

**The role of discourse markers in text organization of the genre
stand-up comedy in Portugal and in the United States**

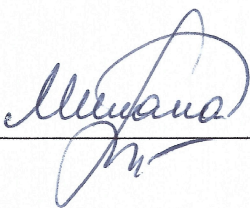
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Tese de Doutoramento em Linguística

Julho, 2019

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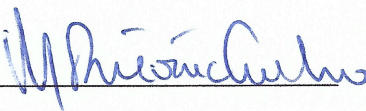
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Milana Andreevna Morozova

Abstract

In this thesis, conversational discourse markers (e.g. *well, you know, bem, quer dizer*) are seen as a genre parameter of stand-up comedy, i.e. a characteristic trait that constitutes the genre's identity (Coutinho 2007). This assumption is based on the fact that stand-up comedy is typically described as a conversational form of art (Attardo 2001; Brodie 2014; Double 2014; Rutter 1997; Greenbaum 1999) and, therefore, similar to any interactive spoken practice, it is rich in discourse markers. The study explores the frequency, the functions, the distribution, the position and the role of the selected range of conversational discourse markers in text organization of the genre *stand-up comedy*. The results showed that there are three main tendencies regarding the implementation of this genre parameter in concrete texts (in American English and European Portuguese). Firstly, Portuguese units are predominantly non-discourse marking, whereas their English counterparts represent mostly discourse-marking uses. Secondly, new functions have been attested, i.e. to anticipate a shift between direct/indirect modes of speech, to signal personal experience and to address the audience. These newly emerging functions are closely related to the specificity of the genre stand-up comedy, namely, its narrative, autobiographical and interactive nature. The third and last observed tendency refers to the position of the discourse markers in text organization or text plan. All the selected discourse markers, with no exception, function within the body of a stand-up comedy act, performing a series of textual and/or interactional functions, according to the hypothesis of duo-domain (i.e. textual and interactional functions, as proposed in Brinton, 1996). Predominant occurrence of these units within the body of stand-up comedy acts indicates the importance of their textual functioning; the wide spectrum of functions they perform within the comedian's act is used to structure, shape, mend, clarify, introduce, prepare, etc. the text for perception. In this respect, conversational discourse markers are akin to guiding devices within the text organization of the stand-up comedy.

KEYWORDS: discourse markers, text plan, stand-up comedy, genre.

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Resumo

Neste trabalho, os marcadores discursivos conversacionais (i.e., *well, you know, bem, quer dizer, etc.*) são vistos como um parâmetro de género *stand-up comedy*, ou seja, um traço característico que constitui a identidade de género (Coutinho 2007). Esta suposição é baseada no facto de o *stand-up comedy* ser tipicamente descrito como uma forma de arte conversacional (Attardo 2001; Brodie 2014; Double 2014; Rutter 1997; Greenbaum 1999) e, portanto, sendo similar a qualquer prática oral interativa, rica em marcadores discursivos. O estudo explora a frequência, as funções, a distribuição, a posição e o papel de uma gama selecionada de marcadores discursivos na organização textual do género *stand-up comedy*. Os resultados indicam três tendências principais na realização deste parâmetro de género em textos concretos (em inglês americano e português europeu). Em primeiro lugar, as unidades em português são predominantemente não-discursivas, enquanto as suas congéneres inglesas representam, na sua maioria, usos de marcação discursiva. Em segundo lugar, novas funções foram identificadas, i.e., antecipar uma mudança entre os modos de fala (direto/índireto), sinalizar a experiência pessoal e dirigir-se diretamente ao público. Essas novas funções estão intimamente relacionadas com a especificidade do género *stand-up comedy*, a sua natureza narrativa, autobiográfica e interativa, respetivamente. Por fim, constatou-se que todos os marcadores discursivos selecionados, sem exceção, funcionam dentro de um ato de *stand-up comedy*, realizando uma série de funções textuais e/ou interacionais (Brinton, 1996), demonstrando assim a importância do seu funcionamento textual. O amplo espectro de funções que desempenham dentro do ato de comediante é usado para estruturar, moldar, corrigir, esclarecer, introduzir, preparar, etc., o texto para compreensão do público. Deste ponto de vista, os marcadores discursivos conversacionais são semelhantes a guias de orientação dentro da organização do texto no género *stand-up comedy*.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: marcadores discursivos, plano de texto, stand-up comedy, género.

CONTENTS

I Introduction

1. 1. Context and motivation.....	1
1. 2. Research framework.....	3
1. 3. Research questions.....	5
1. 4. Thesis outline.....	6

II Linguistic and non-linguistic research of stand-up comedy

II. 1. The history of stand-up comedy: tracing the origins.....	10
II. 1. 1. Stand-up in the United States.....	10
II. 1. 2. Stand-up in the UK.....	12
II. 1. 3. Comparing stand-up comedy in the US and in the UK...	14
II. 1. 4. Stand-up comedy in the Anglophone world today.....	15
II. 2. The rise of stand-up comedy in Portugal.....	16
II. 3. What is stand-up comedy?.....	20
II. 4. Key features of stand-up comedy.....	22
II. 5. Linguistic approaches to stand-up comedy.....	27
II. 5. 1. Semantico-pragmatic approaches.....	27
II. 5. 1. 1. The Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH)..	27
II. 5. 1. 2. The General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH)..	29
II. 5. 1. 3. Revision of GTVH by Attardo (2001).....	33
II. 5. 1. 4. Revision of GTVH by the GRIALE Research Group (2012).....	38
II. 5. 2. Conversation Analysis (CA) approach.....	39
II. 5. 3. Pragmatic approaches.....	42
II. 6. Summary.....	45

III Stand-up comedy as a genre

III. 1. Socio-discursive approaches to genre.....	47
III. 1. 1. Bakhtin on the notion of speech genre.....	47

III. 1. 2. Text genre and discourse type in the framework socio-discursive interactionism (SDI).....	50
III. 1. 3. Text genre and text type in the socio-interactionism perspective by Marcuschi (2005).....	53
III. 1. 4. Discourse genre according to Textual Analysis of Discourses (Adam).....	55
III. 2. Some converging principles on language, text and genre between the socio-discursive approaches and Systemic Functional Linguistics.....	58
III. 3. Approaches to structuration of texts.....	62
III. 3. 1. General infrastructure of texts (Bronckart).....	62
III. 3. 2. Sequences and text plan (Adam).....	65
III. 3. 2. 1. Narrative sequence.....	70
III. 3. 2. 2. Argumentative sequence.....	72
III. 3. 2. 3. Explicative sequence.....	73
III. 3. 2. 4. Descriptive sequence.....	74
III. 3. 2. 5. Dialogal sequence.....	75
III. 3. 3. On the notion of texture (Halliday & Hasan).....	75
III. 4. Synthesis of speech genre theories in light of stand-up comedy.....	78

IV Discourse markers

IV. 1. General theoretical background on discourse markers.....	85
IV. 1. 1. Terminological discussion.....	85
IV. 1. 2. Main approaches to the study of discourse markers.....	90
IV. 1. 3. Main characteristics.....	93
IV. 1. 4. Functions of discourse markers.....	100
IV. 2. Conversational discourse markers in stand-up comedy: previous research.....	103
IV. 2. 1. The English discourse markers <i>well</i> , <i>you know</i> and <i>I mean</i> ..	103
IV. 2. 1. 1. <i>Well</i>	103
IV. 2. 1. 2. <i>You know</i>	109
IV. 2. 1. 3. <i>I mean</i>	112

IV. 2. 2. The Portuguese discourse markers <i>bem (bom)</i> , <i>sabe(s)</i> , <i>sabem</i> and <i>quer(o) dizer</i>	113
IV. 2. 2. 1. Establishing functional equivalence.....	113
IV. 2. 2. 2. Back translations from Portuguese into English..	117
IV. 2. 2. 3. <i>Bem</i> and <i>bom</i>	119
IV. 2. 2. 4. <i>Sabe(s)</i> and <i>sabem</i>	123
IV. 2. 2. 5. <i>Quer(o) dizer</i>	125
IV. 3. Hypothesis of the study: taxonomy of conversational discourse markers in the genre of stand-up comedy.....	128

V Corpus and methodology

V. 1. Corpus.....	132
V. 2. Transcription conventions.....	133
V. 3. Method.....	139

VI Qualitative and quantitative analysis

VI. 1. <i>Well</i>	140
VI. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	140
VI. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	141
VI. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	142
VI. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	146
VI. 1. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	148
VI. 2. <i>You know</i>	
VI. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	149
VI. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	150
VI. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	151
VI. 2. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	157
VI. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	161
VI. 3. <i>I mean</i>	
VI. 3. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	161

VI. 3. 1. Discourse-marking uses.....	162
VI. 3. 3. 1. Textual functions.....	163
VI. 3. 3. 2. Interactional functions.....	165
VI. 3. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	166
VI. 4. <i>Bem</i> and <i>bom</i>	
VI. 4. 1. <i>Bem</i>	166
VI. 4. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	166
VI. 4. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	168
VI. 4. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	168
VI. 4. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	172
VI. 4. 1. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	173
VI. 4. 2. <i>Bom</i>	174
VI. 4. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	174
VI. 4. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	175
VI. 4. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	175
VI. 4. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	178
VI. 5. <i>Sabem</i> and <i>sabes</i>	
VI. 5. 1. <i>Sabem</i>	179
VI. 5. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	179
VI. 5. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	180
VI. 5. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	180
VI. 5. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	181
VI. 5. 1. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	182
VI. 5. 2. <i>Sabes</i>	182
VI. 5. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	182
VI. 5. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	183
VI. 5. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	183
VI. 5. 2. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	184
VI. 5. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	186

VI. 6. <i>Quer dizer</i>	186
VI. 6. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses.....	186
VI. 6. 2. Discourse-marking uses.....	187
V. 6. 2. 1. Textual functions.....	188
V. 6. 2. 2. Interactional functions.....	189
VI. 6. 3. Position in macro-textual organization.....	190
VI. 7. Summary of the findings.....	191

VII Conclusions and suggestions for future research

VII. 1. Conclusions.....	202
VII. 2. Future work.....	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	208
LIST OF FIGURES.....	227
LIST OF TABLES.....	229
ANNEX 1 TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS.....	231
ANNEX 2 CORPUS (ENGLISH).....	232
ANNEX 3 CORPUS (PORTUGUESE).....	300

I Introduction

1. 1. Context and motivation

The idea of this research is largely inspired by the existing diversity and mutability of *genres*, i.e. socially recognized and relatively stable forms used in different communicative situations. Not only do we live among the genres, we extensively (and mostly unconsciously) use them in our day-to-day interaction to produce texts and to receive and decode other people's messages.

The genre I propose for a more detailed investigation in this study is relatively recent. Although its earliest form appeared in the 19th century, stand-up comedy as a social practice emerged in the 1960s, when the first comedy club opened in the United States. Since then, it has been gaining popularity worldwide.

Linguistic research on stand-up comedy has been carried out predominantly in the domain of humor studies (Attardo, 1994, 2001; Rutter, 1997, 2000, 2001; Ruiz-Gurillo, 2012, 2015; Schwarz, 2010). The focus is typically on humor itself, i.e. what makes a particular text humorous, why a certain text elicits laughter, what linguistic mechanisms are employed in a joke so that it achieves its effect, and what common structural pattern a joke represents. Some authors analyzed stand-up comedy from a contrastive cross-cultural perspective (Katayama, 2009 for English and Japanese; Yus, 2016 for Spanish and English). Besides, there is a growing number of monolingual case study research (Scarpetta & Spagnoli, 2009 for English; Hassaine, 2014 for Algerian; Filani, 2015, Adetunji, 2013 for Nigerian).

As for Portuguese, there is no study on stand-up comedy so far. Lack of research can probably be explained by a relatively recent emergence of the genre in Portugal, i.e. in the early 2000s. The first linguistic approaches to the various aspects of this genre are still very recent (Morozova, 2015, 2016, 2017).

