Role of humor in belittling minorities: Analysis of Pakistani social media using General Theory of Verbal Humor

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Abstract

Jokes are primarily used to release tension and provoke humor. However, they can also be used as one of the strategies to marginalize a specific culture and effect cultural identity of a particular community. Pathans, an ethic minority in Paksitan and across many other countries as well, are generally seen to be target of humor and marginalization in terms of their intellect and ethnicity in Pakistani cultural context. This study aims to highlight the way pathans are represented in jokes on social media. The addressed themes include: representation of pathans in general, pathans exercising intellect and representation of Pashtun culture (culture of Pathans/Pashtuns). Data is comprised of jokes on pathans and has been randomly collected from social media resources i.e., Whatsapp, Facebook, and different websites. Twenty one jokes have been analyzed linguistically following Attardo & Raskin's (1991) General Theory of Verbal Humor. The study indicates that pathans are represented as dumb, ignorant, illogical and devoid of any intellect. Pashtun culture's depiction strengthens stereotypes about identity of Pathans at the same time marginalizing them and their ethnicity. Significance of this study lies in the stimulation to provoke pathans to resist rather than to internalize these stereotypes, and to raise questions against such practices during any kind of social interaction.

Key Words: Pathans, GTVH, jokes, marginalization, linguistic analysis, ethnicity, culture identity, stereotypes

Introduction

Humour as a strategy of human communication is made to build a relation, to create solidarity or intimacy but sometimes can also be used to marginalize a culture, and to reinforce stereotypes. Humour is a technique, where a sudden shift in perspective is made to elicit laughter. Boyd (2004) supports this view by stating that this shift from seriousness to play as humor results

when two distinctive frames of reference are established, and a collision is plotted among them. Researchers (Davies 1990, 1998, 2011; Oring 2003) believes that jokes cannot reflect motives of the teller transparently as it is inherently an ambiguous type of the communication. Humor blurs the situation when dissatisfaction or anger is expressed as it is not as much effective in any case as other communicative tools are, such as imperatives and directives.

Plato proposed that humour is impertinent towards people who do not have much power in different ways. Aristotle also endorsed the same idea by stating that we laugh at ugly and inferior individuals which provides joy as we feel superior to those individuals.

Various studies (Gonzal & Wiseman 2005, Douglass 2016, Gogová 2015) have investigated humour in relation to ethnicity and cultural paradigms. These studies focus upon how a specific ethnic group and culture is stereotyped and marginalized in jokes to those who are in central groups and socially empowered. Jokes in humorous discourse can also represent an individual's cultural identity and ethnicity, directed from a central group towards minority group, as Weaver (2014) states:

"The relationship between ethnicity and humor to be discussed is humor that is directed from a majority or central metropolitan ethnic group toward a minority or peripheral group. This relationship is frequently entangled with issues of acceptability and offense, which is aggravated because of its dependence on the articulation of stereotype. These jokes are labeled *ethnic jokes* in humor research and are told about national, ethnic, or migrant groups who may have in the past, or even in the present, been referred to as "ethnics" with a prerogative inflection by a majority group." (Weaver, 2014, p. 2)

Cultural stereotyping in Pakistani social context is a common practice and is quite visible in everyday discourse. Pathans, as an ethnic group, are generally seen to be discriminated and humiliated on multiple grounds in everyday discourse. This creates an image of Pashtun culture that promotes discrimination, and mocks their ethnicity. The present study proposes to linguistically analyse the jokes available on social media on Pathans which target their ethnic identity and present a stereotypical picture of Pashtun culture. This study is aims at making a comment on cultural stereotyping or representation of individuals' identity, in this case of Pathans, embedded in jokes by linguistically analysing them. Questions that are going to be answered in this study are as follows:

1. What type of linguistic patterns have been employed in jokes to gain a particular result?
2. What are the messages that jokes are trying to give about athans?

Theoretical framework

General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) by Attardo & Raskin (1991) is employed in this study as theoretical framework. Jokes were collected from social media's posts such as Facebook pages, *Pathan jokes, Study and Exam, Jokes & Fun ki Duniya, Funny Jokes in Urdu* and some from WhatsApp group chats shared with friends. Initially, seventy jokes were randomly selected to further scrutinise and select jokes relevant to the themes addressed in the present study. From those seventy jokes twenty-one jokes were selected for the purpose of analysis in which either Pathans were involved in the situation or represented as subject while not actually present. These are analysed according to GTVH's six knowledge resources.

