JOKES IN IRAQ: A STUDY OF COHERENCE AND COHESION

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Abstract

Jokes are text types by their own right and studying them is one of the preoccupations of text linguistics (or discourse analysis). The study collects some criteria to be used for analyzing jokes. These criteria are arrived at through open and closed questionnaires distributed to a jury consisting of some staff members specialized in English language, Arabic language and psychology in addition to the literature available on discourse analysis. Then, some sixteen jokes spread and told by some jokers in the south part of Iraq are collected to constitute the data of the study. Some stereotyped jokes are excluded from the data.

After constructing the model, the jokes were analyzed in terms of their cohesion and coherence. The study ends with the idea that the model is found to be suitable and adequate for this analysis, and that there are many types of jokes in Iraq including Khaliiji, stereotypical, animal, Egyptian, etc. jokes. It is also proved that cohesion is not a prerequisite for maintaining a joke. If it is not accompanied with coherence, a joke cannot be accepted. The coherence of the joke in Iraq is brought by establishing some associations between the joke and the real world created by the audience, these associations range from main to secondary associations.

ملخص

تعد النكتة (الدعابة) نصا وتعتبر دراستها من مهام علم لغة النص، ولهذا فان هذه الدراسة تقع في هذا المضمار حيث تم تجميع مقياس معين لتحليل النكات في العراق عن طريق استبيانين مفتوح ومغلق قدما إلى هيئة محلفين من اساتذة الجامعات العراقية وفي التخصصات المختلفة ومنها اللغة العربية و اللغة الإنكليزية وعلم النفس، وبالإضافة إلى ذلك شأن أدبيات علم لغة النص قد أخذت بعين الاعتبار وبعد ذلك تم جمع ست عشرة نكتة منتشرة في جنوب العراق لتكون بيانات الدراسة، وقد تم استثناء بعض النكات حول بعض الشخصيات ذات الطابع النمطي من هذه البيانات.

وبعد إيجاد المقياس الذي تم فحص محتواه، بدأت عملية تحليل وفحص هذه البيانات من خلال تماسكها Cohesion و ترابطها المنطقي Coherence, وقد انتهت هذه الدراسة إلى القول بان المقياس كان مناسبا لتحليل هذه النصوص وان هنالك أنواع مختلفة من النكات في الشارع العراقي جنوب العراق ومنها نكات الحيوانات والنكات النمطية والنكات الخليجية والنكات المصرية وما إلى ذلك، كما تم إثبات بان التماسك ليس شرطا أساسيا لحصول الترابط المنطقي، فإذا لم يكن التماسك مدعوما بالترابط المنطقي فان النكلة لا تقبل من قبل المستمع، ولذلك فان قبول الدعابة يكون عن طريق خلق ترابط بين الدعابة والعالم الخارجي وهذا الترابط يخلقه المستمع.

1. Introduction

Text and discourse apply equally to speech and writing in spite of some tendency to associate text with writing and discourse with speech. In fact, though writing and speech may differ in many ways, they share the same structure. Nevertheless, some differentiation in terminology persists: text can be seen as composed of sentences having some kind of formal relationship since it is related to form and the precise ways of joining, linking and sequencing sentences is clear in writing, and discourse is related to form (context or use) (Cf. Brown and Yule, 1983: 57; Taylor, 1995: 10; and Yule, 1998: 139). Accordingly, discourse analysts study the way sentences in spoken language form large meaningful units (i.e., paragraph, conversation), and the choice of articles, pronouns in discourse structure and the moves (being a unit in discourse which may be smaller than an utterance, Coulthard, 1985:45) speakers make to introduce a topic or change to a new one (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985:84).

Discourse (or text) can be of different types (narrative, descriptive, and argumentative) and vary in length ranging from a whole book to a single clause or more. This is the way the term is used in this paper. The text (or discourse) type generally depends on the speaker's and listener's personalities, their relationship, the message conveyed, the mode (spoken or written), tenor (formal or informal) and field (subject matter) (Crystal and Davy, 1969:194).