In contrast to the existing research on stand-up comedy, which focuses on humor, this thesis suggests looking at the genre from a linguistic (and mostly textual) perspective, considering the socio-discursive approaches to texts. Assuming that stand-up comedy is a genre (Bronckart, 2012; Adam, 2008, 2017), this study, in the first instance, reflects on a unique set of socio-discursive parameters it manifests (e.g. physical, socio-subjective

and textual parameters). As the literature review demonstrated, stand-up comedy is seen as a conversational, dialogic form of art (Attardo, 2001; Brodie, 2014; Double, 2014; Rutter, 1997; Greenbaum, 1999). Its seeming spontaneity and exceptional level of intimacy (achieved by a range of personal experience topics and a shared spatiotemporal setting, in the case of live performances) create a perception of a real-life face-to-face interaction.

It is this similarity to a conversation that accounts for a high frequency of certain discourse markers, i.e. words like *well, you know, bem, quer dizer*, etc. It is therefore assumed that conversational discourse markers can be considered a genre parameter, i.e. a characteristic similarity identified in genres (Coutinho, 2007). In other words, due to the conversational nature of stand-up comedy, linguistic units such as discourse markers are *expected* to be found. Similar to their functioning in a conversation, it will be further verified that discourse markers perform a series of functions both at the level of text (for instance, text organizing/structuring functions) and at the level of interaction (for instance, an appeal to audience's understanding).

The idea that discourse markers can be regarded as a genre parameter in stand-up comedy is verified once we try to remove them from the text structure of a stand-up act. Removal of these items would, first of all, negatively affect the structure of an oral text, making it more difficult for the listener to follow. Besides, their removal would 'neutralize' the text, making it sound less personal and more formal, i.e. something we do not expect from a face-to-face conversation. Discourse markers are therefore an inherent characteristic of stand-up comedy, and their role in text organization of stand-up comedy is the main objective of the study. The range of the selected discourse markers includes *well, you know, I mean* and their Portuguese equivalents *bem, bom, sabes, sabem* and *quer dizer*. This choice is motivated mostly by their conversational nature, and their high frequency in the corpora.

It has to be added that discourse markers *per se* have been principal objects of analysis in various fields of linguistics, including sociolinguistics (Schiffrin, 1987, Redeker, 1992), historical pragmatics (Brinton, 1996; Lutzky, 2012) and pragmatics (Levinson, 1983; Blakemore, 1992, 2002; Östman, 1981). There are numerous monolingual and cross-linguistic studies on discourse markers (Fraser, 1999, 2009a,b and Fischer, 1996, 1998 for English; Pons Bordería, 2006 for Spanish; Fiorentini, 2017 for Italian; Degand, 2013 for French; Cuenca, 2008 for English, Spanish and Catalan; Furkó

& Nagy, 2013 for English and Hungarian, etc., just to name a few). As for Portuguese studies, the main monolingual contributions on Portuguese discourse markers belong to Lopes (2004, 2014), Lopes & Sousa (2014), Sousa (2017), Valentim (2008, 2013, 2017), Duarte & Marques (2017), Morais (2011) and Gonçalves & Valentim (2017). In addition, there are several contrastive studies, mostly in Portuguese/Spanish (Duarte & León, 2015, Pons Bordería & Lopes, 2014) and Portuguese/French language pairs (Valentim & Lejeune, 2015). Research on Portuguese discourse markers is still underrepresented, as compared with other European languages and language pairs. Although the analysis presented in this study is limited to a particular genre (i.e. stand-up comedy), it nevertheless provides a complete functional range of the selected markers attested in the corpora. This way, the study both complements the existing research and provides some new reflections on the markers *bem*, *bom*, *sabes/sabem* and *quer dizer* in European Portuguese.

Thus, the motivation for this research is mostly caused by the following circumstances:

- Lack of any documented scientific (linguistic and textual, in particular) research on the genre of stand-up comedy in Portugal;
- Lack of general contrastive studies on discourse markers in Portuguese and English;
- Lack of data analysis of several discourse markers in Portuguese (e.g. “sabes” and “sabem”).

1. 2. Research framework

From the start, the title of this thesis indicates the existence of several large theoretical components the study is going to deal with. From a top-down perspective, these components include the studies on genre and the socio-discursive approaches to genres, approaches to structuration of texts and, finally, approaches to discourse markers and their functional taxonomies.

The studies on genre and the socio-discursive approaches to genres are largely based on the contributions made by Bronckart (2102) and his socio-discursive interactionism framework (henceforth, SDI) and Adam (2008, 2017) with his proposal of

Text Analyses of Discourses (henceforth, TAD). It is important to stress here that this study does not privilege one approach over the other in a radical manner; instead, these approaches are seen as complementary to each other. Genres are therefore socially recognized, relatively stable and goal-oriented forms used in different communicative situations and assigned exclusively to social practices; these socio-communicative forms or models are historically pre-existent, which means they are at the disposal of each individual of a particular society from his/her birth; besides, it is these models that enable language speakers to organize language as a system into a contextually situated discourse.

Both the SDI and the TAD approaches are beneficial for the initial (but not primary) goal of this study, which is identification of a unique set of socio-discursive parameters that the genre of stand-up comedy represents. These parameters include physical, socio-subjective and textual components. Whereas the physical (e.g. place of production, moment of production, emitter, receiver) and socio-subjective (e.g. social place, social position/status of emitter or enunciator and its addressee, objective(s) of interaction) parameters are adopted from the SDI perspective, the textual parameter, which stands for text organization or text plan, is based on a combination of both approaches. The configuration of text plan/text organization is based on the distribution of the thematic content; the shifts between the topics contribute to the identification of section shifts in a global text plan. The idea is suggested both in Adam (2008, p. 276) and Bronckart (2012a, p. 120).

As for the approaches to discourse markers and their functional taxonomies, this study privileges the two-level analysis, according to which discourse markers function on the textual and the interpersonal level (Halliday, 1976, 2014; Brinton, 1996; Erman, 2001; Schiffrin, 1987; Fischer & Drescher, 1996; Östman, 1981). In particular, the study adopts the binary taxonomy proposed by Brinton (1996, 2001), who argues that discourse markers perform certain textual functions on the textual level, i.e. they “fall more under the rubric of discourse analysis” (Brinton 2001, p. 139). These functions include marking various kinds of boundaries (e.g. to initiate or end discourse, to signal a topic change, to denote old information or new information), organizing oral discourse into “chunks”, i.e. narrative segmentation, assisting in turn-taking in discourse; repairing one’s own or other discourse; serving as a filler or a delay to sustain discourse or hold the floor, etc.

On the other hand, discourse markers perform interpersonal functions (e.g. expressing evaluation or emphasis, focusing on the speaker, evoking the hearer’s

attention, appealing to the addressee, expressing common knowledge, signaling politeness or face-saving, establishing intimacy, requesting confirmation, effecting cooperation, expressing response/reaction/attitude to the following/prior discourse). These functions “fall under the rubric of pragmatics proper” (Brinton, 1996, pp. 36–40; Brinton, 2001, p. 139).

This two-level theoretical approach to discourse markers is privileged due to its broader spectra of attested performance of discourse markers, which includes both discourse and pragmatic levels of language. If compared, for instance, with exclusively textual perspective proposed in Adam (2008, p. 180), the functions discourse markers perform are quite limited. As Adam explains, the basic function of discourse markers is connective. In some cases, it can combine with signaling enunciative responsibility and/or argumentative orientation of discourse (Adam, 2008, p. 180). As for the SDI perspective, the treatment of such micro-linguistic units as discourse markers is clearly underrepresented, which is perfectly comprehensible, considering the global approach to texts proposed in this framework. Because of the restricted functional range described in Adam and lack of theoretical foundations in the SDI framework, Brinton’s binary perspective on discourse markers is favored for the purposes of textual analysis in this study.

1. 3. Research questions

In this thesis, it is assumed that conversational discourse markers (e.g. *well, you know, bem, quer dizer*) can be regarded as a genre parameter of stand-up comedy, i.e. an expected trait that constitutes the genre’s identity (Coutinho, 2007). This assumption is based on the fact that stand-up comedy has been described by many authors as a conversational, dialogic form of art (Attardo, 2001; Brodie, 2014; Double, 2014; Rutter, 1997; Greenbaum, 1999), and, therefore, similar to any interactive spoken practice, it is rich in conversational discourse markers.

This study is concerned with identifying the frequency, the functions and the distribution of a variety of conversational discourse markers, as well as their role in text organization in American English and European Portuguese stand-up comedy. Following

Brinton (1996), it is assumed that discourse markers are two-fold linguistic devices, which operate at the textual and interactional levels.

The main research questions of this thesis are outlined below. Firstly, it is necessary to approach and characterize the genre proposed for the analysis in this study. In this respect, a more general question on its socio-discursive genre parameters raises:

- What are the socio-discursive (i.e. physical, socio-subjective and textual) parameters of the genre stand-up comedy?

Once the genre is characterized from a more general perspective, the focus is on discourse markers as a genre parameter (i.e. it is part of the textual component) of stand-up comedy. In this respect, a series of questions are posed regarding their frequency, functions and distributions.

- Which textual and interactional functions do the selected discourse markers perform in American and Portuguese stand-up comedy?
- What is the frequency of the discourse markers in both contexts?
- What is their position in macro-textual organization of the genre (i.e. the textual component of the genre parameters that corresponds to the text plan)?

The next group of questions deals with the analysis in a contrastive perspective:

- How does the frequency (or the functions, the distribution) of the selected discourse markers compare in American and Portuguese stand-up comedy?

And, finally, the answers to these questions will allow to draw general conclusions on the realization of discourse markers as a genre parameter, its similarities and differences between American and Portuguese contexts.

1. 4. Thesis outline

The thesis is divided into five chapters besides introduction and conclusions. The next chapter (Chapter II) looks at stand-up comedy from both non-linguistic and linguistic perspectives. From a non-linguistic perspective, it presents a short historical background of this form of art, its origins and development over the XX century in the United States and in the United Kingdom. The chapter then proceeds with a brief historical note on stand-up comedy in Portugal, and mostly its modern history. After that, stand-up comedy

is defined and its main characteristic features are described. From a linguistic point of view, the chapter situates stand-up comedy in the field of humor research, as it has been the main approach to its analysis so far. Humor research on stand-up comedy is grouped into three principal theoretical directions, which include semantico-pragmatic, conversational analysis and pragmatic approaches.

Chapter III situates stand-up comedy in the field of genre and text studies, not considered so far in the analysis of this form of art. In the first place, it consists of a predominantly theoretical background, which deals, on the one hand, with the socio-discursive approaches to genre and approaches to structuration of texts, and, on the other hand, provides a synthesis of the theoretical foundations in the light of the genre under investigation, i.e. stand-up comedy. The chapter begins with a short description of the main contributions on speech genre proposed by Bakhtin in the beginning of XX century. Then, two modern socio-discursive approaches to genre are described, namely, the SDI framework proposed by J. P. Bronckart (2012) and the TAD, elaborated by J.-M. Adam (2008, 2017). Key points on genre, text and text structure are presented here with regard to these two perspectives. The theoretical foundations are further supplemented by the contributions of Marcuschi (2005) and his differentiation between the notions of text genre and text type in the socio-interactionism perspective. Besides, some converging principles on language, text and genre between the socio-discursive approaches and Systemic Functional Linguistics are defined here. Approaches to structuration of texts are largely based on the theoretical contributions of the SDI and the TAD perspectives, with a critical comparison between these two approaches. The chapter ends with a systematic analysis of stand-up comedy as a genre in the light of the exposed theories. It develops principal genre parameters and defines further objectives of the study, namely, to see how genre parameters (and mostly textual ones) are realized through mechanisms of textual realization, and more precisely, through discourse markers.

