what it wanted to avoid:

(14) Old Uncle Steve goes to visit a friend of his. At his friend's house, he shouts
   over the fence, at which point an enormous Komondor[10] runs up and says:
   "My owner is not home!"
   Uncle Steve faints. The dog licks his face, and when he comes round, he asks:
   "Hey, can't you bark or something?"

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9   Az agresszív kismalac autóbuszon utazik. Jön az ellenőr:
     – Jegyeket, bérleteket!
     Mire a kismalac:
     – Nem kell!
10   The Komondor is a large, white-coloured traditional Hungarian breed of livestock guard dog
     renowned for its *long*, corded coat.

"Oh, yes, I can, but I didn't want to scare you!"[11]
(AK. 58, LVk. 52)

As we can see, animal jokes may involve a playful use of speech acts, and this is not special or peculiar to this genre – except, of course, for the fact that in them, just like in animal folk tales, animals are able to use speech acts.

4. Animal jokes that break conversational maxims and evoke implicatures

Grice (1975) was not explicit about how humour touches on his Cooperative Principle and four Kantian categories, but various authors have pointed out that one essential ingredient of humour is the non-observance of his conversational maxims (e.g. Attardo 1994: 271–292, Dynel 2009, Yamaguchi 1988) as well as Leech's (1983, 2014) maxims of politeness (Goatly 2012: 224–245, Nemesi 2012, 2015). Two problems immediately emerge: what type(s) of non-observance of a maxim can be detected in a joke, and is it the joke character or the joke teller who breaks the maxims? In the following joke (15), it is the aggressive piglet again who is not making his contribution as informative as required (thus, infringing the first maxim of Quantity) without realizing it:

(15) The aggressive piglet goes to the railway station to buy a ticket. He says to the person behind the counter:
"I want a return ticket!"
"Where would you like to go?"
"What do you mean where? There and back!"[12]
(AK. 6)

In contrast, in (16), it is the joke teller who exploits the second maxim of Manner ("Avoid ambiguity") by a homonymous pun on the word *bark* (cf. Ross 1998: 17):

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11   Az öreg Pista bácsi átmegy a szomszédjához látogatóba. Bekiabál a kertkapun, mire megjelenik egy hatalmas komondor, és megszólal:
– Nincs itthon a gazdám!
Az öreg úgy megijed, hogy elájul. Amikor a kutya nyelvcsapásaitól magához tér, azt mondja:
– Te, hát ugatni nem tudsz?
Mire a kutya:
– Tudok én, csak nem akartam magát megijeszteni.
12   Az agresszív kismalac megy a vasútállomásra jegyet venni. Mikor a pénztárhoz ér, azt mondja:
– Egy retúrjegyet kérek!
– Hova? – kérdi a jegyárus.
– Hogyhogy hova? Oda-vissza!

(16) Q: What do dogs and trees have in common?
   A: Their bark.
   (AA. 7)

That is to say, maxims can be exploited not only for indirectly conveying a proposition but for achieving a particular perlocutionary effect as well.

The typology of implicatures introduced by Grice (1975) is rather simple (albeit not uncontroversial): a distinction is made between conventional and conversational implicatures, and the latter are subdivided into particularized and generalized ones. A generalized conversational implicature (abbreviated to GCI) is a default inference we normally draw from the use of a certain form of expression in an utterance unless there is specific contextual information that defeats it. Levinson (2000) explores this sort of implicature in detail. According to him, one of the general heuristics the processing of GCIs rests on is "What isn't said, isn't", that is, "Do not provide a statement that is informationally weaker than your knowledge of the world allows" (cf. Grice's first maxim of Quantity: "Make your contribution as informative as required"). GCI jokes are exemplified by (17), in which the expression *wanted to bite* implies that the dog did not, and then the joke continues and becomes clear that it actually did:

(17) "Hello, neighbour, your dog wanted to bite me yesterday!"
   "How do you know it wanted to bite you?"
   "How do I know? Well, if it didn't want to, it wouldn't have bit me, would it!"[13]
   (HÁv. 101, LVk. 36)

What makes this joke sound so dead-pan is that GCIs are so natural that cancelling them is quite rare and strange (see Mayol and Castroviejo 2013).

Particularized conversational implicatures (PCIs), as opposed to GCIs, are generated by virtue of specific contextual assumptions. They occur in jokes much more often, and it is not necessary for them to be cancelled. In the punch line of (18), Mr Longbottom implicates that his wife talks too much:

(18) Mr and Mrs Longbottom are looking at the hippopotamus at the zoo. Mr Longbottom turns to his wife: "See what a big mouth the hippo has, and still, it keeps it shut?!"[14]
   (HÁv. 57, LVk. 32)

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13   – Szomszéd, a maga kutyája tegnap meg akart harapni…
   – Honnan veszi, hogy meg akarta?
   – Na, hallja! Ha nem akart volna, nem tette volna meg!
14   Petrence a nejével a vízilovat nézegeti az állatkertben.
   – Látod, szívem – fordul Petrence az asszonyhoz –, mekkora szája van, és mégsem szól egy szót sem!?

In (19), in the light of the context, it can easily be inferred from the last turn of the joke that the magpie stole both the golden watch and the cow. However, the magpie does not want to reveal this fact, it just blurts out some clues. Hence, the PCI here is generated by the joke teller:

(19) The owl, the crow and the magpie are sitting on the same branch.
    The owl says, "Imagine, I got a golden watch as a gift!"
    The crow says, "Oh, and I got a cow."
    The magpie doesn't say anything.
    The next day the three are sitting on the same branch again.
    The owl says, "My watch is nowhere to be found."
    The crow says, "My cow is gone, too."
    The magpie doesn't say anything.
    The next day they are sitting on the same branch in silence, when the magpie says, "Oh my, it's 6 o'clock. I must be off to milk the cow."[15]
    (AK. 46, LVk. 40)

As the above examples show, conversational maxims and implicatures are creative components of the humour in (animal) jokes – in effect, they provide the simplest explanation for the source of humour in most cases.

5. Animal jokes that seem to defy the principle of relevance

Sperber and Wilson's (1995 [1986]) relevance theory states that the main underlying principle of human cognition is efficiency: the goal is to gain as much information as possible with the least investment of mental effort. This is also true of linguistic communication: we seek relevance in what we hear and read. Seen from this angle, humour can originate from waiting in vain to learn something new and useful (the punch line is, paradoxically, that there is no real punch line):

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15   Üldögél az ágon a bagoly, a szarka és a varjú. Azt mondja a bagoly:
    – Képzeljétek, kaptam egy aranyórát.
    A varjú:
    – Nekem meg van egy tehenem.
    A szarka egy szót sem szól.
    Másnap megint együtt ülnek az ágon, s azt mondja a bagoly:
    – Sajnos, eltűnt az órám.
    – Nekem meg a tehenem – dünnyögi a varjú.
    A szarka most is hallgat.
    Harmadnap csöndben ülnek az ágon mind a hárman. Egyszer csak megszólal a szarka:
    – Úristen, most látom, már hat óra. Mennem kell fejni…

(20) In a magical kingdom, far, far away, beyond the Seven Seas, that's where the rabbit lives. One morning he gets up, opens the window, looks out and says: "Oh my, I live so frigging far!"[16]
(LVk. 46)

It is a common strategy of humour to sketch a coherent and seemingly appropriate context – the first interpretation that comes to mind, a process governed by the communicative principle of relevance, which postulates that every act of overt communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance – only to be subsequently invalidated and replaced with another one (Yus 2003, 2016), as conceptualized by Raskin (1985) in terms of script switching, also known as garden-path humour (Dynel 2009, Yamaguchi 1988) and forced reinterpretation (Ritchie 2004). In joke (21), on the third occasion, the hunter wanders into a train tunnel rather than a bear's den:

(21) Bandaged from head to toe, two men are lying in adjacent beds in a hospital ward. After a while, they strike up a conversation. One of them recounts how he got into a car crash, then asks the other man what happened to him.
"A hunting accident," says the other man.
"What happened? Tell me if it's not much trouble."
"I'll be happy to. I was invited to the neighbouring country by my hunter friends, and that's when it happened. We hunted for bear, pursuers in the front, the hunters behind. Suddenly I saw a bear's den and yelled, 'Anybody in there?' A bear came out, and I shot it between the shoulders, then the pursuers skinned it. Half an hour later I saw an even bigger den, and again I yelled, 'Anybody in there?' and an even bigger bear came out, and I shot it between the eyes, thinking how lucky I was. Then an hour later I saw an enormous cave, the likes of which I'd never seen before, and I yelled, 'Anybody in there?' and out came the Prague Intercity."[17]
(LÁv. 40)

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16   Árkon és bokron túl, az Óperenciás tengeren is túl, de még az üveghegyen is túl, lakik a nyuszika. Egy reggel felkel, kinyitja az ablakot, kihajol, és így szól:
– Hogy én milyen rohadt messze lakom!

17   Két tetőtől talpig bekötözött ember fekszik egy kórház kétágyas szobájában. Ahogy állapotuk javul, beszélgetni kezdenek. Egyikük elmondja, hogy őt autóbaleset érte, és kérdezi a másikat, vele ugyan mi történt.
– Vadászbaleset – feleli a másik beteg.
– Vadászbaleset? – mondja a kérdező. – Mesélje el, ha nem fárasztja.
– Nagyon szívesen. A szomszéd országba hívtak meg vadászbarátaim, ott történt az eset. Medvére mentünk, elöl a hajtók, mögöttük a vadászok. Egyszer csak látok egy kis barlangot, bekiáltok: brumm, brumm! Kijött egy kis medve, szabályosan lapockán lőttem, a medve kimúlt, a hajtók megnyúzták. Félóra múlva egy nagyobb barlang ötlik a szemembe, oda is bekiáltok: brumm, brumm! Kijött egy nagyobb medve, pont szemen találtam, azonnal lefeküdt. Örültem, milyen szerencsém volt. Vagy egy óra múlva óriási barlangot látok, ekkorát talán még nem is láttam. Oda is bekiáltottam: brumm, brumm, erre kijött a prágai gyors.

Relevance theory suggests that Grice's (1975) insights into conversation and utterance interpretation are worth exploring further. The notion of explicature, recovered by a combination of decoding and inference in determining the explicit content of an utterance, was coined by Sperber and Wilson (1995 [1986]) on the analogy of Grice's implicature. By explicature, the often incomplete and ambiguous linguistic form of an utterance can be made more precise. For example, the deictic reference of *it* in the second turn of the joke (22) is context-dependent. Based on the mailman's first utterance, the hearer is inclined to think of the wound on the leg caused by the dog as the most relevant interpretation. The mailman thinks otherwise, meaning the leg before the dog bite. Let us call this type of joke an explicature joke:

(22) Mailman: "Your dog bit my leg!"
     Woman: "Did you put anything on it?"
     Mailman: "No, he seemed to like it just the way it was."
     (AA. 29)

The communicative principle of relevance automatically guides the comprehension procedure, and one cannot "obey it", "violate it", or "switch it off" when processing information. Jokes and other humorous texts, however, raise the tricky question of how this inviolable principle can account for an intended interpretation which at first is not relevant enough to confirm the presumption of relevance (Attardo 2017: 182). Two further theory-internal issues that need to be addressed are: (a) Is humorous effect a kind of cognitive benefit and contextual effect? (b) Does amusing the hearer fall within the scope of ostensive-inferential communication and the informative intention? (Nemesi 2019, Piskorska 2005; cf. the notion of "layering" in Clark [2013: 144; cf. Clark 1996: 353–384], the idea of "positive/negative non-propositional effect" in Yus [2016: 31, 54–59], and Zuo's [2020] proposal to treat the recognition of the communicator's "affective intention" as an integral part of the relevance-driven interpretation process).

6. The role of viewpoint in animal jokes

On a functional cognitive approach, it is a crucial aspect of the meaningful functioning of language that every utterance is produced from a particular point of view but can be interpreted from different points of view (Tátrai 2011, 2015; Verschueren 1999). Interactants in a given situation follow and direct each other's attention to the matters of the world in order to share or modify each other's mental representations and orientations. People naturally tend to regard their own egocentric viewpoint as the most natural starting point, but as social-cognitive beings they are expected to be able to adopt their partners' perspectives (Tomasello 1999). Some scholars hold

that conversational participants are generally not egocentric (e.g. Bezuidenhout 2013). On the other hand, characters in stupidity jokes (cf. Davies 2011) often fail to shift their egocentric perspective. Here is an example:

(23) "Doctor, what do you think, is trout really so healthy?"
    "I think so… At least, I have never had to treat one before."[18]
    (LVk. 35)

In (23), the doctor character is either serious, ignoring the partner's perspective on healthy eating or, less likely, deliberately joking. In (24), one of the lab mice takes a funny perspective (in effect, the reverse of the scientist's viewpoint) and cannot realize its relativity or even inadequacy:

(24) Two lab mice are talking.
    "I can see you're living well, you have gained weight."
    "Yes. I managed to train my scientist. Every time I run up this ladder, he gives me a piece of cheese."[19]
    (LVk. 44)

There are further humorous tactics involved in "point of view operation" or "perspective manipulation" (Verschueren 1999: 97). One is to include a character who steps out of his or her own perspective and takes on another one, so absurd (albeit not totally unrelated) that it makes the joke audience smile or laugh, as is the case with the young male seal in (25), who adopts the human viewpoint of fighting for the preservation of biodiversity:

(25) The young male seal is courting a young female seal, but she is playing hard to get.
    "I can't believe this!" the young male fumes, "We're on the list of endangered species and she's playing hard to get!"[20]
    (AK. 78, LVk. 46)

Speakers mutually help each other in taking the proper perspective with various linguistic and non-linguistic tools; for instance, with address forms (cf. Németh T.

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18   – Mondja, doktor úr, tényleg olyan egészséges a pisztráng?
      – Minden bizonnyal… Legalábbis nálam még egyetlen pisztráng sem gyógykezeltette magát.
19   Két laboratóriumi egérke beszélget:
      – Látom, jól megy a sorod, egészen kigömbölyödtél.
      – Igen. Sikerült beidomítanom a tudósomat: valahányszor felszaladok ezen a létrán, mindig ad egy darab sajtot.
20   A fókafiú udvarol a fókalánynak, de az erősen kéreti magát.
      – Ez nem igaz! – dühöng a fókafiú. – Rajta vagyunk a kihaló állatok listáján, ez meg itt kéreti magát!

2015) and other linguistic clues of (im)politeness, intonation, eye movement, and gestures. If the speaker uses these viewpoint indicators incorrectly, in a misleading or teasing way, the incongruence that follows may produce humour. Consider (26):

(26) Georgie: "Yesterday I came face to face with a lion!"
    Porgie: "Weren't you scared?"
    Georgie: "Naw. I just turned away and walked past his cage."
    (AA. 23)

    The joke (27) can be thought of as the inverse of (26): it is the hearer (Jamie) who misinterprets the verbal and non-verbal clues provided by the speaker (Amy) about her point of view:

(27) Amy: "Hey, your dog just bit my ankle."
    Jamie: "What did you expect? She's just a small dog, she can't reach any higher!"
    (AA. 7)

    Because speakers' intentions and perspectives are closely interconnected, hearers attempt to evaluate them together and to align them (Németh T. 2015). Humour is partly predictable from the perceived discrepancy between the interlocutors' viewpoints as a form of incongruity. Ritchie (2006: 265) adds that "certain jokes seem to operate by merely mentioning some incongruous perspective in a very oblique way, adopted neither by the audience nor by any story-character", but being accessible to the audience. Consequently, several patterns of "nested viewpoints" can be observed in humorous texts.

7. The intersecting circles model

In recent years, new and useful insights into the semantic and pragmatic typology of verbal humour have been offered by Dynel (2009, 2012) and Yus (2013, 2016). Dynel's threefold classification into garden-path, crossroads, and red-light mechanisms concentrates on how the punch line relates to the set-up (the preceding portion of the text), emphasizing that not all punch lines force a reinterpretation of the set-up (cf. Ritchie 2004). Yus, who works within a relevance-theoretic framework, presented a more complex taxonomy, *the intersecting circles model*, which distinguishes between 7 types of jokes, indicated by numbers in *Figure 1*.
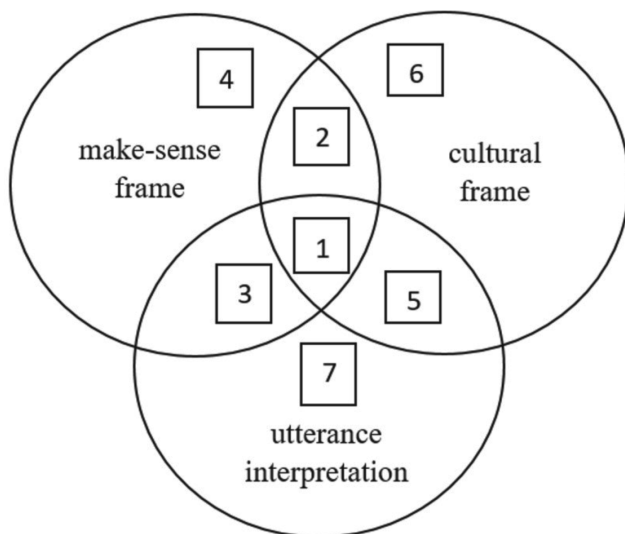
Figure 1. *The intersecting circles model of humorous communication*

The three "pure" types are 4, 6, and 7. The "make-sense frame", as proposed by Yus, is a blanket label for schemas associated with words, scripts associated with event sequences, and frames associated with situations; that is, it corresponds closely to what Raskin (1985) calls "script". In jokes of type 4, the interpretation hinges on the make-sense frame. This is illustrated in (28), a very simple garden-path joke, where the rabbit corrects the fox's mistaken make-sense frame:

(28) The young rabbit is sitting by the stream, intent on watching his reflections and squeezing red dots on his face. The fox walks by and grins.
"Puberty?" he asks.
"Nope," the rabbit says, "pellets."[21]
(AK. 19, LÁv. 76, LVk. 49)

A cultural frame is stereotypical knowledge about the way of thinking characteristic of the members of a community (cf. Kianbakht 2020). In Hungary, these include the stereotypes that men like *pálinka* (Hungarian fruit brandy), and women like looking at themselves in the mirror. Projected onto an animal joke, we get, for instance, the following:

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21 A nyuszika a patak tükrében piros pöttyöket nyomogat az arcán. Arra sétál a róka. Jót mosolyog a látványon:
– Mi van, nyuszika? Pubertás?
– Túrót. Sörét.

(29) "Hey, dad, did you see? There is a male fly and a female fly here."
"What makes you so sure?"
"Well, this one landed on a bottle of *pálinka*, while that one has been crawling around on the mirror for hours."[22]
(HÁv. 75, LVk. 34)

The joke (29) represents type 6 in the intersecting circles model and perhaps the crossroads mechanism in Dynel's terms, given that "the hearer cannot successfully complete the comprehension process of the set-up [that includes inexplicable premises, the focal incongruity] until the punch line (frequently also incongruous) is introduced, after which any incongruity is resolved" (2012: 6).

Type 7 is exemplified by (30), in which the utterance interpretation of "Strange… it looks so smart!" results in a humorous implicature, while the initial make-sense frame does not change, and neither does it strengthen or question any societal stereotype. As an application of the red-light mechanism, understanding it requires the hearer to follow "the interpretation path unobstructed until he/she needs to stop upon encountering the surprising red light (the punch line) diverting the interpretative process to a destination which cannot have been envisaged earlier" (Dynel 2009: 25, 2012: 16):

(30) "Isn't this dog a bit dumb?"
"This dog? He knows almost as much as I do!"
"Strange… it looks so smart!"[23]
(HÁv. 100, LÁv. 52, LVk. 36)

Types 1, 2, 3, and 5 are possible combinations of the three basic types.

When trying to fit the jokes discussed so far in Yus's model, we may get the impression that some of them can be categorized unequivocally, while others are more or less problematic due to the uncertain boundaries of make-sense frames and utterance interpretation. If schemas, frames, and scripts all come under the umbrella of *make-sense frame*, and *utterance interpretation* extends to every level of meaning (explicit and implicit, coded and inferred) in a punch line, it is then difficult to think of a joke the humour of which does not depend on these. Moreover, as far as *cultural frames* are concerned, it is not clear why they should form a separate set: we might say that cultural frames are ultimately make-sense frames (see the animal

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22 – Papa, látod? Van itt egy hímnemű, meg egy nőnemű légy.
– Honnan tudod ilyen biztosan?
– Mert az egyik a pálinkásüvegre szállt, a másik meg a tükrön mászkál órák óta.
23 – Aztán nem buta ez a kutya?
– Ez? Ez, kérem, majdnem annyit tud, mint én…
– Pedig milyen okosnak látszik!

stereotypes). Now let us group all the thirty animal jokes cited above according to the seven types of the intersecting circles model:

Type 1:
Type 2: (25)
Type 3: (1), (6), (13), (21)
Type 4: (7), (8), (10), (14), (23), (24), (26), (27), (28)
Type 5: (3), (4), (18), (19)
Type 6: (11), (29)
Type 7: (2), (5), (9), (12), (15), (16), (17), (20), (22), (30)

Conclusions

I began this paper with the observation that though even the simplest and shortest canned jokes do not constitute a completely unified text type, their prototypical features can be easily identified. Information efficiency, i.e. the terse and tight character of jokes, is made possible by frames and scripts being activated by some keywords. Frame/script semantics has been applied to jokes since the 1980s, placing emphasis on the sudden clash of two frames/scripts at the punch line but without disclosing the pragmatic machinery that underlies comprehension in its variability and complexity. Jokes not based on script opposition may employ several other means (exaggeration, irony, impoliteness, inadequacy, inconsistency, irrelevance, irrationality, viewpoint manipulation, etc.) within the same script or frame. The linguistic underdeterminacy of the proposition expressed by an utterance (Carston 2002) and the recovery of the full meaning condensed into a joke leave plenty of room for pragmatic enrichments and inferences, and this is why the creation and processing of humorous texts cannot be modelled without an analysis of pragmatic processes.

All the major theories of pragmatics are able to capture and explain certain elements of humour. However, none of them was designed to tackle such a challenge. Actually, humorous phenomena provide a test for speech act theory, Gricean and neo-Gricean pragmatics, relevance theory and functional cognitive pragmatics that sheds light on their strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, these general theories of language use can hugely contribute to the study of humour. They turned out to be partial in themselves, but integrating them with frame/script theory may bring a new era to linguistic research into humour. Instead of trying to (im)prove (on) one or another as being the correct one, it is time to harmonize them, creating a framework as flexible as the subject matter under investigation.

The semantic and pragmatic mechanisms we have highlighted in animal jokes are not different in kind from those revealed in other jokes and in other forms, text types, and genres of verbal humour. In this sense, they are not unique. Their

popularity lies in their psychological and cultural-anthropological nature. Animals attract both children and adults, and their importance in human thinking is well attested to in research on folklore and the history of art. The proximity of livestock and domesticated animals, the variety of wild animals, people's fear of dangerous animals or their dominance of defenceless ones, the beauty, striking outer features, and other real or imagined characteristics of some species all have a profound effect on our imagination. Animal stories and jokes anthropomorphize them, projecting onto them various human features, instincts, and stereotypes in order to entertain, relieve stress, formulate morals, and so on (cf. Martin 2007). It is the task of intercultural humour studies to examine whether animal jokes constitute a cultural universal, to explore the similarities and differences among the animal jokes of various languages and cultures, and to discover what imprint is left by the fauna surrounding a community in that community's jokes (for a discussion of Australian animal jokes, see Andor 2018).

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Verbal Humour in Screen Translation: Officer Crabtree's Case with the Fronch and Hungarian Longwodge

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Abstract. The present study aims to gain insight into the translation of audiovisual humour displayed in the verbal manifestations of Officer Crabtree, the fictional character in the BBC sitcom *'Allo 'Allo!* (1982–1992), especially focusing on its Hungarian dubbed version of the series. Being a research domain with insights from audiovisual translation (AVT), humour studies, and discourse analysis, the article introduces the reader to AVT, more particularly, to dubbing, to research carried out in the domain of audiovisual humour, and to humour studies, especially focusing on incongruity and superiority theory. These theoretical elements are applied in the analysis of the corpus comprising the English voice track as source text (ST) and its Hungarian counterpart as target text (TT), highlighting the humorous effects achieved in both of them and especially pointing at the creative solutions translators resorted to in rendering the idiosyncratically mangled English texts into Hungarian. The analysis aims to provide counterexamples to the frequent claim that verbal humour is untranslatable.

Keywords: verbal humour, situation comedy, broken language, audiovisual translation, dubbing

Introduction

British humour has its special character, frequently misunderstood by its recipients, members of other nations or cultures. Still, British audiovisual humour, especially English situation comedies (sitcoms) travel extremely well on the European continent in spite of the non-English speaking audiences, due to the brilliantly dubbed or subtitled versions of the English screenplays. This study wishes to highlight one slice of Hungarian audiovisual translation (AVT) – namely, by the comparative analysis of the English and its Hungarian dubbed version of the BBC

sitcom *'Allo 'Allo!*, especially focusing on the verbal humour found in one specific character, Officer Crabtree's utterances and their Hungarian dubbed version.

The present study was greatly inspired by Dirk Delabastita's article entitled *Language, Comedy and Translation in the BBC Sitcom 'Allo 'Allo!* (2012), which discusses the hybrid language variants of the series and the possibilities of their translation as they appear in the Dutch subtitles and in the French dubbing. After a short presentation of the plot of the series, Delabastita's article turns to the analysis of the forms of comedy present in the sitcom, stressing that the series was initially planned to be a parody of war-based films and TV dramas. In *Allo Allo!*, creators and screenwriters David Croft and Jeremy Lloyd offer a caricature of World War II and of the typical national stereotypes presented through the French, German, English, and Italian characters present in the series.

The forms of comedy present in the series include: "absurdity, bawdiness and double entendre, scatological jokes, referential ambiguity and wordplay, misidentifications, mix-ups, silly disguises, playing with the viewers' expectations (recurrent catchphrases and situations), visual gags and comedy based on deliberate clumsy actions (slapsticks)" (Delabastita 2012: 196). Language appears to be an excellent means to convey humour in all the episodes of the series as the viewer of the original English version is able to detect a hybrid mixture of English-language varieties standing for English, French, German, and Italian, depending on what nationality character the speaker is. In other words, all the characters use English in their utterances, but, depending on their nationality, they pronounce their English with a special accent: e.g. the French characters speak English with a French accent, the German nationality characters with a German accent, etc. (see the detailed phonetic analysis of their speech peculiarities in Delabastita 2012: 197–205).

1. Research questions, corpus, methodology

As dubbing has always been the preferred form of AVT in Hungary, it is but natural that *'Allo! 'Allo!* was also released for the Hungarian audience in its dubbed version, on two waves: the first one before the change of regime, in 1987, when the first 8 episodes were created for the Hungarian Television, and the second version was produced between 2001 and 2002, this time the whole series being dubbed for Duna Television.[1]

In the present study, I would like to focus my attention on the broken English speech variety of only one character from the series, namely Officer Crabtree, and the Hungarian dubbed version of his speech, aiming to provide counterevidence to the frequently mentioned claim that linguistic humour in general, and audiovisual humour in particular, is very difficult to render in a target language (cf. Zabalbeascoa

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1   https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hall%C3%B3,_hall%C3%B3!

1996; Chiaro 2000, 2005; Benő 2016; Drahota-Szabó 2016; Camilli 2019). In order to prove this claim, I would like to answer the following research questions:

1. Is it possible to provide a similarly "broken" and, hence, hilariously indecent translation of Crabtree's utterances in the target language?

2. Is it possible to achieve similarly ambiguous utterances with a humorous effect?

3. What kind of transfer operations does the translator employ?

4. If a linguistic blunder is not translated (in its own place), what other possibilities are there for its compensation?

In order to be able to answer the above questions, it is necessary to compare Officer Crabtree's broken English source language utterances and the similarly broken Hungarian target text (found in the dubbed version of the episodes). With this in mind, the following methodology was employed: I have selected, viewed, and transcribed Crabtree's (and, in certain cases, his speaking partners') utterances both from the English and the Hungarian audio soundtrack, creating a corpus of around 6,000 words, comprising 14 episodes from the series, as follows:

Series 2: Episodes 3 (*The Policeman Cometh*), 4 (*Swiftly and with Style*), and 5 (*The Duel*);

Series 3: Episode 3 (*The Sausage in the Wardrobe*);

Series 4: Episode 5 (*The Sausages in the Trousers*);

Series 5: Episodes 2 (*The Camera in the Potato*), 7 (*No Hiding Place*), 13 (*Ribbing the Bonk*), 14 (*Communists in the Cupboard*), 15 (*A Duck for Lunch*), 16 (*The Exploding Bedpan*), 17 (*Going Like a Bomb*), 19 (*Puddings Can Go Off*)

Series 9: Episode 5 (*A Fishy Send-Off*)

The broken English utterances, their "good English" variants, and the Hungarian dubbed version were placed into chart with parallel columns for the sake of better comparison. This corpus lies at the basis of the analysis of the translation strategies and translatability problems faced by the translators of the Hungarian version in order to achieve the same humorous effect (see Venuti's Skopos theory). The names of script translators of the selected episodes are Tamás Görgényi, Gábor Kozik, Klára Pető, Kata Csizmás, and Anna Székely.

The paper will be structured accordingly: first, research carried out in the domain of humour translation for the screen is briefly reviewed. This section is followed by the introduction of the concept of dubbing viewed from a linguistic perspective, with a short insight into the Hungarian dubbing tradition and its present-day evolution, while the bulk of the article consists of the translatological comparison of a series of examples taken from Crabtree's garbled English lines and their Hungarian rendition found in the dubbed version.

2. Translation of verbal humour for the screen

In the past two decades, an ever-growing number of research studies has been carried out within the field of audiovisual humour translation. Suffice it to mention the earlier work of Vandaele (1999) on the analysis of audiovisual humour in *The Naked Gun* and *A Fish Called Wanda*, Antonini's (2005) and Bucaria's (2007) studies on the perception of subtitled humour in Italy, Chiaro's (2006, 2007) huge work, among others, on the analysis of taboo terms in screen translation, or, more recently, the collection of studies edited by Chiaro (2012) on the translation of humour and the media, the studies of Mudriczky (2014) on the dubbed versions of an American cartoon or of Zolczer (2016) on the analysis of humorous scenes and their Hungarian dubbed and subtitled versions of American sitcoms or the collection of essays edited by De Rosa et al. (2014). One of the main ideas to be highlighted in connection with AVT in general, and of audiovisual humour in particular, is that the verbal code is just one component of the four, equally significant elements, and this equilibrium needs to be achieved for a proper translation. *Figure 1* below illustrates the necessity for the equality among these elements.

	Audio	Visual
Verbal	Words heard	Words read
Non-verbal	Music + special effects	The picture Photography

Figure 1. *The four components of the audiovisual text (Zabalbeascoa 2008: 24)*

The present study aims to complete this line of studies carried out from a qualitative perspective. In our analyses, we will focus exclusively on the verbal code out of the above mentioned four components, with the additional claim that the visual element (Crabtree's straight face while pronouncing his words, his serious gestures and body language), in parallel with the bawdy terms included in his speech, is a constant feature that generates laughter. In the analysis of Officer Crabtree's broken English utterances that produce laughter in the audience, we will apply Chiaro's (2006: 200) three strategies for the translation of verbally expressed humour in AVT material:

1. Substituting the verbal humour in the ST with a different type of verbal humour (the latter preserving partially the form or meaning of the original humour, or both);

2. Replacing the verbal humour in the ST with an idiomatic expression in the TL;

3. Replacing untranslatable humour in the ST with compensating humour in the TL in a different part of the TT.

We find that this classification is useful as it helps to describe the results of the translation, i.e. in our case, the Hungarian dubbed text.

Humour translation is based on theories of humour. For the sake of our analysis, in this study, we will rely on two: superiority and incongruity theories of humour. On the one hand, superiority theories are societal, having to do with ridiculing, aggressing, or disparaging the target or the victim of humour, frequently called the butt of a joke. In this respect, humour contributes to the creation of inclusion (in-groups) or exclusion (out-groups) or hierarchies between persons, between those who understand or do not understand the joke (Vandaele 2010: 148). On the other hand, the incongruity theories of humour are cognition-based and claim that the emergence of humour is usually related to a certain kind of incongruity with the context: the audience is placed in a frame, and the element of surprise in the humorous utterance breaks this frame, leaving the reader/viewer in a state of uncertainty. The moment they regain their superiority, the incongruous situation is resolved, the act of resolution giving way to humorous (perlocutionary) effect.

As Vandaele claims, "the translator of humor has to cope with the fact that the 'rules', 'expectations', 'solutions', and agreements on 'social play' are often group- or culture-specific. Parody, for instance, is only accessible to those who are at least vaguely acquainted with the parodied discourse. Imitations of accents are only imitations for those who know the original" (Vandaele 2010: 149). As Crabtree's distorted words have a strong connotation with taboo language, the viewers of the sitcom comprehend the incongruity of the linguistic situation, which creates a certain tense atmosphere. The moment they are able to decipher the meaning behind the words or phrases, a state of relief occurs, and laughter ensues.

In the analysis of the translation of Crabtree's humorous utterances, I will apply the terms "procedures" or "strategies", as defined by Toury (1995: 55–61), which are prescriptive terms. As my present corpus is fairly limited, the concept of "translation tendency" is also preferred as it is less restrictive (cf. Arampatzis 2015: 69). In translation analysis, the term "equivalence" is employed (in Baker's (2018) terms), referring to lexical, grammatical, textual, and pragmatic equivalence. In the case of situation comedies, translators will place "comic equivalence" as a primary translation procedure. Furthermore, compensation is also to be taken into account in the case of humour translation, mainly "compensation in place [which] makes up for the loss of a particular effect at a certain place in ST by recreating this effect at a different place in TT" (Hervey and Higgins 1992, qtd. in Shuttleworth and Cowie 2013: 25), mainly used for the translation of untranslatable puns (regarding untranslatability, cf. Hermans 2019, Drahota-Szabó 2016, Benő 2016).

Regarding the analysed genre, situation comedy (sitcom) is a dramatic genre broadcast on television. Its main aim is to entertain its audience through visual and verbal humour. "As any other audiovisual text, the situation comedy transmits its message through the convergence of two communication channels (aural and

visual), where several signifying codes (linguistic, paralinguistic, kinetic, musical, photographic and so on) contribute their bits of information" (Chaume Varela 2004: 15, qtd. in Arampatzis 2015: 70). The visual input is extremely emphatic in Crabtree's case as well: his serious dark uniform of a French gendarme, his facial expressions, gestures, and body language all contribute to the humorous effect he produces in the viewers, the success of the sitcom heavily relying on his character.

3. Genre and register: Situation comedy and taboo language

Situation comedies do not normally use ordinary, neutral register, but they heavily rely on lower register, mainly taboo language (Blake 2019), which has great relevance in making audiences laugh (Yus 2016). A taboo word is a word "that many people consider offensive or shocking" (*Oxford Learner's Dictionary*); a taboo term is considered so offensive or embarrassing that people must not mention it".[2] Taboo expressions, also called "offensive language" (Hughes 2006), "bad language" (McEnery 2006), "dirty language" (Jay 1992), or "foul language" (Wajnryb 2005), include "sexual and scatological obscenities, ethnic–racial slurs, insults, name-calling, profanity, blasphemy, slang, jargon and vulgarities of all kinds, including the forbidden words of non-standard grammar" (Allan and Burrington 2004: 250). The word refers to what is prohibited by social, cultural, or religious mores.

The translation of taboo terms in AVT involves several strategies, ranging from 1. censoring the taboo, 2. substitution of the taboo, or 3. taboo for taboo to 4. euphemism, i.e. substitution in an agreeable or inoffensive way. In our case, censoring the taboo is not applicable as the taboo term used in Crabtree's language (i.e. decent terms distorted into indecent ones) is itself the source of humour. Therefore, translation strategies 2–4 can be noticed in the translations to be analysed (see Section 5). The presence of taboo terms is an organic element of the character's humorous manifestations; therefore, their replacement with equivalent or similar taboo words in the TT is essential in order to achieve a similar effect in the target audience (Ávila-Cabrera 2015, 2016).