Pathans who are popular figures or have a high social status, jokes about them are not part of this research but generally circulated jokes about Pathans are included. The study is mainly about representation of an ordinary Pathan in different domains that is the reason these jokes are divided into different themes as:

1) Representation of pathans in general

2) Pathans exercising intellect

3) Representation of Pathan's culture

Lastly, all the jokes are translated from Urdu to English for linguistic analysis. Humour in these jokes may be seen to be produced by the content or material of the joke instead of the linguistic manipulation, as all of these are translations.

General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH)

In "Script theory revised: joke similarity and joke representation model" Raskin and Attardo (1991) presented the General Theory of Verbal Humour [GTVH]. The general theory of verbal humour is developed on the basis of six levels of knowledge Resources (KRs) which include: Script Opposition, Logical Mechanism, Situation, Target, Narrative strategy and Language.

Script Opposition (SO)

Script Opposition (SO) is one of the six levels of Knowledge Resources (KRs) that was proposed by Raskin (1985) in "Semantic Script Theory of Humour [SSTH]". Raskin (1985) opines that script opposition concerns only to verbal humor: written and spoken words used in narrative or riddle jokes, that usually end with a punch line. He further explains that this SO deals with two opposing scripts present in the joke and every text that is humorous has opposition of scripts.

It is also most abstract knowledge resource as listener infers what could be the script opposition. Most common script oppositions present in jokes are ignorant/educated, normal/abnormal, possible/Impossible, logical/illogical, real/unreal.

Logical mechanism (LM)

This refers to the way which connects two opposite scripts. Attardo (1991) states that linguistic mechanism provides the solution for the strangeness introduced in SO. Attardo (1997) proposed that to resolve incongruity is optional that means LM is optional in humorous texts (Masaeli & Heidari-Shahreza, 2016, p. 233). On the other hand, it is also claimed that joke will be turned into riddle if ambiguity is not resolved (Oring's theory 1992, 2003).

LM can range from simple to complex verbal techniques as from pun (words that have a variety of meanings or words that look similar but have different meanings) to faulty reasoning. It is also most "complex parameter" (Masaeli & Heidari-Shahreza, 2016; Aziz & Hassan, 2018). Some of the commonly used strategies in jokes to create humour are exaggeration, analogy, referential ambiguity, juxtaposition, ignoring the obvious and parallelism etc.

Situation (SI)

Objects, instruments, activities, props for telling the story are needed. These instruments, props and objects refer to the SI. Jokes are "about something". It can be said as the background of the joke where the action or event is taking place such as bank, house, hospital, park, etc (Rashad & Azher 2018).

Target (TA)

In target actor(s) is identified, who is the "butt" of a joke or the one who is being ridiculed. If a joke does not ridicule someone then that joke is empty in sense of TA. Stereotypes about different ethnic groups can also be developed through TA (Masaeli & Heidari-Shahreza, 2016; Qureshi, Hassan & Akhtar,2018).

Narrative strategy (NS)

It refers to the way a joke is narrated. It provides classification between distinctive genres and subgenres. Dialogue and descriptive monologue are identified as narrative strategy for jokes. Moreover, many jokes are in the form of question and answer, argumentation, or simple narrative (Masaeli & Heidari-Shahreza, 2016).

Language (LA)

In language, information that is necessary for the "verbalization of a text or content of the joke" is discussed (Gogová 2016, p.15). It refers to the exact wording of joke or words that are uttered to create fun (Attardo, 1994). Puns and allusions are the most commonly used techniques for this KR (Masaeli & Heidari-Shahreza, 2016).

Analysis and Discussion

Three themes on which data has been divided are discussed in the following section. Seven jokes, pertaining to each theme, have been selected for the analysis.

Analysis: Representation of Pathan in General

Following section deals with Pathans' depiction on general grounds without tagging their roles. These jokes are analysed individually by keeping in view GTVH's six knowledge resources.

Joke 1: Plastic Surgery

Pathan: Dr.Sahab Plastic Surgery me Kitna Kharcha Aayega??

(Doctor, how much would it cost for the Plastic Surgery?)
Dr.: 1 lakh. (Dr.: 1 lakh.)
Pathan: Agar Plastic hum de To?? (Pathan: If I provide the plastic then??)