Chapter IV is concerned with the main linguistic object of this study, i.e. discourse markers. It incorporates general research on discourse markers, and previous research on the selected conversational discourse markers. Also, in view of the exposed theoretical approaches to discourse markers, it presents the main hypothesis of this study to be tested in the genre of stand-up comedy. The theoretical background on discourse markers begins with a general terminological discussion, followed by identification of the approaches to the study of these linguistic units, their main characteristics and the range of functions

identified in the literature. Conversational discourse markers (i.e. *well, you know, I mean, bem/bom, sabes/sabem* and *quer dizer*) are then seen in greater detail, namely, their previous research and the functions they perform. The equivalence between the English and the Portuguese discourse markers has been established in the result of the application of the translation method; the method itself, as well as its procedure and results are described in this chapter. The final point of the chapter recapitulates the main theoretical assumptions and posits a hypothesis on discourse markers and its functioning in the light of the genre of stand-up comedy. The chapter ends with a list of research questions to be answered.

Chapter V deals with the technical aspect of the study, namely, its corpus collection, transcription conventions and method to be used in the textual analysis of the data. It describes the criteria for corpus selection, as well as its quantitative representation both in words and hours. In order to transcribe oral data from stand-up performances, transcription conventions have been exclusively designed for this study. These conventions are partially presented in the chapter, together with the reasons which lead to this decision, and their full version can be found in Annex 1. The chapter ends with the description of the method employed in this study. It covers both quantitative (numeric) and qualitative (interpretative) analysis of the selected range of discourse markers.

Chapter VI contains quantitative and qualitative analysis of the selected discourse markers. The analysis of each discourse marker is carried out in a particular order. First, non-discourse-marking and discourse-marking uses of each of the selected items are identified. The analysis then proceeds with discourse-marking uses, which fall into two functional groups, i.e. textual and interpersonal functions. Each excerpt from the corpora, which contain a discourse marker, is analyzed and interpreted. Based on these inferences, a functional taxonomy for each of the markers is created and presented quantitatively (as a bar chart). The last component of the textual analysis of each marker refers to its position in macro-textual organization of the genre of stand-up comedy, i.e. its place and role in the global textual structure. This procedure is repeated eight times, which corresponds to the number of discourse markers analyzed in this paper. The chapter ends with a general summary of the findings, which puts the data into a contrastive perspective. Discourse markers, i.e. their frequency, distribution, functional range and their role in text organization are compared in English and Portuguese stand-up comedy acts.

Chapter VII presents conclusions and results obtained, and answers the research questions posed in the beginning of this thesis. Also, it makes some suggestions for future work, including didactic applicability of this research to teaching discourse markers in Portuguese as a foreign language (L2).

The paper ends with a list of bibliography, list of figures and list of tables, and annexes, including transcription conventions and fully recorded corpus data in English and Portuguese.

II Linguistic and non-linguistic research of stand-up comedy

II. 1. The history of stand-up comedy: tracing the origins

II. 1. 1. Stand-up in the United States

It is difficult to establish exactly when and where stand-up comedy first sprang into life (Double, 2014, p. 94). In the US, the history of stand-up can be traced back to the late 19th century. Stebbins (1990, p. 7) singles out Mark Twain as the first ever stand-up comic. He was a “humorous lecturer” and toured the United States for about 50 years, delivering satirical and witty monologues on various subjects. He had a “unique lecturing style” for those days (*ibidem*). As stated in Stebbins (1990, p. 7), “Twain would lounge onstage, drawling out tall tales and anecdotes, pausing skillfully while his audience roared with laughter at certain passages”. These features are commonly associated to what today is known as stand-up comedy. Back then, as Stebbins admits, Twain was not a pure stand-up comic. Rather, he was a monologist in quasi-stand-up comedy. Nevertheless, certain elements of modern stand-up comedy can be observed from Twain’s humorous lectures, including certain characteristic features, such as live interaction between the audience and the teller, comic storytelling and timing.

According to Double (2014, p. 23), stand-up has its roots in American vaudeville, which was a popular form of entertainment in the US. It is believed that the first vaudeville venue opened in New York in 1881 by Tony Pastor. Back then, however, it was not called in that way. The word “vaudeville” appeared later, when B.F. Keith opened his first theatre in Boston (Double, 2014, p. 23). Performances in vaudeville theatres consisted of a mix of different acts. The most common included singers, dancers and *comedians*, i.e. performers who did comic storytelling. In fact, there were two types of comedians: sketch comedians and monologists. The main difference between them was that sketch comedians performed in costumes, heavy make-up and would rather act a particular scene. The monologists were like modern stand-up comedians: they had no props and addressed the audience directly by telling their jokes. In different periods of history, vaudeville performances included animals, acrobats, magicians and card-trick performers, i.e. common circus elements.

Vaudeville was an extremely popular form of entertainment in the US. In its glorious days, there were around 1,000 vaudeville theatres in the US, hosting around 25,000 performers (Double, 2014, p. 25). It quickly became a big business with a considerable annual turnover. At first, several rich entrepreneurs owned vaudeville theatres. In some time, however, business chains began to merge and came under control of one organization – Keith-Albee-Orpheum chain.

This merge had disastrous consequences for vaudeville theatres. The owner of the shares was not interested in theatre. The situations worsened because of the competition from first silent, and then sound cinema in the late 1920s. In 1930 the shares were sold to the Radio Corporation of America, which became RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum). By 1935, vaudeville theatres had almost disappeared. At that point, vaudeville monologists and their future prototypes of stand-up comedians were at the edge of becoming “a vanishing species” (Double, 2014, p. 26). However, this form of comedian art continued to develop in two arenas: the Borscht Belt (a chain of resorts and hotels in the Catskill Mountains that was a favorite holiday destination for New York Jews) and the Chitlin Circuit (a series of cabaret, night clubs and theatres in cities like Chicago, Detroit, Washington DC and Philadelphia).

In 1953, a new comic group called *the sick comics* was formed. They were a “classic image of the American stand-up comedian telling gags in front of a bare brick backdrop”, (Double, 2014, p. 27). It was a turning point in the history of stand-up in the US. The sick comics contributed to formation of modern stand-up the way we know it today, with casual clothes, relaxed setting, few or no props and conversational delivery. For the first time, stand-up comedy began to enter into taboo topics.

The first comedy club opened in 1962 in New York. This time, the venue was exclusively devoted to stand-up. There were no dancers or singers. It was set up by George Schultz (a comedian himself) and named after George’s dog Pip. *Pips Comedy Club* had a long life and closed down around 2007.

Another legendary comedy club opened a year later after Pips. *The Improv* (or *the Improvisation Café*) is said to have revolutionized American comedy because it was the true “originator of the modern idea of a comedy club” (Double, 2014, p. 30). Many of the biggest names in American comedy still perform here today.

As the time went by, more comedy clubs emerged. In the mid-1970s, another two comedy clubs *The Comic Strip* and *Catch a Rising Star* opened its doors to the audience. By the 1980s, there was a boom of comedy clubs in the US. By the 1990s, there were 300 comedy clubs, hosting around 2,000 comedians. The success of the stand-up was compared to “the new rock and roll” (Double, 2014, p. 32). As stated in Limon (2000, p. 3), “all America is the pool for national stand-up comedy”.

Thus, the history of modern stand-up comedy started with monologists in vaudeville theatres in the 1920s. Then, after the end of the vaudeville, the form continued to develop on the arenas in Borscht Belt and the Chitlin Circuit. Later on, the sick comedians drew a blueprint of modern stand-up. And, finally, the first comedy club was born in New York.

II. 1. 2. Stand-up in the UK

As stated in Friedman (2009, p. 9), it was not until the Theatres Act of 1843 that comedy began to form a separate field in British culture. First comic performances began to emerge as part of music halls, which was a popular form of art in the mid to late 19th century (Friedman, 2009, p. 10; Double, 2014, p. 35).

According to Double (2014, p. 35), British music hall is slightly older than American vaudeville. He explains that the official date is 1892, when Charles Morton opened the Canterbury Hall in London. Music halls came from “tavern-based entertainment” and its form took a series of acts. Similar to a vaudeville performance, music hall was a male-dominated form of comedy art that included singers, dancers and other performers. Its popularity grew tremendously. By 1968, there were 200 music halls in London and 300 in the surroundings.

It is interesting that initially music halls were quite extended performances, sometimes up to 83 acts in a single performance. The spectators could come and go, i.e. there was no necessity to stay for the whole show. By the beginning of the 20th century this policy was cancelled in favor of a shorter performance (and more similar to vaudeville).

Initially, a classic music hall based heavily on songs. As the time went by, the music would stop for the comedian to tell a series of jokes. Gradually, the comedian began to dominate the show and music became a secondary element.

In the 1920s and 1930s, music hall in Britain began to face the same problems as their neighbors across the Atlantic, until it gradually died out. Since popularity of the films began to grow, there was a strong competition for the spectators' appeal. Music hall was later succeeded by variety, which managed to survive (unlike American vaudeville). As Double (2014, p. 41) explains, it happened by accident. While vaudeville theatres in the US fell under control of one owner, who eventually was not interested in their existence, variety theatres were under control of George Black and Val Parnell, who were eager and passionate about maintaining this form of art. As a result of this bifurcation, variety theatres continued to spread and managed to stay popular even until 1950. By the 1960s and 1970s, variety theatres fell into decline and then died out, giving way to television (Friedman, 2009, p. 13).

Television became a fantastic means of promoting and distributing comedy to the British audience (Friedman, 2009, p. 13). During the 1970s, traditional or 'trad' stand-up comedy was introduced to mainstream TV. There are two main aspects that characterized 'trad' stand-up. Firstly, jokes tended to be aggressive, sexist and homophobic, i.e. the origins of this type of humor are found in the superiority theory. And secondly, comedians did not write comic material that they performed.

Whereas the sick comedians reinvented stand-up in the 1950s in the US and comedy clubs began to show up in the 1960s, Britain was still recovering. It was only in 1979 that Britain's first comedy club *The Comedy Store* opened. At that moment, "a dramatic re-evaluation of comedy began to take place in the UK" (Friedman, 2009, p. 16). 'Alternative comedians', whose comic material went beyond obscene, aggressive and sexist comedy, replaced 'trad' stand-up. Alternative comedy was more "intellectual"; and its audiences "were expected not just to listen and laugh, but to possess the tools to engage with complex ideas and themes" (Friedman, 2009, p. 18). Besides, alternative stand-up demands comedians to center material around their 'selves', put into a vulnerable position (Friedman, 2009, p. 20).

II. 1. 3. Comparing stand-up comedy performance in the US and in the UK

Double (2014, p. 23, 36) provides two specific examples of the structure of performances both in the US and in the UK. On the one hand, there is a performance from the American vaudeville theatre at the Palace Theatre in New York on May 2 in 1921. On the other hand, there is an example of classic music hall performed at the Leeds Empire on February 28 in 1938. The examples are presented below.

Table 1. The structure of stand-up performances in the US and in the UK.

Palace Theatre New York, May 2, 1921	Empire Theatre Leeds, February 28, 1938
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fink’s Mules, animal act 2. Miller and Capman, singers and dancers 3. Georgia Campbell and Co., in "Gone are the Days" 4. Toney and Norman, songs and talk 5. Dorothy Jardon, prima donna <p style="text-align: center;">INTERMISSION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Kennedy and Berle, youthful entertainers 7. Ford Sisters, dancers 8. Watson Sisters, singing comediennes 9. Robbie Gordon, posing act 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Overture 2. Toko & Barry, Unique Dancers 3. Russ Carr with Olive Grey and the Boy Friend 4. Charly Wood, Juggler on the Uni-Cycle 5. Norman Carroll, Comedian 6. The Two Brasellos, Thrills on the Wire 7. Intermission 8. Toko & Barry, Will Entertain Again 9. Harry Jerome, Comedy Magician 10. Harry Roy and his Hand, Conductor - Harry Roy

The similarities in performance organization between the two countries are striking. Both vaudeville and music hall include such acts as entertaining, singing, dancing, traditional circus elements (e.g. magic acts and animal acts, but also pantomime and clowning) and comic storytelling. In both cases, the history of stand-up started in theatres that presented a variety of acts, underwent drastic changes and adaptation to new means of technology (radio and television), and finally regained life in comedy clubs.