Jokes are texts, which have their own ways of structure and narration. They have been studied psychologically, structurally and politically as a discipline by themselves. Psychologically, the joke or humor expresses a cognitive development and treats the unfamiliar as familiar. This is correlated with Piaget's (McGhee, 1971) use of 'play', which is an assimilation process in which the old knowledge is applied to the new one. Accordingly, the individual changes to a less restrained childish individual through his maneuvering from the serious and from mature thinking.

To Freud (1966: 23), by telling a joke, the joker expresses an internal repressed behavior, and the joke helps him/her to lift this repression by pleasing. It also generates a relief inside the joker's self. The joke's structure expresses incongruence (when two or more incongruent parts are juxtaposed and humor is the outcome of discovering an explanation) and paradox (in which the figure and ground move from conflict to resolution of that conflict).

The joke has also been studied as text having some features of textness (like coherence and cohesion). The sociopsychological features and the functions they achieve have also been studied in relation to the coherence of a joke. Accordingly, coherence is brought by the language user and it is an inter and intratext feature. It exists by the link between the text and the outside world. It lies in the user's mind. In fact, the relationship between coherence and cohesion is not clear-cut because the cohesion of the text does not all the time bring its coherence and in turn, the text's coherence can be achieved without its

cohesion. Cohesion, which is an important feature of textuality, depends on some linguistic ties (or resources) to achieve the texture of a text whereas coherence is less articulate and less definite since it depends on the world knowledge, which varies from one country to another, from one town to another and from one individual to another (idiocults) (See: Carrel, 1982; and Van Dijk, 1985; among others). Jokes can also maintain coherence through fulfilling certain conversational strategies realized in surface structure. Maintaining world knowledge along with the surface of the joke and a realization of the use of cohesive ties, thus, bring texture. Thus, cohesion and coherence bring texture.

2. Aims and Hypotheses

This study aims at:

1. Building a model by the aid of which jokes, as a text type, can be analyzed and interpreted. This model in constructed from different authors. In the literature, authors refer to many text features, which characterize jokes, but no unified model exists to analyze jokes. According to the proposed model, jokes are characterized of a number of features, which create their coherence, cohesion and acceptability.

2. Analyzing the coherence and cohesion of some Iraqi Jokes constituting the

data of the study, using the model amalgmatized in this study.

It is hypothesized that:

A. Jokes result from coherence.

- B. There are many types of jokes in Iraq.
- Methodology
- 3.1. Procedures

To achieve the aims, the following procedures are adopted:

1. Constructing two questionnaires (open and closed) to construct a model for analyzing jokes. An open questionnaire was first distributed by to a jury. Then, a closed one was constructed from the literature review along with the results of the open questionnaire. The authors' works from which the closed questionnaire is constructed are listed below according to similarity and importance:

1. Chomsky's (1957) and (1965) grammaticality and acceptability.

2. Grice's (1975) the cooperative principle of quality, quantity, manner and relation.

3. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesion and Winter's (1977) Vocabulary (3)

4. Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) seven standards of textuality, Brown and Jule's (1983) computing the communicative function, using sociocultural knowledge and determining the inferences and Widdowson's (1987) world knowledge and textual configurations.

5.Smith's (1982) the communicative contract, and Levinson's (1983)

conversational implicature.

6. Longacre's (1983) the role of the composer, and Nida's (1990) impact and appeal of jokes.

7. Ferrara's (1985) macro-level, Sherzer's (1985) punch line, and Ozvurek and

Trabasso's (1997) evaluation during the understanding of narratives.

In responding to the twenty nine points of the closed questionnaire, the jury deletes twelve features for redundancy and for not reaching 85% of the responses and the other features are approved of as being valid (both face and construct validity).

- 2. Collecting the data of the study, which comprises sixteen jokes heard in the Iraqi streets and situations. Same jokers report such jokes. The data is then abstracted to exclude all the irrelevant data. The length of jokes ranges from five to forty four words. The data is then transcribed and translated.
- 3. Carrying out the analysis process of some jokes in Iraq.

