

CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH STAND-UP

Aigul Raisovna Gilmutdinova^{*}, Ella Ildarovna Biktemirova^{**},
Mary Kamoevna Goulkanyan^{***} and Olga Aleksandrovna Nikolaeva^{****}

The nature of stand-up in the comparative aspect hasn't got extended coverage in linguistic literature. The analysis was based on the authentic data randomly selected from American and British comedian's shows from YouTube's recordings, which allowed studying the comedians' verbatim qualitatively and quantitatively. The hypothesis is that possible differences between the linguistic features of the American and British humor mirror the unique national characteristics, mentality and moral values. To verify the hypothesis, theoretical (analysis, synthesis and generalization) methods, empirical method of monitoring, statistical techniques: mean and variance; ranking, and non-parametric method were used. The findings demonstrate that American and British stand-up comedy is comparable in that the performance is based on jokes told to live audiences with the use of some verbal and non-verbal means. The research allowed distinguishing the following common features: structuredness, grouping parts of the text on the basis of semantics, contextuality, hyperbole usage. The differences which were distinguished reflect to a great extent the national character, values and mentality of the two nations. Ranking the scores order for each variable for the phenomena and the high value of p obtained (.98) proved high rank order relationship between the data.

Keywords: Stand-up, The comic, Humor, British stand-up, American stand-up.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural and social differences of different peoples are best manifested in such an important aspect of national culture as humor. Humor is a mirror of the nation, which reflects its distinctive features and its identity. Being the most important aspect of national culture, humor reflects cultural and social differences of various nations and their national identity. It is through humor that changes in the language manifest themselves, as it spreads much faster than most other forms of colloquial speech.

Though humor is one of inseparable constituents of any language or culture, there has been carried out insufficient investigation of the category of the comic, especially in the comparative aspect. The international character of American and British sitcoms, movies, and other products of the media industry, as well as the spread of English as an international language of communication led to the need

^{*} Kazan Federal University, Russia, 420008, Kazan, Kremlevskaya Str, 18

^{**} Kazan State University of Architecture and Engineering, Kazan, Russia, Russia, 420043. Kazan, Zelenaya Str, 1

^{***} Kazan State University of Architecture and Engineering, Kazan, Russia, Russia, 420043. Kazan, Zelenaya Str, 1

^{****} Kazan Federal University, Russia, 420008, Kazan, Kremlevskaya Str, 18

for a detailed study of American and British humor, a modern trend 'stand-up' genre in particular.

In linguistics, humor is seen as a complex psychological, social, ethno-cultural and historical phenomenon, the essence of which is shown in the act of real speech communication. In this context, the fact that humor has become the object of study of such disciplines as psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, cultural linguistics and other sciences contributed to the significant development of the concept of the comic as a linguistic phenomenon.

By examining the process in which the comedians present their jokes, the present study aims at revealing similarities and differences between stand-up humor in American and British cultures.

The existing scientific data on the discourse of stand-up comedy mostly concerns comedyperformances in a single language or culture (Filani (2015), Chùopicki (2012), Double (1992), Ejue (2013), Adetunji (2013), Hassaine (2014)), thus focusing on a single cultural, social and linguistic context.

The present study aims at the identification of the linguistic features of American and British stand-up and modes of its expression. In this context, the paper deals with the analysis of the phenomenon of stand-up, linguistic features, social and linguistic functions of stand-up. The research emphasizes the role of the comic in intercultural communication and has promoted the concept of humor as a complex social, ethnic and cultural and linguistic phenomenon. The findings of the research can be applied in order to prevent disruptions in communicative acts generated by ignorance of the language specific nature of humor, as well as for more detailed and comprehensive interpretation of comic texts and verbal humor.

Stand-up represents improvised humor, which is a well-planned, repeated speech, consisting mostly of jokes invented in advance. Stand-up jokes may be presented to the viewer just as incoherent selection, although today there is a tendency to use semantic cohesion, thematically grouped jokes, jokes associated with the biography of the narrator or the context of the performance.