Analysis
SO, in the joke is possible vs. impossible. It is possible to repair a person's face during surgery by removing or cutting affected parts through surgical tools but the real-world plastic would not be literally used during the operation. Incongruity introduced in the SO is partially resolved by the LM of referential ambiguity in this joke. It resolves the incongruity partially by Pathan asking that if he provides the plastic would the cost of the surgery be reduced or not. An additional LM of inferring consequences has also been instantiated as Pathan infers that if doctor is directly going to apply the plastic on his face that is why operation would be costly so he could cut it by providing the plastic himself.

The situation is a hospital where one doctor and Pathan, who is a patient here, argue about charges of plastic surgery, it can be clearly noted that target is Pathan's over generalization and lack of intelligence.

Narrative strategy used in above mentioned joke is a dialogue as two individuals (doctor and patient) discuss the treatment's cost. In this joke "plastic surgery" *plastic* has also been used as a pun.

Joke 2: Google Khan

Ustad: Tumhare Abbu ka kya naam hai?
(Teacher: What is your father's name?)
Pathan: Google Khan (Pathan: Google Khan)
Ustad: yeh kaisa naam hua?
 (Teacher: What type of name is it?)
Pathan: hum jahan b hota hai, wo hum ko dhoond hi leta hai.
(Pathan: No matter where I am, he always finds me)
Analysis

SO is human vs. non-human as Pathan is human but his son calls him Google khan because he is able to find him wherever he is, identical to Google (Global Positioning System). Another SO is possible vs. impossible as it is possible to search any object, place or to take information from Google, but a human being cannot be dubbed as Google, being an inanimate phenomenon.

To check any place through Google GPS is reasonable but as in above mentioned joke Pathan who can find his child cannot be like Google GPS, so LM is faulty reasoning. LM of false analogy, parallelism and exaggeration is also as the younger Pathan is comparing an internet search engine with his father and it is exaggerated that if he is able to trace his son he should be named as "Google". This Pathan is considering his father parallel to an internet search engine.

Situation is the school where teacher and a Pathan student are indulged in a conversation. It is quite apparent that the target is the Pathan, more specifically his skill in proving an argument and his irrationality. This joke is a simple narrative in the form of a dialogue that ends with a punch line. Teacher is asking question while the Pathan answers unpredictably.

Joke 3: *Desi Ghee* (Home Clarified Butter)

Pathan: Painting Kharidny Gaya. (Pathan went to buy a painting)

Painter: Ye 20,000 Rupay Ki Hai. Oil Paint Se Bani Hui Hai. (Painter: This is Rs.20 000: made of oil paint.)

Pathan: "Yara! Tum paison ki fiker mat kero, desi ghee me bhi kuch dikhao."

(Pathan: Please do not worry about money, show something in Desi ghee as well.)

Analysis

Logical vs. illogical is SO in this particular joke. It is logical to ask for a painting made up of oil paint, but it is illogical to get it painted with desi ghee. Another SO is educated vs. uneducated as the Pathan does not know that oil paint is a form of paint not oil used for cooking food. LM of referential ambiguity has been used as the Pathan is considering oil paint as an ingredient for food making and asking for desi ghee made product.

Situation described in this joke is a painting store. Target is obviously Pathan in this joke. Specifically, Pathan's intellect and lack of knowledge are being targeted. NS is a dialogue that is between a Pathan customer and shopkeeper for the purchase of paintings. The word *oil* has been used as a pun which ultimately creates humor.

Joke 4: *Jin KaBacha* (A giant's Kid)

Masjid meinElan ho rahatha, EkBacha mila hai, Jin ka hai Aa kar le jain.

(There was an announcement in Mosque that a lost child has been found, to whom he/she belongs, please take him/her)

To ek Pathan aaya, kehne laga, "Mujhe bhi dikhao" (a Pathan came and said "show it to me").

JIN ka bacha kaisa hota hai. (How a giant's kid looks like.)

Analysis

Dumb vs. smart is SO of above-mentioned joke. Word "jin" has been used in Urdu version as a pun because it has been used to ask to whom as well as it refers to a giant/demon etc. Pathan is ignorant as he misperceives this specific word "jin". Ambiguity created in SO is resolved partially through LMs of ignoring the obvious and referential ambiguity, in this specific joke that Pathan is asking to see giant's baby and not relating the intended meaning with the context or linguistic co-text.