In terms of official and unofficial translation of audiovisual products (in our case, films), it can be stated, based on previous research (see, for instance, Beseghi 2015), that professional translators tend to remove, more or less consciously, the "disturbing" elements from the ST, while fansubbers have the tendency to stick to the ST, not only regarding its linguistic content but its register and style as well. There is a certain kind of (self-)censorship on the part of the (official) dubbing translators that governs their attitude and the translating process, while subtitlers (especially fansubbers) tend to use taboo terms more freely in their translations, probably in order to meet their viewers' expectations.

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2   https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/taboo_1?q=taboo

4. Dubbing as a form of audiovisual translation

While subtitling is defined as an interlingual form of AVT, where the original soundtrack remains audible while the translated verbal message is added to the product, in the form of written text presented on the screen in synchrony with the original soundtrack (Gottlieb 2001a: 87; 2001b: 15), dubbing "does not normally add another component to the multimodal product, but rather replaces one" (Valdeón 2018: 112). In dubbing, the original speech is replaced by the target-language voice track, "which attempts to follow as closely as possible the timing, phrasing and lip-movement of the original dialogue" (Luyken et al. 1991: 31).[3] "The goal of dubbing is to make the target dialogues look as if they are being uttered by the original actors so that viewers' enjoyment of foreign products will be enhanced" (Chiaro 2009: 144). As the corpus under discussion is part of the Hungarian dubbing tradition, it is worth gaining a deeper understanding of its development over the decades.

4.1. A brief history of Hungarian dubbing

Hungary is one of those European countries where dubbing has a long tradition. Its history goes back to the mid-1930s, when – following the German and Italian model of the time – governmental decision was taken to present foreign films with Hungarian voices. Accordingly, in November 1935, the first film dubbed into Hungarian, entitled *Viereinhalb Muskitiere* [*Four and a Half Musketeers*] was released.

After a break of a decade, when original Hungarian film production took over the market, a new wave of Hungarian dubbing was started. The country having fallen behind the Iron Curtain, Soviet films were presented first in dubbed Hungarian version as the regime realized that foreign films propagating communist ideas could also become excellent means to manipulate public consciousness. Beginning with the 1950s, an increasing number of dubbed films was released, works of Magyar Szinkronfilmgyártó Vállalat [Hungarian Dubbed Film Production Company], later called Pannónia Filmsúdió [Pannonia Film Studio], the first independent studio dealing exclusively with dubbing.

Beginning with 1963, the state ordained that each foreign film presented on television was also to be aired in its Hungarian dubbed version. By then, Hungarian dubbing had become a form of art, having gained world-famous recognition. Films were dubbed by the best professionals, both script translators and dubbing actors. Regarding the translation of scripts, suffice it to mention the iconic dubbed version of the American animated series *The Flintstones* (1960–1966), in Hungarian entitled *Frédi és Béni, avagy a két kőkorszaki szaki* [lit. Fred and Barney, or the

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3   For further definitions and descriptions of dubbing cf., for instance, Chaume 2006, 2013; Chiaro 2009; Bogucki 2013; Ranzato 2016.

two pros from the Stone Age], the work of script translator József Romhányi (also nicknamed 'Rímhányó', i.e. 'rhyme heaper') with its dialogues full of puns and general linguistic virtuosity, far more creative than the original source text. "He turned the original's prose into a complex flow of snappy and tongue-in-cheek poetry, creating a verbal tapestry of inventive and intellectual humour absent from the original" (Martonfi–Havas 2019). Having no room for a more detailed presentation, we illustrate Romhányi's verbal playfulness with examples of titles and two-liners from the Hungarian dubbed version, together with their possible English back-translation:[4]

Table 1. *Examples of Romhányi's rhymed dubbing*

Titles	Back-translation
Lokál-vokál kan-dúrban	nightclub-vocal in male-major/tom-cat
Lóvátétel	bamboozling/beguiling (ref. to "jóvátétel" – redeeming)
Azért kezdtem a testem kisportolni / hogy legyen mit a nők közt kisorsolni.	I have started to have an athletic figure / so that women can win it.
Nézzük, hogy az uszodát / milyen hamar úszod át!	Let's see the swimming pool / how fast can you swim through it?

The line of excellently dubbed foreign films could be continued with the American soap opera *Dallas* (1978–1991), aired in Hungary between 1990 and 1997 by the Hungarian Television. These were the heydays of Hungarian dubbing, characterized by the translators' inventiveness, masterly creativity, and artistic freedom.

By the 1980s, dubbing had become an organic part of foreign films marketing in Hungary. As at the time dubbing was considered a form of art and not a branch of film-making industry, it had its own specialized journals: first, *Pannónia Filmhíradó* (Pannonia Newsreel), published between 1981 and 1986, followed by *Szinkronika* (Synchronicle)[5] (1987–1991).

The change of regime in 1989 brought about radical changes not only in the Hungarian film-making but also in the history of dubbing due to the rapidly growing number of commercial television channels and the development of video renting culture. The monopoly of the Hungarian Television, the main producer of film dubbing, was overthrown by the emergence of several new dubbing studios. Television channels were forced to make their own cheap versions of dubbed soundtracks, resulting in a constant degrading of the dubbed quality (for instance,

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4   https://www.origo.hu/teve/20200604-fredi-es-beni-avagy-egy-legendas-forditas-nyomaban-2020.html.   https://cooltour.reblog.hu/amig-tart-a-kokorszak-legyen-mindig-loporszag---romhanyi-jozsef. Romhányi would be 100 years old in 2021.

5   The title itself can be identified as a pun, a linguistic blending of szinkron+krónika (synchrony+chronicle).

the 1993 VHS edition of *The Return of the Jedi*, where the ST "lightsabre" is rendered as "fényszablya" instead of "fénykard" or where the term "droid" is translated as "android").[6] Despite the fact that at present there is a relatively low number of high-quality translations that Hungarian audiences can enjoy, there is still hope that high-quality dubbing will prevail in the future (Tóth 2015, Martonfi–Havas 2019).

More recent successes of contemporary dubbing script writers include Dávid Speier[7] (the Paganini of Hungarian dubbing translation)[8] or Eszter Pataricza,[9] just to name two of the most prolific and creative artists.

5. Officer Crabtree speaking in "Fronch" [broken English] – General features

Officer Crabtree appears on the scene of *'Allo! 'Allo!* in the 11th episode of the 2nd season. According to the plot, as a trained spy who speaks perfect French, he is parachuted in occupied France near the village of Nouvion. He is a true Englishman,[10] a spy disguised as a French policeman, and his main mission is to serve his country as a true patriot, also keeping contact with the members of the French Resistance.

As the source soundtrack reveals it, his first utterances are high-standard English, with an upper-class English pronunciation. However, the moment he addresses his words to the French villagers, he starts to speak a special, idiosyncratic English that makes him unique and humorous at the same time. Soon he is referred to as "the stupid Englishman disguised as a policeman" or as "the stupid Englishman who thinks he can speak French". "He believes that the French he learnt at the military academy suffices by way of linguistic camouflage to allow him to blend in with the locals" (Delabastita 2012: 203). His "French" is so mangled and incomprehensible at times that it is the Resistance member Michelle who "translates" his words for his interlocutors.

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6 https://www.origo.hu/filmklub/20151223-darth-vadernek-tudotagulasa-lehetett-kosztola-tibor-interju-star-wars-schery-andras.html

7 Among the best dubbing works of Dávid Speier: *The Darkest Hour* (2017), *Knocked up* (2007) with the Hungarian title *Felpattintva*, *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* (2008) with a parallel Hungarian title *Lepattintva*, *Out of Sight* (*Mint a kámfor*, 1998), *For Richer or Poorer* (*Szegény embert az Amish húzza*, 1997), or *Asterix and Cleopatra* (*Asterix és Obelix – A Kleopátra küldetés*), with its brilliant translation in verse.

8 Marossy 2018 – https://wmn.hu/kult/49491-agyjelenet-cigireklam-es-a-magyar-rim-unnepe-kokorszaki-modra-avagy-boldog-szuletesnapot-fredi-es-beni

9 Eszter Pataricza created the Hungarian dubbed version of *The Lord of the Rings* series (2001–2003), of the blockbusters *You've Got Mail* (*A szerelem hálójáb@n* (sic!), 1998), *Skyfall* (2012), *Nine Months* (*Áldatlan állapotban – Ugye szólsz, ha szülsz!,* 1995), *The Bridges of Madison County* (*A szív hídjai*, 1995), *Titanic* (1997), or *Good Morning, Vietnam!* (1987).

10 Even his name is very English. "Crabtree" is a name of Anglo-Saxon origin, a topographical for one who dwelled by a wild apple tree. The name derives from the Middle Ages, from the Old English pre-7th century "crabba-treow", crabba meaning "apple".

Crabtree's "language supposedly spoken in 'reality' (represented language) is different from the language actually spoken on the soundtrack (representing language)" (Delabastita 2012: 206), i.e. his "French" is actually broken English on the soundtrack. This English speech contains traces of French pronunciation to suggest that he is actually speaking French in the fictional world of the series. It is "the slow, careful and emphatic manner [of speech] of someone who wants to make sure that he will be understood in what is for him a foreign tongue" (Delabastita 2012: 204). He does not make too many grammatical errors, and his sentences are more or less correctly formed both morphologically and syntactically. The most striking feature of his speech is of phonological nature: one can detect a systematic substitution of sounds (vowels especially) causing the speaker's intended meaning to go behind "a totally bizarre utterance that is either absurd or bawdy, or both" (Delabastita 2012: 204), e.g. "loosence" [ˈluːsəns] instead of "licence" [ˈlaɪsəns] or "wee [wiː] instead of "way" [weɪ]. As the above two examples show, the most frequent phonetic change is the vowel change, and the mispronounced words have either a nonsensical or a sexual or scatological connotation, and the humorous effect is induced by the displacement of the expected frame in the cognitive expectation of the audience. Mispronunciations in Crabtree's utterances are more or less constant and predictable, in general terms. However, they can be classified according to whether they are recurrent mispronunciations or new errors. An example of the former is his famous catchphrase "Good moaning!" uttered at any time of the day, which stands for the usual English greeting "Good morning!" As to the latter ones, they can be totally new, original "errors", which leave the audience surprised, evoking a strong humorous effect.

6. Crabtree dubbed in Hungarian

When translating (dubbing) Crabtree's broken English utterances into Hungarian, the translators followed certain procedures. First, they attempted to translate the character's intended meaning (illocutionary forces) faithfully. Secondly, they tried to follow the phonetic changes in the source text by similar vowel (and sometimes consonant) substitutions in the target text, creating similarly absurd or humorously indecent words. Thirdly, they were also constrained by the canned laughter signals in the source soundtrack; therefore, the verbal jokes in the dubbed version were to be uttered in synchrony with the ones in the English text, possibly on the same spot.

Accordingly, certain general and more specific strategies and operations can be noticed in the dubbing translation. One such general feature is the frequent use of the French accent, characterized by nasal vowels, the elision of the word initial *h* sound (which is a semi-vowel in French, and therefore not pronounced), and the use of the uvular ʁ in the Hungarian spoken text (for more details, see Section 6.1 below). In most of the cases, the French accent is employed in order to compensate for the

lost meaning of the ST broken utterance. Another general feature is adaptation and compensation. Adaptation, used in its Skopos theoretical sense, refers to a strategy employed by the translator to make the ST suitable for the expectations of the TT audience, also referred to as "situational equivalence" (Vinay–Darbelnet 1995: 39, Fawcett 1997: 39), "as it works by replacing ST elements by TL items which in some way serve the same function and are thus 'equivalent'" (Shuttleworth–Cowie 2013: 4). Compensation, on the other hand, is a technique used to "make up for the translation loss of important ST features by approximating their effects in the TT through means other than those used in the ST" (Shuttleworth–Cowie 2013: 25).

Among the more specific strategies, the corpus showed the use of substitution and omission as well. Substitution here is referred to as vowel substitution in order to distort proper Hungarian words and create indecent ones, similar to the ST. The strategy of omission is employed whenever "a particular item or expression is not vital enough to the development of the text" (Baker 2018: 43).

As mentioned above, the most frequent feature of Crabtree's speech is the substitution of vowel sounds in such a way as to create humorous effect. The mixing of sounds usually leads to malapropism (i.e. the habitual misuse of similar sounding words, especially with humorous effect)[11] or to double entendre (i.e. words or phrases meant to be taken with double meaning: one meaning being obvious, literal, or innocent, the other meaning usually taboo or having a sexual subtext),[12] both of which could be interpreted as wordplays or puns. Due to the differing structure of source and target language, translating wordplay can be a challenging task: "whatever its exact form or function, wordplay exploits the intrinsic structure of the (source) language used and throws into prominence certain characteristics of that language for which it may well be difficult or impossible to find analogues or equivalents in the target language" (Delabastita 2004: 600).

In the following section, first (i) I will discuss the dubbing of the recurrent elements in Crabtree's utterances, and then (ii) I will proceed to the translation of fixed expressions and idioms (Dore 2020), based on the selected episodes.

6.1. Recurrent elements and their translation

6.1.1. Recurrent elements with neutral or low register connotation

As mentioned above, one of the most striking recurrent phrases that leaves Crabtree's mouth is "Good moaning!". Due to the fact that the phrase is a play on words, the Hungarian script translators also resorted to using a mispronounced version of

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11   https://psychology.wikia.org/wiki/Malapropism
12   https://literaryterms.net/double-entendre/. Double entendre is also examined by Arthur Bostrom himself, the actor who played the role of Crabtree in *Allo! Allo!* in a BBC programme in 2014: https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b04f9r9k.

the word *reggel* [morning] by introducing an extra vowel, thus resulting in a new Hungarian word, *reggeli* [breakfast]. As the series developed, several other solutions were found: *Jó ʁeggelt!* (S2E4/P12),[13] *Jó reggelit!* (S5E13/P39), or the combination of the two, the most frequently used *Jó ʁeggelit!* (S5E19/P45).[14] In the original soundtrack, one can often notice Crabtree pronouncing English words containing a guttural fricative "r" as a sign of his spoken French. A similar voiced uvular sound can be heard in the Hungarian dubbed version as well, instead of the rolled "r" sound, adding an extra humorous effect to the character's verbal manifestation.

Further recurrent elements include words that are related to the everyday life of the French gendarme, walking in the streets of Nouvion, passing by René's café, bringing news to him and/or to the girls from the Resistance. In this way, the following renditions can be detected in the dubbed version:

Table 2. *Recurrent elements: neutral/low register*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
René [ʁɛne]	René	*Rönó* [ʁönó]
Ronnie	René	Rönó [ʁönó]/ Röné
*I have good **nose**!* (S2E4/P12)	I have good news!	*Jól van **orrom**.*
*I have for you good **nose**. René: What is your nose?* (S5E2/P28)	I have for you good news! What is your news?	*Jó **húʁom** van magának. R: Na, pengesse meg.*
*I have bad **nose**!* (S5E14/ P40)	I have bad news!	*Rossz **íʁeket** hoztam Önnek.*
*I wish to give you a **massage**.* (S5E17/P43)	I wish to give you a message.	*Új **íreket** hoztam Önnek.*
*I have brong crootins from **Brutish** Intolligence Head**quit**ters.* (S2E3/P11)	I have brought greetings from British Intelligence Headquarters.	*Én hoztam üdvözleteket **britis intelligens szervíz**.*
*British **Intolligance*** (S5E17/P43)	British Intelligence	*titkos **szaglászat***
*I give them a quick **curse** in the French **longwatch**.* (S2E5/P13)	I gave them a quick course in the French language.	*Ó, én adtam nekik gyors **talpalávalót** francia nyelvből.*

As it can be seen in *Table 2* above, the dubbing translators resorted to different strategies when rendering these paronymic words into Hungarian. On the dubbed soundtrack, René's name is pronounced either with its proper French pronunciation

13   The phonetic mark ʁ stands for the voiced uvular fricative, typical, for instance, in Parisian French, or in most parts of Germany.
14   The abbreviations refer to the number of series (S), the number of episodes (E), and the number of the Hungarian dubbed parts (P).

[röné] or [ʁöné], with either an alveolar or a uvular "r" or imitating the name of the French car "Renault" [röno], all eliciting audience laughter.

The phrase *I have good* **nose***!* has been translated with different strategies. Instead the possible *Jó orrom van*, which would be a literal translation of the ST, the translator opted for compensation via an ungrammatical utterance *Jól van orrom.* [lit. well is my nose], where the mispronunciation – actually a distorted but intelligible utterance – is substituted by a grammatically and syntactically incorrectly formed sentence. I consider that this solution cannot achieve the same comic effect as the ST utterance. The other occurrence of *good nose* is rendered by the replacement of *hírem* [my news] by the paronymic *húrom* [my string] pronounced with the uvular ʁ. As René is also joining in with the mispronunciation, the verbal game is carried on in his line as well: *Na, pengesse meg* [well, play it/ strum it], where functional equivalence is achieved, resulting in a similar TT meaning (i.e. *tell me your news*). *Nose* (meaning "news") is also rendered in Hungarian by another interesting solution: *íʁek* [Irish], which may be interpreted as a result of the mispronunciation of the Hungarian *hírek* with a French accent by the elision of the word-initial "h" letter/sound. However, deleting the word-initial "h" leads to the pronunciation of another meaningful word, meaning "Irish".

Along the same line of thought, the ST *I wish to give you a* **massage** (meaning: message) is similarly rendered with the Hungarian *Új* **íreket** *hoztam Önnek* [lit. I have brought you new Irish(wo)men], which signals that the translators were focusing on the illocutionary force of the utterance. Although the ST utterance is completely different from the previous one (cf. *I have good* **nose***!* vs. *I wish to give you a* **massage**), the TT solution is almost identical (*rossz* **íʁeket** vs. *új* **íreket**) despite the slightly indecent connotation of the second ST message.

Similar humorous vowel changes can be detected in the name of the institution Crabtree works for. He pronounces it as **Brutish In*toll*igence Head*quit*ters**, the name containing words with negative connotations, incongruous with the mission of the British Intelligence Headquarters. The adjective *brute* means "savagely violent animal as opposed to human being"; the verb *toll* has the slang meaning of "to harm or damage somebody/something, esp. in a gradual way"; the verb *quit* means "to leave a place permanently". In order to render the jumbled name of this prestigious British institution in Hungarian, the translators resorted to two different solutions. In S2E3/P11, they came up with *britis intelligens szervíz* [British intelligent service], i.e. an almost literal translation of the source language variant, where the noun *szervíz* [garage] reflects on the small workshop-like nature of the institution. This phrase is included into a grammatically and syntactically incorrect Hungarian sentence: *Én hoztam üdvözleteket britis inteligens szervíztől*, containing the redundant presence of the first person singular pronoun *én* [I] in spite of the fact that the Hungarian predicate *hoztam* [I have brought] contains the personal pronoun marker at the end of the verb; the use of a plural direct object (instead of

a singular one) – all this in a wrong word order. In this way, Crabtree's Hungarian sentence does not contain as many negative connotation words as the ST; however, it is similarly incomprehensible to the French villagers. Therefore, it is Michelle (of the Resistance) who has to "mediate" between them, uttering the sentence in plain language: *a brit hírszerző központból üdvözletüket küldik* [they send greetings from the British Intelligence Headquarters]. Later in the series (S5E17/P43), another Hungarian translation variant can be found for the mispronounced name of the office: *titkos szaglászat* [secret snooping], meaning *titkos szolgálat* [secret service]. This solution seems to be a better option as, on the one hand, it has the same number of syllables with a different sound variation, and, on the other hand, it refers to the actual mission of the institution, i.e. to sniff around, to work undercover to collect human intelligence in support of national security.

As a final example in this section, *quick curse in the French longwatch* [i.e. quick course in the French language] contains a malapropism: the profane *curse* standing for *course*, completed with the mispronunciation of *language*, resulting in another (meaningful) compound word: *longwatch*. Again, the Hungarian translation of the utterance does not contain such low-register lexemes as the ST but rather an analogue phrase transformation: *gyors talpalávaló* (lit. quick music for under their soles], where the compound *talpalávaló* usually has a slightly humorous connotation in Hungarian, and it means "stimulating, fast-paced music, esp. for Hungarian *csárdás* dancing". The phrase *gyors talpalávaló* actually stands for *gyorstalpaló* [a quickie, a crash course]. Similar to the previous examples, here, as well, one or two extra syllables are added to the original word(s) to make new, meaningful lexical units (here: *gyorstalpaló* changed into *gyors talpalávaló*), the humorous effect retained in spite of the lack of negative connotation.

6.1.2. Recurrent elements with taboo connotation

So far, it could be noticed that the ST mangled words have a neutral or slightly low-register meaning, the TT equivalents having similarly neutral or even higher-register overtone. However, more often than not, bawdy, indecent humour is associated with Crabtree's utterances. The "French" gendarme mangles his words in such a way that they will contain syllables that deflect the word's original sense, resulting either in nonsense or in slang taboo words, having sexual or scatological connotations. Here is a list of the most frequently used ones: *wee* [way], *lick* [luck], *piss* [pass], *bum*s [bombs], *bummer* [bomber], *loo* [law], *dick* [thick].[15] The Hungarian dubbed variants are equally slangish, or they contain newly coined lexemes, as shown in *Table 3* below:

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15   In square brackets, the meaning of the mispronounced word is given.

Table 3. *Recurrent elements with taboo connotation*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
You cannot spoke like thos to an ifficer of the **loo!** (S5E15/P 41)	You cannot speak like this to an officer of the **law**!	*Nahát, micsada dolog! Mért kell ilyen doʁván beszólni?*
I shall **lick** *you up for disturbing the* **piss**. (S5E7/P 33)	I shall **lock** you up for disturbing the peace.	*Megbüntetem* **csendőʁhábоʁításéʁt.**
She has been **pissing fudged** *bank notes in the hit shop.* (S3E3/P17)	She has been **passing** forged bank notes in the hat shop.	**Hamus bunkjeggyel** *fizetőzött a* **kalpagosnál**.
There are **pissers** *all over the track.* (S2E4/P12)	There are **pieces** all over the track.	*… és a kolbász szintén* **jégbe ment**.
*The money you nicked was the property of the Gesto***poo**. (S5E14/P40)	The money you nicked was the property of the **Gestapo**.	*A pénz, amit megfújtak, a* Ges**popó** *tulajdona volt.*

Crabtree frequently defines his position as *officer of the loo* [officer of the law], where *loo* is the slang word for *toilet*. The strong contradiction between the meaning of the paronymically contrasted *law* and *loo* leads to humorous effect. The Hungarian dubbing translators resorted to substitution of the slang word with two separate clauses, with a reprimanding tone, thus achieving the same illocutionary force as the ST sentences but with a totally different form. The pronunciation of the sentences also suggests Crabtree's broken French rendered by a similarly broken Hungarian *micsada dolog* [what a thing]; *Mért kell ilyen doʁván beszólni?* [why does one have to speak so harshly], also employing the Hungarian slang *beszólni* (to insult, to taunt), also employing the uvular *r*, which has an aristocratic connotation.[16]

The verb *piss* may appear either as the distortion of *pass* or *piece* or even *peace* – as the above examples illustrate. The Hungarian translations are of much higher register: they contain a play on words by adding an extra syllable in order to create a new word, which thus creates a totally new meaning. The phrase *disturbing the piss* [meaning: disturbing the peace] rendered in Hungarian as *megbüntetem csendőʁhábоʁításéʁt* [lit. I will fine you for disturbing the gendarme] is a humorous re-creation of the word *csendháborítás* [disturbing the peace], with its paronym *csendőr* [gendarme] to be interpreted as a reference to Crabtree himself.

The taboo term *piss* can also mean *piece* in other examples. The context of this example is that the painting of the "Fallen Madonna with the Big Boobies" (the running gag in the series) was hidden in a substantial sausage and sent to Berlin by

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16   Hungarian aristocrats frequently had a special pronunciation feature of burring (using the uvular r sound non-existent in Hungarian), which was due to the fact that as children their first language was German or French, these languages having the uvular *r*.

train. However, the train was bombed by the Royal Air Force, and it is believed that the portrait was also destroyed: *There are pissers all over the track* meaning "There are pieces [of it] all over the track." The dubbing translators resorted to an ingenious solution. Instead of looking for a similar taboo word in the TT, the Hungarian version contains the mispronounced idiomatic phrase *és a kolbász szintén jégbe ment* [and the sausage also went to ice], having a much more elevated register than the ST, meaning *égbe ment* [went to heaven], while the illocutionary force of the utterance was retained (the sausage was blown up), maintaining the humorous effect.

One of the most creative solutions for the translation of taboo words is the rendering of *Gestapoo* (in Hungarian *Gespopó*), where the last syllable of the English word is the taboo term, while the last two syllables of the Hungarian word has similar meaning, i.e. a slang for back side, bottom.

A similarly inventive rendering of the English taboo slang word *dick* can be found in *Table 4* below.

Table 4. *Novel elements with taboo connotation I*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
*The **bums** will be loaded on a bummer on a **dick** night and then they will be dripped over **Ongland**.* (S5E17/P43)	The bombs will be loaded on a bomber on a **thick** night and then they will be dropped over **England**.	*A **bambát** bedugjuk a két bombázóval az **éj lepedőjén** és aztán elszállnak az **anglikán**.*

In the Hungarian version, through a vowel change similar to the ST, the word *bomba* is replaced by *bamba* [stupid, oafish, tomfool]. The lexeme *bombázó* is ambiguous in Hungarian as well, referring to 1. an aircraft designed to carry and drop bombs and 2. a pretty woman, lit. translated from Hungarian as "bomb woman" [bombázó]. Moreover, the taboo slang *dick* in *dick night* (standing for "thick night") has been transformed in Hungarian with the paronymic *az éj lepedőjén* [on the sheet of the night] instead of the phrase *az éj leple alatt* [under the veil of the night]. Finally, the ST *they will be dripped over Ongland* (meaning, "they will be dropped over England") is rendered as *elszállnak az anglikán* [lit. they will fly away the Anglican], which, on a lexical level, is a nonsense. However, as pronounced by the dubbing actor, the lexeme *anglikán* is separated into syllables, where the Hungarian *lik* is a vernacular for *hole*, having a taboo meaning, thus creating a new pun with a similarly indecent meaning as the ST.

As the series advances, more and more creative solutions have been found by the dubbing translators. The background situation in the following example is that the English pilots need new parachutes, but there is no silk available. It is Crabtree who comes up with the idea that the French girls' underwear should be used as an excellent material.

Table 5. *Novel elements with taboo connotation II*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
Crabtree: *You must go and get your hands on the girls' **knockers**.*	You must go and get your hands on the girls' **knickers**.	C: *Rá kell tenni a kezet a lányok **bigyójára**.*
Michelle: *He means silk knickers.*	He means silk knickers.	M: *A selyembugyikra gondolt.*
Crabtree: *Sorry, perhaps my French cod be butter.* (…) (S2E4/P12)	Sorry, perhaps my French could be better.	C: *Á, pardon, az ákszan lehet talán jobb is.*

Here, the ST goes deeper into the taboo register as *knockers* is a malapropism for *knickers* and is the English slang word for *breasts*. This taboo meaning is creatively transferred in the Hungarian TT as well, preserving the vowel changes and resulting in the same meaning combination. This verbal exchange is one of those rare cases when Crabtree apologizes for his mispronunciation – obviously, with a similarly disfigured phrase, but with exquisite English politeness strategy (see the apologetic *sorry* and the employment of the hedge *perhaps*). This polite intention is also rendered in the Hungarian version, where the apology is expressed by *pardon* [I beg your pardon] and *ákszan* [accent] derived from French and pronounced with a French accent, alluding to the speaker's "fake" identity and thus eliciting laughter in the audience.

There is a very small number of examples in the corpus where the TT has been translated containing taboo or slang words where there is no such element in the ST. An example is the following, where, according to the context, Crabtree brings the news that René and his companions were seen robbing the bank, and their pictures (*poctures*) drawn by the witness are already at the station but not yet pinned on the notice board.

Table 6. *Novel elements with taboo connotation III*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
Crabtree: *Nobody has **soon** them because I have not yet pinned them on the **beard**.*	C: Nobody has **seen** them because I have not yet pinned them on the **board**.	C: *Még nem **lőtte** senki, mert még nem tűztem ki a **rendőrseggre**.*
René: *The beard?*	R: The beard?	R: *Milyen seggre?*
Crabtree: *The beard outside the **poloos stootion**.*	Crabtree: The board outside the police station.	C: *Hát a táblázatra, a rendőrseggre.*
Yvette: *He means the board outside the police station.* (S5E14/P40)	Y: He means the board outside the police station.	Y: *Azt akarja mondani, hogy a rendőrségi hirdetőtáblára.*

While in the English ST the neutral term *beard* is used for *board*, the Hungarian TT compensates for the later occurrence of the mispronounced *police station* (*poloos stootion*) by using its Hungarian equivalent in its similarly wrongly pronounced form: *rendőrseggre* [lit. on a policeman's ass] instead of *rendőrségre* [lit. to the police]. The taboo term is "hidden" in the mispronunciation, which is emphasized even more by René's question for clarification, *Milyen seggre?* [lit. on what kind of ass?]. Yvette, as usual, mediates between the two speakers, explaining the meaning of the broken sentence.

6.2. Fixed expressions and idioms

Officer Crabtree's verbal manifestations contain several fixed expressions and idioms as well. Their dubbed Hungarian versions show a similarly colourful picture. Following Veisbergs (1996: 164–171) and Delabastita's (2004: 604) classification, it can be stated that the fixed expressions and idioms are not maintained in their original form in the ST but are replaced, most frequently with vowel or consonant changes.

Table 7. *Fixed expressions and idioms I*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
*I have **disgeezd as polooseman** so I am able to move aboot with **complete frodom**.* (S2E3/P11)	I am **disguised as policeman** so I am able to move about with complete freedom.	*Én **álöltözetet öltöttem**, mint csendőr ahcélból, hogy **komplett szabadsággal** mozoghassak.*

The ST contains the fixed expression *disgeezd as polooseman* where Crabtree's vowel changes result in nonsense words (meaning "disguised as policeman"). The Hungarian translators resorted to the employment of semantically correct words, although formulated in an obsolete Hungarian: *álöltözetet ölt* [put on false clothing]. Here the humorous effect is created by (1) the repetition of the cognate *ölt* [put on]; (2) the pronunciation of *ahcélból* [lit. with the purpose/made of steel], pronounced with the uvular ʁ; (3) the phrase *komplett szabadsággal* [lit. with complete freedom], containing a foreign lexeme. All these elements create the air of aristocratic foreignness and contribute to the creation of Crabtree's character as a foreigner among the French for the Hungarian audience as well.

In the same episode, a foreigner's superiority is further emphasized by another utterance.

Table 8. *Fixed expressions and idioms II*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
*In London **we are not steeped**. We know every **mauve** you **moke**.* (S2E3/P11)	In London we are not stupid. We know every move you make.	*Londonban **mi nem vagyunk sztupid**. Tudjuk minden **lépésedről**.*

In the Hungarian TT, Crabtree's foreignness is betrayed by the ungrammaticality of his utterance: the redundancy of the 1st person plural pronoun *mi* [we] and the direct transfer of the ST *stupid*, further carried on by the incorrect accusative conjugation of the verb: *tudjuk* instead of the correct nominative conjugation *tudunk*.

The line can be continued by an example where it is the dubbing translator who shows his/her ingenuity by creating a new fixed phrase in a place where there is no such element in the ST:

Table 9. *Fixed expressions and idioms III*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
*I did nit know that it [the tank] had been droven by René, René, who **walks in the beer**.* (S2E4/P12)	I did not know that it had been driven by René, René, who works in the bar.	*Én nem **tudakoltam**, hogy azon a **harcoskocsin** René utazik, René, aki máskor **sörben utazik**.*

On the one hand, the slightly obsolete verb *tudakoltam* [I enquired] is used instead of its cognate *tudtam* [I knew], as a paronymic substitution; on the other hand, *harckocsi* [tank] is replaced by the non-existent *harcoskocsi* [lit. warrior car]. The phrase *who works in the bar* is ingeniously translated as *sörben utazik* [lit. travels in beer], where the Hungarian idiomatic phrase *vmiben utazik* means "deals with sg.", "is an agent of sg.", "trades with sg.". The phonetic change in the ST (*walks* vs. *works*) is compensated by a merge of the literal and metaphorical meanings of *utazik valamiben*, the two meanings being connected by the adverb *máskor* [another time], which specifies the different "types" of travelling.

Continuing the line of idiomatic expressions and their Hungarian translation, the following example offers the case of a similar vowel change as in the ST.

Table 10. *Fixed expressions and idioms IV*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
*Good moaning. **I am existed**. Any chance of a **cup of kifi**?* (S5E2/P28)	Good morning. I am exhausted. Any chance of a cup of coffee?	*Jó reggelit! **Fáʁadt nulla** vagyok. **Késhetek egy csésze lóerős kévét**?*

The idiomatic phrase *I am existed* (meaning "I am exhausted") could have been translated with a similar idiom *Hulla fáradt vagyok*, which, however, would not have achieved any humorous effect. Therefore, in order to achieve semantic and pragmatic equivalence, the translator resorted to a similar verbal game. A word order change, completed with a vowel change, was employed: *Hulla fáradt* [lit. corpse tired] > *Fáradt hulla* [lit. tired corpse] > *Fáradt nulla* [lit. tired zero]. It is to be noted that the lexeme *nulla* can also refer to a person not worth anything, which actually completes the meaning of the adjective *tired*. Furthermore, the noun *nulla* in the TT is a perfect antonym for the connotation of the ST *existed*.

Crabtree's fatigue is to be invigorated by a nice *cup of kifi* [cup of coffee]. The ST phrase again operates with a vowel change but this time resulting in a nonsense. The TT, however, brings a meaningful solution. The Hungarian idiomatic phrase would sound like *egy csésze jó erős kávét* [lit. a cup of good strong coffee], but – in order to create a similarly humorous effect like the ST – this was distorted with the help of a vowel change and the merging of two words, resulting in *lóerős kévét* [lit. horse strong sheaf].

As found in the case of frequently used words, expressions, the idiomatic phrases also contain bawdy language. In the case of the following example, the context is that René finds shelter in the building of the gendarmerie as he is hiding from a woman. He asks Crabtree to lock him up. As the fake gendarme wants some pretext to arrest him, he asks him, using an idiomatic phrase.

Table 11. *Fixed expressions and idioms V*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
Crabtree: *Are you confessing to some* **cream***?* *René: Yes.* **Cream galore***!* (S5E7/P33)	Are you confessing to some crime? Yes, cream galore!	C: *Elkövetett valami* **töʁvényseʁtést***?* R*: Igen, sőt* **töʁvénydisznót***.*

The phrase is *to confess to a crime*, which was mangled as *confess to a cream*. The meaning of the phrase is slightly changed in the TT: *Elkövetett valami töʁvényseʁtést?* [lit. have you committed a law pig], where the vowel change results in a malapropism: *sertés* vs. *sértés* [pig vs. offence]. In replying to Crabtree's question, René joins the phonetic game and utters *cream galore* [meaning "crime in abundance"]. This reply is completely changed in the Hungarian TT. It is similarly an answer to Crabtree's question, but it tries to provide a follow-up to the previous language game, completing it with a less sophisticated synonym of the noun used in the question: *Igen, sőt töʁvénydisznót.* [lit. Yes, moreover, (I have committed) a law swine/hog.], where the Hungarian compound noun is also a nonsensical word.

The line of fixed expressions and idioms will be concluded with one last example, where the translators resorted to the total change of the ST in the TT version. In order to understand the full conversation, I will quote a longer verbal exchange. The context is that Herr Flick of the Gestapo and his adjutant, Von Smallhausen, are disguised as fishmongers and are selling fish on the market. Crabtree walks past and asks for their licence.