As for the notion "stand-up" it was treated in different ways by different linguists. According to Mintz (1985) it is "an encounter between a single standing performer behaving comically and/or saying funny things directly to an audience" (1985: 71). He distinguishes the social roles of the stand-up comedian describing him as "a mediator, an articulator of culture and a contemporary anthropologist" (Mintz, 1985: 75).

The performance aspect of stand-up was studied by Glick (2007) who focuses on the textuality of temporalization as a performative technique in stand-up comedy performances. Rutter explores "the way a joke is performed ...how it is received by the audience and how the dialogue between performer and members of the audience is ordered, maintained and regulated" (1997: 2). A rhetorical analysis of stand-up performances was conducted by Waisanen (2014) who accentuates the

rhetorical importance of stand-up discourse, viewing stand-up comedy as a convincing mode of public communication.

Stand-up comedians use a variety of linguistic resources inherent to a comic text. It should also be noted that stand-up comic texts are clearly structured, especially their introduction and final part, which often do not contain jokes. Before the presentation of the first joke, the narrator must interest the listener by the common plot of the speech. This lack of correlation of the bulk of the text to its opening and closing parts can be compared to a telephone conversation in which the same feature can be traced (Rutter, 1997). The stand-up comedian is intrinsically a socialist in the broadest sense of the term - a person of the masses (Prakash, 2010).

A. Greenbaum (1999) noted that the interlocutory nature of stand-up performances is accounted for by the need to constantly adapt to the specificity of the audience. I. Brodie also holds to an opinion that stand-up comedy is based on the relationship between a performer and the audience (Brodie, 2008). J. Limon in his research claims: "stand-up is uniquely audience-dependent for its value because joking is, essentially, a social phenomenon" (2000: 2). He states that "the particularities of the relationship of a joke teller and the audience do not make the joke seem more or less funny; they make the joke more or less funny" (Limon, 2000, p. 12). Thus, it's evident that the researcher reveals stand-up comedy in its social context.

S. Koziski (1984) states that the stand-up plays an important role as the mediator of cultural knowledge. According to D. Marc (1997), the stand-up comedian is a "heroic" archetype of American mass culture. T. Wuster (2006) in his work characterizes Steve Martin's mockery of stand-up comedy as a limit of stand-up comedy as an art form. Daube (2010) recognizes stand-up comedy as a distinct performance, closely associated with racial and ethnic issues and concentrated on the performance of a comedian himself.

2. METHODS

The authentic data for this study have been randomly selected from the comedian's shows from YouTube's recordings using Real Player software, which allows to capture the comedians' verbatim to be studied qualitatively and quantitatively. For the analysis stand-up performances were chosen (dating recently, 2011 - 2016) of American (Louis C.K., George Carlin) and British (Ricky Gervais, Eddie Izzard, Jimmy Carr) comedians in the top decile. These comedians were chosen because of their unique style with which they design their jokes and popularity. The audience reactions demonstrated that their jokes were accompanied with deep laughter which shows the degree of their appeal to the public.

The total duration of all the clips is twelve hours and forty minutes, of which six hours are American stand-up comedy and six hours and forty minutes are British

comedy. The database contains a total of 55 stand-up solo performances ranging from one to 20 minutes. All the comedians are male.

The present study is aimed at discovering similarities and differences between humor in stand-up comedy in American and British cultures. The hypothesis of the study is that stand-up represents humor as a complex social, ethnic, cultural and linguistic phenomenon, and therefore there is a direct relationship between the cultural and linguistic aspects of the comic resulting in specific distinctions of American and British stand-up humor. The cross-cultural study of American and British stand-up humor is based on the idea that humor reflects the most important differences of peoples and cultures, which is manifested primarily in the reflection of the American and British social values, axiological worldview as the importance of a certain value to society affects the frequency of its mentioning in jokes and other forms of expression of the comic.

There has been also carried out a statistical analysis of the frequency of the occurrence of some linguistic verbal and non-verbal phenomena (a hyperbole, pauses, bathos, repetition, gesticulation, discourse markers, colloquialisms, vulgarisms) in the stand-up performances of American and British comedians (See Table 1).