Double (2014, p. 37) argues throughout his book that modern stand-up came from British music hall rather than vaudeville theatre: “the roots of stand-up comedy are unmistakable in the classic music hall style”. The author provides a number of reasons. Firstly, as in stand-up, the humor in music hall was mostly based on personality, “humor comes from putting a personality on display in front of the audience” (Double, 2014, p.

38). Double believes the tradition is much older and can be traced to music hall instead. He provides a particular example of a performance by Nellie Wallace in Birmingham in 1888, in which "the audience laughs when she recalls her father calling her "my pretty one" and "the audience is familiar with her stage persona" (Double, 2014, p. 38). Secondly, the way the comedian addressed her audiences in music hall is very similar to modern stand-up. Wallace's performance is especially peculiar because after she had performed a song, she started a spoken monologue that sounded like a modern stand-up would sound (Double, 2014, p. 37). She was talking *directly* to the audience, i.e. communication between the performer and the audience occurred in the same spatiotemporal setting. As Double stated (2014, p. 39). "the intense rapport between Wallace and her audience was essential to her act, and this makes her much more similar to a stand-up". According to the author, that was the earliest occurrence of the contemporary stand-up comedy.

At the same time, the origin of certain features is characteristic of American stand-up comedy, such as self-expression, which was introduced by the sick comedians. The origins of stand-up comedy remain unclear, as there is no evidence that it actually started in one or the other country. In fact, Double (2014, p. 46) questions "if other countries could claim to have originated the form". In this respect, Stebbins's (1990, p. 6) reflects on the history of stand-up starting from ancient Greece. He puts forward a presupposition that stand-up comedy took its roots in "verbally sophisticated societies", and that perhaps ancient Greek theatrical monologues and prologues in dramas could be a precondition for modern stand-up (Stebbins, 1990, p. 6).

Comparing stand-up comedy in the US and in the UK, it is difficult to find the roots of this form of art. However, it is more important to stress that the form of art has undergone a parallel development on both sides of the Atlantic.

II. 1. 4. Stand-up comedy in the Anglophone world today

The increasing role of the Internet had an impact on stand-up online presence. Double (2014, p. 49) talks about online sources such as *Chortle* (<http://www.chortle.co.uk/news/>), which provides an up-to-date guide to all aspects of

comedy in Britain, and its American equivalent *Laugh.com* (<https://laugh.com>), which sells various CD and DVDs.

Another important change is the rise of social media (e.g. *Twitter*, *Facebook*) and sites that generate user-content (e.g. *YouTube*), which has made recordings of stand-up performances spread worldwide.

Television is still a relevant technology. There have been numerous programs in Britain like *The Stand-up Show (BBC One)*, *Live at the Apollo (BBC One)*, Michael McIntyre's Comedy Roadshow (*BBC One*, prime Saturday night slot) and *Dave's One Night Stand* (Double, 2014, pp. 51–52). Meanwhile, in the US there is a growing movement of DIY comedy, which implies doing tours around certain venues, rather than performing at clubs (Double, 2014, p. 57).

The popularity of stand-up in the Anglophone world is so high that one can even take a special course in order to become a stand-up comedian. In the US, a number of workshops is offered to students by well-known comedians like Judy Carter. In New York, the oldest comedy club *Comic Strip Live* provides an eight-week program of comedy classes. In the UK, *the Comedy School* is the only organization that helps potential comedians develop the necessary skills for performing stand-up. Founded in 1998, it provides a variety of courses, including an intensive 6-week course. Finally, in 1973, after performing as a stand-up comedian in Sydney for longer than a decade, Pete Crofts set up his Humourversity – Australia's largest institution that provides professional training in comedy and laughter.

II. 2. The rise of stand-up comedy in Portugal

While stand-up comedy in the US merged as a result of subsequent development of national culture and its various forms of artistic entertainment along the history, Portuguese humor was strongly influenced and further shaped by Anglo-Saxon culture in the second half of the XX century. Back in 1974, in post-revolutionary Portugal, *Monty Python* appeared on national television. They were a British comedy group who created their sketch comedy show called *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, which first aired on the BBC in 1969.

Sketch comedy, which distinguished the British comic group, has its origins in vaudeville and music hall. It consisted of a large number of brief humorous staged acts that formed together a larger program. The main difference between sketch comedy and modern stand-up is that sketch comedy is prepared and includes props, consumes and elements of scripting. Stand-up, on the contrary, pretends to be impromptu (Double, 2014, p. 82). The first run of the British comics had a huge impact over the younger generation of that time, including a well-known TV presenter Herman José. He was the first to introduce a new British-based humor perspective that had never existed in Portugal before. Inspired by Monty Python and Benny Hill, Herman appeared on national television with his first sketches. Over a decade, between 1980 and 1990, the national audience aspired to his most distinctive sketches and admired his programs: *O Tal Canal*, *Humor de Perdição*, *Parabéns* and *Herman Enciclopédia*. In a post-revolutionary Portugal and after almost fifty years of totalitarianism the figure of Herman José and his programs had a huge impact over formation of the national sense of humor. In fact, most of Portuguese contemporary comedians had been raised and shaped mostly due to Herman's humorous sketches.

A new stage in evolution of national humor began with the program *Levanta-te e Ri*. Entirely dedicated to stand-up comedy, it was the first program that highlighted the beginning of the genre in Portugal¹. It was a program that demonstrated a completely new take on humor in Portugal, i.e. “programa que reinventou o humor em Portugal”, (Nunes, 2016, p. 317). Officially transmitted between 2003 and 2006, it provided a kick-start for many talented national comedians that still perform today. Among its members, one can find Ricardo Araújo Pereira, Bruno Nogueira, Rui Sinel de Cordes, Nuno Markl, Nilton and Luís Franco-Bastos. Ricardo Araújo Pereira is probably the most outstanding member. He has been labelled as “a philosopher of humor”, (Nunes, 2016, p. 123), “a sort of national God of comedy”, (Nunes, 2016, p. 152) and “the most genius comedian in the media that this country produced in the new millennium”, (Nunes, 2016, p. 14). Inspired by Herman José and Monty Python, Ricardo began writing humorous texts for Herman José. In the early 2000s, together with some other members Ricardo set up a comic group *Gato Fedorento*, which was a national version of *Monty Python*. As it incorporated both elements of stand-up and sketch comedy, it became one of the most important influences

¹ During 1962–1972, Raul Solnado, a famous Portuguese comedian and actor, was known for his solo monologues. Later, this style of performance began to be referred to as stand-up comedy.

in modern Portuguese comedy. As for his presence in printed media, Ricardo Araújo Pereira has been the author of a successful column *Boca do Inferno*, published in the Portuguese magazine *Visão* since 2004. He does not consider himself as a commentator, however. Instead, he says: “I have this tacit agreement with people, according to which those who read him do not look for his opinion, instead he makes them laugh” (“...tenho esse acordo tácito com as pessoas, segundo o qual quem me lê não vai à procura da minha opinião, mas sim que eu a faça rir”, in Nunes, 2016, p. 145).

The career of Bruno Nogueira began by giving performances of stand-up sketches to small audiences. Then, he appeared a couple of times on *Levanta-te e Ri*. In 2007, he started working on his two most successful projects – *Tube de Ensaio* and *Os Contemporâneos*. His most recent project on Portuguese comedy is called *Uma Nêspera no Cu*, in which he interacts together with Filipe Melo and Nuno Markl. The popularity of the project had been growing tremendously on YouTube. In September 2015, the same show was staged in Lisbon, *LxFactory* and in Porto, *Teatro Sá da Bandeira*. In September 2016, Nogueira performed in *Coliseu*.

Rui Sinel de Cordes is known for his dark humor. Influenced by the sketches of Herman José and the programs like *O Tal Canal* and *Herman Enciclopédia*. He came up with his first solo *Black Label* in 2009. *Anjos Negros* is another solo stand-up that premiered in 2015. In October 2016, a new performance called *Je Suis Cordes* premiered in *Coliseu*. Apart from stand-up, Rui Sinel de Cordes appeared on air with sketches and sketch comedy, for instance, *Aqui Não Há Quem Viva* transmitted on *SIC* between 2006 and 2008; *Cenas de um Casamento* transmitted on *SIC* in 2009.

Nuno Markl is probably the most omnipresent comedian. On the radio, he got popularity with *O Homen que Mordeu o Cão*, first emitted in 1997 on *Radio Comercial*, followed by *Caderneta de Cromos*, *A Grandiosa História Universal das Traquitanas*, *Há Vida em Markl*, *O Livro dos Porquês*, *Coisas que Acontecem*. His television presence counts with *O Perfeito Anormal*, *Hora H*, *Os Contemporâneos*, *5 para a Meia-Noite* (2013–2015), *Felizes para Sempre*, *Telebaladas*, *Show Markl*.

There are people in Portuguese humor, whose presence is almost always left unnoticed. Yet, their contribution to humor is considerable. For instance, Joana Marques, José de Pina and João Quadros are typical examples of comedians ‘behind the scenes’. Although technically Joana Marques does not appear on stage, Maria Rueff, Manuel

Marques and Eduardo Madeira interpret her texts in *Donos Disto Tudo* on *RTP*. Besides, she is part of *Canal Q*'s team - a recently born (in 2010, in particular) Portuguese channel, entirely dedicated to comedy.

Most of Herman's known characters were actually created thanks to Pina's imagination. Also, he is known for the project named *Contra-Informação*. In addition to that, he was one of the co-founders of *Produções Fictícias*. *Produções Fictícias* is a company that was born in 1993 and at present it is an agency of national authors and scriptwriters of humor. It promotes creation of original content, ideas and scripts for cinema, theater and various television projects. Concerning João Quadros, he was the content creator of *Levanta-te e Ri* and *Tubo de Ensaio*.

Stand-up comedy reached the mainstream television mostly thanks to Nilton, who is a true trailblazer of this genre in Portugal (Nunes, 2016, p. 213). Like many other promising humorists, he appeared on TV in *Levanta-te e Ri*. Later on, he became famous thanks to such projects as *As Teorias do Nilton* on *Radio Comercial* and *5 Para a Meia-Noite* on *RTP*. Unlike his colleagues, Nilton was mostly influenced and inspired by American comics like Denis Leary, Robin Williams and Chris Rock (Nunes, 2016, p. 216, 224).

There has been a rapid growth of stand-up performances recently. Franco-Bastos believes it indicates the fact that there have been little or no culture of stand-up in the Portuguese society (Nunes, 2016, p. 117). According to this modern comedian, Portugal needs to be educated for the stand-up and it needs to consolidate its own understanding of comedy (Nunes, 2016, p. 14).

On the other hand, Franco-Bastos observes a positive trend in this humorous 'evolution'. In his opinion (Nunes, 2016, p. 118), there have been a growing number of young talented comedians. As a result, Portuguese audience is learning more about stand-up comedy. For instance, they learn that a stand-up comedian is always the author of his texts. Also, stand-up comedy is not a free funny storytelling in a bar, but an independent and financially supported show performed on a big stage.

As stated in Nunes (2016, p. 8), the national panorama of humor has dramatically changed over the last three decades, and even more over the last ten years. There are clearly more promising names in today's list of contemporary national comedians: César Mourão, Dário Guerreiro, Diogo Faro, Guilherme Fonseca, Carlos Pereira, etc.

Compared to the US or the UK, it is clear that Portuguese stand-up comedy is in its early development. The growing number of young comedians and new performances indicates a positive trend and a step towards popularization of the genre in the Portuguese culture.

II. 3. What is stand-up comedy?

It is unclear when the term ‘stand-up comedy’ was used for the first time. Limon (2000, p. 7) states that the first use of the term ‘stand-up comic’ dates back to 1966. Double (2014, p. 17) make a reference to the Oxford English Dictionary, according to which the term was mentioned in an article in *The Listener*, published on 11 August 1966. However, both authors stress that the type of performance had been in existence for at least 60 years (Limon, 2000, p. 7; Double, 2014, p. 17).