Table 12. *Fixed expressions and idioms VI*

Mispronounced language	Meaning	Hungarian version
Herr Flick: *What part of France do you come from?* Crabtree: *I am half Itoolian.* Herr Flick: *Itoolian?* Crabtree: *Yes, **Itoolian**.* Von Smallhausen: *I think he means Italian.* Crabtree: ***I was brought up in Nipples***. Herr Flick: *Nipples?* Crabtree: *Yes, you know the old sooing?* ***See Nipples and do***. (S5E15/P41)	Herr Flick: What part of France do you come from? Crabtree: I am half Italian. Herr Flick: Italian? Officer Crabtree: Yes, Italian. Von Smallhausen: I think he means Italian. Officer Crabtree: I was brought up in Naples. Herr Flick: Naples? Officer Crabtree: Yes, you know the old saying? "See Naples and die."	H. F: *Franciaország melyik tájára valósi?* C: *Semmi tája, mondtam, hogy rája.* H. F: *De hova valósi?* C: ***Egybesült állatok***. V. S.: *Azt akarja mondani, hogy **amcsi**.* C: *Ami csiga, azt is szehetem.* H. F: *És mit csinál vele?* C: *Semmit, csak kéhtezte, hát mondom. De elküldtek a fhancba.*

As it can be noticed, the nation name *Italian* was completely omitted and was changed into another distorted nation name: *egybesült állatok* [lit. roast animals], representing a totally different country name, *Egyesült Államok* [the United States]. This transformation brings about the change of the whole context, and there is no way back to render the malapropism deriving from the idiom *See Naples and die*. The meaning of the phrase is too strongly culture-bound, and, unfortunately, the double meaning induced by the mispronunciation of the city name is completely lost in the Hungarian TT.

Conclusions

The in-depth analysis of Officer Crabtree's humorously distorted utterances in the English–"Fronch" original source text and its Hungarian dubbed version has led us to general and more text-specific conclusions.

Although an audiovisual text has four components, our analysis focused solely on the verbal code, both in its ST and TT variant, excluding the other three

components. It has been proved that, like in most cases of humour translation, the main translation strategy is adaptation rather than striving for formal or literal equivalence. Further, frequently used strategies include compensation, but we can also witness substitution and omission.

It has been proved again that humour translation involves a great amount of creativity and ease on the part of the dubbing team. Our analysis might prompt translators of humorous texts to consciously and systematically view their own work with a more objective eye, regarding them less intuitively.

Crabtree's verbal manifestations are special in that his imperfect knowledge of "French" is, in actual fact, an alibi for the flood of verbal jokes which have been rendered by the Hungarian dubbing team[17] with similar linguistic (mainly phonetic) games. The verbal humour is mainly nonsensical or bawdy or both, and, as a result, the Hungarian version has been found either having a neutral or containing similar taboo language both on the level of the frequently recurrent elements and of the fixed expressions and idioms. In my corpus, I have found a low number of cases where the TT was found more indecent than the ST. All these solutions reflect the openness and creative imagination of the dubbing translators. The analysed examples revealed only a few cases where the dubbing translators resorted to the total omission of the pun.

The Hungarian text is mainly characterized by an idiosyncratic Hungarian pronounced with a French accent, manifested mainly in the presence of the uvular "ʁ" sound (instead of the rolled "r"), the strong nasals and lexemes deriving from French. This accent contributes to the common stereotypical view of the French within the Hungarian society.

The present study has provided a qualitative comparative analysis of Crabtree's "Fronch" language in the English source text and the Hungarian target text. As shown in the analyses, the "Hungarian" Crabtree, dubbed by the ingenious András Sinkovits-Vitay, rightfully equals the original character played by Arthur Bostrom. However, due to the excellent work of the dubbing team, Officer Crabtree's Hungarian soundtrack is also full of creative translating solutions and wordplay, contributing to the success of the series among Hungarian viewers of all time. The Hungarian dubbed version of *Allo! Allo!* is an unavoidable sample of the Hungarian dubbing tradition.

Acknowledgements

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17   By dubbing team, I refer not only to the screen translators but also to the dubbing director and
      the dubbing actors as well.

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Elements of Humour in the Classroom
A Qualitative Approach to Data

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Abstract. Neither grades nor formal indicators of teachers' effectiveness measure the presence or the nature of humorous situations in classroom conversations although these situations are, in fact, the iceberg components of the teacher–student communication and are important indicators of the motivational-behavioural background as well as cohesion of the group, of the power of collective thinking and creativity inside class community.

The role of humour has not always been positive throughout time. For example, according to *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2016), Plato was one of the most influential critics of laughter, and he treated it as an emotion that overrode rational self-control, and thus could be considered a certain kind of evil. As for the bad reputation of humour, we can find yet another face of this reality in Kant's approach, according to which humour can be understood as play, while laughter is a play signal.

The present research is looking for answers regarding the role of humour in classroom conversation and interaction, according to students' opinion, how they interpret certain terms related to humour, and what humorous situations they report of. In this study, we present the data of an empirical research based on the questionnaires completed by 159 students in the 5th to 8th grades from both urban and rural area, data which have been processed with the help of MAXQDA. Due to the highly practical nature of the research, it presents a general picture of the characteristics and role of humorous classroom situations.

This unique location offers a specific interpretation of the discourse of humour, based on local and individual life experiences.

Keywords: humour, classroom discourse, qualitative data analysis

Introduction

Defining the notion of humour is a complex and risky undertaking as the discourse of humour is to be interpreted by taking into consideration a number of influencing factors: the characteristic of the speaking situation, the personality of the transmitter and that of the receptor, the nature of their interpersonal relationship, culture, customs, the historical time, etc. At the same time, humour is quite often associated with the notions of joke, irony, mockery, satire, or playfulness, though these are not very closely related terms. Mixing them up would lead to erroneous meaning associations.

The complexity of defining humour can be traced in different dictionaries as well. The Dictionary of the French Language (*Dictionnaire de la Langue Francaise*)[1] defines the term in the following way: 1. Those dominant dispositions which make up the temperament. 2. Temper, temperament. 3. Attitude without reflection. 4. A state at a given time which is not the building stone of the human character. According to the *Cambridge Dictionary*, humour is "the ability to find things funny, the way in which people see that some things are funny, or the quality of being funny". The Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language (*Dicționar explicativ al limbii române)*[2] defines humour as: 1. Inclination towards jokes and irony, hidden underneath an apparent seriousness, which appears in words or in writing, e.g. cheerfulness, fun. 2. An aesthetic category belonging to the comic, its point being to underline the incompatible and absurd side of certain natural situations. According to the Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (*A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára*),[3] humour is: 1. […] the totality of moistures which circulate in the body, having an influence on the mood of the individual. 2. Cheerful, joyous mood which appears in witty waggery though covered by a certain level or seriousness. 3. Sensibility and disposition to waggery, to joke, to a generally cheerful and joyous outlook on things, on the world.

In the definitions provided above, it is clearly visible that humour appears in different culture-specific paradigms (which, from the perspective of translatability, take us into the territory of *realia*). The most important features of humour seem

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1   *Humeur* 1. Ensemble des tenancies dominantes qui forment la temperament, 2. Naturel, temperament, 3. Comportement irréfléchi, 4. Dispozition momentanée quine constituie pas un trait de caractère.

2   *Umor* 1. Înclinare spre glume şi ironii, ascunse sub o aparență de seriozitate; manifestare prin vorbe sau prin scris a acestei înclinaţii; veselie, haz. 2. Categorie estetică aparţinând sferei comicului a cărei esenţă constă în sublinierea incompatibilităţii şi absurdităţii laturilor unor situaţii considerate fireşti.

3   *Humor* 1. [A régi orvosi felfogás szerint] az emberi testben keringő, a testet fenntartó azon nedvek összessége, amelyeknek az egyén kedélyvilágára lényeges hatásuk van. 2. Olyan derűs v. vidámnak látszó kedélyállapot, amely szellemes tréfálkozásban nyilatkozik meg, de valójában bizonyos fokú komolyságot leplez. 3. Érzék, hajlam a tréfálkozásra, a kedélyességre, a dolgok vidám, derűs szemlélésére.

to be: originality, incongruence, surprise, aggression, emotional transformation, apparent difficulty in comprehension (Veatch 1998), sociocultural knowledge, phonetic, lexical, structural, referential ambiguity in verbal humour, syntagmatic relationships, and figurative language use (with hyperbole, metaphors, simile, zeugma) (Raskin 1985).

Humour is in close connection with laughter and smiling. Although man salutes his coming into this world by crying, under similar circumstances we all seem to be alike in various forms with regard to laughter as well. Both laughter and crying have biological roots and both are determined by community experiences, the web of intersubjective relationships, and the sum of attitudes towards the Other, as non-Self. While crying is associated with some feeling of discomfort, smiling and laughter are to be interpreted as closely related to well-being (Berger 2017, Bagdi and Pap 2011).

1. Interpretations of humour over time

Although we treat laughter and humour, similarly to crying and sadness, as natural phenomena which accompany our lives, over time, there have been various attitudes towards judging these manifestations. In order to have a broader view of the topic, philosophical writings offer us an extensive picture. In this regard, it is worth considering approaches available in the literature which will be presented based on *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Morreall 2016) in what follows.

1.1. Bad perception of humour

Until the 18th century, the term *humour* has been used with a different meaning as opposed to its current sense, which can be associated with fun and laughter. Although major philosophers have approached laughter, they mainly discussed it related to some other topic. Henri Bergson's book entitled *Laughte*r published in 1900 was the first book on humour written by a notable philosopher.

One of the most well-known Ancient Greek philosophers, Plato, considered laughter to be a malicious attitude since it overrides rational self-control. Other Greek thinkers thought the same and had objections to laughter and humour. Although Aristotle saw wit as a valuable part of conversation (*Nicomachean Ethics* 4, 8), he shared Plato's view that laughter expresses scorn and insolence.

Early Christian thinkers in the later European culture followed in this line of thinking. Moreover, negative representations of laughter and humour in the Bible lead to further distancing from humorous situations. In these thinkers' view, laughter equalled hostility, loss of self-control, irresponsibility, lust, or anger. Rejection of laughter and humour continued throughout the Middle Ages, as well.

Later, Puritans too condemned humour. In this period, a number of tracts against laughter and comedy appeared. Well-known philosophers of the time, such as Thomas Hobbes or René Descartes, had their own fight against laughter. For example, in *Passions of the Soul,* Descartes claims that laughter accompanies three of the six basic emotions: wonder, love, (mild) hatred, desire, joy, and sadness. However, he sees laughter only as an expression of scorn and ridicule.

1.2. The Superiority Theory

The Superiority Theory of humour can be traced back to the Ancient Greek philosophers, who considered that a person laughs about misfortunes of others because these misfortunes point out the person's superiority on the background of shortcomings of others. For example, people laugh at inferior or ugly individuals because they feel a joy at feeling superior to them. In this respect, the feeling of superiority is born from inadequacies inside of a group or a deviation from the norm within the community.

The theory works the other way round, too. Sometimes we laugh when a comic character shows surprising skills that we lack. For example, in the silent movies of Charlie Chaplin, the main character is often found in a desperate situation in which he seems lost. But then he manages to escape performing an unexpected stunt which the viewer would have never thought of, much less, could ever perform. Laughing at such situations we do not find ourselves superior. It is the character that we laugh about that appears to be superior.

1.3. The Relief Theory

According to the Relief Theory, humour and laughter work as a pressure-relief valve on a steam boiler with respect to our nervous system. In 1709, in his work entitled *An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*, Lord Shaftesbury uses the term *humour* in its modern sense of funniness. Until then, scientists considered that nerves carried "animal spirits" (as illustrated by some of the definitions of *humour* in French, Romanian, and Hungarian in the *Introduction*). Later, with the discoveries of Herbert Spencer or Sigmund Freud, the Relief Theory maintained the idea that laughter relieves repressed nervous energy.

Contemporary scholars think that the hydraulic model of the nervous system put forward by the Relief Theory is outdated. More generally, philosophers and psychologists studying humour nowadays avoid using the Relief Theory as a general explanation of laughter or humour.

1.4. The Incongruity Theory

Another point of view which challenged the Superiority Theory in the 18th century was the Incongruity Theory. As opposed to the Superiority Theory, which claims that laughter is caused by feelings of superiority, the Incongruity Theory states that laughter occurs because we perceive something incongruous, something which is beyond the regular patterns or expectations. The approach was supported by well-known philosophers of the time such as Kant, Schopenhauer, or Kierkegaard.

Kant located the incongruity in humour between our expectations and our experience, while Schopenhauer visualized it between our sense perception over real things and our abstract rational knowledge of the same things. Using this view on the discrepancy between abstract ideas and real things, Schopenhauer manages to explain the offensiveness of being laughed at, the kind of laughter found at the heart of the Superiority Theory. Kierkegaard thought the essence of humour was in the contradiction between what we expect and what we experience. In his acceptance, the violation of one's expectations is the key element of the tragic as well as the comic.

1.5. Humour as play and laughter as play signal

Very few philosophers have affirmed that humour is a kind of play. Among those few to look at humour as a play and value its mental side was Thomas Aquinas. According to his view, if a person is never playful or humorous, he acts "against reason", and thus he is guilty of a vice. Later, in 1999, Ted Cohen wrote about the social benefits of joke telling, and in the 20th century many psychologists confirmed Aquinas's view of humour as something virtuous.

In today's perception, humour promotes tolerance for ambiguity and diversity and promotes creative problem solving. It reduces negative emotions when it comes to situations which involve announcing bad news, apologizing, complaining, warning, criticizing, or commanding. It induces trust, reduces conflict, and also brings delight.

1.6. Comedy

Humour and laughter have been closely related to the genre of comedy since the Antiquity. Comedies, as opposed to tragedies, reach the experience of catharsis in a distinct way. However, comedies and tragedies share several common features, as described in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*:

> Where they differ is in the responses of the lead characters to life's incongruities. Identifying with these characters, audiences at comedies and tragedies have

contrasting responses to events in the dramas. And because these responses carry over to similar situations in life, comedy and tragedy embody contrasting responses to the incongruities in life. (Morreall 2016: n.p.)

2. Sources of humour

According to Ribot (1900: 355), "humour is a psycho-physical phenomenon writ large, of which laughter is the physical aspect". Expectedly, the causes of laughter can be various. One of the many reasons which trigger laughter quite frequently is humorous stimuli. When describing humorous circumstances which would be seen as stimuli to provoke laughter, Kline (1907, see Martin 2007) points it out that rhythmical movements in nature cannot trigger humour. In turn, mimicry (e.g. puppet shows or pantomime), awkwardness (e.g. way of dressing), the wrong use of objects (e.g. somebody fighting with a spoon), serious actions occurring out of time or out of place (e.g. silent movies with Charlie Chaplin) as well as manner (e.g. an adult behaving like a child), words or language (e.g. foreign accent or mispronunciation) can be actual sources of humour.

Interpreting humour is influenced by a number of factors: we have to take into consideration the speaking context, the person of the transmitter and that of the receptor as well as the nature of their relationship but also common knowledge, culture, customs, the historical time, etc. Sometimes even the mood of a person can modify the way one interprets a humorous situation. "Sometimes an event which under normal circumstances would be seen as humorous will not be so interpreted because of an intervening physiological or psychological process or state. [...] Even people with a «good sense of humor» will occasionally be immune to humor because they are in a bad mood" (LaFollette and Shanks 1993: 331).

3. Does humour have its place in schools?

Classroom interaction differs significantly from the features of everyday speaking situations, and thus it presupposes characteristic methods of analysis. Classroom talk is an occurrence of conversational discourse with rigid norms of interaction, and it is highly structured and routinized. According to Hinkel (2006: 472), investigation in different locations in different countries around the world pointed out that "in classroom interaction, teachers talk approximately 75% of time, with the remainder divided among the students". Although we are talking about a well-structured speech act, several factors lead to the conclusion that playfulness, the creative humour, and learning situations built on these are the very factors which define teacher effectiveness (Douglas and Sass 2009).

Classroom conversation represents the specific form of the creation of meaning as it is planned, guided, and goal-oriented. It is made up of a set of subsequent goal-oriented conversations (the parallel symbiosis of the language of instruction and, occasionally, the vernacular language), which are structured by the short- and long-term goals. Teachers work out various individual strategies in order to organize learning, and, fundamentally, this is what makes a class effective or not (Bannink and Dam 2006).

In this context, the humorous nature of different situations is defined by the teacher, by the student, by the tools (i.e. school books) as well as by the interaction between them. As we are discussing about certain goal-oriented, planned learning situations, the potential appearance of humour is carried first of all by the personality of the teacher but also by the characteristics of the teacher–student relationship. The emerging humour can be linked mainly to the spontaneous speaking situations and can be interpreted in correlation with creativity, critical thinking, communication, and cooperation. Thus, humorous elements are to be captured in a context which is well-organized, planned, and its main goal is usefulness rather than pleasure.

It is a well-known fact that humorous creativity is defined by the level of command of a language and the practice in the use of a language. According to Wulf (2010), one has a good command of a language if they understand its humour, if they can express humour in that particular language. It often requires sophisticated linguistic, social, and cultural competence – "humour helps us win friends or a mate, disarm enemies with a retort, defuse tension in a delicate negotiation, or persuade others to our point of view" (Wulf 2010: 156).

In a survey examining the use of humour in tests, McMorris, Boothroyd, and Pietrangelo (1997, cited by Wulf 2010: 156) conclude that humour seems to reduce stress caused by the test situation rather than improve test performance. And although humour is a defining component of human nature, one of the sources of joy, in order to evolve, it needs emotional safety which allows the humorous break-out. In one of his interviews, Péter Medgyes (2018) points it out that the humorous characters of older language course books, through whose adventures many instances of grammatical terminology and vocabulary items have been introduced, are about to disappear. He mentions characters like Arthur in *Access to English* (Coles and Lord 1974) or the adventures of a Hungarian boy in the French series of course books written by Pál Pataki (1979–1982).

4. Previous research on classroom humour

There have been very few articles dealing with research on humour in school or classroom humour though many school adventures or recollections can be grouped into humorous narratives. The enduring nature of these memories is defined by

certain functions. According to Orme (1986), humour used in instruction can have several reasons such as the ones enlisted in what follows: (1) to motivate, (2) to build learner attention and positive expectations, (3) to help instructors and learners break free of constraints, (4) to use intellectual play as a precursor to concept development, (5) to develop group cohesiveness, confidence, and identity, (6) to effect learning, (7) to create variations in pace and reinforcement, (8) to enhance the desire to teach, (9) to increase instructor credibility, and (10) to control your own folly. Furthermore, Ron (2000: 20–28) argued that use of humour in the classroom can help to create a more positive learning environment, can break down barriers of communication between the teacher and the students and help them to retain subject matter, to attend class, to increase comprehension and cognitive retention.

We have knowledge of an extremely reduced number of studies dealing with humour in schools in Romania. For example, Tutunea's article (2020) is based on a research observing audio-recorded lessons with students aged 9–12. The author follows the manifestations of humour in classroom conversations, and she makes a clear distinction between humour of exclusion (e.g. irony, ridicule, sarcasm, audacity, satire) and the techniques of humour of inclusion (e.g. self-deprecation, displacement, play upon words, confusion). Based on her data, she reaches the conclusion that in classroom conversations we can distinguish between intentional or unintentional situations, and humour most often occurs in intentional situations. Most frequently, it is generated by teachers (67% of the situations) and only rarely by students (33% of the situations). She concludes that the humour which occurs in classroom is mostly innocent and "is oriented towards relaxing the atmosphere […] and drifting the main course of the conversation" (Tutunea 2020: 165).

Understanding the question thoroughly presupposes, on the one hand, linguistic, research-related approaches and, on the other hand, tools related to pedagogy, to organizing learning, that is, an interdisciplinary view of the topic. So far, in analysing classroom discourse, the focus has been on analysing conversations and ethnographic approaches (Harklau 2005) since in this context the exploration of the spoken discourse, language, and the structure of interaction in schooling can be interpreted in their interaction. At the same time, in this respect, we can distinguish between several independent variables (Ezechil 2002) such as factors specific to different school subjects, variables connected to the personality of the teacher or group dynamics, etc. The research to be presented in this study has been analysed from the perspective of students in the 5th–8th grades, and we were really curious about students' opinion on the humorous aspect of school life, what situations they considered humorous, what school experiences they evoked when thinking of a humorous situation, what the role of these humorous moments was, and when they thought a classroom situation was humorous.

5. The empirical research

In order to get a thorough picture of the phenomenon, we have applied a questionnaire in paper format, carried out in writing, containing three closed questions (referring to general information about the features of the sample establishing respondents' gender, age, and class), one multiple choice question (referring to the frequency of humorous situations in classroom context), and five open questions. This latter set of questions inquired respondents about advantages and disadvantages of classroom humour, asked them to describe their perspective on the profile of a humorous teacher, their experience with the most humorous situation in the classroom as well as the difference between humour and mockery.

The role of the set of five open questions was to provide a frame for evoking experiences and reflecting over them. In this latter part, we can speak about a supported recollection of individual attitudes and opinions, stories related to the main topic. When designing data collection, we had in mind students' individual traits; that is why we aimed at preparing them for more elaborate, free answers by starting off with a number of closed questions. Thus, we have been provided with a broader view on how students reflect on classroom conversations, different class-internal events and experiences.

Data was analysed on a textual level by using inductive logic, and then it was modelled on the level of terms; finally, term webs were designed using MAXQDA (demo version), a qualitative data analysis program (Sántha 2015, 2013;[4] Mackey and Gass 2005).

Having a thorough survey in mind, data processing started with coding. First, we determined the primary codes and then attached secondary codes to them. So, for example, in the case of statements highlighting a positive atmosphere, we used the term *Flow*, while we attached the code *Efficiency* to opinions which could be related to effective learning (e.g. a deeper understanding, retention into the long-term memory).

We have also assigned secondary codes in cases where the answers imposed it. For instance, in the case of group laughter, which was perceived as experiences inside the community, we indicated a secondary code referring to the positive effect of the mentioned experience (see *Figure 2*. It lightens the class; it dissolves monotony, the routine; the atmosphere of the class changes; it dissolves rigour, "so that we don't just sit quietly but smile a bit"). To avoid subjectivity, there has been an intracoding as well so that we could check the validity of the various categories.

The research involved 159 students in the 5th–8th grades from schools where the language of instruction was Hungarian: 81 girls and 78 boys, aged between 11 and 14. We have chosen a school from an urban area and another from a rural area and

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asked for the opinion of 58 students from a village and of 101 students from a small town regarding their experiences related to classroom humour. As understanding and experiencing humour depends on a number of distinctive factors, we have chosen primarily to interpret the collected research data qualitatively. Thus, the data summed up offers a snapshot of the phenomenon under discussion. Hereby, we have addressed the characteristics of the kind of norm system which is created by micro-communities in schools related to the discourse of humour inside the community.

6. What is the role of humour in schools?

6.1. Presenting the data

In analysing classroom interaction, we can focus on several factors. The literature (Levine 2011: 105) mentions the following: significance, activity, identity, relationship, approaches to educational policies and organizing learning as well as correlation between languages and linguistic systems.

We asked students involved in the empirical research to signal whether there were any humorous situations in their school lives and everyday classroom existence and to state how frequent these situations were. Their answers are summarized in the diagram below. *Sometimes* and *often* turned out to be the most common answers.
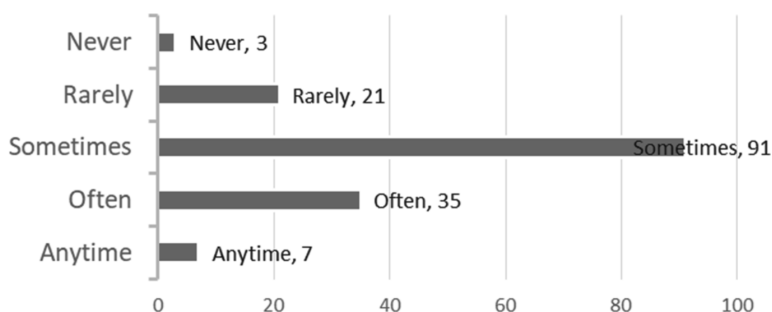

Figure 1. *Humour in the classroom (N =159)*

Since we have undertaken to map humorous elements in goal-oriented speech situations, we were curious whether students thought that humour had its place in such an environment and what roles these humorous situations played if they implied any advantages or disadvantages. We focused on highlighting key terms in the opinions provided by the students (as illustrated in tables 1 and 2) and based on those modelling term webs (as illustrated in figures 4 and 5).

Table 1. *Primary and secondary codes of the data. Functions of humour*

Code system	Frequency
Discourses of humour	155
Community experience	31
Positive experience	37
Efficiency	21
Flow	54
Time management	4
Subjective time	8

Table 2. *Primary and secondary codes of the data. Drawbacks of humour*

Code system	Frequency
HUMOUR in the classroom	157
Conflict	0
Time management	22
Self-control	17
Bad assessment	31
Abuse-offence	32
Efficiency	44

Based on the experience of the respondents, classroom humour ensures a more intense living of the *Presence*, the code terms of which are displayed in the term web in *Figure 2*.

This living of the presence becomes concrete through the subjective time (since time passes differently, even more quickly) on the one hand, while respondents referred to the quality of time and its effect on the individual (we get into a better mood, the teacher becomes more cheerful) on the other hand. In a nutshell, here they refer to the flow, i.e. experiences with a positive nature they were involved with. Positive experiences associated with humour strengthen the endurance of learning by making it more playful. The answers provided by respondents outline a third dimension, which refers to an emotional-attitudinal background: a realm where they can laugh, where they can relax, a place without discomfort or fear. Thanks to laughter, students feel "they are not in a prison" (quote from one of the respondents' answer) – laughter is the condition of liberation. At the same time, laughter has also a team-building role: "a little bit of laughter brings the team together", "makes children be better", and "if students are happier, their happiness brings about a better performance".
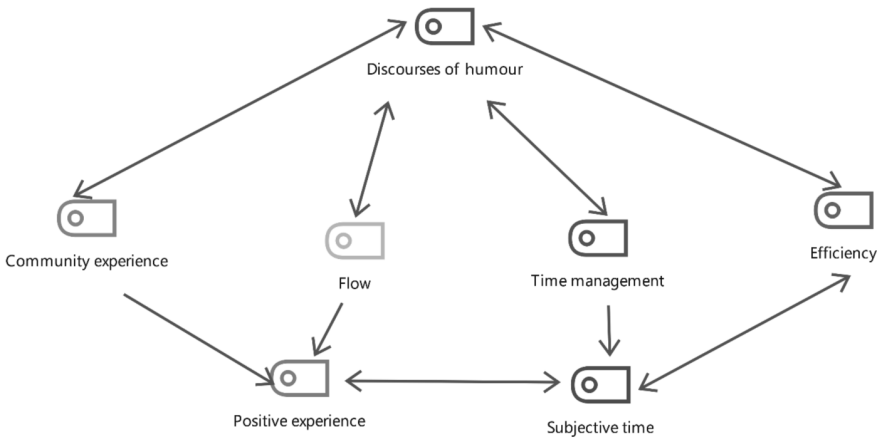
Figure 2. *Term web on classroom humour from students' perspective*

The respondents relate the seamy side of humour to a decrease in learning efficiency. In this context, moderation plays a central role (see *Figure 2*). Lack of moderation implies students' attention languishing on the one hand ("we don't pay attention any more", "we drop behind with learning"), and it leads to different forms of offence ("disrespect towards the teacher", "if jest turns into scoffing, it is no longer funny but hurtful"), even conflicts or negative consequences ("we get bad marks", "we are sent out from class", "we respond orally or write a test", "we get admonition", "we are registered in the entry of discipline", "our mark for conduct is lowered") on the other. From this latter set of responses, we can also deduce that there is a wide range of available tools for maintaining discipline and moderation in the classroom.
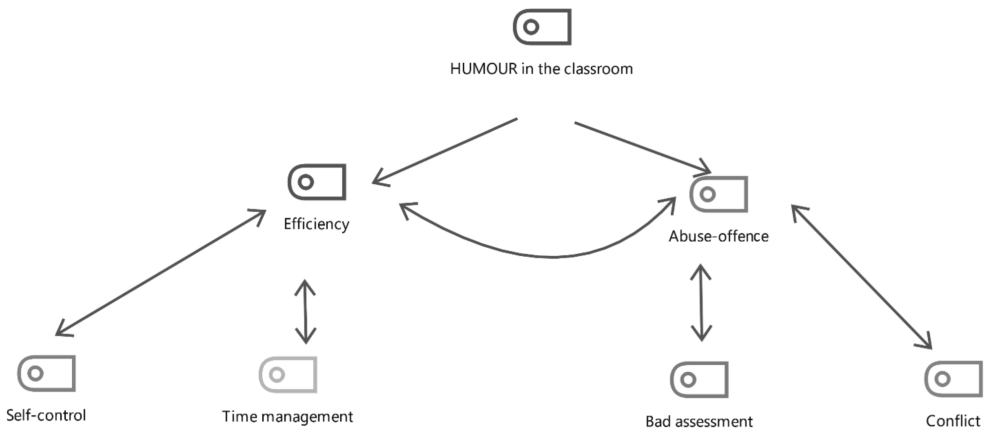

Figure 3. *Negative effects of classroom humour (term web)*

The answers provided by respondents make it clear that humour is a core value in their communities, with lots of positive effects. At the same time, these answers point out a variety of tools being used to maintain moderation in classroom interaction.

In a subsequent part of the test, we were curious about the types of events which are considered to be humorous by students. The majority of experiences evoked (60%) is related to some humorous event, such as changing classrooms on April's Fool Day, students discovered while cheating or falling off their chair, etc. This aspect is closely related to the characteristics specific of their age (idiosyncrasy).

Another subgroup (around 20%) evoked humorous experiences related to learning topics, for example, the life and habits of interesting tribes, norms of behaviour characteristic of different cultures or peculiar religious customs and students' comments related to them.

A third group brought up as an example some element of linguistic humour (20%). These examples range from events of mispronunciation (e.g. "herbal predicate" instead of "verbal predicate") to saying something foolish or embarrassing (e.g. "I called the teacher Mom"), but also funny remarks or irony in the teachers' discourse ("try to answer the question… we are not at the theatre", during an explanation: "it is not the same *to walk on* or *to be walked on*") as well as teachers' ways of addressing their students ("my dears", "youngsters").

The fact that respondents defined a very subtle difference between humour and mockery deserves a special attention. The moral of a well-known Hungarian proverb („minden viccnek fele való"; in free English translation: "half of every joke is true") is mentioned quite often, referring to the constructive nature and positive effect of humour. Due to its high frequency, the aforementioned proverb, in its essence, can be interpreted as a cultural code, but it also refers to the value of humour often associated with wittiness (i.e. Sekler wittiness), with intelligence and the feeling of belonging to a community since the foundation of understanding and interpreting humorous situations is common knowledge and experience as well as a shared system of norms. At the same time, mockery can be interpreted as a tool for exclusion.

Here are some remarks of the respondents, comparing humour and mockery: (1) in humorous situations, we "laugh together"; (2) in mockery, we "laugh at someone and not with someone"; (3) "in humorous contexts, we laugh at the situation itself; in mockery, we dispraise the person"; (4) "humour has its boundaries; beyond those boundaries, we are dealing with mockery"; (5) in humorous situations, "everyone laughs"; in the case of mockery, "only some"; (6) in humorous situations, "we laugh at the situation"; in the case of mockery, "we laugh at people". The statements in 1–6 illustrate that according to the norms of the communities under discussion humour is interpreted as a positive life experience and a positive human characteristic, often perceived as constructive criticism. Meanwhile, everything else beyond the boundaries of the term *humour* could be perceived as hurtful, offensive, stigmatizing.

Returning to the atmosphere of humour, the last question students had to respond to referred to students' judgements of the main characteristics related to the profile of a humorous teacher. The answers provided by respondents have been interpreted according to our primary codes and are displayed in *Table 3* below as well as in the term web in *Figure 4*.

Table 3. *What is a humorous teacher like?*

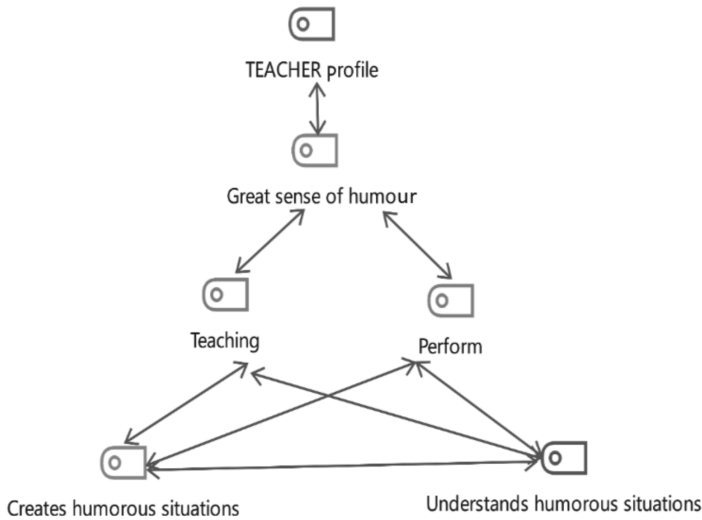| Code System			Frequency
Code System			143
	Teacher Profile		0
	Perform		16
		Great sense of humour	49
		Creates humorous situations	24
		Teaching	32
	Understands humorous situations		22

Figure 4. *The profile of the humorous teacher (term web)*

The personality of the teacher, their individual traits are extremely important from students' perspective since, according to students' judgement, the sense of humour has an effect on everything, as displayed in the term web designed based on student responses. In a learning environment or explanation built around humour, beyond laughter, we can also observe features such as playfulness, being dynamic, agile, flexible, nice, and funny. Throughout everyday classwork, funny teachers are jolly, cheerful, and youthful, provide explanation that is easily retained, "energize"

and "put students in a good mood", or "crack a joke without exaggerating" so that "everyone understands their explanations and everyone enjoys their classes". They understand humorous situations and have the appropriate attitude towards them. Thus, humorous teachers are "not ones that students laugh about". They deliver their lessons with ease, without being monotonous, can "think with students' minds", and students enjoy their classes. Based on students' responses, the profile of the humorous teacher highlights first of all teachers' playfulness, their dynamic nature and creative presence as well as the positive feelings they induce.

Conclusions

In this article, we have undertaken to map the judgements configured by micro-communities, such as school communities, since, due to the quality time spent there, school plays an important role in determining people's personalities. This unique location offers a specific interpretation of the discourse of humour, based on local and individual life experiences. In this light, classroom humour can be captured in different forms: humorous situations, humorous topics, or humorous linguistic ingenuity. These situations are connected with positive learning experiences, embedded in flexibility and creativity. At the same time, according to the respondents' judgement, humour encountered in learning situations can be determined first of all by various individual attitudes, which include playfulness, flexibility, and dynamic character. These situations are determining factors of the group dynamics due to their team-building feature.

Concluding, based on the responses provided by students, we can state that in the sample we have analysed the discourse of humour carries the following functions: (a) it supports the initiation of a positive, supportive emotional atmosphere; (b) it strengthens the cohesion of the community; (c) it promotes the efficiency of teaching through its playfulness, dynamic nature, creativity, and critical thinking; (d) it boosts teachers' credibility and intensifies interpersonal relations.

Based on the data of the empirical research, it can be stated that the humour of classroom conversations is generated by spontaneous speech situations. This humour fulfils a series of positive roles on different levels of teacher–student collaboration. In this configuration, classroom humour acquires a specific meaning: it denotes all those exhilarated situations which lead to common experiences of meaning, of being together and in which playfulness, surprise, emotional transformation, and creativity are present at the same time.

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Translating Humour – A Didactic Perspective

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Abstract. Humour has various faces and forms, deriving from double meanings, situations, wordplay, often with hidden or obvious cultural references. It may also be subjective; the same things may seem humorous for some people and not funny at all for others. Probably most translators would agree that translating humour is definitely a very challenging task, especially when it is strictly related to the language itself or to a certain culture or community. However, there are certain forms of humour, especially situational or anecdotal, which focus on universal aspects or elements of human life, and therefore may be understood and considered as funny by people from different cultures. In this study, we discuss some theories, principles, recommended techniques and strategies related to translating jokes, wordplay, and humorous idioms which in our opinion may be included in the translator-training curriculum. We also examine the strategies and techniques used by a group of translator trainees in their second year of studies in translating humour from English into Hungarian, focusing on the difficulties they encountered, in order to assess their needs and include more practice and useful tips in the training process.