Situation is mentioned explicitly in the joke as Mosque where an announcement is made about a lost child. Target is determined by SO that incites a stereotype about Pathan that they lack understanding of utterances based on the specific contexts. This joke is a simple narrative which ends with a punch line, a pun is also there.

Joke 5: *Shaadi***(Marriage)**

Larki: "Mere ami ko tum bohat pasand aye ho"
 (Girl: "My mother liked you a lot.")

Pathan(sharmatyhoye):"Kuch bhi ho par hum shadi tum se hi karyga" khala sy kaho "hum ko bhool jao".

(Pathan [in shyness]: "whatever it is but I will marry only you", tell her to "forget me".)

Analysis

SO is normal vs. abnormal in this joke. It is normal to say that a mother likes her daughter's lover, for her daughter, but it is abnormal to have a thought that this intensity of likeness can be translated into intention for marriage with him. Incongruity introduced in script opposition partially resolved by using linguistic mechanism of exaggeration in the joke. It's an exaggeration that the girl's mother likes Pathan for herself and not for her daughter. Although situation is not mentioned explicitly but it can be assumed from cultural context of Pakistan that the Pathan and girl are lovers and potential life partners and are discussing their marriage prospects over the phone or may be in-person meeting. This particular joke targets a Pathan notably his inferring capabilities. This joke consists of a simple narrative which is in the form of a dialogue as joke is based upon the conversation between the girl and Pathan.

Joke 6: Ghusal (Bath)

Molvi ne Pathan se puchha: "Gusal k kitneFarzhaiñ?"
(Molvi asked to Pathan "How many obligation to bath?")

Pathan: "3" (Pathan: "3")

Molvi.. konkon se??
(Molvi: "which ones??")

Pathan: "sabon, shampoo aurtolya"

(Pathan: "soap, shampoo, and towel")

Analysis

SOs of ignorant vs. knowledgeable, literal vs. connotative, and spiritual vs. physical have been used. In the joke Pathan does not know what are the basics of bathing according to Islamic point of view, and relate them with physical objects around him that are used for bathing. Faulty reasoning has been used as LM to resolve the incongruity. LM is faulty reasoning because essentials for bath are not basics for bath in lslam, and Pathan compares two different concepts as physical world entities are different from and are not needed for spiritual enrichment.

Situation is not clearly mentioned in the joke but can be inferred as Madrassah (a place where knowledge about religion and culture is delivered). A religious scholar (Moulvi) asks Pathan "how to take bath". Target is pathan as he is being shamed particularly his lack of skills in identifying the contextual information and background knowledge. Narrative is in the dialogue form that ends with a punch line between Moulvi and Pathan.

Joke 7: *Joray* **(dresses)**

Aik Pathan nay dusry Pthan se poucha:"joray kahan bnty hn?"

(One Pathan asked to the second Pathan: "Where are the couples made?")

dusry ne kaha:"asmano per"

(Second one said: "In the Heavens")

Pehla bola:"O ME MAR GYA, me to drzeeko de aya"

(First said: "Oh God, but I have handed them over to the tailor")

Analysis
Sky vs. earth, actual vs. non-actual, and stupid vs. intelligent are the SOs used in the joke. It is in heavens where couples are made but on earth, they met each other and if things work out, get married but it is not possible that dresses will be stitched on skies because the word *Joray* has been used as pun. Pathan is ignorant about the inferred as well as actual meanings of the utterance. LM of referential ambiguity has been used as the pun refers to two things i.e., dresses as well as married couples.

Situation is not mentioned in the joke but it is assumed that it can be any spot where the fiends usually hang out. Target is Pathan's lack of knowledge about daily affairs and how he cannot infer the real meaning of any utterance from its context, hinting towards his dumbness. This joke ends with punch line and humor is created by uttering last sentence. It is in the form of a dialogue that is between two Pathans. The word "Joray" can be categorized pun in Urdu language.

Pathans: Exercising Intellect

There are a lot of jokes about Pathans in which they are the central figures and are seen using their skills. In the following section jokes about them are analyzed which shed light their intelligence and to what extent they use their minds.

Joke 8: Khudkush Dhamaka (Suicide Bombing)

Bhai: "tum mere shadi py kia karyga."

(Brother: what will you do on my wedding?)
Pathan: "ma kuch khaas karunga."