TABLE 1: MEAN SCORES, VARIANCE AND RANKING OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH STAND UP HUMOR

<i>Verbal and non-verbal phenomena</i>	<i>American stand-up jokes Mean and Variance</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>British stand-up jokes Mean and Variance</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Hyperbole	261 ± 82.6	5	275 ± 137.5	4	p>0.05
2. Pauses	127 ± 56.9	8	75.3 ± 12.6	8	p>0.05
3. Bathos	156 ± 22.9	7	114 ± 26.6	7	p<0.05*
4. Repetition	360 ± 67.5	4	204 ± 57.5	5	p<0.05*
5. Gesticulation	6150 ± 102.5	1	2266 ± 179.5	1	p<0.05*
6. Discourse markers	1080 ± 194.0	2	384 ± 49.1	2	p<0.05*
7. Colloquialisms	257 ± 25.8	3	120 ± 27.0	3	p<0.05*
8. Vulgarisms	871 ± 186.2	6	291 ± 30.0	6	p<0.05*

* received data is reliable

Methodologically this paper draws on three groups of methods or building blocks:

In order to examine the hypothesis we used theoretical (analysis, synthesis and generalization) methods; empirical method of monitoring, statistical techniques: mean and variance; ranking for determining the significance of difference between the means of the two matched groups and non-parametric method.

The study was conducted in three stages:

In the first stage we analyzed the authentic data randomly selected from the comedian's shows from YouTube's recordings using Real Player software. At first

Group 1 (American comedians) and Group 2 (British comedians) were studied and the mean scores of both groups were found which indicated that the groups are equivalent with regard to the cultural and linguistic aspects of comedians.

H₀ - the variables do not have a rank-order relationship in the population presented by the sample

To reject H₀ is to say that there is a rank order relationship between the variables in the population

Critical p (n =8, a = .05).

The rank order was used for studying a number frequency of linguistic phenomenon occurrence in both groups. We ranked the scores order separately for each variable with the highest score getting a value of 1. Thus the number of occurrences takes on a ranked order (such as the greatest exponent receiving one to the lowest exponent receiving eight).

In the second stage we calculated the difference between ranks and difference squared (See Table 2).

TABLE 2: DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RANKS AND DIFFERENCE SQUARED

<i>Verbal and non-verbal phenomena</i>	<i>American stand-up rank</i>	<i>British stand-up rank</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d²</i>
1. Hyperbole	5	4	1	1
2. Daffinitions	8	8	0	0
3. Bathos	7	7	0	0
4. Repetition	4	5	1	1
5. Gesticulation	1	1	0	0
6. Discourse markers	2	2	0	0
7. Colloquialisms	3	3	0	0
8. Vulgarisms	6	6	0	0

We then substituted the data into the equation.

We computed Spearman's correlation (p) using the following formula.

The sample size (n) for the analysis was determined as n=8

$$p = 1 - \frac{6 \times \sum_i d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

$$p = 1 - \frac{6 \times \sum_i d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)} = 1 - \frac{6 \times 2}{8(8^2 - 1)} = 1 - \frac{12}{504} = 1 - 0.02 = 0.98$$

as n = 8

The critical value of p for (n = 8, a = .05) the appropriate sample size p = .715.

3. RESULTS

The monitoring of the data revealed that despite the diversity and heterogeneity of the stand-up genre in Britain and the United States there can be traced some common features.

Characterizing general characteristics of the texts of American and British stand-up performances, one can conclude that they are not a disjointed sequence of jokes. Stand-up speeches:

- 1) have a certain structure, with a clearly traceable introduction and closing;
- 2) include groups of jokes related by semantic or other characteristics;
- 3) have a contextual connection with the situation, time and place of the performance.

Another common feature for American and British stand-up speeches is a so-called 'false start'. The essence of false starts lies in the fact that the narrator begins a sentence, stops for a while, then starts again, repeating what has been said. Sometimes the narrator paraphrases the initial sentence or corrects it.