Keywords: humour, jokes, wordplay, idioms, translation, translator training

1. Humour and translating humour

Translating humour can be challenging even for seasoned translators, so it may be helpful if future translators and interpreters get a taste of it during the course of their training process. In the first part of our study, we focus on some theories, principles, recommended techniques and strategies related to translating jokes, wordplay, and humorous idioms which we believe may be included in the translator-training curriculum.

The difficulties of translating humour are frequently discussed in the literature. One of the problems may be that humour in its various forms – joke, wordplay,

pun, idiom – is significantly defined by culture and language. In an article about translating humour in literary works, Venuti approaches target texts as relatively autonomous products, domesticized adaptations of the source language texts, reflecting more the target culture and language but also preserving its relation to the source text. He points out that certain losses and gains always occur in the process of translation. We may always observe "a loss of the foreign text at various levels: a loss of form and meaning, syntax and lexicon, sound and meter, allusion and intertextuality" (2002: 7). Martínez-Sierra (2006) and Jankowska (2009) also note that loss in the translation of humour can occur both in a quantitative and a qualitative sense. Studying jokes, they both found that, regardless of language pair and translation method, the target text is less humorous than the source text, which may result from having fewer humorous elements but also from the fact that the humorous elements are less humorous. Losses, however, may be compensated with other humorous elements placed elsewhere in the text (Klaudy 2014).

On the other hand, there may also be gain in translation, both on the linguistic and cultural level, "because translating is radically recontextualizing, actually exorbitant in its creation of another context" (Venuti 2002: 7). Primarily in literary translations, the linguistic and cultural gain often exceeds the source text and has significance mainly for the target language reader, conjuring elements of the receiving culture, its values and traditions. The formal and semantic dimensions of the source text are altered. Venuti calls these effects "domestic 'reminder' in a translation because they exceed the communication of a univocal meaning and reflect the linguistic and cultural conditions of the receptors" (2002: 8).

The success of translating humour can be relative because of the subjectivity of what individuals may or may not find humorous. It also depends on the genre as certain forms of humour, especially situational or anecdotal, focusing on universal aspects of human life, considered equally funny by people from different cultures, are usually more easily translatable than culture- and language-specific wordplays, puns, or idioms. However, a translator should bear in mind that the transmission of the humorous effect ought to be considered a primary factor in the success of humour translation, and, in agreement with Attardo, we should consider the text whose perlocutionary goal is to be perceived as humorous to be humorous because "the essence of a humorous text, its *raison d'être* is that of being perceived as funny, and that is reflected in the text itself" (Attardo 2001: 33).

1.1. Translating jokes, wordplay, and/or puns

A broad definition of *joke* is given in the Merriam-Webster dictionary: "something said or done to provoke laughter" or "a brief oral narrative with a climactic humorous twist".[1] Jokes usually consist of a build-up, or set-up, followed by the punch line. The

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1   https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/joke

build-up is usually a narrative, while the punch line is the final portion of the text, which is in incongruity with the set-up, producing a humorous effect (Attardo 2001).

Jokes can be isolated units, or they may be inserted in longer texts. They are defined by the cultural and social contexts and situations in which they are negotiated. Therefore, according to Popa (2005: 49), in order to translate them adequately, translators must bear in mind the complexity of the phenomenon and focus on the transfer of the linguistic, situational, and cultural content of the joke into the target language while respecting the skopos of the translation.

Low claims that translating "a joke in a way that cannot elicit a smile is a betrayal, no matter how semantically accurate it may seem" (Low 2011: 69), and he proposes eight strategies to translate them:

1) *Delivery* followed by *preparation* means that punch lines are translated first, possibly making them even "tighter and punchier". This is followed by the work on the preparation part, adding explanations of implied details, if necessary (Low 2011: 69).

2) *Compensation in kind* means that translators can use other forms of verbal humour: for instance, if they cannot translate an anagram, they "may use a pun or a spoonerism or a silly mixed metaphor. Any statement can be made amusing just by adding an exaggeration, a malapropism or a simile as silly as a sausage" (Low 2011: 69).

3) *Compensation in place* means inserting a funny, witty allusion in the next sentence.

4) *Dilution* refers to translating a certain number of puns with less.

5) *Explicitation* means that in some cases a one-liner can be better translated in the form of a two-liner. If in the source text we have "Consumerism has made invention the mother of necessity", it may be translated in two clauses, as "Consumerism has reversed the old proverb and made invention the mother of necessity", which is definitely less humorous but still more than nothing (Low 2011: 69).

6) *Exaggeration* is exemplified with the translation of a French joke about Nicolas Sarkozy, a "Super-Sarko joke", in the case of which instead of translating it in English as "Nicholas Sarkozy can tag the sound barrier", it was amended by Low to "Sarkozy can leap over the sound barrier and tag both sides" (Low 2011: 69).

7) *Signalling* means to mention the existence of a joke instead of translating it. For example, an interpreter who does not have enough time to think about how to translate a joke can at least say: "'That's very droll in Chinese' or 'Here the speaker would like you to laugh'" (Low 2011: 69).

8) *Substitution* refers to the use of a humorous text with different meaning but equally funny. Low finds this solution acceptable, but he does not consider it a form of translation (Low 2011: 70).

The issue of untranslatability in the domain of translating humour most often occurs related to wordplays because of their accentuated language specificity. As

the term *wordplay* itself suggests, it is a play with words, with their pronunciation and meaning. In order to translate wordplays or puns, it is important to understand their features.

The various perceptions and attempts to define this concept point to its complexity. There is no universally accepted definition, but there are several important characteristics that scholars agree upon. Delabastita gives a concise definition of wordplay or pun, stating that it is "the general name for the various textual phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistic structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings" (Delabastita 1996: 128). Different meanings may be activated by similar or sometimes identical forms such as in homonyms, homophones, homographs, or paronyms, and these structures may occur in the same part of a text (vertically) or one after another (horizontally).

Related to form, Giorgadze claims that "wordplay can be expressed in ambiguous verbal wit, orthographic peculiarities, sounds and forms of the words, in breaking the grammar rules and other linguistic factors" and also highlights the importance of context in actualizing the wordplay, or pun, "as its pragmatic role (mainly humorous, satirical, sarcastic, etc.) is fulfilled and actualized in a specific context" (Giorgadze 2014: 271).

Regarding the definition of *pun*, it seems that scholars have not reached a consensus either. It is often regarded as a synonym of wordplay; for example, Delabastita (1996) uses the terms *wordplay* and *pun* interchangeably, as synonyms. Others define pun as a type of wordplay or joke. According to Low, puns are "those kinds of wordplay that exploit the ambiguities of words or phrases. Since the majority of puns have a humorous intent, they form a subset of 'jokes'", and he highlights that puns may cause extra difficulties for translators because "they use the specific features of a particular language" (Low 2011: 60).

The translatability of wordplays or puns raises many questions, and it is definitely a challenge for translators. Ballard points out that translation is an exercise in reading and construction of meaning, and therefore, in the early stages of translator training, students should be shown how and why incorrect readings may occur. Therefore, the paradigm of ambiguity should be explored, which can result from identity of sounds and spellings in homonyms, identity of sounds in homophones, partial similarity of sounds and spellings in paronyms, or a signifier with different meanings in polysemy (Ballard 1996: 334–335). Because of the involved ambiguity, any of these phenomena may become the source of humour.

According to Benő (2016: 61), translating wordplays requires in a way the preservation of the source language form, which contradicts the habitual translation procedures that involve a disengagement and abstraction from the source language forms by expressing the meaning of the original, source language signs with the

means of the target language. If the intention was to preserve the source language form, most wordplays would be untranslatable. And yet, in everyday translation practice, they are translated. Translation is more than an exchange of words, replacement of source language lexical units with target language words. Literal, word-for-word translation may lead to poor, incomprehensible results, and this is especially relevant when translating puns.

Low proposes six tools for translating puns: 1) *replicating* the source text pun; 2) achieving dynamic equivalence by *creating a new pun*, verbally connected with the source text; 3) using "a *different humorous device*, particularly where the humour is more important than the meaning"; 4) *compensating in place* by ensuring a wordplay near the pun; 5) giving an *expanded translation*, an explanation of the pun, which usually leads to the loss of humorous effect; 6) *ignoring the pun*, giving a partial translation of the phrase, without wordplay (Low 2011: 67).

The first five tools imply that creativity is essential. In a study about the didactics of translation focusing on the issues of wordplay, Ballard (1996) concludes the following: "Creativity, we should teach our students, can be far more effective than accuracy in the translation of wordplay. Wordplay is an area par excellence where word-for-word translation usually misses the point. What is more relevant than semantic meaning in many instances of wordplay is the stylistic device itself, the relationship between words" (Ballard 1996: 344).

1.2. Translating funny idioms

We discussed the definition and typology of idioms and the difficulties of their translation in two previous studies (Kovács 2016a, b). We concluded that idioms are an essential part of any language, but because of their large variety and culture and language specificity there is no complete agreement regarding their definition or typology. A concise definition is given by the Merriam-Webster dictionary: "an expression in the usage of a language that is peculiar to itself either in having a meaning that cannot be derived from the conjoined meanings of its elements (such as up in the air for 'undecided') or in its grammatically atypical use of words (such as give way)".[2] There are different types of idioms, and there might be differences regarding the ways they are understood and translated. Lexical items referring to objects, living creatures, humans, phenomena, concepts, or various culture-specific elements can all be part of what we call idioms. In order to translate idioms from the source language into the target language, the translator should first recognize the idiom in the text, understand its meaning, and then choose the most appropriate strategy, taking into consideration the peculiarities, function, culture specificity, and the semantic and structural unpredictability of these expressions.

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2   https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/idiom

We also discussed and exemplified Baker's (1992) five proposed strategies for translating idioms (Kovács 2016a, b). Here we focus on idioms considered humorous,[3] and therefore we give examples of English–Hungarian translations for the first three of Baker's strategies:

1) Using an idiom of similar meaning and form means to use an idiom in the target language that has approximately the same meaning as the source language idiom and contains equivalent lexical items (e.g. *cat got your tongue – a cica elvitte a nyelvedet).*

2) Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form means to find an idiom in the target language with a similar meaning to that of the source language idiom but containing different lexical items (e.g. *kick the bucket – feldobja a talpát*).

3) Translation by paraphrase can be considered the most common way of translating idioms when it is inappropriate to use idiomatic expressions in the target text because of differences in stylistic preferences or when no match can be found in the target language (e.g. *out of the blue – a semmiből*). However, when translating funny idioms, the humorous effect can be easily lost in a paraphrase.

4) Translation by omission is the case when idioms can be omitted from the target text mainly because they cannot be easily paraphrased, they do not have a close match in the target language, or because of stylistic considerations. If we omit a funny idiom from the target text, not only the meaning but also the humorous effect is lost.

5) The strategy of compensation "means that one may either omit or play down a feature such as idiomaticity at the point where it occurs in the source text and introduce it elsewhere in the target text" (Baker 1992: 78).

In line with Baker, we believe that the most fortunate case is when the translator manages to find an idiom with a similar meaning in the target language, and this may be especially relevant when translating humorous idioms.

1.3. Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humour

Attardo (2001, 2002) developed a General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) relevant and applicable to all types of humorous texts, which may be used by translators to evaluate how much the translated text differs from the source text. According to this theory, the manifestations of verbal humour can be analysed based on six parameters (Knowledge Resource):

(1) *Language (LA)* "contains all the information necessary for the verbalization of a text. It is responsible for the actual wording of the text and for the placement of the functional elements that constitute it" (Attardo 2002: 176). It is important to understand that the same message or information can be expressed in various ways (with synonyms or different grammatical constructions). Therefore, jokes or

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3   https://www.lifehack.org/articles/lifestyle/15-funny-english-idioms-you-may-not-know.html
https://matadornetwork.com/pulse/10-funniest-idioms-people-learning-english/

humorous stories can be paraphrased, told and written in different ways, conveying the same meaning and effect. Ideally, when translating humour, only the level of language is changed, and the other Knowledge Resources remain intact.

(2) Narrative Strategy (NS) refers to the narrative organization of the text, which may be, for example, a dialogue, a simple narrative, or a riddle.

(3) Target (TA) is an optional parameter; it can be identified mainly in humorous texts that have a target or a butt, something or somebody that is being ridiculed. It is usually the name of individuals or groups that can be stereotyped.

(4) Situation (SI) involves that humorous texts or jokes are usually "about something", and it includes the objects, participants, means, tasks, and activities of the humorous statement.

(5) Logical Mechanism (LM) refers to the resolution of incongruities; however, it is not necessarily present in all humorous texts as the resolution of the incongruity is optional in humour (for example, in humour based on absurd or nonsense). LMs can range from juxtapositions (e.g. Gobi Desert Canoe Club) to errors in reasoning (e.g. "Madonna does not have it, the Pope has it but doesn't use it, Bush has it short, and Gorbachev long. What is it? Answer: a last name.") (Attardo 2002: 181).

(6) Script Opposition (SO) is present in every humorous manifestation, and it is considered the most abstract Knowledge Resource. For its presence, two conditions must be met: the text must be partially or fully compatible with two different scripts, and these two scripts are opposite in such a way that, at the same time, they partially or completely overlap in the given text. The opposition either dissolves at the end (e.g. jokes) or it does not (e.g. nonsense, absurd), but its presence is necessary in order to achieve a humorous effect (Attardo 2002: 181–182).

Based on the General Theory of Verbal Humour, Attardo proposes a mini-theory of humour translation, offering practical advice for translators who may encounter humorous texts: "if possible, respect all six Knowledge Resources in your translation, but if necessary, let your translation differ at the lowest level necessary for your pragmatic purposes" (Attardo 2002: 183). He admits that it may be utopian to respect all of the Knowledge Resources, but if none of them is respected, then the outcome cannot be called a translation "and may be either the refusal or acknowledged failure of the translator to render the text in TL, or the creation of humour in TL that was not in SL, or failure of the translator to spot the joke in SL" (Attardo 2002: 184).

2. Students' translations

In this part, we aim to analyse some of the solutions which translator trainees chose while translating various types of humour – jokes, puns, and funny idioms – from English into Hungarian. For this assignment, the jokes, puns, and funny

idioms were carefully selected in order to cover several types from these categories. The members of the target group (26 second-year students) study translation and interpreting at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences Târgu-Mureş. The sample of this study is not large enough to draw general conclusions regarding the strategies of translating humour from English into Hungarian. We present a short qualitative analysis of our students' translations referring to some of the above mentioned theories and principles in order to obtain a better view of the difficulties our students encounter, assess their needs, and utilize our findings for curriculum development.

2.1. Jokes, wordplays, and puns translated from English into Hungarian

In order to illustrate and discuss our students' difficulties related to the translation of jokes, wordplays, or puns, we chose some examples of successful and unacceptable translations from their assignments.

Table 1. *Translating a joke (1)*

Source text	Example for successful translation (Student 1)	Example for unacceptable translation (Student 2)
A linguistics professor was lecturing his class the other day. "In English", he said, "a double negative forms a positive. However, in some languages, such as Russian, a double negative remains a negative. But there isn't a single language, not one, in which a double positive can express a negative". A voice from the back of the room retorted, "Yeah, right".[4]	A minap egy nyelvészprofesszor magyarázta az osztályának: – Az angolban a kettős tagadás állítást eredményez. Viszont, egyes nyelvekben, mint például az oroszban, a kettős tagadás tagadás marad. De egyetlen olyan nyelv sem létezik, amelyben kettős állítás tagadást fejezne ki. Egy hang beszólt a terem hátsó részéből: – Igen, persze.	Egy lingvisztikai tanár tanítás közben: – Az angolban két negatív egy pozitívat formál, de más nyelvekben pl. orosz két negatív negatív marad. Nincs egy nyelv sem, amelyikben két negatív egy pozitívat hoz létre. Egy hang hátulról: – Hát tényleg.

If we examine the second student's unacceptable translation with the help of Attardo's GTVH, we can observe various losses regarding LA. In the first sentence, the student uses an expression which is incorrect and unacceptable in Hungarian: "lingvisztikai tanár" (linguistical teacher). He also omits the translation of the

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4   https://www.myenglishpages.com/site_php_files/joke.php?t=514

phrase "the other day", the conjunction "but" introducing the fourth sentence of the source text, and the verb "retorted" from the last sentence. He does not use the conventional terms from Hungarian linguistics for "negative" and "positive". And, finally, the total transformation of the last two words – the punch line – kills the joke in the target text. Regarding the NS, the student successfully followed the narrative organization of the source text. TA does not exist in this source text. Regarding the SI, most elements are present (the teaching situation, the characters – a teacher and the student who makes the comment from the back of the room). The student failed to convey the LM, the resolution of incongruity by mistranslating the punch line of the joke. In the source text, the final comment consists of two positives – "Yeah, right" – exposing the inaccuracy of the professor's reasoning, while in the target text the "voice from the back of the room" agrees with the professor, saying "Hát tényleg." (meaning "Well, of course."). Regarding SO, the two opposing but overlapping scripts in this joke would be the professor being right or wrong. However, this opposition does not dissolve in the end because of the inaccurate translation of the last remark.

While the first student managed to respect all the existing five Knowledge Resources (LA, NS, SI, LM, and SO) in her translation, the second student failed to respect three of them (LA, LM, and SO). The following reasons can be detected regarding the second student's failure to translate the joke: he probably did not spot the humour in it, or, if he did, he could not convey it in the target language; he also had difficulties in finding acceptable equivalents for certain source language elements and used omission too often.

Table 2. *Translating a joke (2)*

Source text	Successful translation	Poor translation (1)	Poor translation (2)
A teacher asked a particularly dull, lazy, and objectionable pupil if he was ignorant or apathetic. The pupil replied: "I don't know, and I don't care!"[5]	A tanár megkérdezett egy szembeötlően lassú észjárású, lusta és kifogásolható magatartású diákot, hogy ostoba vagy fásult. A diák azt válaszolta: – Nem tudom és nem is érdekel.	A tanár megkérdezte egy lusta, kifogásolható diákját, hogy mi lenne, ha nem viselkedne ilyen tudatlanul és érzéketlenül. A diák válaszolta: – Nem tudom és nem is érdekel.	A tanár megkérdezett egy unott, lusta diákot, hogy mi lenne, ha tudatlan és nemtörődöm lenne. Erre azt válaszolta a diák, hogy nem tudja, de nem is érdekli.

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5   http://transpremium.com/a-few-of-the-most-hilarious-language-and-translator-jokes/

If we examine the two poor translations comparing them with the successful one with the help of Attardo's GTVH, we can observe various losses and errors regarding LA. The students who produced poor translations omitted one of the pupil's attributes – the first did not translate "dull", while the second omitted "objectionable" and mistranslated "dull" as "unott" (bored). They also encountered difficulties in the translation of the second part of the first sentence: "if he was ignorant or apathetic". This is a simple reported question, but both of them translated it as a complex reported sentence containing a conditional sub-clause, altering it significantly on syntactic level, thus also changing its meaning: (1) "mi lenne, ha nem viselkedne ilyen tudatlanul és érzéketlenül" (what if he did not behave so ignorantly and insensitively); (2) "mi lenne, ha tudatlan és nemtörődöm lenne" (what if he were ignorant and careless). However, all the students who translated this joke rendered the punch line in acceptable forms. Regarding the NS, the students successfully followed the narrative organization of the source text. Regarding the SI, most elements are present (the characters – the teacher and the student). In the two poor translations, the students failed to convey the LM, the resolution of incongruity, because, even though they translated the punch line correctly, they failed to convey the build-up phase of the joke by altering the meaning of the second sentence. Regarding SO, the opposing but overlapping scripts in this joke would be that the pupil's answer proves one of the options given by the teacher to be true or none of them. This opposition does not dissolve in the end because of the inaccurate translation of the teacher's question.

The student who translated the joke successfully managed to respect all the existing five Knowledge Resources (LA, NS, SI, LM, and SO) in his translation, while the other two students failed to respect three of them (LA, LM, and SO). The following reason can be detected regarding these students' failure to translate the joke: they had difficulties in finding acceptable equivalents for certain source language structures, thus altering the meaning significantly.

Table 3. *Translating a pun (1)*

Source text	Successful translation	Poor translation (1)	Poor translation (2)
"She (tearfully): You said if I'd marry you, you'd be **humbly grateful.** He (sourly): Well, what of it?" She: "You are not; you are **grumbly hateful**." (Benő 2016: 62)	„Feleség: Azt mondtad, ha hozzád megyek, **készséges férjuram** leszel. Férj (mogorván): Na és mi lettem? Feleség: **Rémséges kényuram**." (Benő 2016: 62)	A nő (könnyezve): – Azt mondtad, ha a feleséged leszek, **szerény** és **hálás** leszel. A férfi (keserűen): – S akkor mi? – Nem lettél az. **Zsörtölődő** és **utálatos** vagy!	Az asszony: – Azt mondtad, ha a feleséged leszek, **alázatosan hálás** leszel! A férj, savanyúan: – Na, és? Az asszony: – Nem vagy az, **szörnyen utálatos** vagy.

This text was chosen from an article about puns and translation by Attila Benő (2016). It is a wordplay which presents a sad and painful situation in a humorous light. When faced with an English wordplay, our translator trainees' first reaction would often be that it cannot be translated. None of them managed to translate this wordplay successfully. Eight of them did not translate it at all, while the others tried but failed to convey the humour resulting from combining words with similar forms but opposite meanings, mainly because the Hungarian equivalents of these words (*humbly – grumbly, grateful – hateful*) are not formally similar: they do not rhyme, and they do not have the same number of syllables: *humbly grateful* – alázatosan/szerényen hálás; *grumbly hateful* – morgóan/zsörtölődően gyűlöletes/utálatos). The wordplay, which at first sight may seem untranslatable, was the result of linguistic creativity. This means, as Benő (2016) suggests, that the translator, like the author, should use creativity and find playful and witty expressions, taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the target language, as we can see in the example for successful translation. Obviously, this domesticizing process involves compromise, resulting in some loss, which, on the other hand, can be counterbalanced with linguistic and cultural gain. This can be observed in the example for successful translation, where, in order to preserve the wordplay as a source of humour, and also the message of the joke, the translator did not use the equivalents mentioned above but word pairs with different meaning (*készséges – rémséges, férjuram – rémuram*), forming the phrases *készséges férjuram* (my willing/attentive husband) – *rémséges kényuram* (my terrible oppressor/tyrant). Besides these, Benő (2016: 63) proposes two other alternatives: *engedelmesen édes* (obediently sweet/gentle) – *rettenetesen rémes* (horribly terrible/terribly horrible) or *édesen hálás* (sweetly grateful) – *rémesen lármás* (terribly noisy/boisterous).

The students' translations render the meaning of the source text correctly, but neither of them is humorous. Instead, both examples of poor translation highlight the sadness and bitterness of the situation.

Table 4. *Translating a pun (2)*

Source text	Successful translations	Unsuccessful translations
Why does the teacher wear sunglasses? Because his students are so **bright**.[6]	Miért visel a tanár napszemüveget? Mert a diákjai annyira **ragyogóak / sziporkázóak**.	Miért visel a tanár napszemüveget? Mert a diákjai annyira **fényesek/ világosak / okosak**.

The pun in this example is based on polysemy, the two meanings of the word *bright* (literal meaning: *shining*, *glittering*, *sparkling*; figurative meaning: *clever*, *intelligent*, *smart*). Twenty out of the 26 students managed to translate it successfully, using a Hungarian equivalent, which has the same literal and figurative meaning as the English word. Those who failed did not understand the joke and chose equivalents covering

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6   https://explainthejoke.com/2019/01/25/brilliance/

only one of the two meanings, thus forming absurd answers (meaning: *Because his students are so shining, glittering.*), or they understood it but failed to choose an equivalent with the same literal and figurative meaning, thus giving answers which did not relate to the question (meaning: *Because his students are so clever, intelligent.*).

But not all puns are so easily translatable, as demonstrated in the following example.

Table 5. *Translating a pun (3)*

Source text	Translation (1)	Translation (2)
"I was arrested at the airport. Just because I was greeting my cousin Jack! All that I said was '**Hi Jack**', but very loud."[7]	– A repülőtéren tartóztattak le. Csak azért, mert köszöntöm Jack unokatestvérem! Csak annyit mondtam, hogy „**Hi Jack**", de nagyon hangosan.	– Letartóztattak a repülőtéren. Csak azért, mert köszöntem Jack unokatestvéremnek! Pedig csak annyit mondtam, hogy „**Hi Jack**", de nagyon hangosan. (Ez angolul úgy is érthető, mintha azt mondta volna, hogy ***eltérítés***.)

Here the humorous effect is based on the homophony between *"Hi Jack"* and the word *hijack* (to commandeer a flying airplane especially by coercing the pilot at gunpoint).[8] As shown in the selected examples, our students applied mainly two strategies. 12 of them assumed that the target reader would know enough English to understand the joke even if the key element of the humorous effect was not translated. Even though it may work in some cases, this version cannot be accepted as a completed translation. The other 14 students used a strategy which can be considered an *expanded translation* (defined by Low 2011: 67), an explanation of the pun, which leads to the loss of the humorous effect, but their effort might trigger a polite smile.

When humour is the main purpose of a text, and we have to choose between sacrificing language play and making minor changes to the conceptual meaning, it is more advisable to preserve the language play by slightly changing the meaning than to produce an accurate but dry outcome.

2.2. Funny idioms translated from English into Hungarian

In this section, we propose to exemplify the applied strategies and the difficulties encountered by our group of 26 students when translating twenty funny English idioms[9] into Hungarian. The students' choices were categorized into acceptable

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7   http://iteslj.org/c/jokes-puns.html
8   https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hijack
9   The idioms were selected from the following sources: https://www.lifehack.org/articles/ lifestyle/15-funny-english-idioms-you-may-not-know.html;   https://matadornetwork.com/

and unacceptable translations, and the acceptable ones were further divided into translations preserving and losing the humorous effect. The main strategies chosen were also examined. From Baker's five strategies, we could identify three: (1) using an idiom of approximately similar meaning and form, (2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, and (3) translation by paraphrase. We also identified (4) omission and (5) literal (word-for-word) translation, two options which in this case we cannot be accepted as productive strategies. Examples:

(1) The idiom *all mouth and no trousers*, meaning "*full of boastful, arrogant, or shallow talk, usually by a male, who then cannot deliver on his claims*",[10] was translated successfully by the majority of the students:

Table 6. *Translations of the idiom "all mouth and no trousers"*

SL (EN)	Students' translation of the idiom – TL (HU)	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable, funny translations/ nr. of stud.	Acceptable but not funny translations/ nr. of stud.	Unacceptable translation/ nr. of stud.
Be careful. Politicians are known to be all mouth and no trousers.	szájhős	2	4		
	szájkaratés	2	2		
	lyukat beszélnek a hasadba, de nem tesznek semmit	2 /3	1		
	csak a szájuk jár	2	9		
	politikusok ígéreteiből lesz gazdag a szegényből	3	1		
	hajlamosak arrogánsan beszélni, de nem csinálnak semmit	3			1
	politikusok ígéretei nem teszik gazdaggá a szegényt	3		1	
	fűt-fát megígérnek, aztán sehol semmi	2	1		
	sokat ígérnek, de keveset tartanak be	3		1	
	bort isznak s vizet prédikálnak	2	2		
	amelyik kutya ugat, nem harap	2			1
	nagy a kotkodácsolás, kicsi a tojás	2	1		
	csak a szájukkal merészek, tetteikkel nem	3		1	

pulse/10-funniest-idioms-people-learning-english/

10   https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/all+mouth+and+no+trousers

(2) The translation of the idiom *hairy at the heel*, meaning "*dangerous or untrustworthy*"[11] proved to be the most difficult for our students.

Table 7. *Translation of the idiom "hairy at the heel"*

SL (EN)	Students' translations – TL (HU)	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable, funny translations/ nr. of stud.	Acceptable but not funny translations/ nr. of stud.	Unacceptable translation/ nr. of stud.
I can't say I like Bob. I've once or twice had a row with him. He's a bit **hairy at the heel.**	alvilági fickó	3		1	
	agresszív tud lenni/ kicsit agresszív	3		2	
	forrófejű	2	1		
	ravasz, mint a róka	2			2
	olyan, mint az időjárás	2	1		
	galád/szélhámos	3		1	
	olyan, mint a jó idő	2			2
	furcsa	3			1
	pongyola	3			1
	kecskére nem bíznám a káposztát	2	1		
	szőröstalpú	2			4
	megbízhatatlan, veszélyes/kétes alak	3		3	
	fel van vágva a nyelve	3	1		
	-	4			4
	szőrös a sarka	5			1

As we can see in the examples, in the translation of funny idioms, the main reasons for unacceptable translations were mainly misinterpretation of the SL idiom or failure to find an acceptable equivalent. In many cases, students managed to translate the idioms but failed to preserve their humorous effect. The most frequently chosen strategy was the attempt of using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, followed by paraphrasing, which contradicts Baker's (1996) and our own (Kovács 2016b) conclusion that paraphrasing would be the most frequently used strategy in the translation of idioms. The reason why students tried to use more often idioms in the target language in this particular assignment may be that they believed this way they had better chances to preserve the humorous effect. And, indeed, most successful translations were a result of using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form (e.g. *did a runner – olajra lépett; give him the cat's arse – lapátra teszi/pipa lesz/kiteszi a szűrét; when pigs fly – sohanapján/majd ha piros hó esik/majd ha fagy; to chew the fat – hogy kibeszéljék a krumplit a földből;*

11   https://www.usingenglish.com/reference/idioms/hairy+at+the+heel.html

as cool as a cucumber – laza mint a biciklilánc; kick the bucket – feldobja a talpát; they're as dead as a doornail – kihaltak, mint a dínók; raining cats and dogs – esik, mintha dézsából öntenék).

In conclusion, we suggest that recognition and comprehension, creativity and flexibility may lead to successful translations when dealing with funny idioms in the translation process.

Final notes

In this study, we conducted an overview of some theories, principles, recommended techniques and strategies related to translating humour – jokes, wordplays, puns, and funny idioms. We believe they may be helpful in translator training, especially if they are combined with the analysis and explanation of examples from English–Hungarian translations and sufficient practice.

In the assessment of the difficulties and problems that our students encounter in translating humour, we found that the main reasons why they often fail are the following: insufficient knowledge and understanding of source language (English) lexical and grammatical structures and lack of creativity and flexibility necessary for the translation of humour.

Even though translating humour may not be their priority in their work as future translators, we believe that working with humorous texts can be a helpful means in developing our students' language skills, creativity, openness, and problem-solving skills. Based on this study, a further step in our work will be granting more importance to humour translation in the curriculum. The study and evaluation of the designed and applied solutions in curriculum development may be the topic of a further study.

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The Role of Humour in Teaching: Teacher Training Students' Image of Teacher and Views on Teaching

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Abstract. A common question in teacher training is what trace is left behind by (many years of) institutional learning, that is, what kind of teacher and teaching image a teacher candidate starts his or her preparation with. The main determinants of becoming a teacher are the experiences gained as a student. The source of their approach and views is personal school experience, which can influence their professional development. In our study, we will discuss how future teachers think about the relationship between humour and school, humour and education. In the initial phase of our study, we asked first-year teacher training students about good and bad teachers in order to gain an insight into their views on teachers' personality and work. After this, we used metaphor analysis to investigate teacher characteristics/qualities that approached the concept of teacher to novel, humorous-playful images. In this phase of our study, we focused on what effective communication tools they have for dealing with tensions and conflicts and the role of humour and playfulness. Not only research (Tisljár 2011; Lazarus, Role, and Genga 2011) but also everyday experience proves that there are a lot of practices in humour that can be learnt and that can shape personality, logic, and memory. The personality of the teacher cannot be formed, or it is very difficult to form, so teacher training has the potential to assist teacher candidates in acquiring skills that help them develop students' cognitive and affective abilities in a fun way.

Keywords: humour, education, metaphor analysis, image of teacher

Introduction

As practising teachers, we are constantly looking for solutions, methods, and tools that make teaching more effective for us. We are convinced that teachers must constantly strive to use methods and tools that promote or maintain the effectiveness of teaching. As there are no universal, one-size-fits-all solutions that can be applied uniformly for each subject, everyone must strive to find the best way on their own. Our other main direction is to carry out the teaching work effectively and efficiently in our teacher training institute, to prepare our students for this responsible career to the best of our ability.

The effectiveness of using humour has been studied by several researchers (Jonas 2000; Gorham and Christophel 2009; Tisljár 2011; Lazarus, Role, and Genga 2011). In this study, we present surveys that we believe help one consider whether the use of humour is a possible path, a way of teaching in everyday life, an effective tool for increasing school performance and strengthening the teacher–student relationship. We present the forms of humour, its positive and negative effects as well as the role of the use of humour in teacher–student relationship and communication.

1. The role of humour in education

According to Cornett (2001), schools and teachers are constantly looking for creative and engaging methods and techniques to make lessons and materials interesting, what allows them to compete with the Internet, the media, and other home entertainment options. Burgess et al. (2000) share this view, i.e. it is important for teachers to make the lesson interesting so that students can master the material and enjoy the lesson. According to Powers (2005), a good teacher inspires students in a variety of ways and makes lessons interesting.

A teacher/educator plans, motivates, analyses, organizes, assesses, pays attention to the content of the curriculum and the teaching methods, but the question of how we teach, that is, the mode, should not be forgotten either (Gorham and Christophel 2009). Owens and Song (2009) also point out that schools focus primarily on methodology, testing, and place less emphasis on optimal educational conditions. According to Chye (2008), there is not enough attention paid to the fact that teacher humour can be an effective way of teaching.

According to Jonas (2000), teachers also consider the use of humour important as humour is an essential feature of a successful teacher. When examining the effect of humour, we do not have to keep in mind what elements make up a joke, that is, we do not have to break it down into its parts as in a classic frog dissection, but we can examine it indirectly. The key to the relationship between humour and school is that the teacher knows when and how it works.

Humour requires intelligence that involves cognitive skills, divergent thinking and creativity as well as emotional identification and empathy (Tisljár 2011, 2016; Suplicz 2012). The coordinated operation of various processes (e.g. creating and monitoring expectations and associations, recognizing absurdities) is necessary to experience humour (Tisljár 2016).

> Having a sense of humour means that we are able to discover contradictions and tensions in things and phenomena; separate the true from the false; dare to play with thoughts and reality. In the case of nonsense, absurdity, we are not waiting for a solution, absolution, or redemption; we are also able to assess that something may be ridiculous just because it has nothing to do with reality at all.[1] (Pap 2006: 32)

The importance of the sense of humour is also enhanced by the fact that we associate a number of other characteristics with it. For example, according to the research results of Cann and Calhoun (2001), people who are considered to have a good sense of humour are also perceived to be friendly, extrovert, tactful, kind, interesting, imaginative, and intelligent.

Humour can appear in almost all types of our social relationships. The resolution of a humorous situation often culminates in laughter, which relieves tension. The goal of humour in this dissolution is to stabilize the spiritual balance, the self (Bagdy and Pap 2004). Laughter is a response to an interesting, unexpected, novel situation (Latta 1998) and a communication tool for understanding humour. The intensity of laughing reactions is greatly influenced by the current social situation. "Humour changes the patterns and framework of interpretation previously applied to a situation; the individual feels in a lighter, less threatening social environment, with all of its benefits" (Tisljár 2011: 32). According to Owren and Bachorowski (2003), humour and the laughter it generates and the positive emotional state associated with it directly affect the other party's emotional state. At the same time, through the phenomenon of synchronization, the members of the group coordinate quickly and effectively on an emotional level, and this greatly increases the likelihood of effective action for a common goal (Csányi 1998). According to Lovorn (2008), humour plays an important role both in the teacher–student and the parent–child relationship as it provides a significant "feel-good" experience for children. This is the basis of good physical and mental well-being. Children, young people, and adults alike need heartfelt and sticky humour-induced laughter.