Double (2014) found at least two earlier usages of the term. One of them had been found in an earlier article from the American journal *Television Quarterly*, in which stand-up comics were described as “the only kind of professional performers who have ever attempted to talk solo before a TV camera for more than two minutes at a time, [they] must use the device of the studio audience or the laugh-track. Their purpose is to convert their total audience to the preliterate type by inducing a ‘crowd’ response” (Double, 2014, p. 18). The adjective ‘stand-up’ was described in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* in 1961 as “performed in or requiring a standing erect position <stand-up lunch> <stand-up bar> <stand-up comedy act>” (Double, 2014, p. 18).

Trying to find the earliest usage of the term ‘stand-up comedy’ is as difficult as trying to define it. According to Double (2014, p. 78), it is because “its boundaries are fluid and fuzzy”.

A compact and frequently encountered definition of stand-up belongs to Mintz (1985, p. 71), who defines it as “an encounter between a single standing performer behaving comically and/or saying funny things directly to an audience, unsupported by very much in the way of costume, props, setting, or dramatic vehicle”. Double (2014, p. 19) describes a stand-up performance as “a single performer standing in front of an audience, talking to them with the specific intention of making them laugh”.

Brodie (2014, pp. 13–14) provides an extended list of definitions of stand-up comedy, which is given below:

“Stand-up comedy ... is a rather strange and precarious line of work in which to succeed one must routinely win the attention, approval and laughter of a large assembly of people”, (McIlvenny, Mettovaara, and Tapio, 1993, p. 225 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

“In stand-up comedy individual performers stand on stage and say funny things directly to an audience to make them laugh. How they convey their self-identities in their routines is an integral aspect of their stage persona”, (Prince, 1998, p. 256 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

“Stand-up comedy is verbal entertainment presented by one person to others. It is a monologue spoken to and for the audience, and its purpose is not to inform but to invoke the audience’s response. It is a speech that always presupposes a reply. Applause and laughter are the audience’s answers to the address of the comedian”, (Lo, 1998, p. 160 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

“[Stand-up] is a form of public address – one speaker speaking directly to a live audience with a variety of intents and purposes. It is both serious and not serious, because... stand-ups range in their talk from the most trivial details of every day life... to the most potent political and social issues of the larger culture”, (French, 1998, p. 57 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

“[Stand-up] may best be described as a humorous monologue although the comedian usually starts his show with an attempt to engage the audience in a dialogue, presented to an audience in a seemingly spontaneous and conversational manner”, (Misje, 2002, p. 87 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

“Narrative (i.e. stand-up) comedians are, in a sense, like modern day jesters, publicly smashing assumptions that underlie attitudes and behaviors that exist in society. Where comedians are socially conscious, the assumptions that explode are often ideological ones. But the fact that they keep audiences laughing gives the comedians license to provide incisive and sometimes biting social commentary”, (Rahman, 2004, p. 1 apud Brodie, 2014, pp. 13–14).

Although there is no clear-cut definition of stand-up comedy, common features can be easily identified. Double (2014, p. 19) talks about three main aspects that define stand-up, besides the fact of being funny. They include personality, direct communication and present tense. Brodie (2014, p. 14) talks about stand-up as typically verbal performance by a sole individual in front of the audience in prose, i.e. without musical accompaniment and without props.

In general terms, stand-up comedy can be defined as a spoken, seemingly spontaneous and largely autobiographical performance by a sole individual in front of the audience without costuming or props (but with a clear demarcation between performer and audience), aimed at evoking laughter from the audience to whom it is being performed. Next section provides more details on the main features of stand-up comedy.

II. 4. Key features of stand-up comedy

Similarity to a conversation is probably the most outstanding feature of stand-up comedy. Brodie (2014, p. 5, 2008, p. 153) describes stand-up as “a form of talk”. It implies participation, engagement and reaction on the part of the audience. According to the author, this form of talk takes place on the stage and is very similar to an intimate talk that occurs in an informal, day-to-day, face-to-face communication (Brodie, 2014, p. 217). Likewise, Double (2014, p. 339) argues that stand-up is built on the model of conversation, albeit “a very one-sided one”. The author explains that although the comedian does most of the talking and the audience’s part consists of laughter and applause, “it feels very conversational because of the direct interaction” (Double, 2014, p. 339). Rutter (1997, p. 249), similarly, defines stand-up interaction as “a sub-set of conversation”.

There is a clear demarcation of distance between performer and audience. As Brodie (2014, p. 5) explains, there can be a spatial distance (the performer being on a stage and the audience not), a spatiotemporal distance (when stand-up recordings are listened to or viewed) and a sociocultural distance (when a performer is from one social group and an audience from another). His main claim is that “illusion of intimacy” is one of the characteristics of stand-up (2008, p. 156).

The ‘conversation’ that occurs between a comedian and an audience pursues a turn-taking strategy. A comedian represents his verbal monologues and “invites the audience to respond to the conversation by laughing”, (Greenbaum, 1999, p. 35). There is an exchange of turns, i.e. “stand-up is a dialogic² form, performed not to but with the audience” (Brodie, 2014, p. 5).

² By “dialogic” Brodie (2014, p. 5) apparently means that stand-up is organized in the form of a dialogue, i.e. it does not relate to the concept of dialogism proposed by Bakhtin.

Audience, therefore, performs an essential role in stand-up. First of all, it is part of a “dialogue”, i.e. a constant interchange of comedian’s remarks and audience’s “response” (i.e. laughter). In a stand-up interaction, comedian addresses you in a second-person plural, i.e. you, the audience (Limon, 2000, p. 11). In this respect, Limon (2000, p. 12) describes stand-up as a social, fully embedded phenomenon (i.e. no audience means no joke). Stand-up requires a great collaborative effort from both sides, i.e. it is akin to teamwork. Moreover, the audience ratifies and evaluates the performance (Norrick, 2003, p. 1344). The success of a comedian is thus judged instantly (Double, 2014, p. X). As Limon (2000, p. 13) states, “audiences turn jokes into jokes”. The audience expects to laugh, and “the comedian has a professional obligation to elicit that laughter” (Brodie, 2014, p. 217).

Thus, the primary objective of stand-up comedy is to produce laughter (Nunes, 2016; Attardo, 1994, p. 13). As stated in Brodie (2014, p. 217), “laughter means that a comedian is successful in bridging the distance and establishing a connection between him- or herself and the audience”. According to Ross (1998, p. 101), laughter establishes a “bond” between teller and tellee. Double (2014, p. X) describes laughter as “an emotional response” in a live setting that makes stand-up comedy so different from other art forms.

As humor theories explain, “the humorous is the revelation of (by the performer) or a reaction to (by audiences) a physical, intellectual, social, moral, or emotional incongruity that could just as easily elicit feelings of terror” (Bergson, 1900; Freud, 1976 apud Brodie, 2014, p. 6). In fact, the goal is to evoke *some sort of reaction*, be it laughter, disapproval or a headshake³ (Nunes, 2016, p. 19). It is the so-called perlocutionary effect of the joke (Austin, 1962; Attardo & Chabanne, 1992, p. 168).

However, stand-up is not just about entertainment. As stated in Brodie (2014, p. 13), “the contemporary comedian does something more than tell jokes”. It transmits a certain position of the comedian and shapes opinions of the audience. Jokes are rhetorical devices in argumentation (Attargo & Chabanne, 1992, p. 173). By means of rhetorical discourse, the goal of stand-up is to persuade the audience:

³ “Piadas, apenas piadas. É isto que os humoristas fazem. Uma vez, conseguem-no; outras, nem por isso. Mas o objetivo é sempre esse. Provocar um sorriso, uma gargalhada, um “eishhhhh”, um abanar de cabeça, um pensamento, uma reação... Fazer-vos rir. É isto que queremos”, (Nuno Markl in Nunes, 2016, p. 19).

“Stand-up comedy is an inherently rhetorical discourse; it strives not only to entertain, but to persuade, and stand-up comics can only be successful in their craft when they can convince an audience to look at the world through their comic vision”, Greenbaum (1999, p. 33).

In this respect, the comedian is seen as a cultural mediator and anthropologist (Koziski, 1984 apud Brodie, 2014, p. 6; Mintz, 1985, p. 73), a moral spokesperson and a modern jester (Brodie, 2014, p. 13).

The content of stand-up comedy is often based on cultural values and beliefs accepted in a particular society. As stated in Brodie (2014, p. 7) and Nunes (2016, p. 47), these may not be reflections on fundamental cultural beliefs but rather on mundane particularities of everyday life⁴. As Double (2014, p. 416) states, the sick comedians promoted the idea that comics should create their own material⁵. Thus, everyday interaction can be checked for potential material. The identification of the joke is often based on a more or less shared worldview (Brodie, 2014, p. 6), i.e. it implies shared knowledge between the comedian and the audience. In this respect, there are two things that can lead to misunderstanding of humor. Firstly, it is lack of shared knowledge, i.e. common socio-historical and cultural ground. And secondly, it is heterogeneity⁶ of the group (Brodie, 2014, p. 7). In other words, an audience can present a variety of personalities, ethnicities, political and religious beliefs, etc. In this sense, it is challenging for a comedian to produce appropriate humor for everyone.

Stand-up is challenging, as there is no way to rehearse it (Double, 2014, p. X–XI). The only way to validate jokes is in front of the audience. According to Carter (1989, p. 28), “good comics appear to be talking spontaneously” and what makes a comedian brilliant is his ability to make every joke “seem to be totally impromptu”. Stand-up may seem spontaneous, although it is a thoroughly planned activity and its acts (or ‘bits’, in comedy jargon) are carefully structured. As stated in Carter (1989, p. 28), “a comedy act is a highly structured piece of material where every attitude, word and moan is meticulously worked out”. Carter (1989, p. 28) talks about “specific stand-up formulas”

⁴ “Quando se trabalha no humor, tudo é alimento para a comédia” (Nuno Markl in Nunes, 2016, p. 47).

⁵ Comedy actors are performers whose material was provided by writers, while those who write their own texts are called comedians (Double, 2014, p. 416).

⁶ “...não há nada mais fraturante que a comédia: é muito difícil que todas as pessoas se riam das mesmas coisas”, (Nuno Markl in Nunes, 2016, p. 25).

and argues: “all material must be organized into a setup/punch format”. Setup⁷ is expectation. It functions as a background against which the punchline is incongruous. Punch or punchline⁸ is violation of the expectation. In other words, it is “a complete break with predictability” (Attardo & Chabanne, 1992, p. 169). The content is incongruous with the beginning and results in the joke’s ending. This is the most basic joke structure of a stand-up comedy act.

Sometimes, though, improvisation happens in the venue. It quickly becomes part of an act. For some comedians, improvisation is central to the work and becomes something what they are best known for⁹. Double (2014, p. 354) gives a classic example of one of the sick comedians, called Jonathan Winters. He adopted a format in which the audience suggests subjects for him to improvise. In fact, in these cases improvisation is not completely off-hand. The shows are prepared beforehand and the ideas are sketched out in advance. However, it still requires a great deal of effort to quickly react and adjust to the subjects he receives from the audience.

Independently of whether the joke is prepared or improvised, timing plays a crucial role in their success. Double (2014, p. 365) describes timing as “the secret of great comedy”. The definition of timing varies, and that is why it presents a complex phenomenon (Attardo & Pickering, 2011, p. 234). Timing can be described as “ability to anticipate the audience reaction to a line... and wait to deliver the next laugh... until just the right time when the laughter or applause starts to fade” (Double, 2014, p. 365). Norrick (2001a, pp. 260–261) provides a more formal definition of timing: “...a composite buildup of hesitations, false starts, repetitions and formulaicity in the build-up along with a more rapid, fluid delivery of the punch-line, often involving a switch in perspective and usually highlighted by a shift in voice quality”. Timing is also referred to as *kairos*, which in Ancient Greek means “timing, due measure, or proportion in individual circumstance” (Greenbaum, 1999, p. 40). According to Greenbaum (1999, p. 34), comedians must “adapt their material to particular audiences and venues, anticipate rhetorical exigencies, and have an intuitive understanding of *kairos*, or situatedness”.

