Semantic and Pragmatic Features of Hadrami Jokes

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Abstract
Humour with its different forms is a universal phenomenon. The joke is among these forms. Although they are not famous for their sense of humour, Hadrami people have their own special cultural heritage of jokes. This study attempts to investigate the semantic and pragmatic features of the punchline of a selected number of Hadrami jokes depending on two parameters of the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) which are Script Opposition (SO) and Language (LA). The linguistic constructs of LA are adopted from Leech's (1981) associative meanings and Grice's (1975) conversational implicature theory. The sample has been collected from the Internet and Hadrami people. After excluding the irrelevant ones, 37 jokes has been studied within the theoretical framework of this study following the discourse analysis approach of linguistic qualitative researches. The findings show that the most frequent SO in Hadrami jokes are: expected/ unexpected, and stingy/ not stingy. Also, the semantic features exceed the pragmatic ones. Within the semantic features, the connotations exceed – in their turn- the social and the collocative meanings. The focus of the pragmatic features is violating the maxims mainly under the SO parameter stingy/ not stingy. These findings prove that the punchlines of Hadrami jokes are the focal point of the joke and they represent loaded language with a great diversity of semantic and pragmatic indications.

Keywords: Hadrami, jokes, semantic features, pragmatic features

Introduction

The complexity of humour as an aspect of human behaviour makes it "one of the distinguishing phenomenon of human culture" (Abd Al-Hameed et al. 2004, p. 13). Abd Al-Hameed et al. Also explains that some aspects of humour are universal and others are distinctive features of the individual societies. Furthermore, humour indicates, according to Shwarz (2010, p. 20), an integral part of our daily lives. There are several aspects of humour like: the joke, the caricature, the comedies, proverbs, the sarcastic criticism in literature … etc. The joke is a cultural phenomenon that delves its roots deep in the private heritage of the individual identity in its original area.

The joke, as being the focal of this paper, is composed of several components which are :

1- The build-up: which is ' the sentence which introduces the joke and presents the orientation and much of the complicating action' (Shwarz 2010, p. 65).
2- The pivot: which 'signifies the word or phrase around which the ambiguity is created' (Shwarz 2010, p. 65).
3- The punchline: which is ' the shortest terminal sequence, the replacement of which by suitably chosen words will transform the joke into a nonjoke' (Hockett 1977, cited in Ritchie 2004, p. 35).

There is another division in which the pivot and the punchline are merged together and thus the joke consists of the build-up and the punchline. Also, Shwarz (2010) and Elkhateeb (n.d.) discuss several characteristic forms of jokes like narratives, one-liners, riddle jokes, monologues, dialogues and the knock-knock joke.
As in all other parts of the world and as with all nations, The Hadrami people have their own ways of expressing humour which reflect their identity. This identity is stamped, on the one hand, by the inherited Arabic and Islamic characteristics like: generosity, hospitality, patriotism … etc. and on the other hand, there are some negative features of the Hadrami like insulting each other and calling others with bad names (Al-

Shateri, 1993). They are not famous for sense of humour like the Egyptians, but –as any society- they have their own production of verbal humour like stand-up comedies, TV and radio serials …etc. However, the jokes prove to be the most common and pervasive kind of humour in Hadramout. Furthermore, Hadrami people use the joke as other nations to criticise the society's moralities, behaviours, and troubles.

Therefore, joke as a kind of verbal humour is one of the most important indicators of human personality. The joke is a kind of verbal humour behaviours which can be tackled in research. However, and

> in spite of the efforts by the *International Society of Humor Studies* and its associated scholars to establish humour as a field of research, jokes are still underestimated in the so-called serious research fields, although they can offer many insights into the state of a particular society'. (Binay 2013, p. 1)

Kazarian (2011, p. 331) supports this claim focusing on the importance of conducting such researches in the Arab and Muslim world. He states three main reasons beyond this importance. The first two are of relevance here which are first, to contribute in establishing a universal theory of verbal humour; and second, to 'provide [the] Western-based humor scholarship on race, ethnicity, and religion a unique perspective' due to 'the heterogeneity of the Arab Middle Eastern society.'

Therefore, there is an urgent need to conduct such researches in Arab context. Previous researches in Arab world concentrate mainly on cognitive, emotional features like Abd El- Hameed et al. (2004), Binay (2013)… etc. Furthermore, Al-Amd's (2006) study tackles the topic partially from a linguistic perspective and Elkhateeb (nd) focuses on the translatability of the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic features of Egyptian jokes, they both do not adhere to a specific verbal humour theory as SSTH or GTVH. Moreover, this field of research has not yet been tackled in Yemeni context in general and the Hadrami context specifically.

Depending on the points above, and because in Hadramout as in any other nations, the joke reflects the cognitive, social and emotional conflicts in people's lives and this is rendered through language, this phenomenon with its multidimensional features including the linguistic ones ought to be studied so as to preserve a crucial aspect of the Hadrami cultural heritage and also participate in the universal attempts to establish a theory of verbal humour.

Given the above, the current study aims at investigating the semantic and pragmatic features of the punchlines of a selected Hadrami jokes depending on SO and LA parameters of GTVH. This objective is to be achieved through answering the following questions**:**

1- What are the main SO parameter of Hadrami jokes?
2- What are the main semantic features of the punchlines of Hadrami jokes?
3- What are the main pragmatic features of the punchlines of Hadrami jokes?
4- What are the main sociolinguistic features of the punchlines of Hadrami jokes?
5- What is the relation between the SO parameter and the linguistic features of the LA parameter?

Within these perspectives, this study is likely to contribute to illuminate the sociocultural linguistic field in Hadramout by displaying the main characteristic features of the local jokes in different areas in Hadramout. It attempts also to record some Hadrami jokes because they are as important as the proverbs and poetry; signs of the cultural heritage. Also, this study is expected open the way for more research in this field of verbal humour in general and might contribute a little bit in supporting the attempts for a universal theory of humour.

This research is limited to the jokes used in the different cities and towns of Hadramout and those being told about the Hadrami people. Furthermore, not all the parts of the jokes are included in the study. Only the punchlines is analysed because -as the definition shows- it is the part that differentiates the joke from non-joke.