According to Garner (2005), the physiological effect of humour is the activation of the right cerebral hemisphere, which stimulates creative thinking and leads to a better assimilation of the material to be learned. According to Lazarus, Role, and Genga (2011), the use of humour has proven to be very effective in increasing

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1   The translations from Hungarian specialist literature are my own throughout the article.

school performance as well as strengthening teacher–student relationship, yet it is often overlooked. A positive relationship between teacher humour and school performance was demonstrated by Hickman and Crossland (2004, Jonas 2000).

Lazarus et al. (2011) identify as positive effects of humour motivating students, making engaging lessons, reducing anxiety, creative thinking and increasing interest, and strengthening the teacher–student relationship. Humour is also an important tool for self-determination, helps to set the limits of the self, and is good for getting rid of fears, worries and dissolving burdensome experiences through laughter (Bönsch and Kauke 1999, Schreiner 2003, Powers 2005). Humour used by teachers has a motivating and liberating power (Neuliep 1991, Pap 2006).

In addition to laughing together, to positive humour as presented above, aggressive, mocking, rude, or hurtful, i.e. negative humour often appears in social situations. Humour that is aggressive, hurtful, and does not pay attention to others causes resentment and negative feelings in the audience, and self-serving humour leads to the assumption of inattention and social insensitivity. Jokes at the expense of others can tune students against the teacher, and humiliating humour puts its user in an abusive role (Tisljár 2011). In education, in a teacher–student relationship, only positive humour that does not offend others can be considered useful (Bagdy and Pap 2004, Pap 2006). Students do not want clownery but a good, stress-free education (Gürtler 2005, Nikitscher 2015).

Jonas (2000) distinguishes between appropriate and inappropriate use of humour. Examples of appropriate humour use are: humour related to the topic or to the teaching material; completely unexpected humour that is not necessarily related to the topic; self-ironic humour, when the subject of the joke is the teacher himself/ herself with his/her mistakes and stumbles; unintentional, unplanned humour. As for inappropriate humour, he mentions offensive and disparaging humour.

At the same time, it is also important to be aware of the risks of positive humour, the relaxed atmosphere and laughter of the class during educational activities. For example, they reduce critical disposition and critical sense (Forgács 2007). It may occur that the use of humour takes the edge off things or makes their truthfulness questionable. Excessive joke and good humour reduce students' sense of duty and discipline, and too much humour can be to the detriment of learning motivation and can eliminate the pedagogical, didactic role we use it for (Gürtler 2005, Nikitscher 2015, Pap 2006). In addition to the loosening of attention and discipline, humour also comes with the emergence of free associations, so restoring the focus of attention to the task will be time-consuming (Suplicz 2012). Applying humour requires responsibility and thoughtfulness from teachers regarding its subject, extent, purpose, and quality.

Thus, the application of humour in school breaks monotony in some situations, relieves tension at other times, can often bring one closer to understanding the material, and laughter with someone else strengthens the sense of community. Humour at school is needed not only for fun and good mood but also because it helps

us build and maintain relationships, to gain the recognition of the community; it gives us an opportunity to relieve stress, to increase productivity, and channel one's anger and hostile temper in a socially acceptable way.

Humour can be of a great use in a teaching context, and teachers need to learn to be humorous. It is a real task for them to develop their own humour and use laughter as a pedagogical tool (Strom and Ernard 1982, Pap 2006). Numerous studies exploring the expectations of a good teacher's personality and qualities have shown that students value humour in class and value the teacher's sense of humour.

2. The role of students' image of the teacher and the use of humour in school life

One of the basic tasks of the Department of Teacher Training at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania is to effectively serve the personal development of students by introducing new pedagogical concepts and procedures. Since 2015, we have been conducting competency-based, diagnostic-type measurements among teacher candidates (Pletl 2015, 2017, 2019)[2] in order to be able to apply the experiences obtained from the analysis of the results in teacher training covering different specializations.

Part of the first phase of our research was the examination of the image of teacher and the teaching views of teacher training students (Horváth 2015). First-year students (N = 69) were asked for their opinion on the criteria of good and bad teachers, using the questionnaire method. We sought the answer to how students, based on their high school experience, characterize good and bad teachers, what they think about teachers' social role. Opinions about teachers were analysed based on open-ended questions. Using an inductive method, we developed four aspects according to the main contents outlined in the answers, and then we grouped the answers. The criteria of analysis: professional expectations and competency, teacher abilities, personality traits, and teacher conduct.

In the case of a good teacher, the most frequently mentioned characteristics were competent, good professional with up-to-date information, varied lessons, effective teaching, and clear explanations. The teachers' skills most often referred to were verbal skills such as good presentation and good speaking skills. In addition to competence, personality traits, such as understanding, determined, patient, helpful, fair, and humorous, were also mentioned.

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2   2013–2014: the situation and problems of native language training in relation to teaching (teachers) and learning (high school students).
2015–2016: the situation regarding specialized education in one's mother-tongue: the issue of structure and participation (teachers and students) in a bilingual system.
2017–2018: a study of problem-solving skills regarding different subject areas (reading comprehension, content creation, mathematical and computational thinking).

In the characterization of a bad teacher, the lack of competence was most often referred to (incomprehensible explanation, no explanation, boring, monotonous lessons). Among teachers' skills, the lack of verbal skills was mentioned (the teacher speaks quickly, does not explain well, he/she is intolerant). The most important personality traits for a bad teacher were impatience, unfairness and insincerity, being aggressive and temperamental, mocking and displaying offensive traits.

An integral part of our research is a survey (carried out over several years)[3] which explores the concept of teacher among freshman students (N = 321). We scrutinized what prior experiences and views students had regarding their teachers. Teacher trainees' teacher concept (teacher image) has been shaped by their own school experiences and by effects of school problems and different situations involving teachers. In addition, the influences their families and friends had on them during their school years also shaped their views on teachers. The survey was conducted using metaphor analysis. For this, we used a 19-item metaphor list (Vámos 2003a) containing occupations and roles in life. The advantage of a list choice is that it is inevitable to work with metaphors. Compared to the verbalized method, in this case, deeper correlations appear in expressions when a comparison is made between teachers' activities and the ones appearing in the metaphor (Vámos 2003b). The respondents had to select three expressions from the list that they felt were most similar to their view over teaching.

During the analysis, the frequency of source concepts (metaphors) was taken into account. Most often, the metaphors of parents, coaches, and tourist guides were marked in the list, so students were more likely to discover traits characteristic of parents, coaches, and tourist guides in teachers' activities. The parent metaphor was marked by 75.7% of the students, the coach by 43.6%, and the tourist guide by 38% of them. Based on the work of Vámos (2003a), this shows that teacher's activity is considered to be mainly of a caring/shaping, directing/guiding, and leading/guiding nature. At the same time, a teacher's activity is considered to be less formative – shaping and of a judgmental nature, but it is not considered possessive –, transmitting, and of a serving nature.

The concept of teacher emerging from the metaphor analysis corresponds with the image of teacher outlined in our previous study as a competent teacher with up-to-date information who is able to provide appropriate guidance and thus become a trusted leader. Similarly, an understanding, patient, helpful, and fair teacher can play a caring, personality-shaping parenting role in students' lives.

Our research in the second semester of the 2019/2020 academic year[4] focused on the role of humour used in teaching. We conducted a questionnaire survey which examined students' view from two perspectives: on the one hand, how they think about the relationship between humour and school as well as humour and education

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3   The survey has been conducted annually since 2016.
4   2019: Introduction of modern educational technology methods in teacher training.

and, on the other hand, how they see the role of humour, playfulness in managing conflicts and tensions, in effective teacher communication, good collaboration, and effective learning.

The main aspect in selecting the sample was that students should already have practical knowledge related to general teaching and specific professional qualifications. Accordingly, the student sample consisted of third-year teacher trainees of Sapientia University (N = 61). They are the ones who have got acquainted with teachers' work, planning the teaching process and gained experience in teaching their subjects during the lesson attendance in the first semester.

Building on the results of our previous research, in compiling the questionnaire, we focused on measuring the positive (17 items) and negative (13 items) effects of humour in the teaching-learning process with a separate set of questions. Students had to rate on a 5-point scale (1 – not at all, 5 – completely) to what extent they agreed with the statements about positive and negative humour.

According to the students, positive humour makes the lesson more interesting and relieves the feeling of boredom. They consider that students are calmer and ask questions more boldly during classes when the teacher is funny and has a good sense of humour. As for other characteristics, they also emphasized that a humorous teacher is more appealing than a non-humorous teacher, but they believe that teachers' humour does not necessarily increase students' learning motivation or school performance; nor do they fully agree that humour is an effective tool of explaining difficult-to-understand materials.

On the other hand, they consider that the use of hurtful, critical humour in classrooms destroys the teacher–student relationship. They agree that when teachers use humour in order to humiliate, it increases shame and does not lead to collaboration. In their view, participation in the class is moderately influenced by the teacher's use of offensive, ironic humour. Therefore, they think it is less stressful if the teacher says jokes in class and (s)he is not interested in how students receive them.

With our next set of questions, we examined what students consider important in the communication with effective teachers and where the factors of humour and playfulness are located within this context. Students were required to rate on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 – not at all important, 5 – very important) the importance of the following communication characteristics in teacher activities aimed at developing learning skills and arousing students' interest: listens to students; flexible; communicates well; explains logically; highlights the point well; formulates good questions; fair; consistent; can maintain discipline/is strict; friendly, kind; direct; playful; has a good humour; patient; lively; active. The average scores of the communication factors evaluated by the students are shown in tables: the values considered to be the four most important characteristics, the averages of humour and playfulness.

Our first question was related to how important certain communication features are in order to develop a friendly, tension-free, good atmosphere and a cooperative

partnership between the teacher and the students (*Table 1*). According to students, in order for the teacher to create a good work atmosphere in class, the most important thing is to listen to the students, communicate well, explain logically, and highlight the points. Good humour is also important, but they take into account that an appropriate learning environment cannot be created without a comprehensive awareness towards students and without proper communication.

Table 1. *Good work atmosphere in class*

Characteristics of communication	Average
listens to students	4.80
communicates well	4.67
explains logically	4.64
highlights the points well	4.62
has good humour	4.28
is playful	3.70

Our next question measured the emphasis on communication factors in dealing with classroom conflict situations (*Table 2*). Attention, justice, and good and consistent communication are the most important aspects when dealing with conflict situations. Good humour and playfulness are only given medium importance; so, in the respondents' view, they do not play such a significant role in these situations.

Table 2. *Conflict management in the classroom*

Characteristics of communication	Average
listens to students	4.90
is fair	4.84
communicates well	4.75
is consistent	4.62
has good humour	3.51
is playful	3.08

With our third question, we examined what communication characteristics a teacher can use to encourage students to collaborate (*Table 3*). Listening, good communication, flexibility, and patience were considered very important in encouraging collaboration between students, but humour and playfulness also play an important role in the development of student interaction in the teaching-learning process.

Table 3. *Encouraging collaboration between students*

Characteristics of communication	Average
listens to students	4.70
communicates well	4.69
is flexible	4.52
is patient	4.52
has good humour	4.07
is playful	4.00

With our following question, we looked into the characteristics of communication that teachers can use to increase students' learning motivation (*Table 4*). Highlighting the essence of the content, logical explanation, and formulating good questions are the most important features in enhancing and strengthening learning motivation, but at the same time good humour also plays an important role.

Table 4. *Increasing learning motivation*

Characteristics of communication	Average
highlights the points well	4.72
explains logically	4.70
communicates well	4.67
asks good questions	4.66
has good humour	4.28
is playful	3.98

Next, we examined the communication characteristics that help students to develop respect for the teacher (*Table 5*). Fairness, attention paid to students (listens to students), consistency, and discipline are the most important characteristics in triggering respect. Good humour and playfulness are only of medium importance in the development of a sense of mutual respect.

Table 5. *Respect for the teacher*

Characteristics of communication	Average
is fair	4.85
listens to students	4.82
is consistent	4.74
can maintain discipline/is strict	4.61
has good humour	3.72
is playful	3.46

With our last question, we measured what communication characteristics are needed for the teacher to help students understand the material (*Table 6*). In order to ease the material to be learned, communication skills were given priority: logical explanation, highlighting the points, asking good questions. According to students, good humour and playfulness are moderately important in understanding the information to be mastered.

Table 6. *Understanding the material to be learned*

Characteristics of communication	Average
explains logically	4.93
highlights the points well	4.92
asks good questions	4.82
communicates well	4.80
has good humour	3.89
is playful	3.70

We summed up the average values of good humour and playfulness in the function of different communication situations (*Table 7*). On the whole, we can state that humour plays an important role in creating a good work atmosphere, strengthening learning motivation, and stimulating collaboration among students. Students do not attach much significance to humour in conflict management. Playfulness is not considered essential in conflict management or in developing mutual respect.

Table 7. *Average values of humour and playfulness*

In order for the teacher to	good humour	playfulness
create a good work atmosphere in the class	4.28	3.70
handle conflict situations in the classroom	3.51	3.08
encourage students to collaborate	4.07	4.00
increase students' learning motivation	4.28	3,98
elicit respect from his/her students	3.72	3.46
help to understand the material to be learned	3.89	3.70

Every teacher should be able to communicate assertively, that is, with sufficient confidence, to express their feelings and thoughts without behaving aggressively or submissively. Assertive communication depends primarily on the communicator's confidence, positive self-image, and empathy. This means that the communicator can express his/her needs, express his/her opinions and feelings accurately while striving for a positive conclusion of his/her cooperation with the communication partner so that the communication can be successful for both parties. Assertive behaviour, which promotes equality in relationships, enables people to stand up for their interests without anxiety, to express their feelings and thoughts freely (Bishop

2008). However, there are a number of situations when it is difficult to be assertive such as when making or refusing a request, criticizing, expressing, or receiving an opinion, making or receiving praise, clarifying unjust accusations, or dealing with conflict situations (Németh 2002). The educational effects reach the students through the teacher–student relationship. Both student performance and the success of the teacher's work are greatly influenced by the quality of the teacher–student relationship, which is well founded by empathic treatment and which is largely determined by assertive behaviour and good communication (Bábosik 2003).

The average scores given on the basis of student evaluations allow us to conclude that they recognize that humour and playfulness are effective regulatory tools for effective communication. Overall, the role of the named communication characteristic in different school situations was very well considered, and thus the role of humour was also weighed thoroughly. Respondents consider humour important, but they do not forget about attentive behaviour, about logical explanation, or the necessity of highlighting the essence of the content.

3. Discussion and conclusions

In the initial phase of our study, we asked first-year teacher training students for their opinions on good and bad teachers in order for us to learn about their views on teachers' personality and work. We asked them to list the criteria of a good and a bad teacher. By grouping and analysing the answers, in addition to competence and good communication skills, students most often wrote qualities as funny, humorous, or having a good sense of humour (Horváth 2015).

Furthermore, we examined teacher characteristics using metaphor analysis, in which students approached the concept of teacher with novel, humorous-playful expressions. Based on these, students consider the teaching activity to be mainly caring/shaping, directing/guiding, and leading/guiding. The teacher concept outlined on the basis of the results of the two examinations shows identity. The respondents' answers revealed that they prefer an understanding, patient, fair, well-prepared teacher with good communication skills and with a good sense of humour, one who has caring, shaping, guiding, and leading traits.

In the present phase of our study, we focused on how our teacher training students think about the relationship between humour and education. The data obtained suggest that, according to our students, non-destructive versions of humour may be very useful in the teacher's work as well. It strengthens the teacher–student relationship, but applying it to lessons is not always the most effective step. Tense situations can be resolved with the help of humour, but in the meantime loosening of attention and discipline must also be taken into consideration. Humour has a beneficial effect if the "we laugh with you and not at you" experience prevails,

where the goal is not making the students look ridiculous (Suplicz 2012). Teacher trainees find humour and playfulness most useful in encouraging collaboration and interaction between students, creating a good classroom atmosphere, and arousing interest for learning, but respondents' answers show that, in fact, in each of the situations examined, teachers may benefit from the use of positive humour and playfulness in educational work.

It is indisputable that proper, positive humour used by the teacher has a good effect on establishing and maintaining a trusting teacher–student relationship and good cooperation, an efficient management of conflict situations and pedagogical problem situations in general, creating discipline and a good work atmosphere, helping to understand the material to be learned, and maintaining learning motivation. However, all these require not only a sense of humour but also teachers' assertive behaviour and the use of effective communication strategies. As it can be seen in the opinions of teacher candidates, good humour is not a substitute for professional and methodological competence or for basic competencies such as communications skills, problem-solving skills, and decision-making skills.

When using teacher/classroom humour, the sense of proportion should also be taken into account as too much humour as well as a humour-free, boring lesson distracts attention from the material to be learned and slows down the teaching-learning process. In case of too much and inappropriate humour, the focus of attention should always be shifted back to the lesson. On the other hand, maintaining interest is difficult to achieve during boring, monotonous, humour-free lessons. Humorous tone often takes the edge off the communication situation, making it playful. It can also play an important role in the relationship between teachers and students as it dissolves negative emotions and brings people closer to each other.

By succeeding in arousing interest in their subjects, teachers can initiate a process of cognitive development in adolescent personality that can be the basis for outstanding school performance. Teachers can achieve a lot with humour as a specific way of communication, but only jokes, puns, examples, or feedback that do not harm the children's/students' selves can be used.

The results of our survey provide a basis for preparing students for new expectations in education and for implementing quality education. Our research forms a starting point for further investigations, and we plan to compare the views of students with the educational experiences of teachers working in high schools. This would provide a solid basis for building continuity between the different training levels (issuing high school – teacher training – return to high school).

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Raising Collocational Awareness with Humour

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Abstract. Despite the increased interest that collocations have received in EFL methodology lately, making language learners aware of these multiword constructions continues to represent a challenge for teachers. While there may be different ways of teaching collocations, finding activities that raise collocational awareness efficiently is no easy task. Collocational awareness can be defined as the ability of language learners (and users) to use and acknowledge word combinations in their entirety. Humour can be useful in this regard as it not only ensures a more relaxed atmosphere in the classroom but can also help students to acknowledge and remember specific linguistic structures (among them, also collocations) more easily. In line with *Construction Grammar* (Goldberg 1995, 1997, 2006), it is believed that collocations are to be treated as constructions, pairings of form with a specific meaning and varying degrees of predictability – teaching them as such can contribute to a better understanding and acquisition of these constructions. After offering a brief overview of the characteristics of collocations and reflecting on the possible advantages of using humour in class, the paper shows possible ways of teaching collocations with humour. The exercises and activities suggested focus on both the productive and receptive competence of language learners and also incorporate the necessary skills required in the language learning process: listening, reading, writing, and speaking.

Keywords: collocations, constructions, humour, teaching, collocational awareness

Introduction

When teaching vocabulary, attention should be given not only to the possible meanings a word has but also to the context in which the word appears. Despite the difficulties that teaching collocations implies (high number and different types of collocations to choose from), introducing collocations to students brings along a series of advantages such as vocabulary improvement, greater fluency, and the increased ability of students to communicate even with limited lexical and

grammatical knowledge. Ideally, collocations should be taught at all levels and age-groups to help language learners develop collocational competence right from the start and make them aware of the differences between languages (especially important in the case of negative transfer from L1). Even though all exercises and activities related to collocations may impact students' vocabulary positively, the ones that show them in their entirety as constructions are believed to be the most beneficial for students. In addition, incorporating some humour in foreign language classes (due to the complex nature of humour, sometimes possible only in more advanced classes) can increase students' interest in the lesson and motivate them to take part in classes more actively. As such, an important question this paper raises is how different types of humour can be used to teach collocations in EFL classes.

1. What are collocations?

Collocations can be considered more or less entrenched word combinations that appear frequently together. The term itself comes from the Latin *collocare* (co – together + locare (locus – place) meaning "place together") expressing "the relationship a lexical item has with other items that appear with greater than random possibility in (its) textual context" (Hoey 1991: 6–7). It is "the co-occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" (Sinclair 1991: 10). Due to their great variety and complexity, it is not an easy task to give a precise definition of these constructions, so that no exact definition of collocations can be found as of yet. One important characteristic of collocations is that they are halfway entrenched constructions (Schmid 2003: 235) whose constituent elements may or may not be interchangeable or separated by additional words. The number of collocations with interchangeable elements is high: consider, for example, *large/big/huge problem* or *give/deliver/hold a lecture* with only a slight difference between them; whereas some of these constructions allow for additional elements to be inserted (e.g. deliver an *interesting* lecture, pay *close* attention, etc.), this is not possible in the case of more fixed constructions, lexical bundles such as *by and large*, *safe and sound*, *peace and quiet*, etc. Regarding their predictability, idiomaticity, and combined recurrence, collocations can be found halfway between free syntactic combinations and fixed expressions (Schmid 2003: 235). In addition, they represent cases of gradience, ranging from more prototypical (recurrent binary) constructions, such as *pay attention* (verb + noun phrase), *slight problem* (adjective + noun phrase), etc., to less typical constructions (that include prepositions and other function words) such as *run out of something* (verb phrase + prepositional phrase).

Collocations can be either lexical or grammatical depending on the part of speech the constituent elements belong to (Benson et al. 1986). Lexical collocations contain combinations of lexical categories such as verb + noun (*run a program*), noun +

verb (*plane takes off*), verb + adverb (*argue heatedly*), adjective + noun (*rancid butter*), adverb + adjective (*hopelessly devoted)*, or noun + noun (*comfort zone*). Grammatical collocations are different from lexical ones in that they contain a preposition (e.g. noun + preposition (*attitude towards*), preposition + noun, e.g. *by accident*, *in advance*), a to-infinitive, or a that-clause (such as *to be ready to* (predicative adjective + to infinitive), *to be afraid that* (adjective + that clause), etc.).

From a semantic point of view, collocations are made up of the base that bears most of the meaning of the construction and a collocator (McKeown and Radev 2000). The base can either select for several collocators (e.g. in case *give/deliver/present a lecture*, the base (*lecture*) appears with multiple collocators) or only one specific collocator, e.g. in the construction *commit a suicide*, *suicide* as the base only selects for the collocator *commit*. In some other cases, the collocator itself can be semantically empty; for example, in the construction *take a bath*, *take* does not add any additional meaning to the construction other than *have* (McKeown and Radev 2000) although it alters its aktionsart category, focusing on the end result of the activity rather than the activity itself. Though often included in the same category with idioms, collocations are semantically more analysable than idioms are. Occupying a mid-position between free combinations and fixed constructions, collocations vary with respect to compositionality and transparency (e.g. *make progress* is a transparent collocation, whereas *run a program* has a more idiomatic meaning). In this paper, collocations will be understood as constructions, pairings of form with a specific meaning, as understood by Goldberg (1995, 1997, 2006). In line with her understanding of constructions, collocations are seen as building blocks of language, as symbolic units with independent semantic and syntactic properties and with varying degrees of fixedness and frequency. Their meaning results from the integration of the meaning of the component elements with the meaning of the construction as a whole.

2. Why teach them?

Teaching collocations in EFL classes can be beneficial for all age-groups and at all levels. Introducing them not only in more advanced classes but already at elementary level has its advantages as this way students can get used to seeing and learning word combinations right from the start. As Antle (2013) notes, learning collocations at lower levels helps language learners to use their skills productively, without having to know much vocabulary or grammar. The same idea is put forward by Shin and Nation (2008), who provide a list of the most frequent collocations in English based on electronic corpus data (BNC). The list contains both lexical and grammatical collocations and is suitable for elementary level and upwards.

With regard to more advanced levels, an important reason for teaching collocations is to increase language learners' fluency and native-like selection

(Shin and Nation 2008: 340). Many experts in the field, among them Waller (1993) and Kjellmer (1991), point out the correlation between language proficiency and the knowledge of collocations, which they see as the marker of native-likeness. According to Waller (1993), although advanced learners might sound native-like, their insufficient knowledge of collocations is a tangible marker of their non-nativeness. Demir (2017) notes that intermediate-level students are too dependent on the structures they have acquired before, using mainly individual words instead of chunks of language. The similar idea is expressed by Kjellmer (1991), according to whom language learners tend to struggle with collocations due to the fact that they are used to seeing and learning words separately without their context. Teaching collocations to students (e.g. the ones related to the topics in class) can help them to get used to learning and also to using word combinations and strings of words and at the same time to get familiar with the lexical and grammatical specifics of native language use. It can also help them to formulate their ideas more precisely, as Howarth (1998) notes. An interesting observation of his is that, although advanced learners often show a good knowledge of restricted collocations and semi-idioms, having internalized them successfully, they might struggle with medium-strength collocations (where the base can select for some collocators but disallow others). According to him, this is the area where teachers should invest the most in when trying to teach collocations to language learners (Howarth 1998: 42).

Finally, in addition to improving language learners' vocabulary, word combinations and chunks of language are also believed to help students learn grammar (consider Antle 2013 and Hill 2000). Antle (2013) remarks that a more lexical approach that presents grammatical structures within chunks of language could be more efficient than gap-fill exercises, where the correct word needs to be filled in the gaps. The reason behind this is that with gap-fill exercises students tend to concentrate on parts of a construction rather than remember it as a whole. Creating exercises that present grammatical constructions in their entirety often requires some creativity and planning from the part of the teacher, especially as gap-fill type exercises prevail in language course books. Nevertheless, it is considered that combining such exercises with activities that allow for the practice of a linguistic structure as a whole can yield better results as far as the acquisition and proper use of constructions are concerned.

3. Humour as an instructional tool

Crawford (1994: 66) defines humour as a "dynamic symbolic act that links people", "a verbal or non-verbal activity eliciting a positive cognitive or affective response from listeners". The understanding of humour (e.g. the conditions under which it is considered appropriate, the reactions to instances of humour) depends on cultural and social beliefs and also practices (Sen 2012). Humour can be classified

on the basis of a variety of factors, such as the medium of communication, style (e.g. farcical versus tragi-comical), and formal structure (for example, miming, stand-up comedy) (Davies 2013: 1), and includes a variety of forms (such as anecdotal, blue, burlesque, dark humour, dry humour, parodic, satirical, self-deprecating, situational, ironic, visual humour and practical jokes (e.g. pranks), etc.). Research on humour has given rise to several theories of humour such as the Relief Theory (which focuses on the role of humour to release tension and anxiety), the Incongruity Theory (according to which humour results from the incongruity with an expected pattern), Superiority Theory (stating that humour leads to a sense of triumph or of victory) (Meyer 2000: 310), and also the Instructional Humour Processing Theory (related to the use of humour in educational settings).

The idea of using humour in EFL classes is relatively new, being present in EFL methodology since the 1980s (Bilokcuoglu and Debreli 2018: 358); nevertheless, there is already a vast literature on incorporating humour in teaching practices. Many studies (Abu Bakar 2018; Bilokcuoglu and Debreli 2018; Forman 2016; Bell 2005, 2009; Wanzer et al. 2006, to name just a few) point out the fact that applying humour in teaching can bring along a series of benefits that can be psychological (like relieving stress and anxiety), social (improving the teacher–student relationship), and also instructional (enhancing comprehension and subject recall). In addition, as Alexander (1997: 180) as well as Ziyaeemehr and Kumar (2014: 11) note, humour can be used to introduce language learners to the cultural aspects of a specific language and also to sensitize them with untranslatable jokes, idioms, and fixed expressions.

In order to apply humour effectively in the classroom, however, there are a few things that should be taken into consideration. First, there is a difference between good humour and negative humour (Banas et al. 2010). Riddles, funny stories, jokes, puns, cartoons, and riddles can be considered examples of good humour, while sarcasm, humour with a sexual, racist, or ethnic undertone or aimed at disparaging students (intellectually or in a way that they might find personal) classify as negative humour. It might seem that each type of humour can be classified either as positive or negative. Nevertheless, there is also an overlap between the categories; therefore, for example, sarcasm, though in most cases classified as negative, can in some cases be considered as appropriate for teaching (Torok et al. 2004).

An important criterion when using humour for pedagogical purposes is that of effectiveness, which is very much linked to appropriateness (Bell 2009, Banas et al. 2010). Bell (2009) considers humour effective if it matches the personality of the teacher and also if it is appropriate to the context and situation. Appropriateness can also be defined with respect to timing (humour used at different times in the class can serve distinctive purposes), relatedness to content (content-based humour), and everyday life experiences (Abu Bakar 2018). It often functions as a starting point for describing types of humour. Wanzer et al. (2006), for example, make a distinction between appropriate and inappropriate humour and include in the first

category humour that can be either related or unrelated to the lesson content (such as jokes, humorous stories and performances, funny role plays and activities), self-disparaging humour (the teacher making fun of him-/herself, sharing embarrassing stories, making fun of his/her abilities), and unintentional or unplanned humour (when the teacher spontaneously incorporates humour in class). On the other hand, sexual jokes and comments, sarcasm, morbid humour (on the part of the teacher), and disparaging humour (where students as targets are ridiculed either because of their intelligence, gender, or appearance) are examples of inappropriate humour.

The Instructional Humour Processing Theory (IHPT) developed by Wanzer et al. (2010) also uses appropriateness as a key concept along with the notion of relevance. The theory is meant to illustrate the relationship between instructional humour and learning, and it is based on the idea that humour can facilitate learning and at the same time increase content recall in case it is appropriate and relevant (Banas et al. 2010: 119). The two concepts are considered equally important: the former ensures a positive atmosphere enabling students to process the information heard, and the latter (referring to its content-relatedness) makes the information more memorable (Banas: 119). According to IHPT, content-related humour correlates well with student learning, affecting the motivation of students and their ability to process in a positive way.

Using humour in the classroom is never risk-free, so that, regardless of its type and the intent behind it, humour may not be as effective as expected. Humour is quite a complex phenomenon, so that what is found humorous or funny by the teacher may not be seen as such by the students (Abu Bakar 2018); besides, there is also the risk of overusing it (Abu Bakar 2018: 61). Bolkan et al. (2018) believe that integrated humour (in the form of explanatory examples) may also be counterproductive. The reason for it is that integrated humour tends to be more memorable than the concept being taught, and this may result in students recalling the humorous comment instead of the content itself. Taking this into consideration, it is highly recommended that humour be used with moderation in the classroom and also be completed with other activities that enable a more in-depth practice of the linguistic structures in question.

4. Teaching collocations with humour

In the light of the above, the question arises as to how humour can be used to teach collocations. It is considered that humour in general can be effective for teaching collocations as long as it helps students in their language learning process (in which case humour is considered appropriate and relevant). Forms of verbal humour (such as wordplay, homonyms, and figurative speech) are considered especially useful in this regard as they direct students' attention to the constructions in question. The

advantages of incorporating verbal humour in EFL classes have been acknowledged by many experts in the field. Alexander (1997: 186), for example, remarks that forms of verbal humour, such as jokes, misprints, and riddles, do not only enliven the atmosphere in class but also come in handy for teaching students linguistic constructions, among them, also collocations. Verbal humour conveys the linguistic and cultural specifics of the target language, and as a consequence it can be highly beneficial for language learners (Ziyaeemehr et al. 2011: 114). Ziyaeemehr and Kumar (2014: 3) define three important functions of verbal humour in teaching practices: foregrounding, reinforcing meaning, and highlighting cultural dissimilarities. According to them, verbal humour can be used as an instructional strategy to foreground specific linguistic structures. In addition, it can reinforce the knowledge of a linguistic structure and at the same time expand language learners' linguistic and cultural knowledge.

In agreement with Ziyaeemehr and Kumar (2014), verbal humour is expected to have multiple functions: by offering something contrary to expectation (where the humorous element results from), verbal humour directs students' attention to a specific construction. Doing so, it can lead to an increased linguistic and cultural awareness and a more entrenched use of constructions provided that students have already been familiar with it. In addition to verbal humour, other sources of humour, such as funny texts and pictures (where the humorous effect does not necessarily result from linguistic elements), can also be effective for teaching collocations. In this case, it is often necessary that the teacher draw students' attention to specific constructions either by highlighting them in the text or writing them on the whiteboard (thereby applying an explicit teaching method). Furthermore, it is believed that humour is best used as a starting point for discussions or in combination with other types of exercises to enable students to observe collocations in several different contexts. As a consequence, they can gain a more in-depth understanding of these constructions.

In what follows, a few ideas will be given of how different types of humour (verbal humour, visual humour, and also other humorous materials) can be used for teaching collocations in the EFL classroom. Activities that present collocations in their entirety as constructions have been preferred over the ones that focus on parts of collocations (such as matching and gap-fill exercises).

4.1. Humorous exercises and activities for teaching collocations

Forms of verbal humour, such as puns and riddles that are based on wordplay, can be very effective as teaching materials as they can contribute to a more increased collocational awareness by directing students' attention to a particular construction. They are usually applicable in more advanced classes as the language of riddles often contains idiomatic phrases, homonymy, and/or polysemy that are hard to understand for lower levels. The puns below can be used to complement

the teaching material related to travelling. A possible way of using them for the practice of collocations is as follows: the teacher makes a copy of the puns for each student in the class (the students will work in pairs or small groups). They will have the task to find the humorous element in the sentences (estimated time: 5 to 10 minutes) and then classify the sentences with respect to how humorous they are (1 – the funniest, 10 – the least funny). In the end, the teacher will make sure that all students have understood the comical element in the puns.

> 'I've just arrived in Bulgaria'. 'How is it?' 'Sofia, so good.'
> 'Ever thought about how funny mountains are? They're hill areas.'
> 'I've heard Oslo is a particularly dangerous city. There's Norway I'd ever go.'
> 'My friend was struggling to sleep in Stockholm. I wished her Swede dreams.'
> 'I had an instant connection with someone in South Korea. I think they're my Seoul mate.'
> 'My girlfriend went for a short break to the Caribbean. "Jamaica?" "No. She went of her own accord.'
> 'My cousin didn't expect to like Cuba. Turns out she's Havana great time.'
> 'I'm not sure where to find snow in America. Alaska local.'
> 'The sun only took one hat and a t-shirt on his holiday. He was travelling light.'
> 'Sophie Ellis Bextor killed a man in a club in Poland. It was murder on Gdansk floor.'
> (Source: *https://mpora.com/travel/31-travel-puns-bad-theyll-make-friends-family-leave/#p1yBSjQmJ4VIAUmH.97*)

Similar to puns, riddles often provoke laughter in the classroom and also represent an equally useful tool when it comes to raising language learners' awareness of collocations.

A "Guess the answer" worksheet, where students need to guess the answers to riddles, can be a fun activity that language learners will most probably enjoy. A sample of such a worksheet can be found in *Appendix 1*. It comprises two parts: the first part contains riddles with clues given in the brackets to help students guess the answer, and the second part consists of a brainstorming activity asking students to come up with constructions containing the words given (in some cases, there might be more than one possible answer). The activity can be done either as pair work or in small groups; estimated time: 15 to 20 minutes. After all possible answers are discussed (as a whole-class activity), the teacher can ask students questions about their general preferences and experiences, using some of the collocations discussed beforehand. This then brings along the advantage of not only making students more familiar with the collocations in question but also of learning more about each other.