⁷ In Portuguese, “setup” is translated as “ponto de partida” (in Nunes, 2016, p. 255). However, there seems to be no equivalent in Portuguese for “punchline”, so the English version is used (for instance, “a punchline” in Nunes, 2016, p. 13, 18).

⁸ Also, jab line – a neologism coined by Attardo in 1996 (2001, p. 29). It was introduced to distinguish between punch lines, which occur only in a final position in jokes, from a type of humorous trigger which occurs in any other position in the text.

⁹In Portugal, César Mourão is best known for improvisation.

Thus, in general terms timing (as the word suggests) is a matter of time and includes such aspects as structure, pace, tempo and the sense of being responsive to the audience (Double, 2014, p. 366).

The vagueness of comedian's identity is another key feature at the center of a stand-up performance. According to Limon, "comedians are not allowed to be either natural or artificial" (Limon, 2000, p. 6). In a restricted sense, comedians can be seen as those who perform as themselves and those who create a particular character, the so-called "character comedians" (Double, 2014, p. 124). In this respect, Double argues that the spectrum of characters on stage is wider and the boundaries between the performer and the stage character (or *persona*) are sometimes quite difficult to trace (2014, p. 124, 126, 128, 130). In a wider sense, Double identifies character comedians, exaggerated personas, the person in the persona and authentic human being. The distance between the comedian and the character can be quite shocking and it is mostly due to his costume, the wigs, the make-up and the names he gives to his character that the distance is signaled. Exaggerated personas are those who adopt an exaggerated character but leave the boundary between the comedian and the persona vague. The acts of such comedians may be quite autobiographic, but include with elements of persona; it is "like a party dress they put on" (Double, 2014, p. 126). The "person in the persona" is characterized by "the subtle interweaving of truth and fiction in the onstage identities of stand-up comedians" (Double, 2014, p. 130). It can be quite difficult to understand if the comedian is the same person onstage and offstage, or if they are more of an act. Authentic human beings stay unaffected by the performance and present themselves to the audience appear on stage exactly how they are. "Stand-up comedian addresses the audience as a naked self" (Double, 2014, p. 129), i.e. stand-up is frequently seen as a form of self-expression (Carter, 1989, p. 22; Double, 2014, p. 160). Today the idea that the comedian appears as a real personality is quite common. In fact, the premise "...this is my view of the world, this is my little angle of life" (Double, 2014, p. 115) can be a key to a successful joke telling for many modern performers. As Judy Carter explains (1989, p. 22), "...the new school of comedy is personal comedy. Your act is about you: your gut issues, your body, your marriage, your divorce, your drug habit...".

Finally, interaction in stand-up comedy is typically multimodal, i.e. it includes prosodic features such as pauses, pitch height and range, intensity, speech rate, volume, "smiling voice" (Gironzetti, 2017, p. 402), laughter and other paralinguistic features such

as facial expressions and gestures. Paralanguage plays a crucial role in stand-up comedy (Schwarz, 2010, p. 105), and gestures are “essential to convey the non-serious intent of the verbal message” (Apte, 1985 apud Schwarz, 2010, p. 105).

To sum up, the following features characterize stand-up comedy:

1. it is largely based on a conversational (albeit one-sided) model;
2. it occurs in a live setting, in which a comedian directly addresses an audience;
3. even though the comedian does most of the talking and the audience’s part consists of laughter and applause, it has a dialogic form that involves turn-taking;
4. it is highly audience-dependent, i.e. the audience plays an essential role in turn-taking and validating humor;
5. its main objective is to produce laughter, although not limited to it;
6. it is largely autobiographical and promotes the use of material based on comedians’ own experiences;
7. its acts are thoroughly prepared and follow a setup-punchline format;
8. it may require a comedian to improvise on occasion;
9. its success is heavily based on a comedian’s sense of timing;
10. it is a multimodal interaction, which includes gestures, facial expressions and prosody.

II. 5. Linguistic approaches to stand-up comedy

II. 5. 1. Semantico-pragmatic approaches

II. 5. 1. 1. The Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH)

There are three main theories explaining the origins of humor, i.e. superiority theory, release/relief theory and incongruity theory. In other words, our perception of humor emerges as a result superiority, release/relief or incongruity (Meyer, 2000, p. 310). The superiority theory involves a sense of victory or triumph, i.e. we laugh at misfortunes of others because we feel superior to them (Plato, 1978; Hobbes, 1650/1969; Bergson, 1911). The release/relief theory focuses on physiological release of tension (Freud, 1905/1960, Spencer, 1911). The incongruity theory implies a violation of a rationally

learned pattern, i.e. people laugh at what surprises them, and what is unexpected, odd and absurd (Kant, 1790/1911; Schopenhauer, 1883). In modern stand-up, comedians frequently write their jokes based on incongruity. As it stated in previous sections, all comic material in stand-up comedy is organized into a basic setup/punchline format. The setup of a joke is what creates a pattern or an expectation. The punchline violates this expectation, thus creating humor and eliciting laughter from the audience. In terms of the incongruity theory, the punchline is always incongruous with the setup.

Largely based on the concepts of the incongruity theory, the Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH), proposed by Victor Raskin (1985) was the first exclusively linguistic approach to humor. It is mainly concerned with verbal humor, i.e. written and spoken jokes in narratives ending with a punchline. Raskin's approach explains jokes in terms of script-oriented semantics. Scripts¹⁰ are defined as "cognitive structures stored in our minds just as the meanings of the words of the language(s) we speak are internalized by us" (Raskin, 1985, p. 329), and further in Attardo (2001, p. 2) as: "an organized complex of information about some entity, in the broadest sense: an object (real or imaginary), an event, an action, a quality, etc. It is a cognitive structure internalized by the speaker which provides the speaker with information on how a given entity is structured, what are its parts and components, or how an activity is done, a relationship organized, and so on". Thus, scripts are labeled as "common sense"; they contain prototypical information and refer to daily routines, standard situations and procedures, etc.

To produce verbal humor, Raskin posits, two main conditions must be met. Firstly, a script should be invoked by a compatible lexical unit, i.e. according to a script-oriented semantic theory, the lexicon is directly associated with the scripts. And secondly, verbal humor depends on "a partial or complete overlap of two or more scripts all in which are compatible with the joke-carrying text" (Raskin, 1985, p. 332) or on opposition between the two scripts. As an example, Raskin provides the following joke:

"Is the doctor at home?" The patient asked in his bronchial whisper. "No," the doctor's young and pretty wife whispered in reply. "Come on right in".

¹⁰ The notion of script came originally from psychology and was incorporated by Artificial Intelligence (Attardo, 2001, p. 2).

Based on two scripts “doctor” and “lover”, the underlined elements constitute the trigger and signal that the two competing scripts must be considered to comprehend the joke. The “whispered” reply of “the young and pretty wife” can only be understood in the script of “lover”, but it makes no sense for the bronchial patient to come to see in the script of “doctor”. The punchline triggers the switch from the one script to the other. The humor is thus created as a result of the semantically opposed scripts.

SSTH posits three types of script opposition¹¹. At the most abstract level, the joke opposes *the real* to *the unreal*. At a lower level this may take three possible forms, namely, *the actual/nonactual*, *normal/abnormal*, and *possible/impossible*. At the lowest level of abstraction, the oppositions are *good/bad*, *life/death*, *money/no-money*, etc¹². The list is not exhaustive, for the oppositions found in jokes are limitless.

Thus, according to SSTH, the necessary components of the joke are a) two (partially) overlapping scripts compatible with the text; b) opposition between two scripts; c) a trigger (obvious or implied) that realizes the opposed relation.

Even though SSTH was the first linguistic approach to humor, there are two main drawbacks to the theory. Firstly, SSTH did not provide any real model or algorithm of how jokes are constructed, or any practical tools necessary to characterize jokes as texts (versus conventional texts). Secondly, it deals only with verbal jokes ending with a punchline, i.e. the theory does not consider other types of jokes (e.g. question-and-answer sequence, riddles, short dialogues, etc.).

II. 5. 1. 2. The General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH)

In an attempt to solve theoretic insufficiencies of SSTH, Raskin’s script-based theory (SSTH) was later integrated into the earlier works of Attardo, namely, his five-level representation model of jokes. As a result, the six-level representation model of jokes emerged, known as The General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) (Attardo & Raskin, 1991). The theory postulates a hierarchical model consisting of six knowledge resources, that is, language, narrative strategy, target, situation, logical mechanism, and

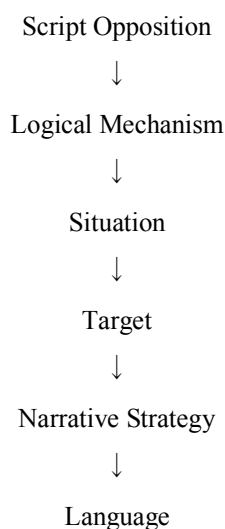
¹¹ In Attardo & Raskin (1991, p. 308).

¹² Alternative methods of categorizing can be found in Lakoff & Johnsen (2003), TIME IS MONEY, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, LOVE IS WAR, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, etc.

script opposition. These knowledge resources are organized into a top-down hierarchy. The lowest level is the actual text of the joke. The second level contains the narrative strategy. The third level is assigned to specific language form of the joke. The fourth level is a target of the joke. At the fifth level, “the template of the joke is created by combining the script opposition and logical mechanism of the joke” (1991, p. 309). And the sixth level contained both the script oppositions and logical mechanisms. These knowledge resources determine whether any given text can be categorized as humorous or not. The model can be applied to an individual joke or to analyze degree of similarity between particular jokes.

Figure 1. A hierarchical model of six knowledge resources for jokes proposed by Attardo & Raskin (1991).

KNOWLEDGE RESOURCES:



As an example, Raskin & Attardo (1991, p. 295) use seven variants of the light bulb joke¹³, each variant is shifted by a knowledge resource. Some of the variants are presented below:

1. How many Poles does it take to screw in a light bulb? Five. One to hold the light bulb and four to turn the table he’s standing on.

¹³ A light bulb joke is a joke that asks how many people of a particular group are needed to screw in or to change a light bulb. The punchline usually focuses on a stereotype of the target group. There are many variants of the lightbulb joke mocking a wide range of cultures, beliefs and professions.

2. How many Poles does it take to screw in a light bulb? Five. One to hold the light bulb and four to look for the right screwdriver.
3. The number of Polacks needed to screw in a light bulb? Five — one holds the bulb and four turn the ceiling.
4. How many Poles does it take to screw in a light bulb? Five. One to take his shoes off, get on the table, and screw in the light bulb, and four to wave the air deodorants to kill his foot odor.

Raskin & Attardo (1991) first analyze the variants in terms of the degree of similarity between them and then focus on the parameters of their difference in detail.

1st Parameter: Language (LA). The difference of language is defined as “the difference in the choice of words, syntactic constructions, and other language options, including the division of the text into sentences” (1991, p. 297), or further: “the phonetic, phonologic, morphophonemic, morphologic, lexic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels of language structure that the speaker is free to make” (1991, p. 298). Thus, each joke can have multiple paraphrases due to the speaker’s language competence, his choice and flexibility of the language itself. The parameter of language is also responsible for the exact wording and position of the punchline (1991, p. 299).

2nd Parameter: Narrative strategy (NS). The term “narrative strategy” should be perceived as “a genre, or rather microgenre of the joke, in other words, whether the text of the joke is set up as expository straightforward text, as a riddle, as a question-and-answer sequence, and so on” (1991, p. 300). In other words, narrative strategy refers to how the joke is told and what microgenre it represents. It is important to keep the text non-redundant not to spoil the punchline (1991, p. 301).