With regard to the means of expression in the speech of stand-up comedians, a hyperbole (i.e., a figure of speech consisting of exaggerating with the aim of emphasizing the individual characteristics of the object, event or person) is often used by both the American and British comics (see Table 1). Most often, a hyperbole serves to exaggerate situations familiar to viewers, which leads to a comic effect. Stand-up comedians usually begin to tell a fairly plausible story, then reducing it to an absurdity, describing obviously exaggerated situations and events, aiming at retaining and increasing the comic effect from the previous jokes.

The analysis of the comedian's verbal humor from a linguistic perspective allowed identifying one more characteristic of the stand-up comedian's discourse - the use of repetition. Though the comedians prepare their jokes beforehand, they are presented orally, thus repetition which is a common feature of any spoken discourse is frequently used by the comedians to create a humorous effect. Humor mainly arises from "the tension created by some kind of a series being established" (Berger 1993:46). Repetition can be used to strengthen the rhythmic pattern of a joke. These can be repetitions of syllables, often found in slips of the tongue, repetition of words and situations. The study revealed that stand-up comedians often use repetition of the same patterns in order to intensify the audience's reaction and to assure that the audience has understood the absurdity of the joke. The statistical analysis shows that both American and British comedians resort to repetition with almost equal frequency (see Table 1).

It can be inferred from the above findings that stand-up jokes about men and women in the United States and Great Britain are based mostly on the denial of the traditional male and female roles in public life and the family. The method «bathos» based on the sudden transition from the lofty style to the vernacular, even vulgarity

is equally frequent in American and British stand-up jokes (See Table 1), it allows representing some minor situations as situations of crucial importance. It can be deduced that both American and British stand-up humor is related to a particular situation, reality, avoiding abstraction. Thus, the comic is seen in the context of the real world, in a daily routine with all the diversity of acts of interpersonal communication.

Speaking about the differences between American and British stand-up one should distinguish the differences in the manner the comedians present their jokes, that is the differences of nonverbal nature. American stand-up is dynamic, with active gesticulation (See Table 1), often aggressive behaviour with comedians resorting to physical action to achieve a comic effect. This phenomenon in American humor in its extreme form is called slapstick comedy - an eccentric style of humor, featuring excessive physical activity often reduced to an absurdity. Thus the usage of gestures not only supports what the comedian is talking about but also keeps the audience's interest and attention. Using pauses in speech is one of the strategies used by the comedians with the aim of keeping the audience's attention and exhilaration at a maximum.

The bulk of the analyzed stand-up performances reveals that British stand-up has a distinct stylistic feature - a wide usage of the irony, while the American comedians prefer less subtle, straightforward ways of presenting jokes. Thus, the British stand-up comedians' jokes are often "masked" by irony, while the humor of their American colleagues lies on the surface - the text is devoid of ambiguity, allusions, etc. American humor is extremely varied, which primarily reflects the ethnic heterogeneity of the US population: it takes the form varying from rudeness and provoking to amiability and elegance. Americans perceive humor and laughter as the realization of the inalienable right to enjoy life, that explains why their jokes are so democratic. American stand-up is characterized by a greater amount of colloquialisms, vulgarisms and obscenities in comparison with British stand-up (See Table 1) which add to the above mentioned straightforwardness.

Another difference that can not be ignored is the usage by the American stand-up comedians of a large number of discourse markers, which are used to connect the statements and maintain the flow of conversation (See Table 1). These include expressions such as "I mean", "look", "okay", "oh", "well", "you know", which allow the comedian to use the time to plan the future speech, or simply express his incomplete confidence. Discourse markers are also used to change the theme of the narrative, or to plan the next joke, but sometimes they can be incorporated into the performance as indicators of the attitude of the narrator to his own words. For this purpose the performers use the expressions "as far as I know", "kind of", "sort of", "I guess", "like", which in everyday speech express respect for the opinions of other people or mitigate statements. To express the comedian's emotions and attract the audience's attention, interjections like "ah", "wow", "ha", "say", "hey",

“yo” are used in speeches. The above mentioned discourse markers are also found in the speech of the British stand-up comedians, but to a lesser extent.