**Figure 1.** *Cartoon captions*
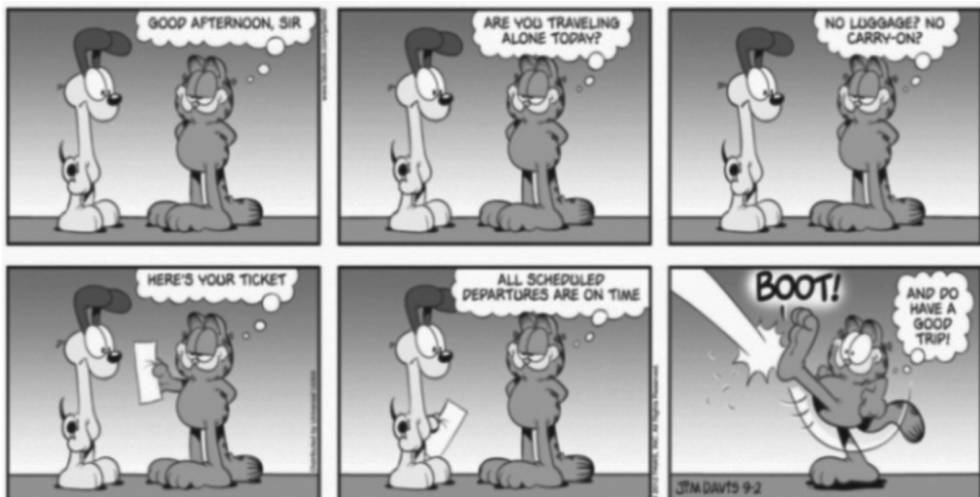
Figure 2. *Cartoon captions*

Other humorous ways of teaching collocations include the use of comic strips (e.g. Garfield, Calvin and Hobbs, the Simpsons, etc.), humorous picture stories and texts (anecdotes). Comic strips represent a mix of visual and verbal humour, are fun, versatile, and visually motivating for students. As they contain small chunks of language, they are ideal for teaching collocations even for lower levels. The comic strips above are also related to travelling and can be used as an introduction to the topic from pre-intermediate level upwards. The activity can be done as follows: the teacher makes a copy of the captions for each student in the class and checks whether the students are familiar with the register used (e.g. the idiom *be in a rut*, the word combinations *put in a kennel*, *take off*, *carry-on luggage*, *scheduled departures*, etc.). Then the students (working in small groups) choose either the

first or the second set of pictures and write a background story for it (around 15 to 20 minutes). After the students have finished, they read their story out loud to each other (whole-class activity). As the next step, the teacher may ask students about their travel experiences by using some of the collocations found in the captions (e.g. *travelling alone*, *packing one's bags*, *be on time*, *seeing the world*) (10 to15 minutes).

The teacher can also give funny picture stories to students and ask them to write captions for them (ideal for small groups of three to four students). Depending on the picture story, the activity can be carried out at various levels. It is advisable to choose a picture story that is related to the topic of the lesson (e.g. the pictures below are related to travelling) and where several captions are needed as this gives more room for students to be creative. In order to put collocations in focus, the teacher will write a few collocations (not more than five and not necessarily related to the story) on the whiteboard and ask students to include them in the captions. As a follow-up activity, students read their captions to each other. Alternatively, the teacher can give students only one frame at a time, rather than presenting the entire story, and make students anticipate what happens next and how the story might end. The activity is expected to take around 20 to 25 minutes, also depending on the level of the class (less time for more advanced students).

Another version of the activity is to hand out the entire picture story and ask students to write the narrative and also to finish the story to their liking by adding an imaginary last frame to the tale. As in the previous activity, students will be given a handful of collocations to use in their storytelling. Once the students have written the story, they read it out loud to each other (around 20 minutes).
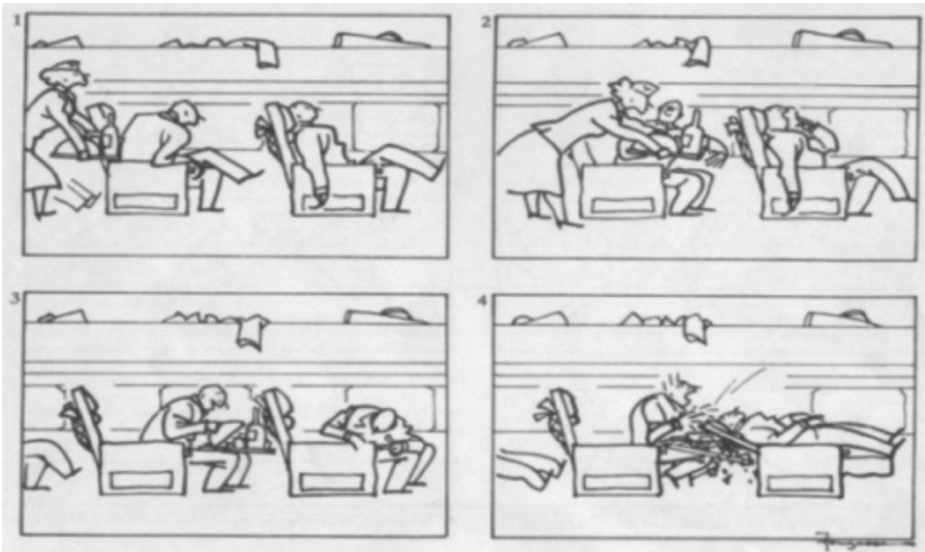
Source: https://peterviney.wordpress.com/about/fougasse-picture-stories/
Figure 3. *Picture story*

The anecdote below is an example of humorous texts appropriate for teaching collocations in the classroom. It describes the funny situation of meeting your look-a-like while travelling, a situation that also serves as a good topic for preceding discussions. Thus, before reading the anecdote, the teacher can ask students to work in pairs and discuss the hypothetical situation of meeting a doppelganger (how they would feel, what they would do, etc.), for about 10 minutes; the activity itself is suitable for intermediate and advanced learners due to the register found in the text. Then the teacher hands out the anecdote to the students with some (or, if the story is short, all) collocations highlighted in them. The teacher can ask students to give a synonym or a short explanation of the highlighted collocations and then compare the situation described to their own imaginary situation (estimated time: 5 to 10 minutes).

> **Bearded man meets doppelganger on plane**
> **Neil Thomas Douglas encounters stranger with whom he shares an uncanny resemblance on flight to Galway**
> A man has spoken of the "total weirdness" of encountering his doppelganger after boarding a flight and finding him sitting in his seat. Neil Thomas Douglas, a photographer from Glasgow, was travelling to Galway via Stansted on Thursday night when he came face to face with the bearded stranger.
> Douglas said: "When I got on the Ryanair flight, there was a dude already on my seat – when the guy looked up, I thought: 'He looks like me.' We had a big laugh about it – everyone around us had a laugh, we took a selfie and that was it."
> But the pair were later to encounter a further coincidence when they checked into the same hotel in Galway. Douglas said: "Later that night, I went to the pub and again, there was my twin. Total weirdness. We had a laugh and a pint."
> Source: *https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-34679496*

In addition to written humorous texts, like anecdotes and jokes, audiovisual texts can also be suitable for practising collocations. Students generally love watching movies, so a funny short film will most probably be to their liking; it is advisable to choose a movie that does not exceed 5 minutes lest it should take up too much time from the class. The movie below (duration: 3 min. 12 sec.) shows the situation of two flight attendants giving safety instructions on a plane and making funny movements as a reaction to the pilot's words (hilarious in themselves). The movie serves as a good starting point for discussions about flying, and there are a couple of topic-related collocations in the video that the teacher can write on the whiteboard to help students tackle the topic and also to talk about their travelling experiences (intermediate level and above due to the register used; duration: around 20 minutes): *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4BuOlKZ_C2k.*

In the case of lower-level classes, the teacher may opt for a silent short movie as they are often more widely applicable. In the short movie below (duration: 3 min. 45 sec.), there are three characters: a man who steals a woman's purse, another man who catches him in action, and the woman herself. The movie is enjoyable, dynamic and also has a twist at the end. After watching it, the students will be asked to retell the story in their own words (whole-class activity, around 10 minutes); subsequently, the teacher can choose a scene from the film (e.g. the last one) and ask the students to imagine and write down what the characters might be thinking (best done as a pair-work activity). Eventually, the students can exchange their ideas in smaller groups (5 to 10 minutes). Even in the case of more advanced classes, it is advisable that the teacher write some useful collocations related to the story on the whiteboard prior to the activity. This activity will require some creativity on the part of the students and might take up more time than indicated, depending on the level of the group: *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plrj-JUieYE*.

Conclusions

Humour can serve both to enliven the atmosphere in EFL classes and as an important teaching tool. Incorporating verbal humour, such as jokes, puns, riddles, and wordplays, and also using other humorous resources (like written and audio-visual texts, picture stories) in the classroom can bring a series of advantages as far as the collocational awareness and cultural sensitivity of students are concerned. Forms of verbal humour can be considered an effective teaching tool, especially as they put the focus on particular constructions; in the case of other humorous materials, it is advisable that the teacher apply an explicit teaching method by drawing students' attention to these constructions. There are various ways of doing this, such as highlighting linguistic structures in the text or writing them on the whiteboard. The exercises and activities described give examples of how humour can be used to teach lexical and grammatical collocations to students. Due to the complex nature of humour and the skills required to understand it, humorous exercises and activities are usually more suitable for advanced classes. Nevertheless, they may also be adapted to the needs of lower-level students. Furthermore, as it has been pointed out, regardless of its type and the intent behind it, the use of humour in the classroom is not always risk-free. As a consequence, it is advisable that humour be used as part of warm-up activities or supplementary exercises that complement the lesson material.

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Appendix 1. Worksheet on collocations

Jokes　　　*Jokes*　　　*Jokes*　　　*Jokes*　　　*Jokes*

☺☺☺

1. What's the best thing about Switzerland? I don't know but the flag is a _____ _____. (something extra)
2. Did you hear about the mathematician who is afraid of negative numbers? He will stop ____ _____to avoid them. (have no break)
3. Did you hear about the new restaurant called Karma? There is no menu: you get what you _____. (is meant for you)
4. Did you hear about the claustrophobic astronaut? He just needs a _____ _____. (small area)
5. What don't scientists trust? Because they _____ _____everything. (invent)
6. What sits at the bottom of the sea and twitches? A _____ _____. (person suffering from stress and mental exhaustion)
7. What's the astronaut's favourite part on a computer? The _____ _____. (type of bar)
8. What do you get from a pampered cow? _____ _____. (liquid gone bad/ sour)
9. I always knock on the door before opening, just in case there is a _____ _____. (on the top of vegetables).
10. Why are ghosts such bad liars? Because they are easy to _____ _____ . (transparent)
11. Why did the gym close down? It just didn't _____ _____. (function)
12. I tried to sue the airport for misplacing my luggage. I _____ ____ _____. (didn't find my bag).

2. What words (Verbs, Prep., Adj., Adv.) go with:
Laugh: …………….....……………………………………………………………….
Smile: …………….....……………………………………………………………….
Joke: …………….....……………………………………………………………….
Key:
Ex. 1: big plus, at nothing, deserve, little space, make up, nervous wreck, space bar, spoiled milk, salad dressing, see through, work out, lost my case.
Ex. 2: Several possibilities (online sources: http://www.freecollocation.com/, http://www.ozdic.com/collocation-dictionary/joke, https://inspirassion.com/en/).

Code Play as Translingual Practice

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Abstract. The study starts with the definition of local, translocal, and global linguistic context in the digital space. Facebook as a social media platform provides opportunities for everyday digital literacy practices such as code play. Code play allows mixing codes and repertoires usually with a humorous reference. We argue that creative interaction among languages creates the methodological need for a translingual approach besides the traditional code-switching theory to explain online linguistic phenomena. Adopting a netnographic approach, this paper presents two participants' linguistic history, online linguistic practices, and perceptions of their own digital literacy, exploring their portrayal of (multi)linguistic identity which has local, translocal, and global resonance. The paper exploits possibilities of code play to accomplish communicative goals through code-switching and translingualism with a linguistically diverse audience.

Keywords: online linguistic practices, code play, code-switching, translingualism

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine linguistic practices and semiotic resources on Facebook through the theoretical concepts of code-switching and translingualism. Social media platforms present endless opportunities for digital literacy practices around the world (de Bres 2015). In order to approach these practices, netnography (or online ethnography) has been chosen to reveal two bilingual social media users' linguistic history, online linguistic practices, and perceptions of their own digital literacy, exploring their portrayal of (multi)linguistic identity, which has local, translocal, and global resonance. The paper focuses on the analysis of code play through code-switching and translingualism.

Code play, a linguistic phenomenon, also present in the social media, allows mixing codes and repertoires, usually with a humorous reference. "Hybrid and playful deployment of linguistic resources on the Internet, or digital code play,

allow writers to display not only their linguistic competence and metalinguistic awareness, but also their multivocal identities" (Lee 2016: 65). While language choices and practices construct identity, humour in code play creates nodes for the individual within the local, translocal, or global context. Humour bridges the gap between various languages and cultures. Examples of digital creativity, such as code play, can be seen as "non-elite and non-institutionalized practices" (Thurlow 2012: 186).

A linguistically diverse audience requires the definition of local, translocal, and global linguistic context in the digital space, which represents the starting point of this research. Then, it is argued that in the digital space creative interaction among languages creates the methodological need for a translingual approach to these linguistic phenomena besides the more traditional code-switching theory. Finally, code play, as an online linguistic practice is presented and data collection with the help of netnography is described, together with the analysis of the data. Patterns of code play are analysed in two case studies as empirical inquiries that investigate the role of linguistic practices in real-life digital context. The research questions also focus on possible shifts from monolingual repertoire towards a multilingual one in the digital space.

1. Local, translocal, and global as linguistic framework

The Internet has become a space where individuals share their interests, news, etc., and these individuals may come from different social, ethnic, or linguistic backgrounds. The net, as a translocal space, is a linguistic contact zone now, "in which multilingual resources and repertoires can turn out to be crucial capital for successful communication, action and interaction" (Leppänen–Peuronen 2012: 389). Therefore, research focus is no longer on the measuring of particular languages on the Internet but on multilingual practices of users and their language choices. Facebook, being a social media platform, has emerged as a globalized and translocal site where both verbal and visual contents are posted by the users and shared globally, with local references. "Digital media have afforded important translocal and transnational spaces for people to engage in new kinds of communicative practices and linguistic resources. These new practices also enable online participants to assert new kinds of local and global identities" (Lee 2016: 57). Users participate in the global space through English (even if their knowledge of English is a limited one) without giving up their local identities and local languages (Lee 2016).

However, users have a choice to share their ethnic identities with the public by using linguistic or semiotic resources. For example, Facebook content may include national symbols. The hussar costume (*Figure 1*) and the intertextuality – a quote from a well-known Hungarian folk song ("*Akkor szép a huszár, ha felül a lovára…*"

'Handsome is the hussar, riding his horse…']) – have a symbolic reference and emphasize the user's Hungarian linguistic identity.

Figure 1. *Hungarian symbols and local identity*

The choice of language(s) is related to the wish of the users to project themselves as global or local members (Lee 2016). Using multiple languages creates a wider audience group for the user and transforms the social media platform into a diverse tool of communication, and at the same time *you can reach out to many people* (expressed by Participant A, during the interview). The use of a single (particularly a minority) language, while online, narrows the audience. Monolingual practices clearly outline a local linguistic identity; however, Facebook affords translocal opportunities, thus the possibility to connect the global and multilingual world to local references. According to Blommaert, *englobalization* and *deglobalization* are present, where englobalization refers to the global circulation of resources, and deglobalization means that globally circulated resources are locally re-appropriated with new local meanings (Blommaert–Rampton 2011). Hashtags and captions used with a global meme or any globally widespread semiotic resource are connected with a local meaning. For example, the abundance of hashtags (*Figure 2*) includes well-known semiotic references and promotes the local event to a global level: a student party in a Romanian town leaves behind its local context and emerges to a global one.

Figure 2. *Hashtags as code play with global reference*

Intertextuality as a semiotic resource, embedding the title of the song *A Little Party Never Killed Nobody*, facilitates the user to claim global identity.

2. Online code-switching and translanguaging as conceptual framework: *Code play* re-defined

There is a need to challenge the traditional concepts of multilingualism and code-switching, which have become major focuses of contemporary sociolinguistics (Pennycook 2016), when online linguistic diversity proves to be more than a mix of language systems (Androutsopoulos 2007, Dovchin–Pennycook 2018); and, moreover, it is associated with creativity, i.e. the use of different semiotic resources. In the light of this phenomenon, Facebook becomes a transmodal digital space (Sharma 2012), where English and other languages are mixed and draw on both local and global media content. As Leppänen et al. point it out, this means "superdiversity" in social media, generated by "the mobility and mobilization of linguistic and other semiotic resources that are distributed, recontextualized and resemiotized in various ways in countless and rhizomatic digital media practices mushrooming on the internet" (Leppänen et al. 2015: 4). It seems that traditional and widespread notions of bi- and multilingualism, as well as code-switching, fall short in addressing the online mixed linguistic repertoires, which combine digital linguistic and semiotic practices in a fluid way. Code-switching usually refers to the alternation of codes, or the alternation between languages, and it is controlled by the speakers due to interactional rules. Code-switching is a salient linguistic practice in the digital social media; however, the multilingual Internet provides more interesting linguistic questions than the investigation into which language dominates or how code-switching happens. In the digital space, any user can

experience or do things with multiple languages – the question is "how people take up new possibilities offered by the different languages on the web" (Lee 2016: 126). Although addressed to a specific audience group, mono- or multilingual comments, shares, etc. are available to the wide public (who is not involved directly in the conversation), connecting local content with a global space. Therefore, this process can be seen "as a kind of translingual practice which emphasizes the process of working with different languages rather than the product and which focuses on communicative practices across groups and communities rather than within a specific speech community defined primarily by the geographical locations of speakers" (Lee 2016: 126).

The concept of translanguaging was first used by Cen Williams in 1994[1] to refer to a pedagogical practice where languages are used alternatively for educational purposes. However, since then, the term translanguaging has been increasingly used to refer to complex and fluid language practices of multilinguals as well. A new perspective was born with the speaker in focus and not the languages per se. If the analytical focus is on how language users exploit all linguistic, semiotic resources to create meaning, then translanguaging is the term to be looked for. Moreover, translanguaging defines language as a multimodal, multisensory sense- and meaning-making resource. In doing so, it seeks to challenge boundaries: boundaries between named languages, boundaries between the so-called linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-linguistic means of communication, and boundaries between language and other human cognitive capacities (Li 2016). As a conceptual framework, translanguaging is seen as an approach that considers the language practices of bilinguals or multilinguals, where language systems are not separated. Its focus is on the linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed (García–Li 2014: 2). While the term code-switching is seen as a binary operation and indicates the presence of several languages, the concept of translingualism emphasizes creative interaction between languages. According to Canagarajah, there is a need to look at translingual practices where communication transcends both "individual languages" and words, thus involving "diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances" (Canagarajah 2013: 6).

Online users deploy their linguistic resources for the sake of creativity and playfulness: with languages, orthographies, typographies, and these practices or code plays may emphasize and represent their bi- or multilingual identities or simply create their new identities online. These practices may present them as local members of a certain group (online or offline), may provide translocal opportunities, connecting them to the global community, or may introduce them as genuine cosmopolitan citizens (Peuronen 2011). There are two important factors characterizing code plays. First, "an immediate effect often presented by playful

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1   The term was created by Cen Williams in his 1994 unpublished thesis *An Evaluation of Teaching and Learning Methods in the Context of Bilingual Secondary Education.*

alternations of codes is humor" (Lee 2016: 64), and, second, these digital code plays violate expectations of code-switching in speech. Code play in this sense becomes part of a hybrid and multimodal style that combines linguistic practices, which "give rise to new forms of translingual and translocal encounters across cultures" (Lee 2016: 66). In terms of code play, both approaches, i.e. code-switching and translanguaging, can definitely add significant values to their understanding. If code play is carried out in order to provide a humorous reference, then code-switching is the right term to be used for the research framework. However, if code play is practised in order to maximize or to ease the communicative process, then we are in need of a different research framework offered by translingualism. This means that language users exploit all linguistic and semiotic resources to create meaning.

Ultimately, whatever concept is used to describe these digital practices online, unprecedented opportunities are being experienced regarding the use of multilingual repertoires from code-switching to translingual practices. Minority languages have their own localized space in the online social media and through translingual practices find their own way to a global display.

3. Linguistic netnography as research framework and data collection

This paper looks at the online linguistic practices of two bilingual (Hungarian–Romanian) university students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (henceforth: Sapientia) in Romania. The research was conducted from March to May 2020, and the results were completed with the description of the participants' offline linguistic practices and identities revealed by metadiscourses from interviews. Data collection follows the research framework of "linguistic netnography" (Kozinets 2006) – also named as "Internet/online ethnography" (Androutsopoulos 2006) – in order to observe and look into the online literacy practices. Linguistic netnography is a qualitative research method that adopts ethnographic research techniques in examining the culture of online communities, emerging through computer-mediated communications, which includes systematic observation of online activities, collection and linguistic analysis of screen data, and additional data elicited through contact with users. Methods may include semiotic, visual, or content analysis, participant and non-participant observations as well as interviews.

Data collection started with the selection of participants, who served as case studies in the present research. Two research participants were selected for the purpose of the study, which provided the linguistic data for an in-depth, thorough analysis for the present research. These participants provided impressive multilingual Facebook entries worth collecting and analysing as linguistic data. After obtaining permission to use their personal data (according to GDPR consent requirements), the

observation of three months online Facebook entries followed, i.e. screenshots were taken in order to collect, categorize, and analyse the linguistic data. This approach gives access to observe the participants' language practices and "to learn about their offline practices through the online linguistic and cultural resources" (Dovchin–Pennycook 2018: 215) which build up their linguistic repertoire. Finally, the research participants were invited for interviews and casual discussions (online) in terms of their own metalinguistic interpretations. They also provided some insights about their social and cultural backgrounds, issues about their language use and identity constructions. The questions of the interviews were divided into two main parts. First, the questions referred to the offline linguistic and family background of the participants, completed with inquires about their offline linguistic practices, language use, and choice. Second, the questions referred to the selected, categorized screenshots. These inquiries highlighted multilinguistic practices of each participant, and they were asked to explain the choice of languages, while they also reflected on their multilingual practices. The interviews were recorded, and the metalinguistic data were processed at a later moment. This research, therefore, combines aspects of linguistic and online ethnography – which is termed linguistic netnography – to explore code-switching and translingual practices of participants.

The participants' names for the present study are pseudonyms to provide anonymity. Throughout this paper, the term first language (L1) is used to refer to Hungarian as the language "best known and/or most used" by the participants and the language they self-identified with as the "native language" or "mother tongue" (Skutnabb-Kangasand–McCarty 2008: 6). L2, the second language, is Romanian. Research participants have learnt English as a foreign language; therefore, L3 refers to English throughout this paper. Both participants have learnt further languages such as German, French, Spanish, or even some Greek; therefore, their attitude towards language learning is very positive, revealed by the interview data as well. All Hungarian and Romanian data texts, including the interview accounts used in the data examples of this paper, have been translated from Hungarian and Romanian into English by the researcher.

4. Data analysis: Code play, code-switching, and translanguaging

4.1. Participant A: *Adam*

Participant A's (reference name: *Adam*, male, Sapientia 1st-year student, majoring in translation-interpreting) online code-switching and translingual practices on Facebook mainly concern the relocalization of English and other semiotic resources integrated within Hungarian and Romanian local context. His literacy practices

also point to offline aspects of his linguistic identity. In offline linguistic situations, Adam switches codes in order to communicate with the members of his family. He uses Hungarian with his parents but switches to Romanian with his aunt, who is Romanian and lives next to them. He is a bilingual; however, he mixes English or even Spanish words with Hungarian ones, constructing his multilingual identity offline as well. Adam's presence on Facebook is intense, and his feed is largely composed of multimodal and multi-semiotic resources, including reposts of YouTube songs, memes, local and global news.

His mother tongue (L1) is Hungarian, and he belongs to the Hungarian ethnic minority living in Romania, in a small town. The population of this town is mixed, with almost 50-50 per cent Romanians and Hungarians living there. His parents are Hungarian; he lives in an extended family, where his aunt is Romanian, and therefore he has learnt Romanian from a very early age. He studied in Hungarian-medium schools; however, his accent and choice of words show the influence of L2, Romanian. Nevertheless, he shows a very open attitude towards languages and language learning as he has been learning languages since early childhood. He also considers English, L3, his second mother tongue; he continuously reads in English, watches TV-series, and uses English as a lingua franca in multiplayer video games. During the interview, he often mixes English words and expressions with Hungarian ones – this code-switching is obviously used to create a unique style and to show off with his knowledge: *Mindent megértek, ha nem ilyen **techno-babble*** 'I can understand everything if it is not a so-called techno-babble', or he expresses that knowing English helps him in many communicative situations: *Mert az mindig a **safety pillow*** 'Because it is always the safety pillow'. Besides English, he used to learn German and French in school, and he tried to pick up some Spanish from telenovelas (soap operas). He has also learnt a few words in Greek (interested in mythology), Finnish, Portuguese, and some Romani. During the interview, he immediately demonstrates his knowledge by enunciating a few examples. He considers language learning as an easy and stimulating task and plans to learn Japanese at a certain moment in the future, being very interested in anime cartoons as he often watches them. He also believes that all languages have a certain musicality: *akkor is, ha csak a fejedben olvasod ki a szavakat, sokkal színesebb lesz az a megosztás* 'even if you just read the words in your head, that multilingual Facebook post becomes much more colourful'.

4.1.1. Adam's choice of languages online: "You need a certain language to express an idea in the most beautiful way"

In the online world, he chooses English over Hungarian when possible, also because Hungarian spelling is complex and means sluggish typing for him. The default language of his Facebook account is English. He uses Facebook to read and

share memes, jokes, or fun facts. However, it is important for him to share or post content in Hungarian in order to reach out to the majority of his friends, who are Hungarians. Simple English texts are shared without any adaptation because if the message is better conveyed in the original language, then it should not be translated, as he conveys: *néha egy gondolatot egy adott nyelven lehet a legszebben kifejezni* 'sometimes an idea can be most beautifully expressed by using a certain language'. On the other hand, reacting to a post or replying with a comment is determined by the original language of the shared content or by the nationality of the user: even if he gets a birthday wish in English from a Romanian friend, he will reply in Romanian, out of respect.

He disapproves spelling mistakes, considers himself a *grammar náci* 'grammar Nazi', and with this deliberate code-mixing he wants to highlight his attitude. His attitude towards code-switching and mixing is rather negative, only added connotation can justify their use: *Ha többletértelmet hordoz a kavarás, akkor teljesen rendben van.* 'If mixing (words) carries further connotations, then it is OK.' However, during the interview, he often mixes English phrases and words with Hungarian ones. On Adam's Facebook account, code play and code-switching take place in discourses in which the actors know each other quite well. These linguistic practices occur when humour is involved, and mixing languages within a comment carries further connotations. Multimodality and intertextuality are also common features on Facebook: he may choose a Romanian text for photos, memes, or songs, especially if they deliver a humorous message or express an *inside joke* (as phrased by Adam).

The post (*Figure 3*) with the Hungarian caption *Szalagavatónk!* 'Our graduation ceremony!' commented in Romanian: *Ai de viata mea!* 'Oh, my life!', and it refers to a Romanian YouTuber, being the relocalization of a quote, used as a translocal opportunity to connect to a more global and multilingual world.

Here, the process of working with different languages should be understood as translingual practice because it makes its meaning through "the context of transnational lingua-cultural flow" (Dovchin 2020: 58). Adam also shares memes in English, which is a newly found habit of his, as many of his university colleagues speak English, and therefore he feels relaxed to use English, which creates a global context. Sharing memes in Romanian is also convenient as Adam is convinced that those who have to understand the message will get it, and he can expand his audience group by using more languages. According to him, there are certain rules that he follows. First of all, code-switching is possible and accepted if it happens among friends and reflects some humorous content or refers to an inside joke, which carries a particular message for the agents of the communicative situation. Any code play, however, is connected to a global context, and Adam's Facebook account serves as a translocal space where local and global connect. These practices and language choices are examples of translingual practices, and linguistic resources are exploited to create meaning.

Figure 3. *Code play as inside joke*

4.2. Participant B

Participant B (reference name: *Béla*, male, Sapientia 2nd-year student, majoring in translation-interpreting) also presents online code-switching and translingual practices, which refer to relocalization of English, French, and other semiotic resources integrated within Hungarian and Romanian. His literacy practices represent offline aspects of his linguistic identity.

The second interview participant comes from a Hungarian family; his mother tongue (L1) is Hungarian. He lives with his mother in a small town, where 30 per cent of the population is Hungarian, while the majority of the population is Romanian. He started learning Romanian in his early childhood, and he speaks it on a daily basis. Time and again, he struggles to find the appropriate Hungarian words. He personally experienced the advantages and disadvantages of living in a bilingual community at a very early age, and he preferred choosing Romanian over Hungarian

in everyday situations when he had to address unfamiliar individuals. Béla is fond of languages: he speaks English, a little German, and he has been learning French on his own (proven by his French-language textbook during the interview), also due to the fact that he has some relatives living in France. He believes that songs, poems sound more attractive in their original language; and with their translation something valuable is lost.

4.2.1. Béla's choice of languages online: "I always pay attention to my choice of languages"

In the online space, different default languages are installed on his electronic devices. For example, the default language of his computer is English. Hungarian is the default language of his laptop, while English is set on his phone. He plays a lot of video games, and being in multiplayer video games he encountered several languages (English, French, German, Spanish, and Chinese). However, the influence of the English is obvious in those settings, and it is accepted to mix languages during video games or in comments.

Regarding Facebook, which he started to use several years ago, the choice of the language depends on the partner he communicates with. Sharing something in Romanian is handy, understood by almost everyone in Transylvania. Béla does not have any friends from Hungary, and therefore he does not share anything exclusively in Hungarian. An interesting remark of his emphasizes his metalinguistic awareness: *mindig odafigyelek, melyik nyelvet használjam* 'I always consider my choice of languages'. As he mentions, English is the lingua franca, the neutral language of communication on Facebook. He would like to stay neutral, not to fall for any language ideology. He does not want to highlight the dominance of either language: Hungarian or Romanian. According to him, addressing a wider audience requires the choice of English even if none of the participants in the discourse is English.

On the other hand, the choice of the language is determined by the media content as well: translations deprive texts of their originality. Similar to Adam, he respects the linguistic identity of his partner in the discourse; the reaction is determined by the original language of the shared content or by the nationality of the user. Choosing a different language has humorous connotations. He posted the caption: *Je ne parle pas français* 'I do not speak French', which was a deliberate act to convey humour and deliver a joke at the same time, a global content in a translocal space. In this translocal space, code play becomes a common multilingual practice (*Figure 4*).
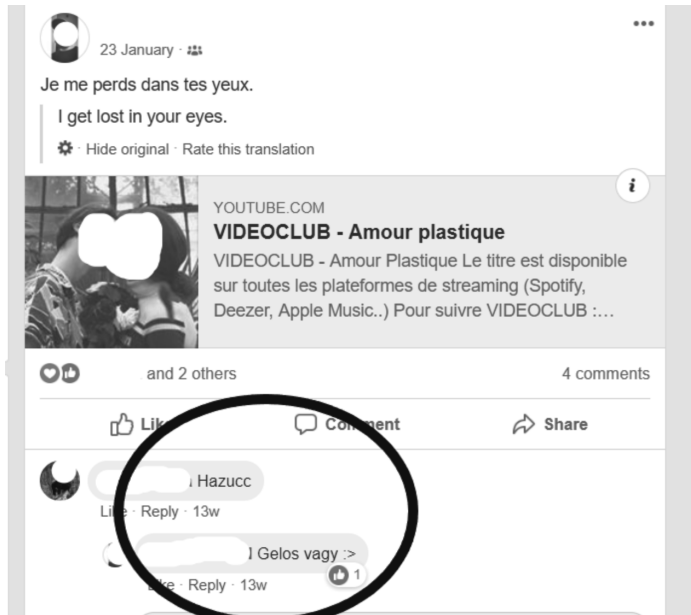
Figure 4. *Code play and multilingual creativity*

Participant B mixes languages within the same post: French, English, Romanian, and Hungarian. The relocalization of a French song with the English translation constructs his global identity, while the code play used in the comments establishes the local reference. The Hungarian comment *Hazucc* 'You are lying' is followed by a code play (Romanian and Hungarian): *Gelos vagy* 'You are jealous'. The spelling mistake of the Hungarian word (the word is written incorrectly, with a double *c*) turns out to be an invitation for an inside joke, according to the metadata of the interview. Thus, the participant creatively combines the two languages, replying to the Hungarian comment in the same language (Hungarian) but mixing it with Romanian, with the language the user also identifies with.

Another local content with a humorous reference is created by the following code play (*Figure 5*), which not only marks the linguistic identity of the user but also creates permissive linguistic behaviour and creativity in the digital space. The participant ingeniously uses Romanian with English to give a greater impact to the message. It can be seen as a source of humour expressed by code-switching; however, the embedded Romanian word *grătar* creates the local reference: *Waiting for the grătar* 'Waiting for the barbecue'. The linguistic creativity establishes a global content and eases communication between the agents in the discourse, and, again, it makes its meaning through the transnational stream of languages.

Figure 5. *Code play as inside joke*

With the inside joke (*Cu chelnerul lângă tine* 'With the waiter next to you'), the whole communication is personalized, and, according to the participant, the code play here serves a further role: a neutral code is mixed with a non-neutral one, which turns code-switching into translanguaging, also creating a translocal space for the partners. Similarly, the use of English slang words, embedded in local contexts, is very intense. As Participant B explains, the word "cringe" has become a very popular one, referring to something very undesirable. In this case, it eases communication and shifts this linguistic practice towards a translingual one.

Conclusions

This paper has explored how online engagement in everyday digital literacy practices through social media, such as Facebook, is a product of the multilingual practices in the digital space. Although the participants have a shared language in their online language setting, they choose other languages either to add further communicative references and connotations or as an additional resource to establish better understanding and comprehension of communicative goals. Their

motivations for language choice can vary a great deal. Sometimes, it is the extension of their bi- or multilingual language practices offline, but it can also be an outcome of a peer- or group-specific language policy, specific to online communication. The examples have shown how the digital linguistic practices of these Facebook users deploy an array of interconnected linguistic (Hungarian, Romanian, English, French, etc.), semiotic, and cultural resources (posting hyperlinks, illustrations and images, captions, comments, etc.). On the other hand, the online linguistic identities of these participants are also interconnected with their offline linguistic repertoires. The online and offline spaces in which these young adults interact are complexly conjoined, with meanings, resources, and identities crossing over from one space to the other, from local to translocal and finally global. By showing these creative online digital literacy practices, such as code play, the notions of code-switching and translanguaging are extended beyond the notion of multilingualism as Facebook users perform these linguistic practices to stay local and to become global at the same time. Online digital linguistic practices may provide richer multilingual and multimodal resources than offline lives, and offline identities are filtered through their online literacy activities from code-switching to translanguaging. It is thus important to consider social network sites as part of broader systems of linguistic practices, which in turn can be a useful way to understand how online/ offline linguistic identities are interrelated. The use of multiple languages does not necessarily represent a certain (linguistic) identity; it rather acts as a tool or strategy to express translocal or global identities and grants a certain linguistic freedom, which indicates new possibilities of meaning-making in the digital space.

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Power and Humour in Institutional Talk – A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract. Power is a key concept in institutional talk as it structures both the discourse of that institution and the relationships within it. It influences the formation of identities and is highly indicative of the culture the institution promotes. Humour serves a wide range of functions within an organization and is closely related to power. The paper aims to investigate the relationship between power and humour in educational setting, namely a high school. It analyses two different meetings – a school board meeting and an evaluation meeting, both held in the same school; these meetings differ in terms of formality, number of participants, and purpose. The paper aims to identify the way humour is used by the more and less powerful participants in the meetings. The paper is structured into two parts – a theoretical presentation of power and humour and the data analysis. The practical part looks separately at each meeting and at the functions humour serves when used by the power holders and the subordinates.

Keywords: power, humour, institutional talk, functions

1. Theoretical framework

1.1. Power – Definition

Dahl (1957) states that power is a concept that everybody understands but which proves quite difficult to define. He offers influence, control, and authority as synonyms to power, and he broadly defines power as a relation among people involving "a successful attempt by A [the powerful agent] to get B [the less powerful agent] to do something he would not otherwise do" (Dahl 1957: 204).

Van Dijk analyses social power as a relationship between "social groups, institutions and organizations" (van Dijk 2008: 65), a form of control over others' actions and thinking, applied in specific domains (for example, media, education, or business); it is a form of abuse as it involves preferential access to various resources (education, jobs, wealth, etc.) and is gradual as it increases in intensity

in stages. Van Dijk (2008) differentiates between the classical view of power, which mainly involves material possessions, and dominance by coercion and symbolic power, a way of control, defined as the preferential access to political, educational, legal, and commercial domains; the latter kind of power also ensures access to public discourse.