Before discussing the theoretical framework, here is a brief overview of the major terms employed in the article:

1) Semantic and pragmatic features

These meanings as being used in the current study will be clarified better in the section of literature review.

2) Jokes
Generally, there are several definitions of this term, but the most relevant ones to this study are:
'Hockett (1977 :258-259) holds that "jokes are an art form; specifically (...) a genre of literature". To him, they are discourses that are laughed at, and (...) are repeated from time to time in essentially unchanged form" ' (Elkhateebnd).
Ritchie (2004) has defined it as 'a relativelyshort text which, for a given cultural group, is recognizable as having, as its primary purpose, the production of an amused reaction in its reader/ hearer, and which is typically repeatable in wide range of contexts' (15).
Therefore, the joke, in this study, is a short and repeatable discourse produced to create amusement. Another crucial point to be added to the concept of joke used in this study is that it is meant to criticise a specific aspect in the society. Thus any trivial joke will be excluded from this study.

3) Hadrami jokes:
The jokes used by Hadrami people or about them.

Literature Review
There are many theories and previous studies that tackle the topic of verbal humour generally and jokes specifically. In the coming sections, there are three parts. The first is about the theories of verbal humour which is -in its turn- divided into two: 1) humour theories, 2) linguistic framework.

Humour Theories
'Humour is a complex multi-faceted phenomenon' (Marín-Arrese 2003, p. 2). Therefore, there are 'many and varied discussions of humour [theories] … that … are not all considering the same aspect of humour' (Ritchie 2004, p. 7). Shwarz (2010, p. 39) indicates that the foundation of these theories is laid from the ancient times of Plato and Aristotle. He states that the most important theories of humour can be classified into three main groups:incongruity theories, hostility theories, and release theories. Furthermore, Ritchie (2004) indicates a number of classifications like 'relief and release theories, superiority or aggression theories, incongruity theories' (p. 7) which correspond with those of Shwarz (2010). From these classifications, it is inferred that '[t]he creation and perception of verbal humour crucially depends on both emotional and cognitive factors' (Marín-Arrese 2003, p. 2).

Although 'humour has been a neglected area in linguistics until recently' (Ghafourisaleh & Modarresi 2013, p. 2792), there are emerging theories that discuss humour from a linguistic perspective like Semantic-Script Theory of Humour (SSTH henceforth) and the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH henceforth) which 'have become very prominent, and are treated by many writers as forming the received theory of (verbally expressed) humour' (Ritchie 2004, p. 69).

Therefore, the discussion will begin with a brief explanation of the first theories that emphasise emotional and cognitive factors, then this is followed by a detailed account of SSTH and GTVH.

Incongruity, hostility, and relief theories
Briefly, and depending on Shwarz (2010) explanation, these three can be illustrated and linked as the following. First for humour to happen, there should be incongruity. It means that there are two conflicting meanings, the matter which leads to ambiguity. Usually, the target of jokes or any other kind of humour is someone the addresser feels superior to or angry with. Therefore, there is a desire to ridicule this person revealing hostility and aggression. Such a behavior leads to a feeling of relief because the feelings of anger

and aggression are relieved. The three stages explained above correspond with those of incongruity, hostility and relief theories of humour.

Theories of verbal humour
The theories of Verbal Expressed Humour (VEH) are not totally different from the previous one because they all tackle the same phenomenon but from different perspectives. Among these linguistic attempts are those of Koestler's bisociation theory (1970), Raskin's SSTH (1985), Attardo and Raskin's GTVH (1991), Attardo's IDM (Isotopy Disjunction Model) (1994)…etc. Here the focus will be on SSTH and GTVH.

Ritchie (2004, p. 69) explains that the Semantic Script-based Theory of Humour -SSTH- of Raskin (1985) has been effective in the field of VEH. It constitutes the base for the General Theory of Verbal Humour ,GTVH,(Attardo and Raskin 1991) which is still being refined. Hemplemann, Taylor and Raskin (nd) give a comprehensive summary of this theory that for a text to be a joke, there should be compatibility, the necessary condition, and opposition, the sufficient condition. Ritchie (2004, p. 70) indicates that within the SSTH ' the meaning of the text of a joke can be represented as a script , where a script is a structured configuration of knowledge about some situation or activity', here, actually, there should be two scripts or interpretations which should 'be opposed in some way.'

The author attempts to draw an outline of the joke from SSTH point of view depending on Ritchie discussion as the following:
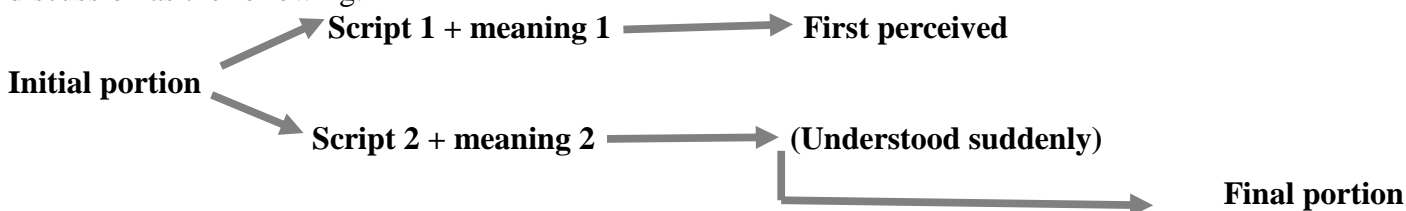

Figure 2.1: The structure of the joke according to SSTH theory (by the author).