(Pathan: "I will do something special")
Bhai: "Jaisy???"
(Brother: "Like what?")
Pathan: "Har koe goli chalata ha hum khudkush dhamaka karyga."
(Pathan: "Everyone fires, I will be a suicide bomber and explode myself.")

Analysis
SO is normal vs. abnormal. It's normal to do aerial firing on wedding nights in Pakistani culture but it is abnormal to be a suicide bomber to make it memorable. Another SO is special vs. common as aerial firing is common practice. Exaggeration is LM in the joke to resolve incongruity. To explode oneself on brothers' wedding is exaggerated that Pathan in order to express his happiness in unusual way can explode himself. Situation can be inferred to be home where two brothers are discussing the to be wedding. Butt of the joke is Pathan's simple mindedness and inability to respond appropriately. NS is in the dialogue form which ends in the punch line. The language is simple and humor is created by using last statement and it reinforces the stereotype that often Pathans are dumb.

Joke 9: Bar-e-Azam (Sub Continent)

Ustad: "Dunya me kitne Bar-e-Azam hen?"

(Teacher: "How many continents are there in the world?")

Pathan: "Chaar"

(Pathan: "Four")

Ustad: "Kon Kon Se?"

 (Teacher: "Which ones are they?")

Pathan: Quaid-e-Azam,. Sikandar-e-Azam, Mughal-e-Azam aur Mera Chacha Haji Azam"
(Pathan: "Quaid-e-Azam, Sikandar-e-Azam, Mughal-e-Azam and my uncle Haji Azam.")

Analysis
Ignorance vs. knowledge is script opposition in this joke as Pathan concludes that "azam", meaning "great" in Urdu, is used with persons' name only and not as an adjective for continents as well. Logical vs. illogical is also another script opposition used in this joke. In order to resolve the ambiguity partially the LM of referential ambiguity has been used because the word "azam" has been used as pun. In Urdu language Bar-e-Azam stands for great continent while people are also named as Azam. The Pathan's inability to see this link and look for an alternative, points him out to be lacking any intelligence.

The situation is of a classroom "where the young minds are nurtured and it is expected that their vision will be broadened" (Rashad & Azher, 2018) a query is made to be answered and the target is a Pathan. NS is realized in the form of a dialogue in the above-mentioned joke as teacher raises a question and Pathan tries to answer according to his intellect. There is a pun in the joke, the word, "azam"

Joke 10: Wait Please

Pathan ek Jaga Interview Dene Gaya or Bola… "Kia ma andar a saktahun?"

(Pathan went for an interview and asked, "May I come in, sir?")
To interviewer Ny Rukny K Liye Kaha: "Wait Please".

(Interviewer said "wait please" to stop him)

Pathan: 80 Kg. (Pathan: 80 Kg.)

Analysis
SO, in this joke is reasonable vs. unreasonable because it is reasonable to say wait please if someone asks for permission but it is not reasonable to consider it its homophone *weight*. Referential ambiguity has been used as LM of the joke wait means to delay an action but Pathan concludes it as weight/mass in kg or pounds to resolve ambiguity. Pathan is asking for permission during an interview so it can be assumed that situation is a company or an organization.

Center of humiliation is Pathan's genius so he is the target of the joke. It is a simple narrative in form of a descriptive monologue as a third person is narrating about an incident. The word "wait" is a pun as it could be interpreted to be one's body mass as well as the intended imperative. This shows again a stereotype that pathans are unable to understand what can be the meaning of a statement in a specific context that is the reason they are considered stupid.

Joke 11: Lady Doctor

Pathan: "Main jitni bhi taleem hasil karlun main who nae ban sakta jo main chahta tha". (Pathan: "Does not matter how hoard I work I can never be what I always wanted to be.") *Lady Doctor: "Ap kia banna chahty hain?"*

(Lady Doctor: "What you want to be?")

Pathan: "Lady Doctor". (Pathan: "Lady Doctor.")

Analysis
SO of this joke is logical vs. illogical as it is logical to ask for being a doctor or nurse by male but to be a lady doctor is illogical. Male vs. female is also script opposition in the joke. Incongruity is being resolved by using faulty reasoning that refers to LM. Pathan wants to become a lady doctor that is not reasonable for a male.