Fairclough (2013) identifies as a main feature of contemporary power a "simulated egalitarianism", which hides the overt markers of power. He believes that today power and control are exercised by consent, while Mayr (2008: 3) characterizes contemporary institutional discourse as relying on knowledge: "language is knowledge driven in new discourse type".

There is common agreement that a feature of contemporary society is the covert expressing of power. Mayr (2008: 11) defines social power as "the privileged access to social resources – education, knowledge and wealth", while Holmes and Stubbe (2015: 3) consider that power is the "ability to control others and to accomplish one's goal". Discourse has been analysed as the site where power relationships are enacted and contested: "in discourse power is negotiated and fought over, […] it is held or lost and […] power relationships constantly change" (Fairclough 2013: 36). Fairclough (2013: 32) states that employees of various institutions (schools, church, etc.) are given social identities, "subject positions", by means of discourse. This positioning as subjects is a process of which the participants are unaware and which is accomplished by means of ideology, defined as "the power to project one's practices as universal and common sense, coercing others to go along" (Fairclough 2013: 28); ideology lays an extremely important part in the subjects' consenting to existing power relationships.

1.2. Power and institutional talk

Institutional talk has been defined as the special kind of talk aimed at solving professional tasks, having prescribed participant roles, whose contribution are mainly predetermined, and having an asymmetrical turn distribution (Thornborrow 2013); by means of institutional talk, participants define their professional identities and status (Thornborrow 2013).

The relationship between discourse and institutional power is very complex as "discourse materializes in institutions" and "is the primary site for reality construction" (Mayr 2008: 4). According to Mayr (2008), discourse shapes the institution, and the institution, in its turn, is shaped by discourse; the power of the institution is often exercised through the discourse of its members, who use discourse as a way of legitimizing their institutional roles.

Holmes and Stubbe (2015) characterize the manifestation of power in institutional discourse as very explicit: "'doing power at work' is uncompromisingly direct" (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 2).

Fairclough (2013: 36) states that power exists "in and behind discourse". "In discourse", power refers to face-to-face encounters, where power is actually exercised or contested, while "behind discourse" power refers to the way in which institutions and organizations have come to create discourses that legitimize their power, which is imposed on the participants. Fairclough (2013) also comments on the way in which such conventions are policed and enforced, adding that, although less overtly, power is constantly re-asserted by the power holders.

Holmes and Stubbe differentiate between intraorganizational institutional power (power given by the organization itself) and societal institutional power, "the intrinsic and unquestioned institutional power of the dominant group in a society" (Holmes–Stubbe 2015: 154).

Power has been classified as coercive or persuasive. Thus, Mayr (2008) identifies two types of power – mainstream power (which has a corrective function) and second-stream power (which has a persuasive function). Vine (2004) mentions power over or coercive power, which allows its holders to decide the ways and the extent to which their power is expressed. She believes that coercive power has turned into "consultative power", which links power with knowledge.

In institutions, the types of power have also been classified as hierarchical (provided by the position in the institution) and expert (provided by professional knowledge that is recognized by others) (Holmes and Stubbe 2015, Vine 2004, Mayr 2008). Holmes and Stubbe (2015: 176) consider that subordinates take it as a norm on most occasions that managers express power: "when managers 'do power' participants in the interaction regard it as unremarkable for managers to do so". Similarly, Mayr (2008) classifies power as hierarchical power and relative power, which is assessed within the context and individual contributions.

Vine (2004) believes that hierarchical power, the ability to provide "rewards" to those in less powerful position, is a type of power that leads to achieving the expected results and claims that this kind of power is likely to provide far better results than coercive power. According to the institutional culture and personal features, she differentiates between three types of managers: authoritarian (they enact power overtly), participative (a combination of the first and third type), and laissez faire (allowing the team members to manage the tasks themselves).

Thornborrow (2013) differentiates between strategic discourse, characterized by relations of power and inequality, and communicative discourse, which places participants on equal positions.

1.3. Power – Ways of doing power

In terms of the linguistic ways of doing power, Fairclough (2013) identifies three types of constraints imposed by the powerful participants – namely on content, subjects, and relations. He also mentions the selection of the discourse type, formality level,

topic control, contribution control, turn allocation, interruptions, and evaluation. Van Dijk (2008) makes very similar comments when analysing linguistic ways of expressing power, mentioning genres, topics, speech acts, and style. Usually, it is the powerful élite who plan the communicative event, the setting of the event, and the interaction control, while the "powerless stay silent" (van Dijk 2008: 31).

Holmes and Stubbe (2015) discuss setting the agenda, summarizing progress, keeping the discussion on track, making and announcing decisions, while Vine (2004) analyses in a very detailed manner linguistic ways of expressing directives, requests, advice, etc.

Appeals to power and authority are particularly strong ways of doing power, and the more direct they are, the more emphatic they become. By appealing to institutional norms, to standard workplace practices, and to their own administrative position, power holders legitimize their power (Holmes and Stubbe 2015).

1.4. Humour – Definition

Holmes (2000) and Hill and Fitzgerald (2002) analyse humour by taking into account the speaker's intention and the audience's reaction. Holmes and Stubbe (2015) analyse humour as closely related to politeness, a covert way of expressing power: "[t]he boundaries between power and solidarity are often fluid and humour is an interesting indication of this" (Holmes and Stubbe 2915: 134).

Humour is a feature that is highly dependent on the organizational culture, varying in amount and type; its use in institutional discourse indicates that relations between people working together are important and carefully considered (Holmes and Stubbe 2015).

Holmes and Stubbe (2015: 109) define humour as "a valuable multifunctional resource in workplace interaction" and as such having a variety of functions, which are sometimes difficult to separate.

Humour varies in intensity and includes a variety of forms such as sarcasm, irony, teasing, banter, self-deprecating humour, jocular insults, deflating comments, all indicative of the existing relations in the organization (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 170). Humour can be "gentle, unthreatening or abusive, robust and contestive, but all these instances have as their main effect to reduce power differences" (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 128).

1.5. Humour – Use

Humour mainly contributes to a more harmonious atmosphere at work. It is often used to improve working relations, to create a pleasant atmosphere, and thus to promote task achievement and interpersonal goals. In an institution, it indicates the organizational norms, constructing participants as equal and playing down

power differences (Holmes and Stubbe 2015). Humour is also an "attention grabbing device", and laughter, as a reaction to a humorous utterance, may indicate appreciation (Holmes and Stubbe 2015).

Humour is used in both similar and different ways by the powerful and powerless. For both categories, it serves as a sign of goodwill and of cooperative intention, being a way for participants to calibrate the relationships with their colleagues at work (Holmes and Stubbe 2015). In general, for both groups, the amount of humour is directly proportional to the level of threat: "the higher the threat the more likely the message will be presented at least in a superficially humorous packaging" (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 34) as humour is far less likely to be attacked.

The powerful resort to humour to soften directives and criticism, to "sweeten" insults and challenges, to improve team relations, and to "diminish status and power differences" (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 114).

The powerless resort to humour to criticize, reject proposals, attack managers, license challenges, and contest authority (Holmes and Stubbe 2015). The authors call it "a socially acceptable cloak for face attacks in the workplace", a "cover for protest", a "veiled protest" (Holmes and Subbe 2015: 119). Subordinates use humour in order to attack off the record since humour is difficult to challenge (Holmes and Stubbe 2015).

Meetings are "prime sites for doing power" (Holmes and Stubbe 2015: 58), and the relationship between power and humour is very obvious.

2. Data analysis

The data analysed below come from a project entitled *Communication at the Workplace*, which took place in several Romanian companies. The data selected for the analysis come from the same high school, where two different meetings were recorded. The first one is a Board Council meeting which brings together 14 participants – the school principal, the deputy school principal, and 12 teachers of various subjects. The second meeting, held in the same school, brings together a higher number of participants. The purpose of this meeting is the presentation of the school evaluation report by two representatives of the School inspectorate – the deputy school inspector, Valentina, and Victor, a school inspector, who actually presents the report.

The first meeting is smaller in size and less formal, the participants coming together on a regular basis in order to discuss administrative topics and to plan the school activity. The second meeting is more formal; its aim is to present the results of the school evaluation, and it is attended by most of the teachers in the school and two inspectors.

The analysis of both meetings considers as instances of humour the parts marked in the transcript with smile or laughter.

In the first meeting, the power holders are Adina, the school principal, Maria, the deputy school principal, Ileana, the trade union leader (both holding administrative power), and Cornel, the President of the Education Quality Evaluation and Insurance Board (considered an expert in the evaluation process), while the less powerful participants are the teachers (who are present) and also the students (who are not present).

In the second meeting, the power holders are Valentina, the deputy school inspector, Victor, the school inspector, who presents the report, and Nela, the school principal; the subordinates are the teachers attending the meeting.

The analysis is done separately for the two meetings and presents the way in which power holders and subordinates use humour in order to express power.

The school board meeting
Use of humour by the power holders

2.1. To promote good relationships with subordinates

Example 1
Adina, the school principal, chairs the meeting; she decides on the topics, controls the participants' contributions, takes decisions, and makes suggestions. She softens her interventions by resorting to humour.

In the example below, the topic is electing members in the Administration Board. Adina invites the participants to make suggestions, but she continues without interruption by making her own suggestions. She does that by resorting to self-deprecating humour, which does not cause any laughter from the participants:

> Adina: #eu am nişte propuneri#în legătură cu consiliul de administraţie dacă veţi fi de acord. UNDE-mi sunt propunerile. (Gheorghe–Măda–Săftoiu 2009: 18)
> 'Adina: #I have some proposals# related to the administration board if you agree. WHERE are my proposals.' (Gheorghe–Măda–Săftoiu 2009: 18)[1]

Adina announces that she wants to advance her proposals, a move that she mitigates with the phrase "if you agree"; she wants to read them but realizes that she cannot find her notes, a situation which she openly acknowledges by asking aloud "where are my proposals". This utterance, however, does not trigger any laughter.

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1   The translations are my own throughout the article.

2.2. To criticize

Example 2

The next example in this meeting analyses an instance of power expressed over people who are not present. The topic of the meeting is nominations of students for the School Board. There are no students attending the meeting, and the teachers weigh different options in order to decide who is the best student to be appointed. During this discussion, most participants make critical remarks related to the students, all these criticisms being prefaced by the speakers' smiling. The discussion starts with proposals for possible nominations, and the name of student X is advanced. Several teachers begin to talk about him, their comments being covertly critical.

> Marcel: i-am trimis un preaviz de exmatriculare pentru douăzeci de absențe
> # şi pînă la şedinţa cu părinţii a ajuns la şaizeci de absențe
> […]
> Mihai: poate ajunge şi senator.
> Adina: da#în mod uimitor pentru mine l-au ales elevi din tot judeţu. s-a dus
> la şedinţe↓ s-au prezentat nişte candidaturi↓ el s-a prezentat fără nicio hîrtie
> în mînă şi-a pledat <@ cauza frumos>şi l-au votat pe el.
> Dana: probabil că-i bun de gură […]
> Nicolae: dacă nu vine la şcoală nu avea de <**MARC** ce să fie în consiliu> (
> […]
> Ileana: totuşi↓ dacă e atît de solicitat n-are rost să-i mai dăm o sarcina în plus
> (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 21)

> 'Marcel: I sent him a notice of expulsion for 20 absences# and by the time of
> the parents meeting he had reached sixty absences
> […]
> Mihai: maybe he will become even a senator.
> Adina: yes# surprisingly to me the students in the entire county elected him.
> he went to the meetings↓ some nominations were made↓ he came without
> any notes in his hands pleaded his <@ cause nicely>and they voted for him.
> Dana: probably he is a smooth speaker […]
> Nicolae: if he doesn't attend school there was no reason<**MARC** why he
> should be on the board>
> […]
> Ileana: still↓ if he is so busy there's no point in giving him an additional
> responsibility' (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 21)

Student X is the one currently holding the position of representing the students in this high school, and he has organized many activities related to the students'

consultative board; he was elected in the same position for the second time. This information comes as a surprise for Adina – "surprisingly to me" – as he managed to be elected without any preparation: he "pleaded his cause nicely". Adina's remark starts a series of criticisms related to this student; Marcel condemns him for skipping classes (the student "has reached sixty absences"), Mihai expresses ironically his belief that he may be successful in politics, and Dana characterizes him as "a smooth talker", a phrase carrying negative connotation. The student has low grades and seems to be less interested in school and more interested in organizing high school student meetings. The conclusion of the participants is to nominate another student, who is not as busy as the current representative – "if he is so busy, there's no point in giving him an additional responsibility".

The participants who have made no contribution to the discussion so far interfere when it comes to commenting on students, and the way in which their remarks complement one another points to their critical position towards the students.

Use of humour by the powerless

2.3. To criticize official regulations

Example 3

During the last part of this meeting, the discussion moves to other topics, and the one currently discussed is fire safety.

Maria, the deputy headmistress, explains that in the case of a fire the accounting department employees have to leave the office carrying their computers with them.

> Maria: serviciu contabilitate are obligaţia chiar în caz de incendiu↓ ni s-a spus îşi ia calculatoru sub brat şi pleacă contabilitatea cu calculatoru. ((se rîde)) nu rîdeţi aşa ni s-a comunicat. (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 57)

> 'Maria: the accounting department has, even in the case of a fire↓we were told they take their computer under their arm and the accounting department leaves with the computer ((laughter)) don't laugh this is what we were told'. (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 57)

Maria is not explicitly critical of the regulations, which she derides in an indirect way, namely the manner in which she phrases the regulation: "they take their computer under their arm".

The participant's reactions can be interpreted as subversive criticism of the educational authority that has issued the regulations.

2.4. To promote good relationship

Example 4

The topic of the discussion is that the high school should aim to become a representative school and thus attract more students. Cornel, the President of the Quality Assurance Board, adds the adjective "neighbourhood", which totally changes the meaning – instead of being a representative school for the city, Cornel moves it to the school being a representative school in the district, thus diminishing the importance of the school and adding a negative evaluation.

> Cornel: da↓ nu↓ da' de cartier are altă conotaţie
> Adina: <@da↓ a zic aşa paradoxal. da↓ să inventăm un paradox>
> Cornel: <@şi eu mă consider tot băiat de cartier> (xxx)
> Adina: deci să adunăm noi tot ce e mai bun în cartier↓ asta am vrut să zic<**MARC** reprezentativ pentru>
> Maria: elevii<**MARC** din tot oraşul> (p. 42)
> [….]
> Cornel: [deci tot cartierul↓ aşa cum spuneam noi băieţii de cartier venim aici şi votăm şi
> Grupul: ((rîs))
> Adina: suntem şcoala reprezentativă a cartierului (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 42–45)

> 'Cornel: yes↓ no↓ but neighbourhood has a different connotation
> Adina: <@yes↓ I say if paradoxically. yes↓ let's invent a paradox>
> Cornel: <@ I consider myself a neighbourhood boy too> (xxx)
> Adina: so to collect what is best in the district↓ that's what I meant <**MARC** representative for>
> Maria: the students <**MARC** from all over the town >
> [….]
> Cornel: [so the entire neighbourhood↓ as we the neighbourhood boys used to say come here and vote and
> Group: ((laughter))
> Adina: we are the representative school of the district' (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 42–45)

So, initially, Cornel corrects Adina, who does not use the exact term "representative school". He explains that a neighbourhood school has a negative connotation, and Adina accepts his correction and explanations by stating "let's invent a paradox". Cornel continues by smilingly saying that he considers himself to be a neighbourhood boy, which indicates that he does not want his previous

intervention to be considered as a criticism. This is a joint humorous sequence produced by Adina and Cornel, a sequence interrupted by Maria, who defines the term as attracting students from all over the city. However, Adina and Cornel continue this sequence several seconds later; they both keep using neighbourhood – Cornel speaks about "neighbourhood boys", and Adina refers to the school as a "neighbourhood school". This exchange triggers laughter from all the participants.

This example illustrates a joint humorous sequence initiated by Cornel and taken further by Adina. They both indicate that they want to have a good working relation, and they continue the sequence after being interrupted by the trade union leader. However, the same example can be also interpreted as having a second function, namely of indirect criticism – Cornel indirectly attacking the principal for not knowing the official terms.

In conclusion, the instances of humour in this meeting point to good working relationships as the power holders usually mitigate their power by resorting to humour. Adina, the principal, does that more frequently than the deputy principal, who is more direct in her interventions, and Adina also produces a joint humorous sequence with Cornel.

The less powerful participants tend to be ironical of administrative regulations, and all the teachers (the powerful and the less powerful) tend to be critical when it comes to the students' activity.

The Evaluation Report Meeting

This meeting is very long and is attended by all the teachers in the school; its aim is to present the results of the evaluation conducted in the school.

Use of humour by the power holders

2.5. To criticize

The humorous strategies used by the power holders are very limited.

When criticisms are made or bad school results are presented, the inspectors smile, attempting to soften their message. They use inclusive we and smile, but the words are harsh – "I accuse you", "do you take responsibility" – and they bang their fists against the table to emphasize their message.

Example 5

Valentina: aici este semnătura dumneavoastră↓. Vă asumați acest lucru? (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 100)

'Valentina; this is your signature↓. do you take responsibility for it?' (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 100)

Example 6

In the example below, Valentina answers a teacher who has explained why the school-based curriculum does not fully observe the regulations:

> Valentina: stimată: colegă↓deci n-aţi înţeles mesajul nostru↓ nu vă incriminează nimeni că aveţi aceste ore dar n-aţi făCUT-o↓ eraţi obligaţi să o FAceţi↓ n-aţi făcut-o# deci dumneavoastră NU dispuneţi de oferta şcolii# mi-e greu să înţeleg că<z din acest colectiv> nimeni nu doreşte să ofere altceva copiilor↓ mi-e greu şi pentru asta vă acuz (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 118)

> 'Valentina: esteemed: colleague↓ so you didn't understand our message↓ nobody accuses you for having these classes but you didn't DO it↓ you were obliged to DO IT ↓ you didn't do it# so you DO NOT have the school curriculum# I find it hard to understand that<z from this department> nobody wants to offer anything else to the kids↓ I find it difficult and for that I accuse you'. (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 118)

So, Valentina becomes increasingly critical; she prefaces her intervention with a smile. She starts by addressing the teacher with "esteemed colleague" but accuses her of not having properly understood what she said. Valentina legitimizes her power by mentioning regulations ("you were obliged to do it"), and she appeals to procedures and threats when she describes how similar situations are dealt with in other schools – if the school-based curriculum is not adequate, the teachers responsible for it are sacked.

The inspector emphasizes the negative words ("so you DO NOT have the school curriculum), and she repeats them. Valentina resorts to affective reasons – she refers to the students using the term "kids" –, and she says that the students are not offered what they are entitled to, which is something the inspector finds difficult to understand. Valentina's last words, "and for that I accuse you", are very strong and unmitigated and she appeals to fear. So, in this sequence, there is a combination of various ways of doing power – repetition, intonation, directness, and use of strong words.

Use of humour by the powerless

The teachers in the meeting use humour for different purposes as compared to the two inspectors.

2.6. To criticize

Example 7

Victor: deci sar peste acest pasaj
Valentina: dumnevoastră alegeţi?
Victor: [aşa ă:
Valentina: dar de CE dacă sunt cuvinte de laudă să le-audă colegii↓
Victor: BUN atuncea le citesc. vroiam s-ajung la (xxx) ((râde)) ((râsete))
(Gheorghe et al. 2009: 82)

'Victor: so I'll skip this part
Valentina: is this your choice?
Victor: [well, eh:
Valentina: but WHY if there are words of praise let the colleagues (hear) them↓
Victor: GOOD then I'll read them. I wanted to get to (xxx) ((laughs)) ((laughter))'
(Gheorghe et al. 2009: 82)

Victor is asked by the deputy inspector, his manager, to read a part of the report which he wanted to skip. He explains that he did not want to read that part in order to get to another section, and he does this smilingly in order to diminish Valentina's criticism. The participants' laughter is interpreted as a critical reaction to the lengthy report; Victor has been reading the report for a long time, and him saying that he wanted to move faster produces laughter. The teachers laugh but utter nothing.

2.7. To attack

Example 10
The example below provides an illustration of how Victor is attacked by the school principal and the participants while reading the report.

Victor: despre CUM vă simţiţi în colectiv↓ majoritatea afirmaţi că vă simţiţi FOARTE bine↓ deci un procent de optzeci şi doi virgule cinşpe la sută paişpe virgule douăşopt la sută bine: îs un! Unul singur se simte: satisfăcut acuma: ((râsete)) <z probabil că era supărat la momentul respectiv> ## da# [da## deci ă:
Nela: e MARE lucru să poţi să spui şi tu↓ ((râde))
Victor: a fost chestionaru: pe care l-aţi! la întrebările din chestionar la care dumne'astră aţi răspuns↓ a fost exact ca o: OGLINDĂ↑ deci: CEEA CE aţi simţit↓ aţi răspuns↓ zic eu cinstit# că sunt situaţii în care colegii se feresc să dea răspuns la acest [lucru
XF5: [totdeauna↑ ((şoptit)). (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 81)

'Victor: about HOW you feel in our team↓, most of you state that you feel VERY good↓ so a percentage of eighty-two point fifteen percent fourteen point twenty-eight percent good; only one feels: satisfied now: ((laughter)) <z probably he was upset at the time>## yes# [yes## so:
Nela: [it is REALLY good to be able to say↓ ((laughter))
Victor: it was the questionnaire: which you! the questions in the questionnaire which you answered ↓ it was exactly like a: MIRROR↑ so: HOW you felt ↓ you answered ↓ honestly# I would say as there are cases when colleagues avoid answering [it
XF5: [always↑ ((whispering))'. (Gheorghe et al. 2009: 81)

This example illustrates how all the teachers in the school side against the inspectors. The sequence starts by the use of the word "satisfied", interpreted differently by the teachers and the inspector. Victor acknowledges the teacher's interpretation by smiling, but he continues reading. At this moment, Nela, the school principal, openly intervenes by adopting the teachers' interpretation of the word, but Victor disregards her intervention. At this moment, another participant whispers to her colleague that people always avoid answering questionnaires honestly, which actually implies that the whole report is based on incorrect information. The contrasting attitude is lexically realized by the choice of adverbials: when considering whether respondents answer questionnaires dishonestly, Victor uses "there are cases", while the teacher uses "always".

In conclusion, this meeting displays very crude power relations; the two inspectors formally soften their criticisms, use inclusive "we" but resort to harsh words – "I accuse you". They appeal to their administrative power. The less powerful in this meeting, the teachers, do not say anything but laugh, expressing their critical attitude. The only person who indirectly criticizes aloud is the school principal, who during this meeting sides with her colleagues, not the inspectors.

Conclusions

The two meetings are both held in the same high school and are both attended by the same participants, the difference being that the second one is also attended by two inspectors from outside the school.

The first meeting, bringing together teachers who have worked together for a long time, indicates that the participants have good working relations. Humour is mainly used by the principal, while the teachers usually react by laughter. They themselves do not trigger any humorous sequences. The principal tries to mitigate her power and promote good relationships with her colleagues as indicated by the joint humorous sequence and her use of self-deprecating humour. All the participants are

critical of students over whom they hold institutional power. There are no appeals to legitimizing power, and the type of power in the meeting is administrative (the principal) and expert (Cornel).

The second meeting includes very few instances of humour. The power holders frequently legitimize their power by resorting to their official position, to institutional rules and regulations, to which they appeal when they criticize the school. The inspectors preface their negative comments with a smile, but their smile does not cause any laughter, and their words and gestures contradict the smile.

The teachers do not verbally attack the two inspectors, the only attacking strategies being laughter and indirect comments. They make private critical remarks so as not to be heard, and they laugh only twice during the meeting, on both occasions as an indirect criticism of Victor's lengthy presentation and his misinterpretation of a word in the report.

The second meeting displays very strong power relations, where the institutional power is observed and re-enforced repeatedly by the two inspectors' discourse. Humour is mainly used by the power holders formally.

Overall, the use of humour is related to the purpose of the meeting, its size, and the relationships between participants. The analysis indicates that administrative power is highly respected, and the relation between humour and power are indicative of organizational culture.

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Appendix

Transcribing Conventions
Intonation:

↓	falling intonation
↑	rising intonation
#	pause
<@>	laughter simultaneous with speaking
<z>	smile simultaneous with speaking
<R>	fast speech rate
<xxx>	unclear text
[...]	words not transcribed
TEXT	emphasis
?	sentence-rising intonation

(The conventions are those used by Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2002).

Constructing Ethnic Identity in Transylvania through Humour

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Abstract. In this paper, I put forward a comparative/contrastive analysis of ethnic identity on the basis of humorous texts about Romanians and Hungarians living in Romania within the framework of the Script-Based Semantic Theory of Humour (SSTH). The corpus contains fifty jokes taken from websites and social media, books and recordings in which the Romanians are at the centre and the Hungarians are the butt and vice versa. The overall purpose of the study is to illustrate the main topics and stereotypes used in ethnic jokes. In this research, I will show that Romanians and Hungarians joke about similar topics, the most common ones being the "ownership" of Transylvania, rejection of the other, and language distortion but also friendship among Hungarians and Romanians. I also conclude that stereotypes can be attributed to one ethnic group, but there are also shared stereotypes, and some of them can switch from one group to the other depending on the perspective.

Keywords: ethnicity, humour, identity, stereotypes, Transylvania

Introduction

In this paper, I aim to analyse jokes about Hungarians and Romanians, focusing on the ethnic relation they share. The main hypothesis is that ethnic jokes are a reflection of social relations national minorities share with the majority population of a country and vice versa. Thus, I am going to identify the main topics the ethnic jokes evoke and the stereotypes included.

The corpus consists of fifty jokes, which were collected mainly from online resources (forty), eight are taken from joke books, and two are recorded jokes collected from a Szeklers' community from Covasna County.

Why jokes about Romanians and Hungarians? This question has a clear-cut answer. First, Hungarians are the most numerous minority, representing 6.5% of the total population of Romania, this proportion being higher in Transylvania.

Second, Popescu (2011), making a quantitative research of ethnic jokes from seven Romanian websites, showed that jokes about two ethnic groups living in Romania – Hungarians and Gipsies – make up the largest category.

The main research questions of this study are: 1. Which are the common topics Romanians and Hungarians joke about? 2. Are these topics based on identical stereotypes about each other?

The study is divided into four main sections. The following section introduces the theoretical framework of the study and the methodology used. Section 3 takes into consideration a topic-oriented division of the analysis, and in Section 4 some concluding remarks are presented.

1. Theoretical framework and methodology

Jokes were considered standard forms of verbal humour, which vary according to subject, description, and length. Verbal humour is defined by Zafiu (2007: 497) as "the intention and/or the capacity to produce statements which can provoke a type of reaction (an emotion/laughter)".[1] Jokes are described as a species of urban folklore (Zafiu 2007).

The study of ethnic humour started with Davies's research in the early 1990s and has become popular around the world. Ethnic jokes are described by Davies (1990: 307) as being "a means by which the joke tellers ascribe human deficiencies to other ethnic groups in an excessive or ludicrous fashion". However, Davies shows that not all jokes are indiscriminate, as I am going to analyse it in Section 3.4.

Davies (1990) considers that ethnic jokes can be divided into several categories based on the stereotype they refer to. The most numerous jokes, which seem to be spread throughout the world, are part of two categories: *canny jokes* and *stupidity jokes*.

In answering the question why people need ethnic jokes, Davies (1990: 307) points out that the generalized answer can be that we "use jokes about peoples as a means of attaining a greater understanding of the joke-tellers, of the butts of their jokes, and of the links between the two groups".

Why are jokes about Hungarians and Romanians *ethnic*? First, these jokes fit into the definition of ethnic jokes, which are a form of humour aiming to point out cultural and behavioural differences, referring to a stereotype of a particular ethnic group on the basis of which the punch line is built. Second, the jokes about Hungarians and Romanians adhere to Raskin's criteria. Raskin (1985) describes an ethnic joke taking into account two criteria: 1. if the ethnic script is removed, the joke is incomprehensible; 2. the target group can only be replaced by another group

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1   The translations from Romanian and Hungarian literature and the translation of the corpus are my own throughout the article.

if this shares the same script. So, ethnic scripts are shared unconsciously and are commonly known before the production of the joke.

As mentioned in the abstract, in this study, I am going to apply the Script-Based Semantic Theory of Humour (SSTH). It was introduced by Raskin in 1979, being published in *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor* in 1985. Even if many saw in this linguistic theory the model proposed by the Incongruity Theory, Raskin himself does not agree. SSTH is applicable especially to short jokes that end up with a punch line, this being the kind of jokes I will analyse.

For a joke to be humorous, it has to fulfil two conditions. Firstly, it has to be compatible, fully or in part, with two semantic scripts, and, secondly, these two scripts should be opposite, overlapping fully or partially.

Hence, scripts that occur in ethnic jokes are two possible contradictory scripts:

> one based on events in the life of real people, the other a wild fantasy based on the comic convention that they possess some unwanted human quality to an absurd degree. The ethnic joke is a misleading tale that begins as a plausible account of a real people and then suddenly switches to an absurd script based on a well-known, established convention. (Davies 1990: 320)

Why analysing jokes about people living in Transylvania? As mentioned previously, Hungarians are the most numerous in this region, living together with Romanians for hundreds of years. Transylvania can be described as "a blurred boundary, an area of ethnic ambiguity far from the dominant centre, whose people provide a ready-made butt for ethnic jokes" (Davies 1990: 313), the dominant centre being the Romanians living in historic Moldova and Țara Românească and the people of Hungary (Davies 1990: 313). Davies seems to consider that the butts of ethnic jokes usually live on "the geographical periphery of the nation" (1990: 310), which is not the case in Romania. Not the geographical distance is the core of ethnic jokes but differences in "language, culture, behaviour, and values, but they are only told and can only be told because of basic similarities between all of them" (Davies 1990: 313).

In this respect, I am going to use the following terminology to describe the *dominant group* and the *peripheral group*. Romanians, when being the joke tellers, are the *central group*; Hungarians, when being the *butts* of the jokes, are the *others*, or the *periphery*. These roles switch when Hungarians become the joke tellers and the Romanians the butts.

I have to conclude with Davies's words: "the butts of the jokes are seen by the joke-tellers as a comic, distorted reflection of themselves, not as alien, unfamiliar, and inscrutable but as ambiguous, eccentric, and thus amusing peoples" (Davies 1990: 314). Therefore, even if there are unconscious similarities, the central group is joking because of small differences that exist between the joke tellers and the butts.

Is humour an act of friendliness or attack in interethnicity? Zafiu (2007) introduces the opposition of inclusive humour (to laugh with someone), which shows the cohesion/the unity, and exclusive humour (to laugh at someone), which transforms the butt into a victim through aggression. Davies shows that people whom we are laughing at, standing geographically or symbolically at the periphery, are "a slightly strange version" of ourselves (Davies 1998: 1). In this case, the central and the peripheral groups can live in hostile, conflictual, peaceful, friendly relations or even indifference. Schwartz (1973), analysing the relationship existing between Americans and Polish people who live in America, considers that ethnic jokes are insults, showing hatred.

Popescu (2011) does the first linguistic analysis of ethnic humour about Hungarians, and, as in Zafiu (2007), her main point is that jokes are a reflex of verbal humour. This is also my presupposition. From her quantitative analysis, having in focus seven joke websites, it results that there are 345 jokes about Scots, 303 about Jews, 297 about Gipsy people, 188 about Hungarians, etc. If I exclude those people who do not live in large numbers in Romania, especially in Transylvania, we understand why I focus here especially on jokes about Hungarians. Jokes about Gipsies will be dealt with in a future research.

Prosan and Tudor (2020 – forthcoming), analysing humorous texts about Hungarians and Romanians on the basis of a sociolinguistic framework, show that stereotypes are criticized by way of jokes. They establish that there are common topics along which Hungarians and Romanians talk about each other in jokes (misuse of language, obsession of territory, offensive attitude, desire to get rid of each other, etc.). Making the distinction of identity between Hungarians and Szeklers, they conclude that Szeklers are an ethnic group which cannot be assimilated either by Hungarians or by Romanians. Even if it is mainly the Romanians who insult Hungarians, holding negative stereotypes, they show that there are jokes that foreground friendship and peaceful relations. In this paper, I propose a comparative, topic-based analysis, moving forward with the ideas presented in the previously mentioned study.

In order to understand the viewpoint in my analysis, I shall explain the difference between Hungarians and Szeklers (Hu. *Székely*, Ro. *Secui*). This name is given to the Transylvanian Hungarians, especially to those who are living in Harghita, Covasna, and part of Mureş counties, the land known as Szeklerland (Hu. *Székelyföld*, Ro. *Ţinutul Secuiesc*). Even if in the census of 2011 there is no distinction between Hungarians and Szeklers, one should know that there is a contrast in traditions, religion, history, culture (folk costumes and even an alphabet), etc. between people living in Hungary and speakers of Hungarian living in Transylvania. What is more, the Hungarian language Szeklers use is full of regionalisms and archaisms. In this paper, there is no difference made between *Szeklers* and *Hungarians*. Drawing on Săftoiu's (2017) analysis on the construction of ethnic categories of *Romani* and

Gipsy, where *Romani* is considered an ethnic group, a category not constructed yet, and *Gipsy* an ethnic category, it appears that the *Szekler* category is not constructed yet in the Romanians' collective mentality. Thus, Romanians call the speakers of Hungarian living in Transylvania *Hungarians.* However, focusing on the jokes told by Hungarians (people who speak Hungarian as a native language and who live in Transylvania), they call themselves *Szeklers.*

In short, the purpose of this paper is to analyse ethnic jokes about Hungarians and Romanians, which illustrate the relationship between these two ethnic groups, focusing on the main topic the jokes are about and the stereotypes included. In order to answer the research questions, I am going to use a pragmatic framework and apply the Script-Based Semantic Theory of Humour (Raskin 1985). An interdisciplinary analysis is needed as well. Therefore, in my analysis, I am going to use phonetics, morphology, syntax, and semantics in order to fulfil the linguistic analysis of ethnic jokes.

2. Main topics identified in ethnic jokes

In the following section, I am going to present the main topics identified in the corpus. Thus, Section 2.1 deals with the history of Transylvania and analyses the stereotypes produced by the desire to demonstrate that Transylvania is one's territory, Section 2.2 discusses the idea of isolation of Romanians and Hungarians, Section 2.3 focuses on language use and language distortion, and Section 2.4 shows that beyond identity crises and the need of ethnic stability friendship exists between Hungarians and Romanians.

2.1. The history of Transylvania – A topic in ethnic jokes

The following section has in focus jokes that are constructed around the interpretation of the ownership of Transylvania. We are going to observe that both the Romanians and the Hungarians want to demonstrate that Transylvania is their territory. In this respect, I must present shortly the main historical events that have had this effect.

In time, there has always been a conflict generated by the wish of demonstrating the ownership of Transylvania. This has had as a result the Romanians' and Hungarians' wish to establish whom this territory belongs to. Transylvania, the historical region located in the heart of Romania, has been dominated by different countries throughout the centuries. First, it was part of Dacia (until 106), then of the Roman Empire and was overrun by tribes. It is said that also Bulgarians ruled here starting from the 9th century. Gelou ruled Transylvania before it became controlled by the Kingdom of Hungary (according to *Gesta Hungarorum*) in 1003. Starting from this point until

1526, Transylvania had the status of voivodeship as part of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1570, Transylvania became Principality of Transylvania. In 1687, Transylvania was attached to the Habsburg Empire; then, after 1867, became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After World War I, the Union was proclaimed, Transylvania becoming part of Romania. During World War II, Transylvania was still a motif of disagreements, but after the end of the war Transylvania became an integral part of Romania.

An exhaustive presentation of the historical facts is not the goal of this study. However, we need to understand where this problem arose to be able to understand why it has generated so many humorous texts over time.