3rd Parameter: Target (TA). A joke can be targeted at any individual or a group of people. These individuals or groups are referred to as the target of the joke (1991, p. 301). In this sense, the light bulb joke is also addressed to the target group of psychiatrists (and other professions): “How many psychiatrists does it take to change a light bulb?” “Only one, but the bulb has to really *want* to change”. As the authors state, the target of the joke is not completely random, i.e. the suitable target of the joke must have a stupid or “dumb” stereotype associated with it (1991, p. 301). It is also stressed that this parameter is the only one among the six.

4th Parameter: Situation (SI). It refers to activity (which is the central element of the situation), participants, objects, instruments, etc., some “props” that every joke will

contain (1991, p. 302). For instance, the stereotype of Polish (as well as any other nationality) foolishness can be mocked in many situations like strange ways of screwing in a light bulb, holding a toothbrush and moving one's head, holding a fan and shaking one's head, etc.

5. How a Polack brushes his teeth? He holds the brush and moves his head.

6. How a Polack fans himself? He holds the fan and shakes his head

The situations in the joke are based on obvious and daily routine activities, which are widely practiced.

5th Parameter: Logical mechanism (LM). Here, "logical" is understood in a wide sense and means "rational thinking or acting". Logical mechanism is based on the principle of the figure-ground reversal. In the light bulb situation, it is true that 1. will lead to the desirable effect. The method is successful, i.e. it can be fully justified logically, but wasteful and strange. From this point of view, examples 2. and 3. are logically faulty. The bulb will not be screwed in neither with the screwdriver, nor by turning the ceiling (which it is totally impossible) (1991, p. 304). Thus, logical mechanism includes microelements such as faulty logic (or paralogical elements), chiasmus, false analogy, false priming (or garden path), and juxtaposition (1991, pp. 304–307).

6th Parameter: Script opposition (SO). This is the only concept of Raskin's SSTH incorporated into the GTVH sex-level theory. In SSTH the script-switching triggers are very close to the parameter of logical mechanisms in GTVH (1991, pp. 308–309). However, SSTH considered only two types of triggers (ambiguous and contradictory ones), which is very limiting for the study of logical mechanisms. As for the light bulb joke, examples 1., 2. and 3. evoke the script of dumbness, while 4. evokes the script of dirt instead.

Summing up, at the fifth top level of the hierarchical organization, the smart/dumb opposition is located. The figure-ground reversal mechanism and other logical mechanisms are found here as well. At the fourth level a joke template is created by means of combination of the smart/dumb opposition with the figure-ground reversal logical mechanism. At the third level, the Polish are selected as the joke target on the basis of cultural stereotypes. The situation of the light-bulb changing is implicitly introduced at this stage. The representation of the situation is expressed by a specific language (with

particular syntax and choice of words) at this level. At the first level we find the result of this activity, which is joke.

Table 2. The GTVH six-level representation model by Attardo & Raskin (1991).

Level no.	Name	Contents, action, choice(s), or result
6	Basic	Script opposition smart/dumb and logical mechanism (figure-ground)
5	Template	Juxtaposing: smart/dumb and figure-ground reversal
4	Target + Situation	Selected: target = the Poles, situation: light-bulb changing
3	Narrative strategy	Question-and-answer sequence
2	Language	Selected: words, syntax, sentence lineup, etc.
1	Surface	Result: text of joke 1.

Thus, GTVH is a general theory of verbal humor that addresses the question of what humor is (1991, p. 330). It is based on the incongruity theory of humor and provides a much better defined, developed, and explicated model than Raskin's SSTH. Another advantage of this theory over script-based semantic theory is the inclusion of the narrative strategy. Whereas Raskin's SSTH deals only with verbal jokes, GTVH considers all humorous texts from one-liners to stories and literature. Whereas SSTH is a semantic theory, GTVH is a linguistic theory of humor in general: it touches upon other areas such as narratology and pragmatics. Regarding the six parameters, GTVH presents them as a model that can generate a limitless number of jokes by combining the values that each parameter can take. Also, these parameters function as an indicator for joke similarity, i.e. how similar or dissimilar two given jokes are, based on the six knowledge resources.

As stated in Ruiz-Gurillo (2016, p. 3), the proposal of GTVH has proved its validity over time. In the following sections, two revisions of GTVH will be presented, which extend the theory and its methodology in different ways.

II. 5. 1. 3. Revision of GTVH by Attardo (2001)

A decade after its first proposal, Attardo (2001) presented an update of GTVH in his book entitled *Humorous Texts: A Semantic and Pragmatic Analysis*. In particular, the

author presented an analytical approach to the analysis of “longer” humorous texts, i.e. texts that are longer than a joke (this time, it also included dramatic and conversational texts with no narrator such as a TV sitcom, for instance). The analysis focuses not only on the six parameters within GTVH, but also provides a structural (micro, macro and meta) organization of a humorous text. In other words, Attardo’s focus is on the specificity of narrative organization. As an example, the analysis of the opening sequence of the *Chuckles Bites the Dust* episode of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, a popular US TV sitcom of the seventies, is given below:

I-79-[→-P →]-

SO president/criminal

LM teletype is broken–mechanical failure SI hold up

TA technology (?) Pres. Ford

NS joke

LA irr.

V-80-[→-P→]-J-J-J-J4-|

SO overreaction (losing the use of sight)/normal reaction LM mobile is ugly, not wanting to see an ugly thing

SI cotext

TA mobile and its owner (Sue Ann)

NS question

LA irr

The abbreviations LA, NS, TA, SI, SO correspond to the parameters such as language, narrative strategy, target, situation, script opposition, adopted from GTVH. Besides, there is a graphic representation of the structure of the text: I-79-[→-P →]- and V-80-[→-P→]-J-J-J-J4-|, where “J” stands for a jab line, “P” for punchline and -| means that the sequence is incomplete.

Narrative organization is thus a completely new element in the revised version of the GTVH from 2001. Attardo’s interest in narratives goes back to 1992, when he began questioning whether it was possible to find enough common features in jokes to be able to identify a text type particular to jokes (1992, p. 165). He identified that jokes are commonly very short narrative fictions reduced to the most economical form (sometimes, a short dialogue, often not more than two lines) and usually two characters. A verbal joke ends with a punchline and “its function is that of providing enough contextual information for the punchline to build upon, or rather to be incongruous with” (1992, p. 169). Based

on these common features, he defined jokes “as a micro-narrative” (1992, p. 168) and posited that the minimum components necessary to form a micro-narrative include a situation, characters, and an action. A narration must necessarily lead to an end (or punchline) that “closes” the narrative and causes laughter (perlocutionary effect of verbal joking). A micronarrative is thus the simplest form of narrative, for it consists of one action/event (Attardo, 2001, p. 80).

Based on the principles of textuality proposed by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Attardo posited that each of the seven criteria (that is, cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informatively, situationality, and intertextuality) is met by a successful joke, and, because of this fact, jokes can profitably be used as examples of well-formed, self-contained texts (1992, p. 175). The author explained it as follows:

(a) Coherence and cohesion: “the joke is a typical example of distance between the surface structure and the inferential processing necessary to the understanding of the text” (1992, p. 173). In other words, each joke contains both criteria (cohesion and coherence) and its function is determined by the incongruity established between these two criteria.

(b) Intentionality: jokes are a trigger of laughter or a rhetoric device in argumentation, i.e. they intend to elicit laughter or to persuade (perlocutionary effect).

(c) Acceptability: it is defined as “how far the set of occurrences provided by the producer has some use or relevance for the receiver” (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 7). So, the target of the joke is important to consider.

(d) Informatively: it is defined as “the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected vs. unexpected or known vs. unknown” (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 9). As Attardo explained, to be felicitous, “a joke must be a brief puzzle for the receiver until the punchline is delivered” (Attardo, 1992, p. 174).

(e) Situationality: refers to the factors, which make the text relevant to the situation in which it occurs (1992, p. 174).

(f) Intertextuality: each text is “dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts” (1981, p. 10). When it comes to jokes, intertextuality is relevant for imitation, parody, stereotypes, etc.

Back in 1992, Attardo was interested in jokes that were simple, anonymous, partially or completely recycled, and contained a linguistic/cognitive disturbance (the punchline) that “closes” the previous text (1992, p. 172). At that stage, he was not considering to extend the analysis of GTVH to longer texts such as stand-up comedy or TV sitcoms. According to the author, it is difficult to distinguish from jokes from comic monologues from a textual point of view, as the latter “are just a chain of punchlines” and can be differentiated from jokes by “their greater complexity and elaboration” (1992, pp. 171–172).

Two decades later, in 2001 Attardo extended humorous texts under analysis, including stand-up comedy. Jokes that occur in stand-up routines he defines as canned or narrative jokes and distinguishes them from conversational jokes¹⁴ in a number of ways. Narrative or canned jokes are typically: a) told by a narrator “who often prefaces the joke with an announcement of the humorous nature of the forthcoming turn and who holds the floor through the telling and releases it for the reaction turn of the audience”; b) prepared and rehearsed, i.e. these jokes are created in advance; c) detached from the context in which they occur. As it was previously demonstrated, these features overlap with several principal characteristics of stand-up comedy. It is indeed a highly rehearsed and planned activity narrated by a sole comedian onstage.

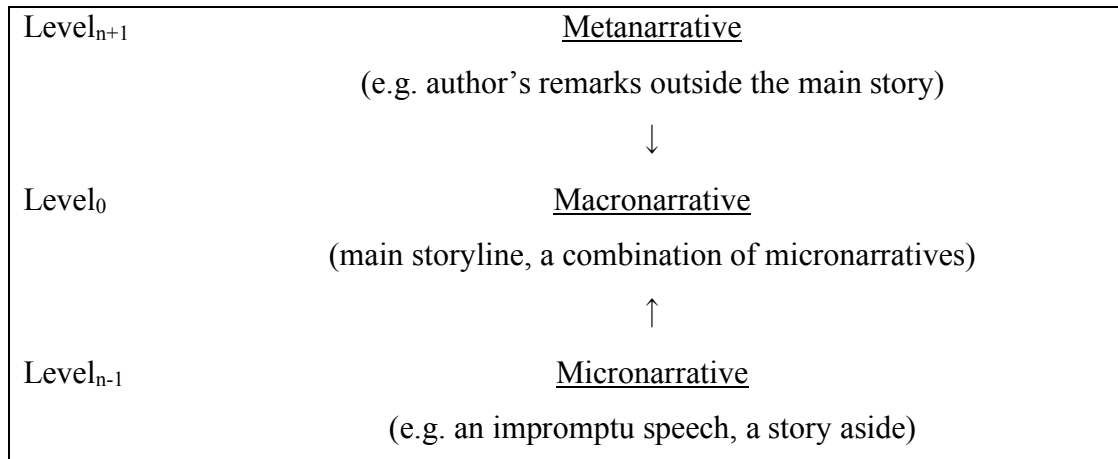
In terms of its structure, Attardo (2001, p. 63) further explains that stand-up does not represent a sequence of unrelated texts, but a sequence with a certain degree of structure and with cohesive links within some of the jokes (e.g. jokes are grouped thematically or linked by means of transitions and across-jokes links).

Attardo (2001: viii) refers to his work in 2001 to be an application of linguistic (primarily semantic and pragmatic) methodology to the field of humor research and secondarily of narratology. He introduced a number of terms to refer to narrative elements within text organization of a humorous text such as strand, stack, vector approach, micro-, macro- and metanarrative. The concept of the levels of narratives was adopted from narratology and applied to the analysis of humorous texts by Attardo. The macronarrative is the main storyline of a text. An impromptu speech or a story aside within the macronarrative is called a micronarrative. A macronarrative may consist of several micronarratives (Level_{n-1}, Level_{n-2}, etc.), while a micronarrative always consists of only

¹⁴ Contrary to canned/narrative jokes, conversational jokes are created “on the go” and are strongly context-dependent (Attardo, 2001, pp. 61–62)

one action or event (2001, p. 80). The metanarrative is above the macronarrative. It refers to author's remarks outside the main story. The levels of narratives are schematically presented below:

Table 3. Multiple levels of narratives in humorous texts in Attardo (2001).