Example 1:

' (38) Who supports Gorbachev?
      Oh, nobody. He is still able to walk on his own'
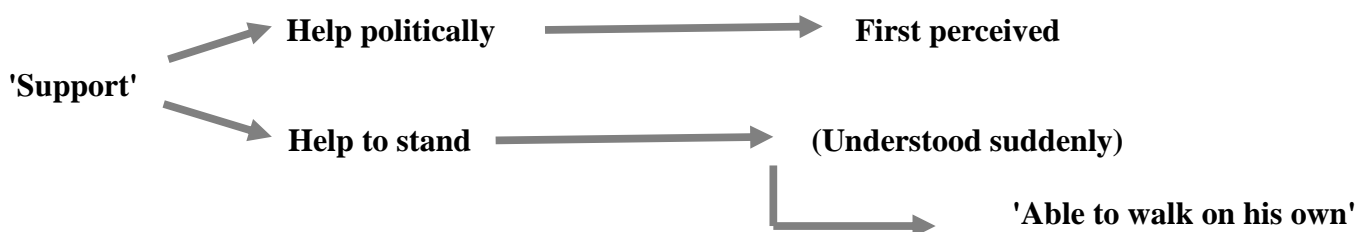
(Attardo and Raskin 1991 cited in Ritchie 2004, p. 74)

Figure 2.2: Applying the structure of the joke according to SSTH on an English joke (by the author)

Example 2:

<div dir="rtl">

سكر؟ شي عندك :الزبون

أيوة :البقال

يشفيك الله :الزبون

</div>
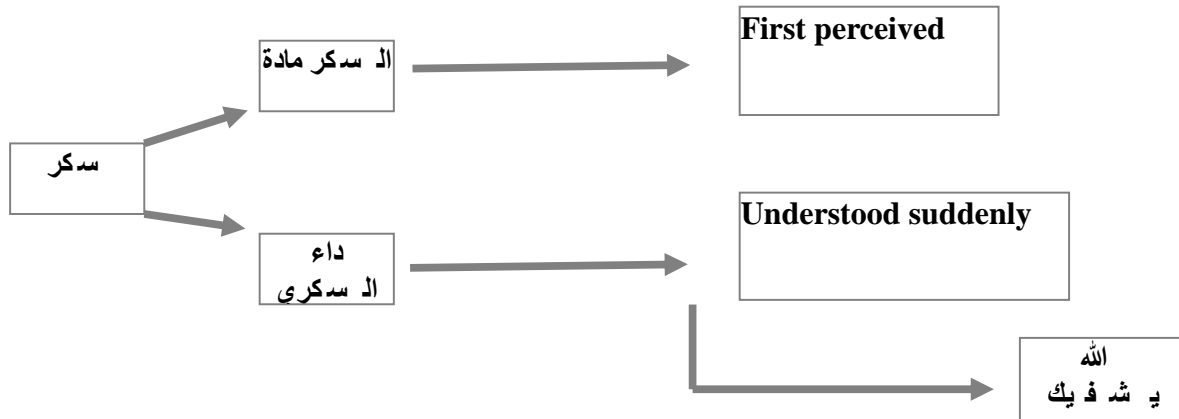
Figure 2.3: Applying the structure of the joke according to SSTH on an English joke (by the author)

Since this theory is the base for GTVH, the main relevant tools/ concepts will be discussed within the GTVH.

Attardo (2000, p. 22) explains that GTVH is a revised version of SSTH with an elaborated scope. To illustrate this further, he states that while SSTH is a semantic theory, GTVH is a linguistic theory. Furthermore, Ritchie (2004, p. 70) states that ' [t]he central idea of the General Theory of Verbal Humour is that a joke depends on contributions from six different knowledge resources (KRs) '. These KRs are summarized as the following:

1. script opposition (SO): it corresponds with Raskin's SSTH (1985),

2. the logical mechanism (LM): it ' embodies a local logic and deals with the way in which the two scripts in a joke are brought together'(Shwarz 2010, p. 58).

3. the situation (SI): it 'is informally speaking, the setting, in term as of characters, objects, location … etc. described in the text' (Ritchie 2004, p. 71).

4. the target (TA): it describes the person or group of persons at whom the joke is aimed and who or which are ridiculed or attacked'(Shwarz 2010, p. 58). It is informally the 'butt' of the joke for Ritchie (2004, p. 71) and it is ' informed by sociology' for Hemplemann, Taylor and Raskin (nd, p. 451)

5. the narrative strategy (NS):it'identifies the style used to present the joke (e.g. a dialogue, a riddle, a narrative etc.' (Shwarz 2010, p. 59)

6. the language (LA): it ' represents all the words and other linguistic units used in the text' (Shwarz 2010, p. 59).

The last important point about these KRs is that ' a highly technical aspect of the GTVH is the issue of the ordering of the KRs.…[the] [p]arameters determine the parameters below themselves and are determined by

those above themselves' (Attardo 2000, p. 27).

SO

↓

LM

↓

SI

↓

TA

↓

NS

↓

LA

'Table 1.2: Hierarchical organization of the KRs' (Attardo 2000, p. 28)

Example 3:

About the joke of Gorbachev above:

SO: Expected/ unexpected
LM: juxtaposition
SI: something helps someone
TA: Gorbachev
NS: riddle / question and answer.
LA: 'Who', 'supports' …etc.

Example 4: the joke of sugar

SO: Expected/ un-
LM: juxtaposition
SI: grocery
TA: grocer
NS: question and answer.
LA: 'Do', 'sugar' …etc.
Linguistic features

Depending on the fact that ' the jokes represent a cultural feature of its society' and 'the most effective jokes are those directed for specific purposes [not trivial]' (Al-Amd 2006, p. 2) and depending on the author's readings of the collected jokes, the following linguistic features are adopted in this study:

1) Semantic features: these features are restricted to three of Leech's (1981) associative meanings. These three are: the connotative meaning, the social meaning and the collocative meaning. Leech (1981) has defined each as the following:
- Connotative meaning: 'is the communicative value an expression has by virtue of what it refers to, over and above its purely conceptual content' (p. 12).
 - Social meaning: 'is that which a piece of language conveys about the social circumstances of its use' (p. 14).

- Collocative meaning: ' is what is communicated through association with words which tend to occur in the environment of another word' (p. 23).

2) Pragmatic features: these features are restricted to Grice's conversational implicature theory (1975). In this theory, Grice suggests that people in their interactions are cooperative in the sense that they keep four maxims. These are:

- Quantity: means to be 'as informative as is required' (Cutting 2002, p. 34).
- Quality: means to be 'sincere [and to say] something [believed to] correspond to reality' (Cutting 2002, p. 35).
- Relevance: which means to say what 'is relevant to what has been said before' (Cutting 2002, p. 35).
- Manner: which means to 'be brief and orderly' (Cutting 2002, p. 35).