3.2.The Model

After carrying out the two questionnaires, the model constructed for analyzing jokes in Iraq consists of seventeen features. Jokes are characterized by:

-] .		
1.Text-brevity	2.Ambiguity	3. Politeness
4. Indirctness	5. Cohesion	6. Grammaticality
7. Realism	8. Lexical relations	9.Narration
10. Prosodic features	11. Intentionality	12. Situationality
13. Informativity	14. Intertextuality	15.Acceptability
16.Coherence	17. Conversational in	nplicature

4. Data Analysis

Iraq is a country in which many jokes are widely spread and are reacted to and encountered in the Iraqi streets. They can be classified into different types: Iraqi jokes, Egyptian, animal jokes, stereotype jokes, social, economic, etc.

Joke 1, as clear, is grammatical and cohesive, but word play (or homonymy) makes the joke acceptable (this also exits in 2 and 3):

1. /waHid ummah bia a wsilagha/: 'one's mother is (white) an egg and he boiled it'.

This joke follows the following grammatical structure in IA:

$$NP + NP + Pro + Con. + V + Obj.$$

 NS VS

Some cohesive ties do exist in 1 so that the joke is cohesive. /h/: 'his' and /ha/: 'it' are references (grammatical cohesion), /w/: 'and' is a Con. (Grammatical cohesion), /waHid/: 'one' (ellipsis of /akuu/: 'there is ': grammatical cohesion). In addition, the joke exists because of homonymy: /bia a/, which either means 'white' or 'egg' in IA. The literal meaning of the joke implies that one's mother is white, then the listener is shocked by introducing 'and he boiled it', which is associated with 'egg'. The first part rests on the first meaning, and the butt depends on the paradox between the first and the second meanings of the word. Many jokes in Iraq are thus based on such lexical relations and word play. Thus, cohesion and lexical relations create coherence.

The joke, as a text type, is structured in terms of goals where each element achieves a micro-goal (micro-level) through contributing to the macro-level.

(Ferrara, 1985: 108). The micro-level can be expressed by the use of some registeral features through word play, lexical relations (synonym. antonymy, hyponymy, homophony, homonmymy, etc.), ironical expressions, brevity of text (by ellipsis and text condenseness), ambiguity, prosodic features of stress and intonation characteristic of jokes and indirectness of message. The joke's micro-level is tied to its macro-level. This implies that the joke is structured from the least opaque (the joke's scene and climax) to the most opaque (the climax unfolder) or from the said (micro-level) to the unsaid (which should be filled by the audience's background knowledge of the world, which brings the cohesion of the joke (Attardo, 1994 and 1997, and Chiaro, 1992). As such, jokes consist of sentences and clauses, and employ certain selection and arrangement at all levels (phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic) at the micro-level and by other strategic, psychological, socio-cultural and communicative strategies at the macro-level.

Surviving the data of the jokes in Iraq indicates that they are structured into the joke scene, climax and climax unfolder (called punch line by Sherzer, 1985). The joke scene in Iraq starts with one of the following: /waaHid/: 'one', /akuu/: 'there is', /akuwaaHid/: 'there is one', or /akufadwaaHid/: 'there is one' (a variant spoken in Baghdad). This is clear in the data particularly jokes 2,

3, 4, etc. In Joke 2, for instance:

2. 'An official has been promoted /raffa9oo(h)/ and then he was cut /wingiTa9/ 'homonymy creates the joke: /raffa9oo(h)/ means either 'has been promoted 'or 'has been made thinner'. That is why, when he was promoted /raffa9oo(h)/, 'he was made thinner', he was cut'. In addition, joke 2 includes some cohesive ties include /waaHid/: 'one' and /raffa9oo(h)/ (reference), /w/: 'and' (Con.), and /raffa9oo(h) WingiTa9/ (collocation). Moreover, the jokes representing the data in this study are brief since there is an employment of

ellipsis and condenseness of message. The same is true of joke 3 because /jTiggilhuwa/: 'to hit the air '(which is impossible) /gabulmaj Tiggah /: 'before it hits him' (to get flu). Here, the employment of colloquialism is clear and upon which the joke depends where /jTiggilhuwa/ and /gabulmaj Tiggah /: 'to hit the air 'in order not to be hit by the air' (to get flu) creates the butt of the joke:

3. 'Someone entered the bathroom with a stick in his hand to hit the air with

//Tiggilhuwa/ before it hits him (he gets flu) /gabulmaj Tiggah /:

That is why, coherence is brought in jokes 1, 2 and 3 by cohesion and the use of lexical relations. In joke 2, world knowledge plays a role in filling a gap in that the listener's knowledge equips him to know that officials run in a series of long—timed promotions. Thus, coherence is brought and hence the appeal such a joke makes to the audience.

In addition to what is said, world knowledge, upon which coherence is based, gives birth to culture-specific knowledge of *stereotypes* whose implicatures are mixed with the expression making it communicative to the

audience who are aware of that culture otherwise the joke would not be communicative and acceptable (Smith, 1982: 53).

In Joke 4,

4. 'A Sa9iidi was told about someone who was buried /difnoo(h)/ after having a car accident. The Sa9iidi said and he died /wmaat!/'

The audience have to know, as part of the world knowledge, that *Sa9iidis* are Egyptian people who are characterized of being slow-minded. This knowledge equips them to correctly draw some lower associations and then to associate between the Sa9iidis' slow mindedness and their inability to understand that the buried person in dead. Thus, the audience respond to joke 4 by humor and laughter (the joke appeals to the audience). Likewise, stereotypes work out in joke 5. The recipients know that Egyptians eat and sell beans, and here comes the butt of the joke.

5. Somebody went to the moon and there he found an Egyptian /maSrii/ selling beans /jbii9 fuul/'.

The recipient juxtaposes the cohesive elements of the joke (*ellipsis /(akuu)waHid/ and collocation /maSrii ... fuull/*) with the stereotyped picture of some Egyptians who all the time sell and/or eat beans. Thus, coherence is brought by making associations. Here, the joke also works on a *presupposition*, which hypothesizes that the audience know this fact about Egyptians (Yule, 1998: 131-2).

The second part of the joke, the climax, is generally the last word but one particularly in short jokes (those consisting of 4-6 words). It is characterized by its being the tonic syllable since it carries the tone and tonic stress, and it makes the end of the tonic unit; the climax unfolder constitutes another tonic unit. It is often accompanied by the rise-fall tone. In jokes 1 & 2, the words / bia a(h)/: white 'or 'egg', /raffa9oo/: 'has been promoted' or 'has been made thinner 'represent the climax of the jokes.

In 2, 3 and 4, the climax is said with rising tone and is followed by a falling tone on the climax unfolder, which is the last part (word or phrase) in the joke. The climax unfolder is the most prominent part as it resolves and ends the joke. /Wsilagha /, : 'and he boiled her or it ', a /, /wingiTa9/: ' and he was cut' / gabulmaj Tigga(h)/ 'before it is hit by the air', and he said and he died?! are the climax unfolders in the above examples.

Moreover, the joke, as a communication type, rests upon three parts: the *joker*, *joke* and *audience*. The joker should have certain features. S/he should be humorous and keen in knowing the way to tell a joke, in what situation and to whom. His/ her presentation should be that suitable way of telling a joke, which is narrative by nature. The joker should also be in access to the type of audience he is addressing, and the situation should be that of merriment to relieve somebody.

The acceptability factor is related to the speaker's intuition regarding the linguistic data and it is this intuition, which decides whether an utterance is

acceptable or not. Everything depends on the presentation and character of the joker, the stress on the climax, its unfolder and the audience, and the situation in which it is said (Haegeman, 1992: 7-8).