Situation appears to be a hospital as Pathan shares his problem with a lady doctor. Pathan tells about his confusion and inserts that it cannot be resolved. Joke is cracked at the expanse of Pathan's irrationality which is the target. Joke ends with a punch line in simple narrative in form of a dialogue. This reinforces the stereotype that even if a Pathan tries to be smart he will do something stupid.

Joke 12: Radio aur Newspaper (Radio and Newspaper)

Aadmi: "Akhbar aur radio ma kia farak ha?"

(Man: "What's the difference between a radio and a newspaper?")

Pathan (kafi sochny ky baad): "*Yaara! Ab radio ma roti tu nae lapait sakty na."*(Pathan [after thinking a lot]:Dude!*chapattis* (bread) cannot be wrapped in a radio."

Analysis
SO of the joke is reasonable vs. unreasonable. It is not reasonable to say that wrapping "*chapatties*" is the difference between radio and newspaper as one can be used to fulfil this purpose while other cannot be. Rationality vs. stupidity is also an additional script opposition as he is ignorant about logical difference between them. LM in the above-mentioned joke is faulty reasoning and false analogy as to say newspaper can be used for wrapping chapattis, mostly in Pakistan an old newspaper is used to wrap stuff up. On the contrary the Pathan is unable to guess the right answer that they are entirely different sources of information and communication. Pathan appears to be very short sighted and devoid of any critical skills.

As it is a conversation between any man and a Pathan so it can be assumed that situation is a public place where different people gather and communicate although physical situation is not clearly mentioned. The target of the joke is Pathan's comprehension which is evidently faulty here. Joke ends with a punch line in simple narrative. NS used in this joke is dialogue. This joke provokes the stereotype that they are not good in using even common sense.

Joke 13: *Khan Sahab Ki Flight me*(**Khan Sahab in the flight**)

Khan Sahab Ki Flight me Tabiyat Kharab Ho Gai.

Air Hostess asked: "Are you Suffering from Fever??"

Khan Sahab: "No, Suffering from Karachi & going to Peshawar." (Khan Sahib: "No, travelling from Karachi and going to Peshawar")

Analysis

Correct vs. wrong is the SO. It is incorrect to translate suffering word for traveling as it is used in the joke for enquiring about his health. The word "suffer" is pun here which in English stands for bearing while in Urdu it has the same homophone which means to travel, that is hwy the Pathan gets confused. Intelligence vs. stupidity and knowledge vs. ignorance have been used as additional SOs. Referential ambiguity is the LM in this joke as he is using the word suffering and considering it a word of *Urdu* with inflection "*ing*" to resolve incongruity.

Situation is an airplane flight in which a Pathan is travelling. His lack of knowledge that an Urdu word cannot be inserted in the middle of an English phrase and that there is a same sounding word "suffer" in English as well makes him target of the joke. NS in the mentioned joke is dialogue in which he is answering the question made by air hostess, there is a pun as well.
14: Seelab Wala Pani (Flood Water)

Ustad: Panika formula kia ha?

 (Teacher: what is the chemical formula of water?)

Pathan: $H_2N_3MgC_1NaCHnO_3O_2$

(Pathan: $H_2N_3MgC_1NaCHnO_3O_2$)
Ustad: Nalaik…yehkia ha? (Teacher: Duffer… what is this?)
Pathan: yeh hmary gaoun kapani ha. Selaab wala…

 (Pathan: it's our village water. flood water…)

Analysis
Natural disaster vs. normal circumstances and rationale vs. irrational are the SOs of this joke as waters' formula is H_2O, but it is not rational that it would be $H_2N_3MgC_1NaCHnO_3O_2$ even if is flood water. Exaggeration is LM in this joke as it is exaggerated that if there is flood water instead of the regular water then its formula will be different and not the universally accepted and scientific one. Class room is the situation in this joke where a question is posed and Pathan answers according to his mental capability. Pathan's reasoning ability is target of the joke. NS is dialogue that ends with a punch line as question is answered by Pathan.

Representation of Pashtun Culture

In this section Pashtun culture's depiction is analyzed that how it is represented in jokes. This stereotypical depiction makes them an easy target of ethnic jokes.

Joke 15: American Pathans

Agr pathan Amercian hoty tu kiya name rkhty apna?