As for the topics of speeches both American and British stand-up comedians deal not only with everyday situations, but also some radical subjects such as politics, religion, sex, etc.

The statistical analysis of the frequency of the occurrence of the linguistic verbal and non-verbal phenomena allowed rejecting H0 and verifying the hypothesis of the research. The monitoring of the data allowed to identify the most frequently used verbal and non-verbal phenomena used by the comedians (See Table 1).

The analyzed data shown in Fig. 1 represent the mean score of the verbal and non-verbal phenomena and the average in a number of stand-ups in both cultures.

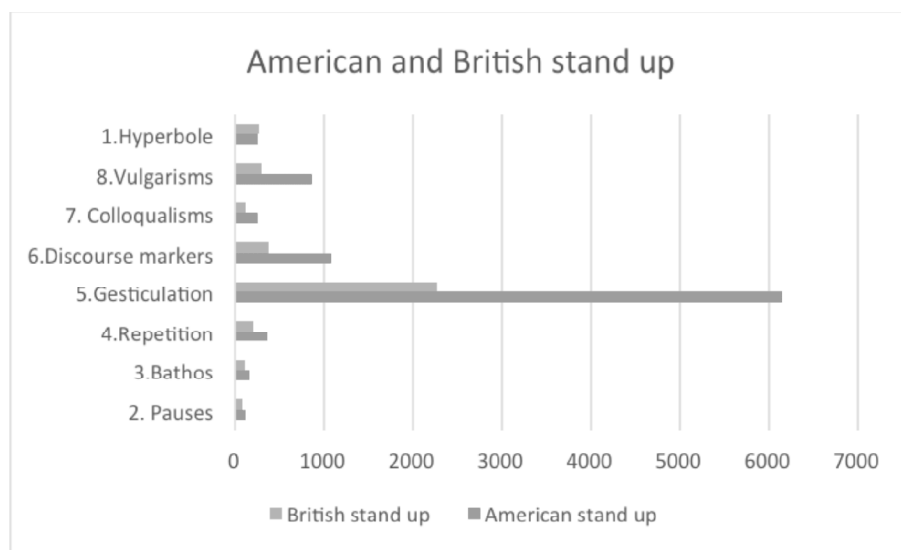


Figure 1: The authentic data, represented in values

Ranking the scores order separately for each variable revealed a discrepancy in the first and fourth groups of phenomena. This allows us to conclude that there is more hyperbole and fewer repetitions in the American stand-up humor.

The correlation coefficient takes value 0.98 which indicates a perfect association of ranks. Correlation coefficient proves strong relationship between the data. We would like to reject the null hypothesis because the absolute value of the obtained p (.98) is larger than the critical p (.715)

Fig 2 shows the percentage difference between the values in American and British stand-up humor.

We identified two groups of phenomena under discrepancy: the non-verbal group of gesticulation with the highest score in both languages and the percentage

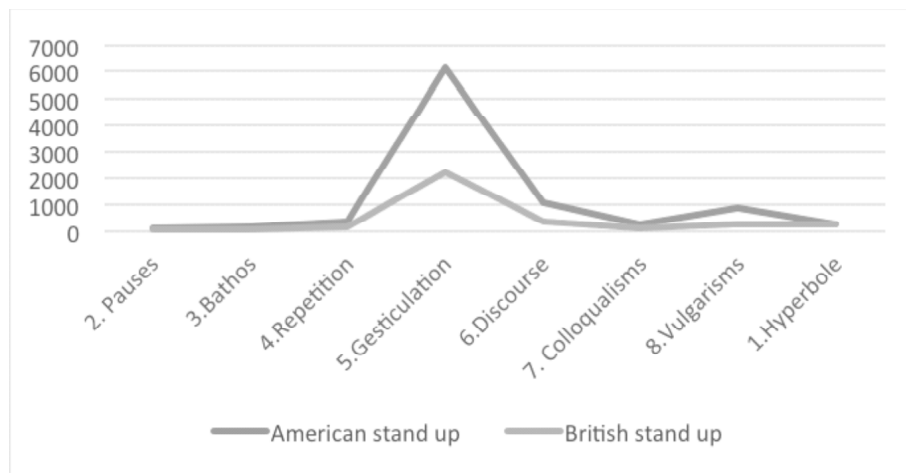


Figure 2: Change in values in American and British stand up

of change between the values of 1.71, discourse makers with the percentage of change between values of 1.8.