Jokes are generally narrative by nature and exposition in that they have participants, and points of time, events and place. The narrative order in which all jokes appear is important psychologically for the neutral and observational part of the joker particularly in ethnic, stereotypical and political jokes (Longacre, 1983: 25). Jokes can tell a story in a few words and they follow dramatic ways by posing rhetorical questions. In addition, though the joker might relieve himself, abridge his congruence, or express a certain attitude (be it social, psychological or political), his attitude is neutral and his main job is to my his best to make people laugh or take a message:

6.' One is putting an aerial upon his head. Why? to make up his mind:

/HattajSaffi nijta/.

In Joke 6, the 'aerial' is generally used to stabilize the TV set and not to stabilize one's mind. /jSaffi/ by areals is made for TVs and not for decisions. In addition to cohesion, the text is coherent through the use of colloquialism and collocation /jSaffittilfizjoon/ and /jSaffinijta/ .

Everything depends on the impact and appeal the joke creates in the audience (Nida, 1990: 45). The audience sometimes, as in joke 6, participate in the joke by repeating the word /lia /: 'why 'or /jaahuu/: 'who' after the joke scene and climax, or by predicting that reason. This is done to make the

audience participate.

In joke 7, the acceptability of the joke depends on the audience's professional knowledge:

7. 'Do you become thin / a9iifan/ or thin compressor '.

The 'compressor' and 'fan ' are two airconditioner parts. If the listener does not have this knowledge, the joke would not have any appeal to him.

The following two jokes would not be accepted by Moslems because there is violation of the quantity maxim. That is why, there is no conversational implicature unless the listener does not take it as violating seriously the religious element. Antonymy plays a great role in (8): /faatha/: 'clear' and /Toox/: 'dark':

3. 'Are Are you going to the funeral / faatHa / (clear) or to the black / Toox/.

9. 'A teacher was asked about the person who breaks xajibar's door. He answered-Not I.

Moslem recipients do not respond by appealing to those jokes, as there is a deterioration of Islamic knowledge.

The world knowledge is multi-faceted and the life of animals is one element of that knowledge. That is why, animal jokes are accepted. In Joke (10),

10. 'An aunt / namla/ put an elephant / fiil/ on its legs in a bus. When the ticketman came and asked for the ticket of the elephant, it (the aunt) said but he is small'.

This joke is accepted since our knowledge permits us to know that aunts and elephants cannot be in buses (situationality) and there is a violation of the quality maxim) and after all, the elephant cannot sit on the legs of the aunt (informativity standard). The butt concentrates on the elephant's being sitting on the aunt's legs (being very small) and thus it should not be paid for in a bus, and they should not be in a bus after all. The intentionality of the joke is to distract the situation of having an aunt and an elephant in a bus.

In the following joke, the five standards of textuality are observed to

make the butt:

11. 'One went to the Sudan at night and he found that they have departed!' The audience have to situationalize the discourse (the Sudan), know that both night and the Sudanese are black (informativity). This is intertextuality. The intentionality is to tell a joke, and making the associations brings the butt of the joke.

12. 'One puts two aerials to see the Bahraini TV':

In this joke, the quantity maxim is violated to bring conversational implicature.

Some jokes are sometimes silly became they were heard before, or that the joker is not an expert in this area or that there is no common background or shared information between the joker and the audience. At other times, it is the stupidity of the listener, which makes a joke unacceptable because the listener loss to fill the gap available in the joke (there is the 'said' and 'unsaid'). As such, jokes start with the least opaque (scene matter)then to the most opaque (butt, punch line or the climax unfolder):

(13) 'One entered to swim /sibaH/ and became a chain /galahid/':

Here, / sibaH / has two meanings: (swim) and (chain). Both word play and the cohesive ties available in the text bring its coherence. However, homophonous structures as well as the cohesive ties, bring the texture (coherence) of the text:

14. 'Bush became nothing /boo /'

The reference (implicit he), the homophonous lexical item (bush), quality of the message, its quantity, manner and relation to the situation in Iraq create the texture of the joke. In addition, the situationality of the joke being about Bush, its informativity in that the audience know about America's insistence on war against all Iraqis and Arabs, Bush's prime responsibility for that, and the lower associations created in the audience that the attacks previously made upon Iraq are all made by all American presidents (particularly Bush) achieve nothing all bring the acceptability of the joke by all Iraqis. Hence, the association between the world knowledge and the popular implicature to Iraqis makes Iraqis accept this joke by laughter.