(If Pathans were Americans what names would they give to themselves),

Trouble khan, Serious khan, Trial khan, Normal khan, Fast khan, Education khan, Latest khan, and Previous Khan

Analysis

SOs in this joke are realistic vs. non-realistic and logical vs. illogical. It is customary in Pathans that they choose different names, based on circumstances but it illogical that they would choose such weird names. LM of exaggeration has been used to partially resolve ambiguity by ridiculing them on their overuse of names related to circumstances i.e., *Samundar Khan* (Sea), and *Muhabbat Khan* (Love)". There is no actual physical situation mentioned in the joke but it can be presumed that it is a public place where they are humiliatin the naming practice of Pathans try to maintain their identity. It's a descriptive monologue as it is stated in form of a statement that starts with a conditional 'if' where someone based on the stereotype that Pashtun choose names according to circumstances or occurrences. This provides a stereotype that Pashtun have no logic behind their naming which is cultural practice and is responsible in shaping one's identity.

Joke 17: *Pathan k Ander JIN chalagaya. (*Pathan: possessed by a Djin)

3 Din k Baad Jin KhudAalim k Paasgayaaur Bola: "Aalim Sahab, Khuda k liye Mujhy Pathan k andar say Bahar Nikalo, Warna Me Naswar Kha Kha ker Mar Jaunga".
(After three days Djin (demon) went to a Aalim (religious scholar) and said "Aalim sahib please take me out of Pathan otherwise I will die eating quid so much".)

Analysis

Real vs. unreal, human vs. demon and possible vs. impossible are the SOs of this joke. Death of a human is reality while giant or demons are not material entities, which are eternal, so they cannot diem which makes the SO unrealistic. Moreover, usually in Pakistan when a person is supposed to be possessed then he/she visits a religious scholar to get rid of the evil spirit and not the other way around. Exaggeration and faulty reason have been employed as the LMs in this joke as it is exaggerated and illogically argued that a demon will die or would be visiting the religious scholar to be saved instead of the person. The situation can be assumed to be a religious place i.e., Mosque which is associated with "*Aalims*". Quid eating is particularly associated with Pathans that is why a Pathan has been chosen as the target of the joke.

NS is descriptive monologue as joke is being narrated by the third person who is not part of the joke. This presents a stereotypical picture of Pashtun culture, at the expense of ridiculing their cultural identity.

Joke 18: Naswar (Quid)

Pathan Apni Girlfriend k sath Date par gya, aur ahista se bola "Mere dil main ek bat hy magr kehte huy Ghabrata hun"
(Pathan went on a date with his girlfriend and whispered "There is something in my heart but I am afraid to share")
Girl: "Kah bhi do na"
*(*Girl: "Say it now")
Pathan: "Tumary pass Naswar hai?"
*(*Pathan: "Do you have quid?")

Analysis

Expected vs. unexpected, and real vs. ideal are the script oppositions. It is expected to say romantic words to a lover but asking about quid, as in this particular instance, by Pathan is unexpected. Making a date successful is ideal while in real it is being ruined by Pathan by putting a highly unromantic and weird demand. Faulty reasoning and exaggeration have been used as the LMs because it is not reasonable and has been exaggerated that a Pathan asks his

girlfriend if she has any quid, in such a suggestive manner. Provided culture in Pakistan, it can be assumed that a restaurant or any public place is the situation as the couple is probably on a date Pathan's sense of maintain relationship and his wit have been humiliated which makes him suitable for the target of the joke.

NS is in the form of a dialogue that ends with a punch line. This strengthens the stereotype that Pathans love quid more than anything, also they are not much sensible and end up ruing the moment.

Joke 19: *Bomb*

Aik pathan TV par bomb rakh kar cricket ka final match daikh raha tha
(A Pathan was watching final cricket match after placing a bomb on the TV)
Biwi: "yeh kia kar rahy ho?"
(Wife: "What are you doing")
Pathan: "Agryeh aaj b haar gaye tu sari team ko bomb se ura dun ga"
(Pathan: "If they lose again today then I will explode the whole team").

Analysis

Possible vs. impossible, normal vs. abnormal and animate vs. inanimate are the many SOs to be found in the joke. It is possible to kill someone alive by attacking with a bomb but impossible to even harm anyone on an in animate TV screen. Faulty reasoning is the LM used to resolve incongruity as Pathan thinks that pictures moving in TV are like real human beings so exploding that would also explode people in the pictures up there. Home is the situation in this joke as Pathan is watching a cricket match and presence of his wife confirms it.