4. DISCUSSION

The research was conducted to investigate the most frequent efficient verbal and non-verbal devices employed by American and British stand-up comedians with the aim of achieving interaction and humorous effect. An analysis of 55 routines of 5 comedians revealed eight most common means: a hyperbole, pauses, bathos, repetition, gesticulation, discourse markers, colloquialisms, vulgarisms.

The analysis revealed that A. Greenbaum's idea that the interlocutory nature of stand-up performances is accounted for by the need to constantly adapt to the specificity of the audience (Greenbaum, 1999) can be developed further in the way that to develop such an interaction, special verbal and non-verbal means: are used for the purpose. In terms of creating a special contact with the audience the comedians resort to colloquialisms and vulgarisms to make themselves closer to the audience, thus making the interaction more informal. Thus the social content of stand-up indicated by Limon in his research (2000) can be clearly traced in our research results.

From the analysis, it can be deduced that both American and British stand-up humor is related to a particular situation, reality, avoiding abstraction. Thus, the comic is seen in the context of the real world, in a daily routine with all the diversity of acts of interpersonal communication.

The findings demonstrate that values of the Americans are better manifested when compared with the British ones. Thus the American values like a desire for

change, equality, autonomy, individualism, competitiveness, integrity and candor are contrasted to British traditionalism, hierarchy, cooperation, commitment to conventions. This contrast is also reflected in American jokes about the inefficient traditionalism of the British, while the latter comment ironically on excessive efficiency and boasting of workaholic Americans.

5. CONCLUSION

The research leads to the conclusion that the identification of the specific features of British and American stand-up humour allows evaluating anew the relationship between language and culture of these peoples, identifying the ways of reflecting this connection in the daily lives of their representatives.

Having analyzed the linguistic aspect of the 'stand-up' phenomenon, we conclude that stand-up, as a form of existence of the language, as well as the language, reflects the psychological and ideological characteristics of the British and Americans. Straightforwardness and outspokenness of the Americans is embodied in the form of forthright jokes and satire, love to laugh at something obvious, lying on the surface. The British, in turn, prefer ironic remarks, ambiguity and veiled jokes which reflect their style of communication and courtesy. In American culture, ambition and the desire for personal success are encouraged and engrafted from an early age, which has a certain impact on their humor. This explains their tendency to develop the narrative around the personality of the narrator, identifying him as a central figure in most humorous texts.

The analysis of linguistic features of American and British stand-up speeches revealed the following common features: structuredness, the grouping of parts of the text on the basis of semantics, contextuality, the usage of hyperbole.

The comparison of performances of today's popular American and British stand-up comedians revealed some differences, such as the American tendency for the frequent usage of discourse markers, colloquialisms, vulgarisms, a more straightforward way of presenting jokes, the dynamic character of speeches.

Thus, linguistic-cultural study of stand-up humor based on the comparison of the humor of different peoples, American and British in particular, is very prospective and timely as the amount of the material available for the analysis is increasing by the day. Being a means of social communication "the language is constantly developing. It is constantly changing which is determined by the progressive advance of society, attendant extralinguistic factors and laws of the development of the language as a system, i.e., intralinguistic factors" (Sadykova and Gilmutdinova, 2014). At the same time, the culture of all peoples, being a dynamic phenomenon continues to develop.

The current study presented the comparative analysis of jokes presenting in the two countries based on a set of data involving male comedians. It makes a certain contribution to demonstrate how representatives of the above mentioned

cultures use verbal and non-verbal means to communicate humor thus presenting a new perspective to analyze the close relation of language and culture.