Breaking any of these maxims leads to the implicature indicated in the name of the theory. However, this violation does not always imply being not cooperative.

In the current research, the author attempts to follow the GTVH knowledge resources in the analysis of the collected data. The resources to be included are only Script Opposition (SO) because it is 'informed largely by linguistics [and it] deals with script overlap and oppositness' (Hemplemann et al. nd, p. 450) and the Language (LA) because it is ' the parameter […] responsible for exact wording and placement of the punchline' (Attardo and Raskin 1991 cited in Krikmann 2006, p. 37). The rest are somehow irrelevant to the main goals and the design of the research and function only to categorise the jokes in terms of similarity. Within the LA resource, all the linguistic features discussed above are included in the framework.

Methodology

The current study is an attempt to find out the semantic and pragmatic features of the punchline of Hadrami jokes depending on SO and LA KRs of GTVH. Therefore, this research has been based on one of the qualitative research methods which is the discourse-analytic approach to text and talk. One of the 'different ways in which discourse-analytic approaches reveal the 'meaningfulness' of text and talk' (Baxter 2010, p. 117) is the discourse analysis (DA henceforth). DA has several characteristics. First, within this way ' language constructs social realities through its use of culturally agreed sign systems' (Baxter 2010, p. 125). Second, DA combines both microanalysis [or bottom-up] and macroanalysis [or top-down] discussion of language' (Baxter 2010, p. 126). Third, it 'tends to borrow methods eclectically from a range of fields such as Speech Act Theory, literary criticism … etc.' (Baxter 2010, p. 126).

Furthermore, and in correspondence with this design, the author has adopted General Theory of Verbal Humour GTVH (Raskin and Attardo 1991) as a model to follow. Also, not all the knowledge sources (KRs) of this theory has been employed. Only the first, Script Opposition (SO), and the last, Language (LA). This is because these two are directly connected to the DA way mentioned above. The SO source is concerned with macroanalysis plane through which the author attempts to identify the punchline or the main clash in the joke. The LA source corresponds with the microanalysis plane through which the author identifies the linguistic features of –not all the joke but- the punchline. Also, the linguistic constructs focused on are the semantic and pragmatic features. All these have been explained in Chapter 2.

Data sources

Due to the lack of written sources, the data of this study (the jokes) has been collected from different sources which are the Internet, some students and friends who provide the author with some (written) jokes they know, and also from the memory of the author.

Sample

After reading the collected sample which constituted 57 jokes, the author excluded the ones which were apparently not Hadrami like those which included clear indications of being from other countries (like Saudi Arabia). Moreover, since this study focused on the jokes which criticised some aspects of the Hadrami life, trivial jokes which did not indicate any serious issue were excluded too. Thus, 37 jokes remained from the whole collected data and were studied (see the appendix). Another significant point here was that as the jokes are a highly specific cultural and linguistic aspect of any nation, the study was conducted on the

Hadrami jokes in the native language which was the colloquial Arabic of the Hadramis.

Data processing procedures
The following steps were followed to analyse the data:

1- The author read and reread each joke carefully.
2- The two main oppositions were identified in the light of the definition of SO and in the light of the SO parameters used by Attardo (2000).
3- The punchline and the main utterance that represented it were identified.
4- The linguistic features, either semantic or pragmatic of this identified utterance were decided in the light of the adopted features discussed in chapter 2.
5- After analyzing all the jokes, the frequency of each SO and each linguistic feature in the LA KR were counted.

Limitation of the methodology
The author has faced many limitations due to lack of references in humour, in the Hadrami characteristics, and in Hadrami jokes. Furthermore, there was a great difficulty in data collection because of the lack of any recorded material of the Hadrami jokes and also, not all the people asked to provide the author with jokes responded. That is why the number of the studied jokes was only 37
Moreover, due to the limitation of time, the author had just focused the analysis on the the punchline because it is the main point that distinguishes the joke from nonjoke as Hockett (1977 cited in Ritchie 2004, p. 35) indicates. However, when 'the punchline is null' (Ritchie 2004, p.112), the author analysed the pivot instead. This happened in four jokes of the 37. These are jokes 13, 18, 22, and 31.

Validity and reliability
1- The jokes studied are Hadrami because they are collected from Hadrami people and Hadrami contexts. The ones which are apparently irrelevant were excluded.
2- Since this study is qualitative and the analysis of data depends on the author, subjectivity is unavoidable. However, the author attempted to
follow the framework precisely.

Findings and discussion
In this chapter, there is an overview of the main constructs of the linguistic features of the studied jokes with their subcategories in numbers and figures.

Characteristics
In this study, 37 purposefully-selected jokes have been studied in the light of GTVH knowledge resources Script Opposition (SO) and Language (LA). The language knowledge resources has been examined under the semantic and pragmatic features explained in chapter 2.
With regard to the SO KR, there are 14 different ones distributed as displayed in table 4.1:

No.	SO:
12	Expected/ unexpected
2	Possible/ impossible
8	Stingy/ not stingy
1	Superiority/ inferiority
1	Common/proper
1	Centrality/ not-
1	Polite/ im-
1	Serious/ not-
1	True/ false

3	Dumb/non-
3	Ignorant/ not
2	Normal/ abnormal
1	Practical/ im-
1	Figurative/ literal

Table 1: Frequent occurrences of SO KR

Of the 37 subjects of the sample, 22 exemplify the background information construct and also they represent 59.5% , and 15 the ambiguity construct which represent 40.5%.

%	No.	Linguistic constructs:
59.5%	22	Background information
40.5%	15	Ambiguity
100%	37	Total:

Table 2: The two main linguistic constructs

In the background information construct, there are three main subcategories: connotation, pragmatic information, and sociolinguistic information. The first appears in 14 jokes of the 22 representing 63.6%, the other two subcategories are represented in four jokes of 18.1% for each.

%	No.	1- Background information:
64 %	14	1.1 connotation
18%	4	1.2 pragmatics:
18%	4	1.3 sociolinguistic:
100%	22	Total:

Table 3: The subcategories of Background Information.