(1)
(Ro.)
Legenda spune că primul om care a apărut în Transilvania a fost un ungur. Şi … după ce a descălecat de pe cal să bea apă, când s-a întors nu a mai găsit calul, ci numai un bilețel, pe care scria: *Mulţam' fain!*
(Eng.)
The legend says that the first man who appeared in Transylvania was Hungarian. And … after he had dismounted from his horse to drink some water, when he came back, he didn't find his horse, just a note which said: *Thanks a lot!*

This joke is one of the most well-known jokes. It occurs in many sources and variants. All of them keep the semantic scripts, the oppositions, and the punch line but differ in form. I have chosen (1) considering that I found it on five websites, in online joke recordings, and I also heard it from people who shared jokes during the construction of the corpus. Another popular variant takes a poetic form, but there is no change in content, except the main character of the joke, who is Attila, a Hungarian ruler, and some semantic-switch triggers, which enrich the joke.

As presented in the methodological part, I am going to use the Script-Based Semantic Theory of Humour. The first step is to divide the joke, identifying the two opposed scripts. I also determine the script switch-triggers and the punch line.

Script A: When Hungarians arrive in Transylvania, their wish is satisfied because they seem to be the first who conquer the territory. Script A: [Transylvania is a Hungarian territory].

Script-switch trigger: first, the meaning of the word *legend* (Cambridge online dictionary: "a very old story or set of stories from ancient times, not always true, that people tell about a famous event or person") and, second, *the disappearance of the horse.*

Script B: Stereotypically, Romanians are presented as thieves. Hence, the horse was taken by the Romanians. As a consequence, Romanians were the first people on the land. Script B: [Transylvania is a Romanian territory].

Punch line: the content of the note (*Thanks a lot!*).

The two scripts are related by the missing horse. The second script evoked by the joke can be decoded on the basis of general knowledge (identifying the stereotype that Romanians are thieves) and also once the punch line is uttered: *Thanks a lot!* (Ro. *Mulțam' fain!*).

The analysis of the punch line needs to be done: instead of a horse, the Hungarian finds a note having on it the following message: *Thanks a lot!* (Ro. *Mulțam' fain!*). The English translation does not reflect the meaning completely. First, this expression shows the satisfaction and gratitude. It is addressed to a Hungarian to thank for a gift or favour done by him, in this case, for the horse and for the opportunity to demonstrate the ownership. *Mulțam' fain!* is the regional variant of *Mulțumesc frumos!*, emphasizing the regional use of Romanian language.

(2)

(Hu.)

Trianonban tárgyalnak az országok további sorsáról a világháború után. A tárgyalás közepén jelentkezik a magyar küldött, hogy szólni kíván. Felszólítják.

– Én csak azt szeretném mondani, hogy mikor mi idejöttünk a Kárpát-medencébe, az éjszaka ellopták a románok a lovainkat.

A többiek nem igazán értik, kérdi az elnök, szeretné-e a magyar, ha a hozzászólását jegyzőkönyvbe vennék.

– Á, nem, nem kell. Csak úgy mondtam...

A tárgyalás folytatódik, megint szólni kíván a magyar:

– Én csak azt szeretném mondani, hogy mikor mi idejöttünk a Kárpát-medencébe, az éjszaka ellopták a románok a lovainkat. Megint kérdik, jegyzőkönyvbe akarja-e vetetni? Mondja:

– Nem kell, csak úgy mondtam... A tárgyalás folytatódik, a magyar megint szólásra kér engedélyt:

– Én csak azt szeretném mondani, hogy mikor mi idejöttünk a Kárpát-medencébe, az éjszaka ellopták a románok a lovainkat. A román küldöttnek már vörös a feje! Üvöltve kifakad:

– De hisz akkor még itt sem voltunk! Mire a magyar:

– Na, ezt vegyék jegyzőkönyvbe...

(Eng.)

At Trianon, it is debated what happens to each country after the War. In the middle of the discussions, the Hungarian who was sent to the negotiation wants to speak.

"I just want to tell you that when we arrived in the Carpathian Basin, the Romanians, during the night, stole our horses."

The others didn't get the idea and the president asks if he wants the words to be recorded.

"Oh, no, there's no need! I just said it with no purpose."

The discussions went on, but the Hungarian wants again to speak:

"I just want to tell you that when we arrived in the Carpathian Basin, the Romanians, during the night, stole our horses."

He is asked again if there is a need to record his intervention.

"Oh, no, there's no need! I just said it with no purpose."

The debate goes on, but the Hungarian again wants to tell them something.

"I just want to tell you that when we arrived in the Carpathian Basin, the Romanians, during the night, stole our horses."

The Romanian delegate blushes and starts shouting:

"We weren't even there then."

The Hungarian:

"Please, do record this!"

The second joke seems to evoke the same story but from a different perspective. After World War I, in order to establish the borders of Hungary and other countries (Austria, Croatia, Romania, etc.), on the 4th of June 1920, the Treaty of Trianon is signed. This event was understood by Hungarians as the most catastrophic moment of their history. The joke shows an interaction that takes place at the moment of negotiation.

Script A: The Hungarian wants to remind the people who are negotiating the status Transylvania is going to have after the war that when they arrived in Transylvania the Romanians were already there and stole their horses. As stereotypically Romanians are thieves, the horses were taken by Romanians. As a consequence, Romanians were the first people on the land. Script A: [Transylvania is a Romanian territory].

Script-switch trigger: no need to record someone's intervention, the Romanian's non-verbal reaction (*blushing*).

Script B: Romanians cannot accept that they are stereotypically considered thieves. Hungarians know that if they recall this event, Romanians will lie. Romanians lie about the fact that they took the horses, and they defend themselves saying that they were not in Transylvania then. Script B: [Transylvania is a Hungarian territory].

Punch line: the Hungarian's words (*Please, do record this!*).

Applying a pragmatic analysis, the joke illustrates that the speaker's communicative intention is not recognized by the hearer(s). The speech event is the moment of signing an important treaty, which has historical relevance and shows what the roles of each nation are from a historical point of view. Deciding whether Transylvania is a Romanian or Hungarian territory is a confirmation of the status this region had before the Great War. The perlocutionary effect of the Hungarian's words (*I just want to tell you that when we arrived in the Carpathian Basin the Romanians, during the night, stole our horses.*) is relevant. What the Hungarian intends via his utterance is to get the Romanian say that Romanians were not in Transylvania at the moment of the conquering. The perlocutionary effect of the

Romanian's words is that he cannot be a thief. The two scripts are related by the stereotype that Romanians are thieves.

Concluding, after the analysis I had, applying SSTH to (1) and (2), this section shows that script opposition remains the same [Transylvania is a Hungarian territory] vs. [Transylvania is a Romanian territory]. The only factor which activates one script or another is from whose perspective the joke is told. The punch line illustrates two possibilities: 1. From a Hungarian perspective, the punch line activates the script [Transylvania is a Hungarian territory]; 2. From a Romanian perspective, the punch line activates the script [Transylvania is a Romanian territory]. The stereotypes held by (1) and (2) remain the same. In both jokes, not depending on the perspective, Romanians are thieves and Hungarians are conquerors.

2.2. The isolation of Hungarians in Romania and of Romanians in Transylvania

The following section presents how Hungarians and Romanians react to the necessity of living together in the same country. I am going to analyse a Hungarian-oriented joke and a Romanian-oriented joke to be able to consider the similarities and the differences.

(3)

(Ro.)

Ajung doi unguri în Bucureşti. Fără nici un ban, foame mare, ce se gândeşte unul:

– Hai să ne despărţim şi să cerşim, iar la sfârşitul zilei ne întâlnim să vedem cât a strâns fiecare...

Zis şi făcut! Se despart ei, pleacă fiecare unde crede de cuviinţă şi, pe înserat, se întâlnesc după cum au stabilit.

– Tu cât ai strâns?

– 10 lei...

– Şi cum ai făcut?

– Am fost într-un parc şi am scris pe un carton: *Nu am serviciu, am 3 copii de crescut, vă rog să mă ajutaţi!* Dar tu cât ai strâns?

– 7.658 de lei.

– Joooj!!! Dar cum ai făcut?

– Am scris pe un carton: *Îmi lipseşte 1 leu să mă întorc în Ungaria.*

(Eng.)

Two Hungarians arrive in Bucharest. They have no money and they are very hungry, so the first one says:

"Let's split up and beg for money and, at the end of the day, we'll meet and we'll see how much each of us will have received."

Said and done! They split up, each of them goes where he thinks is better, and, in the evening, they meet again.

"How much did you get?"

"10 lei..."

"What did you do?"

"I was in a park, and I wrote on a piece of cardboard: *I have no job, I have three kids to raise. Please help me!* How much did you get?"

"7,658 lei."

"Waoooo! But how?"

"I wrote on a cardboard: *I need 1 leu to get back to Hungary.*"

The common knowledge (Lewis 1969) one needs to share before analysing (3) is that Romania is not considered to be a wealthy country. Being an East European, post-communist country is the reason why many people have had money-related problems, 23.5% being considered poor (dates extracted from a research made by the National Institution of Statistics in 2017).

Script A: Two Hungarians, being in Bucharest, have no money, and they need to eat something. They decide to split up and beg for some money. The context is not sufficient to understand what were they doing in Bucharest, but it is irrelevant for the analysis. The first Hungarian is going to collect some money in the traditional way: being part of an underprivileged group (unemployed, with many kids), one asks for help. Script A: [man (ethnicity is not an important factor) who needs money to live in Romania] [little money].

Script-switch trigger: 10 lei vs. 7,658 lei.

Script B: The second Hungarian is begging for money in an untraditional way: asking 1 leu to leave Romania and go back to Hungary. Script B: [Hungarian (ethnicity is an important factor) needs money to leave Romania] [a lot of money].

Punch line: the message written on the cardboard (I need 1 leu to get back to Hungary).

Joke (3) presents an interesting point of view: living in Romania, all people share some common stereotypes in which case ethnicity does not influence the stereotype held by the joke. In many European countries, it is considered that Romanians are beggars. This stereotypic knowledge is transferred to all people living in this country. The joke also has the following script opposition: [Romanians are wealthy] vs. [Hungarians are poor]. This opposition can also be interpreted as [Romanians, even if not wealthy, give everything they have to get rid of Hungarians] vs. [Hungarians know that they are not welcome, so they use Romanians' hate to earn some money].

(4)

(Hu.)

A négernek, a székelynek és a románnak egyszerre születik gyereke. Mindhárman várnak a szülőszoba ajtaja előtt, hogy végre megláthassák a gyereküket. Egyszer csak kilép a szobából a nővérke:

– Uraim, gratulálok, mindhármuk gyereke egészséges. Csak egy baj van, összekevertük őket. Kérem, fáradjanak be, és válasszák ki a sajátjukat.

Erre a székely egyből berohan, és felkapja a néger gyerekét. Mire az:

– Székely! Nem látod, hogy az az én gyerekem? Teljesen olyan, mint én, a bőre színén is látszik.

Mire a székely:

– Lehet hogy a tied, de amíg ki nem derül, melyik a románé, addig ez nálam marad!

(Eng.)

An African, a Szekler, and a Romanian have a baby at the same time. The fathers are waiting in front of the hospital in order to see their kids. The nurse comes:

"Gentlemen, congratulations, all babies are healthy. But there is a problem: we have mixed them up. Come in and try to find your own child."

The Szekler goes in quickly and raises the black child. The African says:

"Szekler! Can't you see that's my child? He's like me, you can see after its skin colour."

The Szekler answers:

"It is possible that it is yours, but until it turns out which one belongs to the Romanian, this one stays with me."

Script A: Three men are waiting outside the hospital to see their babies. The nurse comes with the good news: all babies are healthy. Script A: [ethnic peace].

Script-switch triggers: mixing the babies up; the necessity to find their own babies; raising the black baby.

Script B: The Szekler prefers to take a child that certainly is not his to risking taking home a Romanian child. Script B: [ethnic conflict].

Punch line: the Szekler's words (*It is possible that it is yours, but as long as I do not know which one is the Romanian's, this one stays with me.*)

Joke (4) is based on three-nationality construction, in which one participant has the role of building up the punch line. The joke presents an African, a Romanian, and a Szekler. It is important to see that the joke presents the identity of Szeklers. We need to be aware of the fact that citizens living in central Romania, speaking Hungarian as a native language, use the ethnonym Szeklers. Stereotypically they differ from Hungarians who live in Hungary. The text illustrates the ethnic conflict existing beyond daily life between Szeklers and Romanians. It seems that ethnic hate is an innate characteristic of Szeklers. Taking home the enemy is the worst

a Szekler can do. The balance evoked by Script A is disrupted by the punch line which is constructed around the Szekler's words: *It is possible that it is yours, but until it turns out which one belongs to the Romanian, this one stays with me*. Citing Davies (1998: 1), "[t]he people at the centre are thus laughing at what appears to them to be a slightly strange version of themselves; almost as if they were to see themselves in a distorting mirror at a fair ground", I should emphasize the minimal distinction existing between Szeklers and Romanians. Thus, the punch line represents the difficulty of choosing their own child on the basis of a new concept – *ethnic kinship*.

Script B can be interpreted in two different ways which do not exclude each other: 1. describing the Szekler as a racist (a stereotypic behaviour); 2. describing the Szekler as a fearful person (also a stereotypic behaviour), who cannot risk taking home a Romanian because he can harm the micro-society he is part of.

As the analysis has demonstrated, both (3) and (4) can be reduced to the idea of racism and stereotype describing both ethnic groups: joke (3) proves that Romanians are racist, and they would do everything to get rid of Hungarians, while in (4) Hungarians are racist and prefer to take home a total stranger rather than to risk taking home a Romanian.

2.3. Focus on language use

Hungarians having linguistic problems is another common topic in ethnic jokes. Romanians are often frustrated by Hungarians' indifference towards the national language. Hungarians are trying to gain their right to speak Hungarian in administration in those communities where they are in the majority. They also argue that they do not have an opportunity to speak Romanian in the closed communities they live in, and when they get the chance they are criticized after the first pronounced words. It seems Romanians and Hungarians cannot establish a common ground, and this fact creates many ethnic jokes sharing the idea of incapable Hungarians.

Many jokes illustrate the fact that Hungarians are not able to speak Romanian correctly, criticizing language defects. As an example, six jokes from the corpus, which were collected taking into account the Romanian perspective, indicate the incapacity of Subject agreement with the Verb Phrase and the fact that Hungarians usually mix the gender of nouns. Hence, morphologic and syntactic distortions show that Hungarians are poor speakers of Romanian. Popescu (2011: 188) specifies that language distortion is "an object of ridicule" in jokes about Hungarians, adding also problems at a pragmatic level. Furthermore, phonetic accidents are sources of humour. Besides all these, other jokes present the total incapacity to speak Romanian, as in (5).

(5)

(Ro.)

O maşină încărcată cu 800 de pâini a luat foc în Harghita. Din păcate toată marfa a fost distrusă pentru că şoferul nu ştia să ceară un extinctor în maghiară.

(Eng.)

A car full of 800 loaves of bread caught fire in Harghita. Unfortunately, the whole goods were destroyed because the driver could not ask for an extinguisher in Hungarian.

Script A: A car caught fire. Everything was destroyed. The fire could not be extinguished because the Romanian driver was not able to ask for help. Script A: [the Romanian driver's fault] [Romanian's incapacity].

Script-switch trigger: same as the punch line: *the driver could not ask for an extinguisher*.

Script B: A car caught fire. Everything was destroyed. The fire could not be extinguished because, even though it happened in Romania, nobody spoke Romanian except the driver. Script B: [the others' fault] [Hungarians' incapacity].

Script C: A car caught fire. Everything was destroyed. The fire could not be extinguished because, taking into account that the message could be understood non-linguistically, being context-dependent, the Hungarians did not want to help the driver who was Romanian. Script C: [Hungarian racism].

Punch line: the incapacity to ask for an extinguisher (*the driver could not ask for an extinguisher*).

The irony stands beyond the text and creates a humorous effect: the Romanian has to suffer because of Hungarians. This ironic perspective is visible in all the interpretations the joke can have and in all script oppositions it generates: [capacity] vs. [incapacity], [Romanian's fault] vs. [Hungarians' fault], and [racism] vs. [the impossibility of integration caused by language divergence].

Joke (6) takes us back to Section 2.1 of the study, i.e. the history of Transylvania, although the focus is also on language distortion.

(6)

(Hu.)

Két öreg székely, János és Pista, sétálnak egy erdélyi kisvárosban. Hatalmas utazótáskát cipelő úriember szólítja meg román nyelven Jánost:

– Ne haragudjon, nem tudná megmondani, hogy hol találom a vasútállomást?

– Nem! válaszol félvállról János és továbbsétálnak Pistával.

– De komám – szól Pista – nem kellett volna ennyire rosszindulatúnak lenned, hiszen bizonyosan idegen a városban és nem tudhatja, hol van a vasútállomás!

– Amióta megszülettem, azt hallom tőlük, hogy már 2500 éve itt vannak Erdélyben, mi meg nem, tehát ha ilyen rég itt lakik, kell hogy tudja! – válaszol János.

(Eng.)

Two old Szeklers, János and Pista, are walking in a small Transylvanian town. A gentleman, carrying a big travel bag, says in Romanian to János:

"Sorry, can you tell me where I can find the railway station?"

"No!" answers János carelessly and walks away together with Pista. Pista says:

"My friend, says Pista, you shouldn't have been so malicious. I think he was a stranger, and he couldn't know where the railway station was."

"From the moment I was born, I hear every time that they have been here in Transylvania for 2,500 years, and we haven't. So, if this is so, and he has been living here ever since, he should know that!" answered János.

In opposition with (5), this joke presents two Szeklers who are able to speak Romanian and understand the Speaker's utterance fully. The scripts activated by the joke and their oppositions are presented below:

Script A: Two Szeklers are walking. They meet a Romanian who asks for directions. One of the Szeklers says he cannot help because he does not know where the railway station is.

Script B: Two Szeklers are walking. They meet a Romanian who asks for directions. One of the Szeklers says he is not able to tell him where the railway station is because he cannot speak Romanian, even if he understands/infers the message.

Script C: Two Szeklers are walking. They meet a Romanian who asks for directions. One of the Szeklers says he does not want to tell him where the railway station is. The Romanian knows where it is as he belongs to this territory.

Script D: Two Szeklers are walking. They meet a Romanian who asks for directions. One of the Szeklers says he does not want to tell him where the railway station is because he should know where it is because he belongs to this territory. If he does not know, it is because Romanians lied about the fact that they were in Transylvania before the Szeklers.

Script-which trigger: János's non-verbal reaction (*answers János carelessly and walks away together with Pista*), Pista's words (*My friend, you shouldn't have been so malicious. I think it was a stranger and he couldn't know where the railway station was.*).

Script oppositions: [the wish to tell the stranger where to go] vs. [the refusal to tell the stranger where to go], [capability] vs. [incapability], and [native] vs. [stranger].

Punch line: János's last utterances (*From the moment I was born, I hear every time that they have been here in Transylvania for 2500 years, and we haven't been. If this is so, and he has been living here since then, he should know that!*).

I should also present a difference in attitude in the central–peripheral relation. Szeklers appear as butts in jokes that Romanians and Hungarians tell. When Romanians are the central group, the butt of every joke is a Hungarian (never a Szekler, no difference in the groups' name). On the other hand, when Hungarians

(people living in Hungary) are the central group and Szeklers are the butt of jokes, the peripheral Szeklers are seen either in a very similar way the Romanians present them (ironic, bitter, frustrated, presenting language distortion), or, more often, they are considered Romanians. Therefore, in Romania, Szeklers are called Hungarians, whereas in Hungary Szeklers are often considered Romanians or at least foreigners. The Szeklers' identity is lost in this bipolar view. A comparative research can answer the questions related to how Szeklers are more similar to Hungarians or Romanians, finding common stereotypes.

There is also another category of *language* jokes: Romanians learning Hungarian. The one presented below (7) demonstrates that in Transylvania some Romanians learn Hungarian, especially where they are the peripheral group due to population number, being considered the minority.

(7)

(Hu.)

Ez is Széken történt meg. Volt egy nagygazda háztáj. Oda sok szegény asszony bejárt ezt segíteni, azt segíteni, s élelmet is kapott érte. Valamit. Ehhez a nagygazda-családhoz járt egy jóízű, öregrendű, román asszony is. Nem elég tisztán tudott magyarul, de azért olyan bizalmas barátságba volt a román a magyarral, mert megsegítették egymást. Egyszer nagy szomorún megy Maria néni ehhez a családhoz, sír. Azt mondja a háziasszony:

– Na, Maria, hát mi baj?

– Jaj, jaj, Zsuzsi néni lelkem. Nagy baj van!

– Hát mi?

– Meghótt a koca, şi [és] megdöglett az édesanyám!

(Eng.)

This also happened in Szék. There was a big house owned by a rich man. There were always some poor women going to help in exchange for food. Or at least something. An old-fashioned fine Romanian woman used to work here. She didn't speak Hungarian too well, but Romanians and Hungarians were in good and strong relations, and they helped each other. Once, Maria went to this family, being very sad. She cried. The lady said:

"Well, Maria, what's the matter?"

"Aah, Zsuzsi, my dear. There's a big problem!"

"What's that?"

"The sow passed away, and my mom kicked the bucket."

Script A: Rich Hungarians help poor Romanians. The Romanian woman is friend with the Hungarian lady. They have a strong, confidence-based relationship. They communicate via the Hungarian language. The Romanian woman knows Hungarian. Script A: [Romanian speaks Hungarian].

Script-switch trigger: The Romanian woman speaks Hungarian, but not too well (*She didn't speak Hungarian too well*).

Script B: Rich Hungarians help poor Romanians. The Romanian woman is friend with the Hungarian lady. They have a strong, confidence-based relationship. They communicate via the Hungarian language. The Romanian woman does not know Hungarian very well, so she makes mistakes: the semantic confusion between *meghótt* [+animate] [+human] and *megdöglett* [+animate] [-human] and the semantic switch. Script B: [the Romanian does not speak Hungarian correctly].

The joke illustrates that people living at the periphery (i.e. Romanians) learn the language of the central group (i.e. Hungarians). Their ability of speaking correctly is questioned. Previously, I have mentioned Popescu's (2011) analysis, which shows that language distortion is a manifestation of the language knowledge Hungarians have. Comparing with joke (7), as also discussed by Davies (1990), I consider that this semantic script is applicable to every peripheral group which speaks the language of the central group.

Focusing on the punch line, apart from the semantic switch mentioned above, one has to identify the regional tendencies. The Romanian woman uses the same regional words the Szeklers use. One can recognize the regional forms *meghótt* and *megdöglett* in opposition to the correct forms *meghalt* and *megdöglött*. At the same time, the insertion of the Romanian conjunction *şi* instead of the equivalent Hungarian *és* should be considered.

To sum up, joke (5) shows the dramatic effect the Hungarians' stupidity can have; the joke concludes that Hungarians cannot speak Romanian. Joke (6) reinforces the historical problem, illustrating at the same time that Hungarians are capable of speaking Romanian, while joke (7) introduces a new perspective: friendliness, suggesting that in Transylvania it is possible that Romanians learn Hungarian and that they make the same mistakes as non-native speakers of the language.

Stereotypically, Hungarians are the stupid ones who cannot learn the national language, while Romanians are those who criticize every linguistic mistake a Hungarian makes.

The stereotypes switch when the relation between groups is inverted. When Hungarians are the central group, they speak Romanian, while the butts (the Romanians) speak Hungarian with the same type of semantic, morphologic, and syntactic mistakes as Hungarians when they are the peripheral group.

2.4. Friendship among Romanians and Hungarians

In the final subsection, I present the belief that Romanians and Hungarians can live in peace and have a friendly relationship. As this has already been shown in joke (7), Romanians living in Transylvania, known as *ardeleni*, in the same community with Szeklers, tend to develop a relation based on companionship, even friendship.

(8)

(Ro.)

La aniversarea a douăzeci de ani de căsătorie, un ungur cheamă la el o familie de prieteni români. La începutul mesei, gazda ține un toast, încercând să vorbească românește cât mai corect:

– Aş vre se molțomesc lui Dumnezeu pentru cei doizeci ani petrecoți alături de soția me...

– Alături de soția mea, îl corectează prietenul român.

– Alături de soția te numai de patru ani.

(Eng.)

At the twenty years marriage anniversary, a Hungarian invites a Romanian family who are his friends. At the beginning of the dinner, the host makes a toast, trying to speak correctly:

"I want to thank God for the twenty years spent next to me wife."

"Next to my wife," the Romanian friend corrects him.

"Next to your wife just four."

Script A: The Hungarian man is in a very good relationship with the Romanian family. The Hungarian makes a toast. The Hungarian's accuracy is not good enough. The Romanian man corrects him. Script A: [friend] [friendship] [Romanian-Hungarian friendship].

Script-switch trigger: the good relation between the Hungarian man and the Romanian family; the use of the possessive *my*.

Script B: The Hungarian man is in a very good relationship with the Romanian family. The Hungarian makes a toast. The Hungarian's accuracy is not good enough. The Romanian man corrects him. The Hungarian does not infer the Romanian's utterance. Thus, the Hungarian exposes his relationship with the Romanian woman. Script B: [lover] [adultery] [Romanian-Hungarian love].

The kindness existing between the two ethnic groups goes further. The friendship becomes adultery and friends become lovers. Therefore, the Romanian-Hungarian relationship can be governed by hate, friendship, and love, switching from one to another. Hence, ethnicity is not a relevant factor in the decision taken to answer the following question: What kinds of relationships exist between Romanians and Hungarians?

(9)

(Hu.)

Egy román ember egy székelynek:

– Figyu, van pálinkám! 38 fokos!

Mire a székely:

– Lázad van öreg, nem pálinkád!

(Eng.)
A Romanian tells a Szekler:
"Hey! I have pálinka! It has 38 degrees!"
The Szekler answers:
"You have fever, not pálinka!"

Script A: The Romanian has pálinka and tells the Szekler that it has 38 degrees. [acclaim].

Script B: The Romanian has pálinka and invites the Szekler and tells him that it has 38 degrees.

Script-switch trigger: same with the punch line (*You have fever, not pálinka*) [invitation]

Script C: The Romanian has pálinka and invites the Szekler and tells him that it has 38 degrees. The Szekler criticizes him. [criticism] [refusal].

We can infer that the pálinka is not as strong as it should be. Compared to the Romanian *țuică*, which is not as strong, pálinka should have at least fifty degrees.

Punch line: the Szekler's answer (*You have fever, not pálinka!*).

If we take the figurative meaning, the joke can also oppose the following two scripts: [strong] vs. [weak]. These can denote the people's body structure and mental capacity.

Watching the stereotypes jokes hold, we see that in this respect both Romanians (see Romanian woman) and Hungarians (see Hungarian man) can be lovers. Also, both Romanians and Hungarians love drinking alcoholic beverages, as we have already seen in jokes (8) and (9). This alcoholic dependence is demonstrated by the words *toast*, *pálinka, and degrees* (strength).

By way of conclusion, existing relations between people living on the same territory appears to be slightly different from the perspective the dominant group presents (Romanians living in other parts of Romania, except Transylvania). If Romanians share social lives with Hungarians, they could live in harmony, relations being characterized by immoral love, friendship but first of all neighbourhood.

Concluding remarks

In this paper, I put forward an analysis on the basis of Raskin's (1985) Script-Based Semantic Theory of Humour, which aimed to identify the common topics Romanians and Hungarians joke about. Jokes were found on websites, books, and recordings. The results show that jokes refer to one of the following topics: 1. history/ownership of Transylvania, 2. the isolation of Hungarians/Szeklers in Romania by the Romanian central group and of Romanians in Transylvania by the Szekler central group, 3. language distortion Hungarians/Szeklers show when speaking Romanians and Romanians create when they speak Hungarian, and 4. friendship and shared

lives in Transylvania. I have divided Section 2 into four subsections, which have this thematic organization.

Within the subsections presented above, I compared jokes told by Romanians as the central group about Hungarians, the peripheral group, and jokes told by Szeklers/ Hungarians as the central group about Romanians as the butts. I argued that some jokes present the same main topic, but the focus depends on the perspective (2.1). I also analysed some jokes that present the theme of isolation, which appears in different contexts, the rejection of the other being the most important factor (2.2). Section 2.3 focused on language use and language distortion and the ability of speaking Romanian by Hungarians and Hungarian by Romanians.

The last subsection offers an interesting perspective on collaboration and friendship among Romanians and Hungarians; these appear in strong relation with adultery and drinking alcoholic beverages.

In many jokes, stereotypes are stable. Romanians are thieves and Hungarians/ Szeklers are conquerors, not depending from whose perspective the joke is told (see (1) and (2)). Sometimes the stereotypes switch, determined by the perspective the joke illustrates: Hungarians/Szeklers cannot speak Romanian (5) vs. Hungarians/ Szeklers can speak Romanian (6). There are also some common stereotypes: the Hungarian/Szekler and Romanian racist (see (3) and (4)); the Hungarian/Szekler and Romanian lover (8); the Hungarian/Szekler and Romanian alcohol dependent (9).

The paper has also showed how ethnic identity is perceived by the ethnic groups – Romanians and Hungarians, focusing on self and other, on the centre and on the periphery.

Even if it is a sensitive topic, I consider it as a welcomed first step in the domain which should be improved. Further analysis should be done by reorganizing or reanalysing the corpus. This process can enlarge and enrich the findings.

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Book Review

Erika-Mária Tódor et al. (eds) *Alkalmazott nyelvészeti szótár*

(A két- és többnyelvűség alapfogalmai) / Dicționar de lingvistică aplicată (Conceptele fundamentale ale bi- şi multilingvismului) / Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (Basic Concepts of Bi- and Multilingualism)
Presa Universitară Clujeană / Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó / Cluj University Press, 2019

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The need for an unequivocal linguistic terminology has been observed since the early 1920s. At that time, several linguists faced difficulties in drafting their work, either making lexicographic tools (see Ştefănoaia 2015) or designing new theoretical frameworks. As the French linguist of the time, Henri Frei, pointed it out in the introductory note of his *La grammaire des fautes* [The Grammar of Mistakes] ([1929] 2007), "linguistic terminology is in full anarchy in all countries" (Frei 2007: 9). Since then, not only terminology has enriched in number, alongside the emergence of new scientific fields and linguistic schools, but old terminology has been reassigned as different research domains have come to blend on the interface of interdisciplinarity. Nowadays, linguistic terminology is probably as heterogeneous as never before. This lack of unity has resulted in a great deal of uncertainty in using specific terms, confusing uninitiated readers, and occasionally making even specialists difficult to understand each other.[1]

Given this circumstance, the trilingual dictionary of applied linguistics we are reviewing particularly comes in handy when one is engaged in finding certain interlingual consistency. The volume in question aims not only at satisfying the

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1   On the "calibration" of terms and the principles and conventions to be respected in the comparative (and contrastive) endeavour of "terminological calibration", see Swiggers 2010.

need for a clear definition of the terminology included within but also at reaching a common sense of the selected concepts by harmonizing the meanings adopted in different languages (see "Introductory note", p. 13). Such an endeavour is quite laborious since the culture-specific connotations attached to the semantic sphere of the concepts in question make it rather difficult to find terminological equivalents. On the other hand, mismatches may also occur due to the diversity of linguistic theories which have coined the respective terms since they may have been developed within a particular theoretical framework, not entirely shared in all of the languages. Then again, certain terms may have a reduced use in a given language or they may not be in use at all. Such interlingual differences may pose serious problems to any researcher trying to disentangle the array of linguistic theories and its related terminology and to find correspondences.

This latter goal is fulfilled by the present dictionary, designed by a small research group of six scholars (Krisztina Bartha, Attila Benő, Zsuzsanna Dégi, Sára Magyari, Enikő Tankó, and Erika-Mária Tódor), who carried out their project with the financial support of the Scientific Research Department of Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca. The glossary of scientific terms focuses on understanding bi- and multilingualism from the perspective of (applied) linguistics and language pedagogy. As suggested in its subtitle, it covers the basic concepts related to the aforementioned research fields, offering an overview of the most significant and frequently used terms. Thus, the selective book of terminology proves to be a useful tool for both active researchers of the field and the (still) unspecialized reader.

The terms and concepts discussed in the present dictionary circumscribe issues pertaining to the vast domains of second language acquisition (including concepts such as *mother tongue* vs. *second language* or *non-native language*; *critical period*, *threshold hypothesis*, *silent period*, etc.), bilingualism and its linguistic reflexes (covering notions such as *diglossia*, *linguistic interference*, *lexical calque*, *loan word*, *loanblend*, *loanshift*, *code-mixing*, *code-switching*, etc.), certain broader psycholinguistic phenomena (such as *language acquisition device*, *speech comprehension*, *speech perception*, *phonological awareness*, *conceptualization*, etc.), and sociolinguistic issues dealing with, e.g., language policy (clarifying concepts such as *linguistic landscape* or *schoolscape*), among others. The volume encompasses 48 terms and concepts altogether, ranging from the relatively simple ones, such as *false friends* or *register*, to the most complex of concepts such as *basis of articulation* (or *articulatory setting*) or the *linguistic image of the world*.

The volume offers a trilingual description of each term and concept included. These definitions are based on an extensive study of the relevant and up-to-date scientific literature. Each entry is structured into three main parts. The term itself is followed by its general explanation. The theoretical overview of the notions is then followed by a list of the references used to explain each particular concept. After

the employed literature, there comes a separate section of suggestions for further reading on the given topic (term and concept). Each term and concept is discussed first in Hungarian, followed next by its Romanian and, finally, by its English version. So, the alphabetical order in which the terms are enlisted follows the initial letters of the Hungarian terms. In order to facilitate the use of the dictionary and to easily find any particular term one might be interested in, at the end of the volume there is a list of content words with the indication of the pages they can be found on. This makes the search more efficient and less troublesome for the reader to pinpoint a given term whether in Hungarian, Romanian, or English.

When assessing the value of polyglot dictionaries – otherwise very cultivated, especially since the first half of the 20th century, yet quite neglected in lexicographical analysis –, the most likely considered benchmarks to evaluate its worth would involve criteria such as: the selection of terms and concepts, their descriptive approach, organizing the corpus, the languages engaged, and perhaps the manner of indexing (Bursuc 2015: 176; see also Pricop 2017: 518). On the macro-structural level, any specialized dictionary might grasp the attention by the selection of the vocabulary included as well as by its disposition. In this respect, one of the strengths of the reviewed volume is that it provides a stimulating selection of the most commonly used, yet problematic, terms and concepts of applied linguistics, embracing a wide range of scientific domains. Thus, the book is notable for its real practical use as it gives a brief but in-depth account of the basic concepts of bi- and multilingualism, summarizing the most recent and relevant literature on each and every word entry. By displaying the material in sequence, the explanations in the three languages following one after the other, users may immediately set the different denominations side by side. On the micro-structural level, a closer look might be given to the word entries themselves. The explanations given for each term and concept provide a quick way to get acquainted not only with the notion itself but also with the views of different experts of the field. The definitions themselves mainly follow the analytical or Aristotelian definitional format, which has a long tradition in lexicographical works (see Adamska-Salaciak 2015: 324), probably due to its efficiency. Thus, the intensional definitions usually start with specifying the *genus proximum* of the term (i.e. the scientific field(s) the given term belongs to), followed by its *differentiae specificae* (i.e. those characteristics which discriminate the term and concept).[2] In addition, many valuable references are given as to where the concepts are discussed at greater length.

Overall, the dictionary succeeds in achieving its twofold aim, stated in its "Introductory note" – namely, it provides readers "with comprehensive explanations

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2   Here is just one example. Under the entry *silent period*, for instance, we find the following explanation: "Term related to the domain of L1 and L2 acquisition [...] It refers to the early stages of second language acquisition (SLA) during which learners produce no language at all or the most minimal language [...]" (p. 185).

that allow them to use the given terms correctly", and it also offers "reliable and motivating starting points for those who wish to deal with such questions" (p. 14). The volume presented in this review stands out as a unique piece of work not only due to its trilingual nature, making the corpus available in Hungarian, Romanian, and English (a somewhat less common language combination), but also due to the clarity, conciseness, and precision of the notional definitions while enriching the line of dictionaries of linguistic terms.

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