For better understanding about American and British stand-up comedy it is necessary to investigate performances by a larger number of comedians, both male and female. Thus the direction of the future studies is supposed to include performances by male and female comedians and the comparison of American, British and Russian stand-up jokes. Such an extended research would also give clear insight into the nature of stand-up.

Acknowledgment

The work is performed according to the Russian Government Program of Competitive Growth of Kazan Federal University. The author Ella Biktemirova would like to thank Elvira Polovkina and Elvira Shagiakhmetova for comments.

References

- Adetunji A. (2013). The interactional context of humour in Nigerian stand-up comedy. *Pragmatics*, Vol. 23 (1), 1-22. <http://dx.doi.org/DOI: 10.1075/prag.23.1.01ade>.
- Berger, A. (1993). *An anatomy of humor*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Brodie I. (2008). Stand-Up Comedy as a Genre of Intimacy. *Ethnologies*, 30.2, 153–180. <http://dx.doi.org/DOI: 10.7202/019950ar>
- Chùopicki W. (2012). Stand-up tragedy in Poland? *Estonia and Poland: Creativity and Tradition in Cultural Communication*. Tartu, Estonia. ELM Scholarly Press, 91-110. <http://dx.doi.org/DOI:10.7592/EP.1.chlopicki>.
- Daube M. (2010). *Laughter in revolt: Race, ethnicity, and identity in the construction of stand-up comedy*. PhD diss., Stanford University.
- Double O. (1992). *An Approach To The Traditions Of British Stand-up Comedy*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Sheffield University.
- Ejue O.G. (2013). Re-Echoing the Emerging Trends of Stand-Up Comedy and the Dynamics of Stress Management in Nigeria. *Nigerian Theatre Journal: A Journal of the Society of Nigeria Theatre Artists (SONTA)*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 20-33.
- Filani, I. (2015). Discourse types in stand-up comedy performances: an example of Nigerian stand-up comedy. *European Journal of Humour Research*, Vol.3 (1), 41-60.
- Filani, I. (2015). Stand-up comedy as an activity type. *Israeli Journal of Humor Research*, 4 (1), 73–97.
- Glick D. (2007). Some performative techniques of stand-up comedy: An exercise in the textuality of temporalization. *Language & Communication*, 27(3), 291-306.
- Greenbaum A. (1999). Stand-Up Comedy as Rhetorical Argument: An Investigation of Comic Culture. *Humor*, 12.1, 33–46. <http://dx.doi.org/DOI: 10.1515/humr.1999.12.1.33>.
- Hassaine N. (2014). Linguistic Analysis of Verbal Humour in Algerian Stand-up Comedy. *International Journal of English Language & Translation Studies*, 2(2), 90-98.
- Koziski S.(1984). The Standup Comedian as Anthropologist: Intentional Culture Critic. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 18.2, 57–76. http://dx.doi.org/DOI: 10.1111/j.0022-3840.1984.1802_57.x

- Limon J. (2000). *Stand-Up Comedy in Theory, or Abjection in America*. Durham, NC.-Duke University Press.
- Marc D. (1997). *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*. 2d ed. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Prakash K. (2010). Being George Carlin: Carlinesque as Performative Resistance Americana. *The Journal of American Popular Culture (1900-present)*, Volume 9, Issue 2.
- Rutter J. (1997). *Stand-up as interaction: performance and audience in comedy venues [Text]* Salford: University of Salford dissertation.
- Sadykova A., Gilmutdinova A. (2014). A brief survey on syntactical synonymy. *Life Science Journal*, Vol.11(9s), 284-287.
- Waisanen D. (2014). Standing up to the politics of comedy, in Roderick, H. (ed.). *Communication and Language Analysis in the Public Sphere*, Hershey: IGI Global, 426-442. [http://dx.doi.org/DOI: 10.4018/978-1-4666-5003-9.ch023](http://dx.doi.org/DOI:10.4018/978-1-4666-5003-9.ch023).
- Wuster T. (2006). Comedy Jokes: Steve Martin and the Limits of Stand-Up Comedy. *Studies in American Humor*, n.s., 3.14, 23-45.