In the ambiguity construct, there are also three subcategories which are puns, irony, and analogy. There are 10 puns which are almost lexical with the percent of 66.7%, 4 ironies of three different kinds with the percent of 26.7%, and one analogy that represents 6.7% of the 15 jokes in this construct.

%	No.	2- Ambiguity:
66.7%	10	2.1 pun:
26.7%	4	2.2 irony:
6.7%	1	2.3 analogy:
100%	15	Total:

Table 4: The subcategories of Ambiguity.

As for the construct of speech and writing, there are three jokes that typically represent that the spoken must correspond with the written to keep the humorous effect. These are jokes 26, 35, and 36. The other two constructs: strings and structures, and grammatical well-formedness do not have any prominent representation or deviation from the norm.Furthermore, the distribution of the background information and the ambiguity constructs among the highest four SO parameters is as follows:

SO: expected/ unexpected	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.

4 puns	2 connotations
2 ironies	3 sociolinguistic
	1 pragmatic
6 jokes	6 jokes

Table 5: the distribution of expected/unexpected SO among the main linguistic constructs.

SO: stingy/ not stingy	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 pun	4 connotations
	3 pragmatic
1 joke	7 jokes

Table 6: the distribution of Stingy/ not stingy SO among the two most important linguistic constructs.

SO: dumb/no dumb	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 pun	2 connotations
3 jokes	

Table 7: The distribution of dumb/ no dumb SO among the constructs.

SO: Ignorant / no Ignorant	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 analogy	2 connotations
3 jokes	

Table 8: The distribution of ignorant/ not ignorant SO among the constructs.

Discussion
In this section, The discussion is bottom-up first to display the main LA constructs, then top-down to show the relation between SO parameters and these LA constructs.

Bottom-up discussion
The most prominent and the only constructs that appear in the studied sample are background information and ambiguity. Speech and written construct has occurred, but -more suitably and to avoid redundancy- it is included within the ambiguity theme. This tendency towards highly loaded and connoted meanings reflect the depth of Hadrami jokes which are kneaded with sociocultural and pragmatic implications. Practically this is proved through the table 4.9 and its chart (here just to avoid repeating the same tables in the finding, the same data is represented in a different way):

%	No.	subcategories
37.8%	14	Connotations
10.8%	4	Pragmatic
10.8%	4	sociolinguistic
27%	10	Puns
10.8%	4	Irony
2.7%	1	Analogy
100%	37	Total

Table 9: Subcategories of the main constructs in numbers and percents.

The last table and its chart sum up the whole story. Here, the most frequent subcategories of the two main constructs are the connotations and the puns. Then the pragmatic, sociolinguistic and ironic subcategories follow at the same level.

The conceptual integration or blending studied by Marin-Arrese (2003) and the ambiguators of Lew (1996) are exemplified here in the high rates of connotations, puns and ironies. To illustrate this further, here are some examples. Lew (1996) states that proper names can function as ambiguators. In J6, the script opposition between the names 'البخاري' and 'مسلم' as proper and common leads to the clash which in its turn causes the humorous effect.

6-في فترة اختلف الناس على جواز الشاهي الاحمر، فسأل أحدهم – وكان جالس على عدةبخاري- شيخ يفتيهم بشكل نهائي،فقال له: انت ايش ديانتك؟قال له: مسلم، وايش اللي تسويه الان؟،قال له: البخاري، قال الشيخ: اذن اجتمع الشيخان البخاري ومسلم فالشاهي الاحمر حلاال.

Another example which proves how the findings here correspond with other studies is from Marin-Arrese (2003). In J22, the conceptual integration or the blending of the cognitive concepts between the father's understanding of 'كيري' and that of the daughter leads to the clash.

22- البنت لابوها: يابه بغيت كيري،قال لها: مالش الا بن عمش يسلم.

Also, in their study Ghafourisaleh and Moddarresi (2013) has found out that 'the GTVH is appropriate for analyzing Persian jokes' (2794) and in SO KR dumb/ non dumb are the most frequent ones. The findings here prove that the GTVH is applicable to Hadrami jokes, but the expected/ unexpected followed by stingy are the most frequent SO parameters. They also study the other KRs but these are excluded from this study as explained previously.

Top-down discussion
The most important script oppositions that appear in the studied sample are: expected/ unexpected in 12 jokes, stingy/ not stingy in 8 jokes, dumb/ no dumb, ignorant/ not ignorant in three jokes each. The sum of the last three SOs reflects that within the sample there is a tendency to criticize the negative features of the Hadrami in the society: stinginess, naivety and ignorance. The first SO, is distributed among the LA constructs as the table and the figure below show:

SO: expected/ unexpected	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
4 puns	2 connotations
2 ironies	3 sociolinguistic
	1 pragmatic
6 jokes	6 jokes

Table 5: the distribution of expected/unexpected SO among the main linguistic constructs.

This actually corresponds with the general finding that Hadrami jokes tend to be deep and highly opaque so as to reflect the emotional and cognitive situation of the Hadrami people. It is the clash between the two levels of what is expected and what is totally not expected that yields the humorous effect and thus gives this depth to the selected jokes.

In the background information, the three sociolinguistic subcategories (out of four) are included in jokes 3, 11, and 28 . In the first two the use of the highly dialectal register –in an unexpected way- by the ghost in J3 and the American wife in J11 reflect how Hadrami dialect is a distinguishing feature of its speakers. Actually in the second case it also shows the strong influence of Hadrami people abroad that they can even transfer their dialect to the American people.

3- واحد سعودي ضاق من كثر الحضارم في جدة، ومرة حصل مصباح علاء الدين ففكر يستخدمه علشان يتخلص منهم مرةواحدة. لماطلع له المارد قال: شبيك لبيك... ناسالم بن مبارك مارد المصباح، هاه ايه بغيت؟؟

11- واحد حضرمي بغى عياله يتعلمون انجليزي وداهم عند عايلة امريكية و بعد سنة رجع: وسأل الزوجة عن عياله فقالت له : بيقع هابط يخبخيون مع السقل

The changed proverb in J28 implies the extent to which Hadrami people are suffocated by the presence of the northern people in Hadramout.