A Pathan is the target of this joke and his irrationality and aggressive nature has been hinted at particularly. This strengthens the cultural stereotype that Pathans are fools, aggressive and violent and helps in promoting generalizations about them which essentially is the basis for any kind of stereotyping.

Joke 20: *Naswar Cheen li…*(Quid was snatched)

TALIBAN ki drindagi ka 1 or jeeta jagta sabot
(Another living example of Taliban's brutality)
Mingowra Swat me Jahan Zeb college k samnay Masom Students se gun point pay "Naswar" Cheen li…!
(In Mingora, Swat five innocent students were robbed of quid in front of Jahan Zeb College.)

Analysis

Serious vs. trivial, normal vs. abnormal and armed vs. unarmed are SOs as robbery is serious, and students unarmed while perpetrators of the act armed. Introduced incongruity is resolved by exaggeration because the grave act of robbery has been trivialized and made to appear that Pathans love quid, which is quite cheap, so much that it is worthy to be taken away at gun point, like any expensive material. In front of an educational institute, college has been mentioned as the situation of the joke. Pathans are the butt end of the joke hence they are the target. NS is a simple narrative descriptive and uses the techniques of delivering a sensational news item. The very first statement sets the tone that a very horrendous and shocking incident has taken place and for that matter a strong language has been used to heathen the impression. The joke also subtly points out that Pathans are brutal as the first statement cashes on an already established and widely accepted view that Pathans are cruel to each other as well.

Joke 21: *Mannat* (Vow or Wish)

PTHAN "Mazar" pe Bomb Rakhte Hoy Pakra gya logo Ne bht Maara aur Pocha aesa Q kia?
(Pathan was caught while fitting a bomb on a mausoleum, people beat him hard and asked why did he do that.
PTHAN ko Kuch Smaj Na aaya To Bola:"Mene Bomb Rakhne ki Mannat Mani thi".
(Pathan was unable to answer and said: "I vowed/promised to fit a bomb")

Analysis

Normal vs. abnormal and acceptable vs. unacceptable is SO, as it acceptable in Pakistani culture to present some kind of an offering to a saint i.e., fragrant sticks or a food item etc (something eatable or money is usually distributed among poor). Mannat is a practice in which a person pledges that if his/her wish would be granted they will offer something at the mausoleum. Mentioned earlier is the normal and accepted way of doing the thing while fixing bomb is far away from that. LM of faulty reasoning has been used to resolve the ambiguity introduced in the script opposition. The Pathan's answer of fixing a bomb that will end up killing and injuring people instead of fulfilling the routine ritual toes a faulty line of argument.

Situation is a shrine/mausoleum where Pathan planned to execute his maneuver and tried covering up using the context. Pathans' psyche and violent nature makes him target in the present joke. NS is a simple descriptive narrative mixed with a dialogue as Pathan is being interrogated about his action and he responds by providing a self-made logic. The joke not only points at Pathans' illogical logic it presents him in an extremely negative light that how instead of maintaining peace he is actually responsible for bringing harm terror and is a danger to fellow beings around him.

Conclusion

Linguistic analysis on the basis of General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) by Attardo & Raskin (1991) points that language is not only used to communicate and build relationships but is also as a tool to control others' behavior. Jokes made by different ethnicities about Pathans reflect a negative stereotypical image that demonstrates that how language and humor are used in 'othering' a particular social entity. These also demonstrate how they are being marginalized on the bases of their cultural identity and how ethnic jokes are cracked and laughed at the expense of a specific ethnic group. Jokes that are analyzed in above sections under themes: Pathans exercising their intellect reflect that they are portrayed as dumb, empty headed, irrational and have no common sense and they are not even able to understand a situation and act properly in a specific context in most of the circumstances. Moreover, Pathans lacked the skill of making an interaction meaningful and they do not act normal in public spheres and are usually the laughing stokes for people around them. Jokes where Pathans are represented in general it has been shown that they lack confidence and even if they try to use their skills it is of little help. In most of the situations they are presented as foolish and less educated. Demonstration of their culture draws somewhat similar picture of violence, stupidity and a general sense of awkwardness about their ethnicity and identities. This stereotypical representation is causing harm to their "face" (Yule, 1996) and places them lower at a societal spectrum.

Present study is an attempt to mark casual ethical and cultural humor and to highlight how it is being internalized. In order bring in the light and question such belittling narratives such type of studies need to be carried out, this being just one drop in the ocean.

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