Starting from the nineties, certain political jokes appear in regard to the USA

as clear in (14) and some Gulf countries as appearing in (15):

15. 'There is country in which there are many prophets /nabiis/. What is it? Bahrain.

We want /nabi/ to drink, we want to eat, we want to go.

This joke rests on the informativity standard that this lexical item is available in Bahraini Arabic, and some other Gulf countries, to mean both 'we want' and ' prophet 'as they are two homophonous forms (See: Napoli, 1996: 454-60).

Far beyond saying, 'if jokes are lengthy, they will lose their importance in that they will be as lengthy as stories and they are rarely responded to. In this case, they should be so short to create a sort of ambiguity and indirectness of message. Though antonymy (/al9aam/: 'last year' and /assana/: 'this year') creates a joke, the joke 16 remains a short unfavourable story-like joke:

(16) 'A gate opener in a certain school was warned against allowing anyone to enter the school. The headmaster said that even if I came to you, do not allow me to enter. One day, the general director of education came to him and the gate opener said 'I did not allow the director of this year to enter as to allow the one of last year'.

5. Results

Throughout the data analysis, the model selected for studying jokes proves to be a fruitful one since one feature sometimes more brings the joke. The joke has to be grammatical, cohesive and acceptable. Furthermore, if one or more of Grice's maxims is violated, the joke occurs (quality, quantity, Manner, relation). This would bring the conversational implicature. Meanwhile, the five standards of textuality have to be observed (informativity, situationality, intentionality, intertextuality and acceptability). All the other features like the socio-cultural knowledge, directness, clarity, seriousness, exact meaning, prosodic features, politeness and realism play a role in making up a joke in that they create the text's coherence.

The types of jokes appearing in 2002 in Iraq can be classified into: stereotypes, and Gulf, Egyptian, religious, animal and general jokes. Two thirds of the jokes as available in the data are stereotypes, animal and Egyptian ones.

The joke is maintained through achieving the socio-cultural and communicative functions of the joke and guaranteeing that the world knowledge is available to the audience. This is based on having a presupposition.

Cohesion is not a prerequisite for achieving the coherence of the text. The recipient starts with having a cohesive joke type (sometimes not), then s/he maintains the world knowledge, which can be made in certain main and secondary associations. This hierarchical order can be very complex and ambiguous in political jokes, but can be so straightforward in the other types of jokes. The recipient is left with a number of lower associations, which s/he has to fill in to arrive at the message of the joke.

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Appendix 1: A List of the Symbols of Arabic Segmentals

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1.a. Arabic Consonants
                                'an elephant'
/f/
           /fiil/
                               'fox'
/\theta/
           /θa9lb/
                                'he threw it'
           / abha/
//
                                 'an officer'
//
           / abuT/
                                 'market'
            /suug/
/s/
                                  'patience'
            /Sabur/
/S/
                                      'button'
            /zraar/
/7/
                               'bank of the river'
/t3/
            /t3aali/
                               'What is wrong with you?'
11
            / maalak/
             /xubuz/
                                  'bread'
/x/
                                  'crow'
             /Graab/
167
                                 'here'
Mil
            /hnaa/
                                  'women'
113/
             /Hariim/
                                 'door'
161
            /baab/
                                 'rice'
/t/
            /timman/
                                 'tomatoes'
171
             /TamaTa/
                                 'be nearby'
            /tdanna/
11/
                                 'staying'
            /Daal/
D/
                                  'cake'
            /ka9ak/
151
                                  'old'
            /gadiim/
101
                               'vesterday'
121
              /?amis/
                               'beauty'
              /d3amaal/
163/
                                'he set down'
12/
              /ga9ad/
                                 'Who is it?'
              /minhuu/
/m/
                                  'barked'
              /nibaH/
/n/
                                   'gather us'
111
               /limna/
                                   'with us'
               /wajjaana/
/w/
                                   'when'
                /jamta/
/i/
                /9aali/
                                   'high'
191
                /ramul/
                                       'sand'
/r/
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/parda/