28- "كلما رفعت حصاه حصلت تحتها شمالي"

The two connotations in J2 and J20 show how unexpectedly other creatures (the shark in J2 and the devil in J20) are disgusted with the presence of the northern people in J2 and even in their homelands they cause troubles even for the devil as in J20.

2- في اثنين واحد جنوبي والثاني شمالي راحو البحر يتغسلون وفجأةً جاء حوت لخم عند الجنوبي وقد الجنوبي يقوله كل الشمالي ردعليه اللخم امبس كلت واحد حوشي قدفته

20- بليس هرب من بيت اللحمر سألوه: ليه؟؟قال: علمتهم السرقة والنصب والاحتيال والرشوة والكذب فاشتروا القصور والسيارات و المزارع واخر شي كتبوا عليها: هذا من فضل ربي.

The only pragmatic representation is political about the Dialogue held in Yemen to solve the political disputes in the country. Here, the relevance maxim is broken in J33 to imply that the dialogue is useless and it will not yield any important achievements for the Hadrami.

33- واحد يسأل الثاني يقول له: هاه كيف الحوار؟ قال له: قيم... قيم عرجوله الأربع

As for the ambiguity, the four puns correspond with speech and written construct. The unexpected understanding of الينوب', 'احدفهم', 'سكر',and 'غفلي' leads to the humorous effect.

18- حضرمي دخل بقالة و سأل البقال: عندك سكر؟؟ قال له: أيوه، فرد: الله يشفيك.

26- غيلي يحكي قال: "يلست مع قوم احدفهم"

35- على ايامه مرض على عبدالله صالح في فترة مشاكل في الجنوب، فكان الحضارم يقولون: ايش به عبدالله صالح؟؟ قالوا: يشتكي من الينوب

36- أسرة من أبين عايشين فترة طويلة فى المكلا، وكانت البنت خارجة من الغرفة، قال لها أبوها: غفلى (الباب).. فصاحت: <u>لا إله إلا الله يا غافلسسسسسسين</u>

Also, the two ironies reveal a lot about the implications of Hadrami jokes' loaded language. The dramatic irony in the first joke shows how Hadrami people like gossiping and how news of high secrecy are known by them. The last joke reveal another kind of irony which is the collocative clash between 'خادم' after which 'الحرمين' is expected; however, 'الخورين' collocates with it and thus leads to the implication that the target is being ridiculed and laughed at because of his greed for fame.

1- اوباما تعجب من الحضارم كيف يتناقلون الاخبار بسرعة البرق.. فسأل احدجنوده فقال لـه ان الحضـآرم عندهم شفرة اسمها (اه بيقع شي يديد؟) عن طريقها يقدرون يتناقلون الاخبار بسرعةعجيبة .. .. قرر أوباماإ نه يزور حضرموت و تنكر وراح وقف عند محطة بنزين وسأل أحد الحضارم الموجودين هناك وقال له : اه بيقع شي يديد؟ رد الحضرمي وقال : والله <u>مندري بيوهم يس شفهم يقولون اوباما في حضرموت</u>

2- في اثنين واحد جنوبي والثاني شمالي راحو البحر يتغسلون وفجأةً جاء حوت لخم عند الجنوبي وقد الجنوبي يقوله كل الشمالي ردعليه اللخم <u>امس كلت واحد حوشي قدفته</u>

35- على ايامه مرض على عبدالله صالح فى فترة مشاكل فى الجنوب، فكان الحضارم يقولون: ايش به عبدالله صالح؟ قالوا: <u>يشتكي من البنوب</u>

The second most frequent SO is stingy/ not stingy which is represented in 8 jokes as the following table and diagram show:

SO: stingy/ not stingy	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 pun	4 connotations
	3 pragmatic
1 joke	7 jokes

Table 4.6: the distribution of Stingy/ not stingy SO among the two most important linguistic constructs.

The four connotations here which appear in jokes 10, 12, 14, and 32 all reflect how the Hadrami are very careful not to waste their money even for urgent necessities. However, there is a kind of exaggeration and contradiction in J32 that the Hadarmi will buy the marble to save five Ryals!!

10- حضرمي جا ولده لعنده قال له: يابه نجحت، الاب اعطاه فلوس يشتري بها بيبسى،وجا الثاني وقال لابوه: نجحت، قاله: <u>خذ ذا الفنجان ولحق خوك</u>

12- لـبنانيةرا حت السينما مع زوجها فغمضت عيونها من مشهد رعب و قام زوجها بتغزل فيها، فيه كان بجنبهم زوج حضارم و سمعوا فقامت الزوجة وغمضت عيونها فقال لها زوجها: <u>فتحي عيونش شي نحن دفعنا عدي</u>

14- حضرمي احترق بيته أرسل للمطافي <u>"كولمي"</u>

32- مرة حضرمي بنا له عمارة كلها بلاط ليه؟ <u>عشان يسمع الخمسة لو سقطت</u>

The pragmatic use focuses on Grice's implicature theory. In J4, the Hadrami breaks the relevance maxim to

avoid donation. In J16, the waiter is bribed to break the maxim of quality and tell a lie for the Hadrami to avoid spending more money for his fiancé. In J17, the CP is kept but also to avoid giving the beggar money. The only pun under the ambiguity construct reflects a common fear among all misers from the word 'ادفع' even if it does not mean pay.

4- واحدحضرمي قالوا له تبرع بنبني سور للمقبرة،قال لهم: عمري ماشفت ميت شرد.

13- حضرمي راح بيزور أمه في المستشفى حصل الباب مكتوب عليه "ادفع" قال بزورها في البيت أحسن.

16- حضرمي راح مطعم واعطى الجرسون بقشيش قال له: أكيد بغيت طاولة مميزة،رد عليه: لا،بس بجي بعد شوي مع خطيبتي ويغيتك تقول ماشي طاولات فاضية

17- حضرمي قابل شحات قال له لي سبوعين ما ذقت الخبز، قال له اطمن عاده طعمه ماتغير.

The other two prominent SOs are ignorant/ not ignorant and dumb/no dumb with three jokes for each.

SO: dumb/no dumb	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 pun	2 connotations
3 jokes	

Table 8: The distribution of dumb SO among the constructs.

The three jokes indicated in the above table focus on women's stupidity. In J9, the naïve Hadrami woman misunderstands the offer of the Lebanese hair designer as a kind of drink. In J25, the maid is discovered through the clever cipher between her master and the stranger. And in J31, the girl's confusion between vicks and fax causes the humorous effect.

9- حضرمية راحت للكوافيرة قالتلها: بدك ميكأب،قالتلها: لا بغيت سفن أب

25- مرة ارسلت سيد بيت الخادمة بطعام لرجل غريب مكون من اربعة مغاضيف، وضبعة خبز وطاسة مرق قولي له للخادمة وقال للخادمة قولي له: الشهر كامل والنجوم اربعة والبحر مليان، وفي الطريقاكلت الخادمة بعض الاكل و لما وصلت بلغت الرسالة، قال لها الغريب: قولي له مالشهر مخسوف والنجوم ثلاثة والبحر مشطوف.

31- معلمة في حضرموت تشرح للطالبات عن وسائل الاتصالات الحديثة مثل : الهاتف والبريد الالكتروني والفاكس، رفعت احد الطالبات الصغيرات يدها وقالت: نحنا عندنا فاكس فشجعتها المعلمة وقالت صفقوا لها لان الفاكس من وسائل الاتصال وقالت المعلمة وكيف تستخدمونه؟ فقالت الطفلة: ندهن به رجول ابوي

SO: Ignorant / not Ignorant	
LA: Ambiguity	LA: Background Inf.
1 analogy	2 connotations
3 jokes	

Table 4.9: The distribution of ignorant SO among the constructs.

Two of the jokes indicated in the table above ridicule the ignorance of the elderly. The first is the analogy in J29 which shows how the old illiterate women compare the figure of al ta' al marbotah to a bound sack. In J31, the old man believes that the doctor knows everything and thus he should guess his patients' troubles. In J24, it is a religious ignorance of that man who recites a piece of nasheed in his prayers thinking it is from the Holy Quran.

24- مرة واح دسمع ولده ينش دطلع البدرعلينا في الحمام فضربه، وجات الام تسأل عن السبب قال لها: حرام يقر اقرآن في الحمام،ولم افهمته انهذ انشيد مش قرآن انهار الأب و قال: عشرين سنة وانا قراها في الصلاة.

29- في محو الامية،كتبت الاستاذة التاءالمربوطة على السبورة وسألت اذا تعرفها الطالبات وكن كبار في السن فقلن لها: " بيقشةمعصيوبة"

30- شيبة مريض، راح عند الدكتور، لما سأله: هاه يا عم من ايش تشتكي؟؟ قال له: انته دكتور له... جزر

The rest of the SOs are distributed among the constructs revealing similar themes and in the appendix there is more explanation for each joke.

Conclusion and Recommendations
Jokes as an essential kind of humour indicate without any doubt a mixture of cognitive, emotional and psychological situations of the nations; all these are represented through and loaded in the linguistic devices. Hadrami jokes are not an exception. The linguistic structures applied in this study and the findings prove this and prove that –along with the universal shared features- there is still the flavor and the thumbprint of the Hadrami even in their jokes.

These linguistic constructs work as just the tip of the iceberg. The connotations, figurative devices, pragmatic and sociolinguistic indications and implications, all show the main features of Hadramipersonality; for example, love of gossiping, criticizing the officials, aggression towards the northern people, their stinginess, ignorance, …etc.

These characteristics might be said to exist in any other nation with its own thumbprint because humour generally and the jokes specifically are cultural phenomena. However, the low number of such jokes and the tendency of the askedHadrami people not to provide jokes reflect, on the one hand, their fear of the implications of some jokes, and on the other hand, their either underestimating or misconception of jokes with the meaning represented in this study.

In addition to that, it is apparent now that GTVH with its two SO and LA parameters are applicable to Hadrami jokes. This will support the attempts to build a universal theory of humour.

Therefore, the author strongly recommends:
1- Serious attempts to collect the Hadrami heritage of jokes or verbal humour in general;
2- More researches to be conducted to cover other aspects of this phenomenon and give it its due right.

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Appendix

1-أوباما تعجب من الحضارم كيف يتناقلون الاخبار بسرعة البرق.. فسأل احدجنوده فقال له ان الحضاآرم عندهم شفرة اسمها (اه بيقع شي يديد؟) عن طريقها يقدرون يتناقلون الاخبار بسرعةعجيبة .. .. قرر أوباماإ إنه يزور حضرموت و تنكر وراح وقف عند محطة بنزين وسأل أحد الحضارم الموجودين هناك وقال له : اه بيقع شي يديد؟ رد الحضرمي وقال : والله مندري ببوهم بس شفهم يقولون اوباما في حضرموت

2- في اثنين واحد جنوبي والثاني شمالي راحو البحر يتغسلون وفجأةً جاء حوت لخم عند الجنوبي وقد الجنوبي يقوله كل الشمالي ردعليه اللخم امس كلت واحد حوشى قدفته

3- واحد سعودي ضاق من كثر الحضارم في جدة، ومرة حصل مصباح علاء الدين ففكر يستخدمه علشان يتخلص منهم مرةواحدة. لماطلع له المارد قال: شبيك لبيك... ناسالم بن مبارك مارد المصباح، هاه ايه بغيت؟؟

4- واحدحضرمي قالوا له تبرع بنبني سور للمقبرة،قال لهم: عمري ماشفت ميت شرد.

5- بو نواس شاف عمارة بيضا ويتشرف منها واحد سود، قال: سبحان الله حتى العمارة فيها شمة!!

6-فى فترة اختلف الناس على جواز الشاهى الاحمر، فسأل أحدهم – وكان جالس على عدةبخاري- شيخ يفتيهم بشكل نهائي،فقال له: انت ايش ديانتك؟قال له: مسلم، وايش اللي تسويه الان؟،قال له: البخاري، قال الشيخ: اذن اجتمع الشيخان البخاري ومسلم فالشاهي الاحمر حلاال.