/p/

'curtain'

1.b.	Aral	oic	Vov	vels

/i/	/mi9da/	'stomach'
/ii/	/biina/	'in us'
/a/	/saliim/	'healthy'
/aa/	/salim/	'safe'
100/	/tilifoon/	'telephone'
/u/	/ummii/	'my mother'
/uu/	/9uud/	'stick'

Appendix 2: A list of the transcribed and translated Jokes

- 1. /waHid ummah bia a wsilagha/: 'one's mother is (white) an egg and he boiled it '.
- 2. / waHid muwaDDaf raffa9oo wingita9 / : ' An official has been promoted and then he was cut'
- 3. /Akuu fad waHid Tablil Hammaam biida 9uSSa 9alamuud jTigilhuwa gabulmaj Tigga (h) /: 'Someone entered the bathroom with a stick in his hand to hit the air with before it hits him'
- 4. /Akuu Sa9iidii gaaloola WaHid nda9aam bisajjaara wdifno. gaal wmaat/: 'A Sa9iidi was told about someone who was buried after having a car accident. The Sa9iidi said and he died?'
- 5. /waHid raaH lilgumar ligalamaSrii jbii9 fuul /: 'Somebody went to the moon and there he found an Egyptian selling beans.'
- 6. /waHid HaaT arjal9laraasa.lie? Hatta jSaffi nijjitah /: 'One is putting an aerial on his head. Why? To make up his mind.'
- 7. /hal Sbahta a9iifaan?w a9iif kambrajsar /: 'Do you become thin or thin compressor?! '
- 8. /intarajiH LilfatHa looliToox?/: 'Are you going to the funeral or to the black?'
- 9. /Akuu mu9llim si?loo galola minhukisar baab xajbar.gaalmu?aana/: 'A teacher was asked about the person who breaks Xaibar's door. He answered_' not I '.
- 10. /Namla rikbatbil baaS HaTafiil 9alarid3lijaha. gaalatinnamlalil tikitt3i hamha azzajGajir taax oon 9alii karwa/: 'an aunt put an elephant on its legs in a bus. When the ticketman came and asked for the ticket of the elephant, it (the aunt) said but he is small!'
- 11. /waaHid raaH lilsudaanbillijal ligahum ajliin/: 'One went to the Sudan at night and he found that they have left'
- 12. /waahid HaaT arjalijan Hatta JTali9il baHren /: 'One puts two aerials to see the Bahrain TV! '
- 13. /Waahid TabsibaH Tala9 galaajid/: 'One entered to swim, and he became a chain! '
- 14. /boo Tala9 boo /: 'Bush became nothing'.
- 15. /akudawlabiha alifnabi. jaahijja? ilbaHren: nabini rab, nabinaakil,

nabinim i/: "There is a country in which there are many prophets. What is it? Bahrain. We want to drink, we want to eat, we want to go.

16. /akumadrasa biiha farraa aOwal. Id3aahilmudiir malilmadrasa wgaallah: ajwaaHid mnit9azzililmadrasa maHadtiixalih jidxillilha Hattaloo?aana. fadjoom id3ahil mudiiril9aam wdaggilbaab wmafitaHla ilfarraa albaab. Fagaallah aanaalmudiiril9am. Gaalilfarraa aanamudiirilsana madaxxaltah witriid adaxxilmudiiril 9aam!/: 'A gate opener in a certain school warned against allowing anyone to enter the school even if it is the headmaster. One day, the general director of education came to him and the gate opener said I did not allow this year's headmaster to enter as to allow last year's /mudiiril 9aam/'.

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