7- شمالى بنا مسجد وماحد جايصلى فيه قام قعد قبل وقت صلاة العصر قدام المسجد وصاح: تخفيضات ... تنزيلات... صلاةالعصر... ثلاث ركعات

8- واحد حضرمي مات ماحصل اسمه لا في الجنة ولافي النار قالواله: رح تابع في صنعاء

9- حضرمية راحت للكوافيرة قالتلها: بدك ميكأب،قالتلها: لا بغيت سفن أب

10- حضرمي جا ولده لعنده قال له: يابه نجحت، الاب اعطاه فلوس يشتري بها بيبسي،وجا الثاني وقال لابوه: نجحت، قاله: خذ ذا الفنجان ولحق خوك

11- واحد حضرمي بغى عياله يتعلمون انجليزي وداهم عند عايلة امريكية و بعد سنة رجع: وسأل الزوجة عن عياله فقالت له : بيقع هابط يخبخبون مع السقل

12- لبنانيةرا حت السينما مع زوجها فغمضت عيونها من مشهد رعب و قام زوجها بتغزل فيها، فيه كان بجنبهم زوج حضارم وسمعوا فقامت الزوجة وغمضت عيونها فقال لها زوجها: فتحي عيونش شي نحن دفعنا عدي

13- حضرمي راح يزور أمه في المستشفى حصل الباب مكتوب عليه "ادفع" قال بزورها في البيت أحسن.

14- حضرمي احترق بيته أرسل للمطافي "كولمي"

15- حضارم راحول يجاهدون في فلسطين، فتحوا محل لبيع الحجارة.

16- حضري راح مطعم واعطى الجرسون بقشيش قال له: أكيد بغيت طاولة مميزة،رد عليه: لا،بس بجي بعد شوي مع خطيبتي وبغيتك تقول ماشي طاولات فاضية

17- حضري قابل شحات قال له لي سبوعين ما ذقت الخبز، قال له اطمن عاده طعمه ماتغير.

18- حضري دخل بقالة و سأل البقال: عندك سكر؟ قال له: أيوه، فرد: الله يشفيك.

19- زار مسئول حضري بريطانيا قالوا له لما رجع: واه بهرك هناك؟؟ قال : غرااااا م سقل صغاريتكلمون انجليزي بلبل.

20- بليس هرب من بيت اللحمر سألوه: ليه؟؟قال: علمتهم السرقة والنصب والاحتيال والرشوة والكذب فاشتروا القصور والسيارات و المزارع واخر شي كتبوا عليها: هذا من فضل ربي.

21- محشش يولع سجارة وقت الاذان وعياله يتوضون للصلاة، والجد قاعد يشوف،قال لولده: بالله عليك ماتستحي عيالك رايحين المسجد وانت قاعد تدخن، قال له: شفت الفرق بين تربيتي و تربيتك؟

22- البنت لابوها: يابه بغيت كيري،قال لها: مالش الا بن عمش يسلم.

23- الإف بي آي يحققون مع حضري لأنه قال لمرته ل(بوش) الموت.

24- مرة واح دسمع ولده ينش دطلع البدرعلينا في الحمام فضربه، وجات الام تسأل عن السبب قال لها: حرام يقر اقرآن في الحمام،ولم افهمته انهذ انشيد مش قرآن انهار الأب و قال: عشرين سنة وانا قراها في الصلاة.

25- مرة ارسلت سيد بيت الخادمة بطعام لرجل غريب مكون من اربعة مغاضيف، وضبعة خبز وطاسة مرق وقال للخادمة قولي له: الشهر كامل والنجوم اربعة والبحر مليان، وفي الطريقاكلت الخادمة بعض الاكل و لما وصلت بلغت الرسالة، قال لها الغريب: قولي له مالشهر مخسوف والنجوم ثلاثة والبحر مشطوف.

26- غيلي يحكي قال: "يلست مع قوم احدفهم."

27- من اقوال علي عبدالله صالح التي سرت كنكتة: "ان الوحدة (باقية) والقانون (مطبق) الجيش (حامي)"

28- "كلما رفعت حصاه حصلت تحتها شمالي"

29- في محو الامية،كتبت الاستاذة التاءالمربوطة على السبورة وسألت اذا تعرفها الطالبات وكن كبار في السن فقلن لها: " ببقشةمعصوبة"

30- شيبة مريض، راح عند الدكتور، لما سأله: هاه يا عم من ايش تشتكي؟؟ قال له: انته دكتور له... حزر

31- معلمة في حضرموت تشرح للطالبات عن وسائل الاتصالات الحديثة مثل : الهاتف والبريد الالكتروني والفاكس، رفعت احد الطالبات الصغيرات يدها وقالت: نحنا عندنا فاكس فشجعتها المعلمة وقالت صفقوا لها لان الفاكس من وسائل الاتصال وقالت المعلمة وكيف تستخدمونه؟ فقالت الطفلة: ندهن به رجول ابوي

32- مرة حضري بنا له عمارة كلها بلاط ليه؟ عشان يسمع الخمسة لو سقطت

33- واحد يسأل الثاني يقول له: هاه كيف الحوار؟ قال له: قيم... قيم عرجوله الأربع

34- معلمة في حضرموت تشرح للطالبات عن وسائل الاتصالات الحديثة مثل : الهاتف والبريد الالكتروني والفاكس، رفعت احد الطالبات الصغيرات يدها وقالت ياست نحنا عندنا فاكس فشجعتها المعلمة وقالت صفقوا لها لان الفاكس من وسائل الاتصال وقالت المعلمة وكيف تستخدمونه؟ فقالت الطفلة: ندهن به رجول ابوي.

35- على ايامه مرض على عبدالله صالح في فترة مشاكل في الجنوب، فكان الحضارم يقولون: ايش به عبدالله صالح؟؟ قالوا: يشتكى من الينوب

36- أسرة من أبين عايشين فترة طويلة في المكلا، و كانت البنت خارجة من الغرفة، قال لها أبوها: غفلي (الباب).. فصاحت: لا إله إلا الله يا غافلييييييييين

37- الزوجة تسأل: كااااه خلوا السبت اجازة؟؟ قال لها: آآآه... نحنآل جبر.