A strand is defined by Attardo (2001, p. 83) as a sequence of (punch or jab) lines formally or thematically linked. Strand can be central or peripheral. A central strand is a strand central to a given text (e.g. all the episodes of a sitcom). A peripheral strand is a strand, which occurs only in a part (or parts) in the text. Strands are further grouped into stacks that are thematically or formally related. Punchlines, jab lines, strand and stacks are arranged according to a vector (→) approach, i.e. humorous texts are characterized by a linear organization.

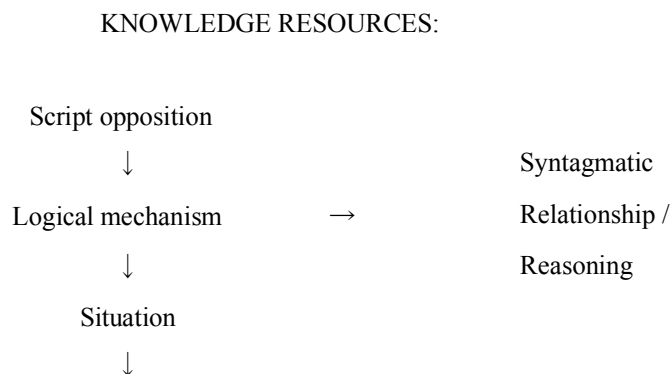
Summing up, Attardo (2001) extended and enriched methodology of GTVH by introducing a number of new and important narratology-aspects such as:

- (a) introduction of the jab line and importance of jab and punchline configurations;
- (b) tendency toward a linear organization of humorous texts (or vector approach);
- (c) the concepts of strand (central or peripheral) and stacks.

II. 5. 1. 4. Revision of GTVH by the GRIALE Research Group (2012)

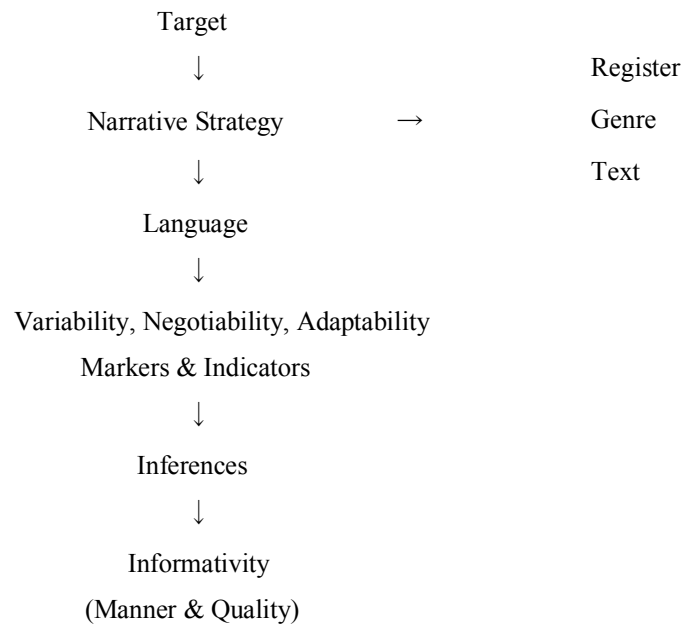
The GRIALE Research Group¹⁵ made another revision of GTVH “to improve its explanatory capacity” (Ruiz-Gurillo, 2015, p. 191). Based on the functions of pragmatic principles (Levinson, 2000), Ruiz-Gurillo (2012) proposed extension of several knowledge sources (namely, narrative strategy and language) and integration of new features (markers and indicators) (see Figure 2). Narrative strategy was completed with related aspects such as register, genre and text type. Logical mechanisms are based either on syntagmatic relationship, or on reasoning. With regard to language, it is understood as “the capacity of the speaker/writer to choose between a series of variables and to negotiate in a given context in order to accomplish a particular objective, that is, to amuse the audience/reader” (Santana Lopéz, 2013, p. 113). Language thus involves such aspects as variability, negotiability and adaptability, i.e. “adaptability to the specific context arises as the mechanism generating the most laughter or causing the most fun amongst the audience of a humorous text” (Ruiz-Gurillo, 2015, p. 193). These linguistic choices are reflected in markers and indicators, which help to identify if the text is humorous or not. A marker is defined as “a linguistic element that helps to understand humor”, e.g. intonation, discourse markers, phraseology. An indicator (such as polysemy, phraseology¹⁶, intentional register variation) is a humorous element *per se*, as Ruiz-Gurillo (2015, p. 193) explains. Markers and indicators are associated with certain inferences, which involve infringement of conversational principles (Informativity, Manner and Quantity).

Figure 2. Revision of GTVH by Ruiz-Gurillo (2012, 2015, p. 194).



¹⁵ University of Alicante, Spain.

¹⁶ Phraseology can act both as a marker and as an indicator, the paper by Ruiz-Gurillo (2015) analyzes the functions of both.



The revised GTVH model proposed by Ruiz-Gurillo is predominantly a pragmatic model for Spanish humor analysis. It has been successfully applied to the analysis of Spanish jokes, audiovisual humor (monologues from a popular Spanish stand-up comedy show *El club de la comedia*), television sketch and spontaneous conversation.

II. 5. 2. Conversation Analysis (CA) approach

Raskin (1985), Attardo & Raskin (1991) and Attardo & Chabanne (1992) are mainly concerned with *how jokes are structured*, e.g. in what position a punchline occurs and how it contributes to creation of incongruity. These joke theories are mostly characterized by semantico-pragmatic parameters, with the exception of the last updated version of GTVH (Attardo, 2001), which is largely based on narratology.

In contrast to these authors, Rutter (1997, 2000, 2001) focuses on the conversational nature of stand-up comedy and argues that “traditional text-based analyses cannot record, and therefore facilitate, the exploration of the interactive nature of humor” (1997, p. 294). He explores stand-up comedy as a live performance and identifies audience, comedian, laughter, jokes and venue as main constituents of this comic interaction. Rutter’s main research interest lies within skills and techniques employed by comedians in telling jokes. Thus, he shifts from analysis of jokes as texts to analysis of stand-up performances.

Rutter's main claim is that there is difference between joke telling and stand-up comedy (1997, p. 2). In fact, joke telling is *part* of stand-up comedy, i.e. jokes need to be organized into a particular *structure* to become a stand-up performance. Based on the principles of conversation analysis (CA), Rutter (1997) proposes a basic structure of stand-up includes openings, main body of comedian's act (rhetoric techniques), and closing¹⁷¹⁸. Openings and closings are typically sequential (but not necessarily linear); main body is a combination of several rhetorical techniques.

A broader view of the structure of a stand-up performance is presented in below (see Table 4):

Table 4. Structure of a conventional stand-up performance as proposed in Rutter (1997).

OPENING	
[comper's introduction] [audience applause] [greeting of audience] [comment on the setting] [request for action] [response to request by action] [first canned joke]	
MAIN BODY OF AN ACT	
RHEROTICAL TECHNIQUES	SPECIFIC PERFORMANCE TECHNIQUES
contrast list puzzle-solution headline-punchline position taking pursuit	re-incorporation alliteration & assonance intonation adoption of voices
CLOSING	

¹⁷ The proposal of openings and closings is largely based on conversation analysis studies, i.e. Schegloff's (1986) sequences of telephone conversation and natural conversation structure in Schegloff and Sacks (1973).

¹⁸ In addition, Scarpetta & Spagnolli (2009), who recorded stand-up performances in Los Angeles directly, identified three principal sections of a stand-up act, including the opening of the comedian's show, the series of expanded joke sequences, and the closure (Scarpetta & Spagnolli, 2009, p. 6).

[pre-closing]
[audience laughter]
[comment on audience]
[re-introduction]
[appreciation]
[exclamatory closing]
[audience applause]
[compere's outro]

As Rutter posits (1997, p. 145), “in stand-up the opening provides a point of commencement for the interaction between performer and audience and establishes sets of expectations in both the audience and the performer”. Openings are rarely comic; instead, they introduce a series of narrative turns (1997, p. 146). Further, he identifies several moves in a conventional stand-up opening: compere’s introduction, audience applause, greeting of audience, comment on the setting, request for action, response to request by action, first canned joke (Rutter, 1997, p. 148).

In the main body of a stand-up act, Rutter (1997, p. 201; 2001) identifies six rhetorical techniques (based on political oratory) and four specific stand-up techniques (performance techniques), used and manipulated by comedians in their performances. Rhetorical techniques comprise contrast (presentation of opposite scripts), list (the use of list of three), puzzle-solution (a comedian asks a question/puzzle and immediately provides a solution), headline-punchline (revelation of information), position-taking (a comedian makes a statement and immediately evaluates it) and pursuit (comedian’s comment on a previous joke). Additional stand-up specific techniques include re-incorporations (reappearance of one element of a joke later), alliteration and assonance (repetition of sounds), intonation (change of pitch), adoption of voices (adoption of accents, creation of characters through vocal qualities, etc.).

The structure of a basic closing includes eight turns, such as pre-closing, audience laughter, comment on audience, re-introduction, appreciation, exclamatory closing, audience applause, compere’s outro.

A similar tripartite organization of stand-up comedy has been proposed by some other authors. For instance, a recent study by Chauvin (2015) showed a number of methods of constructing discursive cohesion and coherence in stand-up comedy. The

employment of cohesive and coherent devices is analyzed at different “levels”: at macro-level, intermediate level and level of individual formulations.

At the macro-level, Chauvin identifies similar sections, which are called “sequences” (2015, p. 149). Thus, there is introductory sequence, which consists of five elements: compere’s presentation of the comedian, his/her physical appearance onstage and applause, appreciation, salutation and some situational remarks and introduction of the first theme, which marks the beginning of the show.

The structure of the body of the show is not as explicit, and it mostly rests on a number of topics chosen by the comedian for display. Besides, it varies in accordance with each new comedian. As an example, Chauvin (2015, p. 153) analyzes B. Bailey’s performance and identifies a series of topics, which form the body of his show, such as political parties, Margaret Thatcher, Hammersmith (a district of west London), Chantelle Houghton (an English television personality), and so on.

As for the closing part, or “conclusive sequence”, it consists of three elements: false ending, return, new farewell, disappearance behind the scenes.

As it will be seen further, the tripartite structural ‘model’ of a stand-up performance (i.e. opening, body and closing) has proved to be rather accurate, and therefore it will be adopted for the analysis of discourse markers.

II. 5. 3. Pragmatic approaches

In pragmatics, stand-up comedy monologues are explained in terms of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995; Yus¹⁹, 2008, 2016) and violation of Grice’s conversational maxims (Attardo, 1990; Grice, 1975; Raskin, 1985).

Relevance Theory is based on cognitive and communicative principles of relevance. According to a cognitive principle of relevance, “human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance” (2002, p. 254). This principle is entirely biological. Communicative principle of relevance posits that “every act of overt communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance”, i.e. in a communicative situation we search for optimal relevance. Optimal relevance produces

¹⁹ Member of the GRIALE Research Group at the University of Alicante.

positive cognitive effects and requires small cognitive effort. In humor (and in stand-up comedy), search for optimal relevance is as a mechanism for humor comprehension.

According to Yus (2008, p. 133), humor intentionally plays with expectations of relevance from the audience's point of view. As an example, he provides these two situations:

1. A: How is your girlfriend?
 B: She's no longer my girlfriend.
 - a. [They have split up].
 - b. [They are now married].
 - c. [His girlfriend has died].

2. A. So, John, how's that, how's that gorgeous girlfriend of yours?
 B. She's no longer my girlfriend.
 A. Oh dear. Still, I wouldn't get too gloomy about it. Rumour has it she never stopped bonking old Toby de Lisle just in case you didn't work out.
 B. She's now my wife!
 A. Excellent! Excellent! Congratulations!

In 1. the explanation 1a. clearly satisfies the conditions of positive cognitive effects and small cognitive effort (as well as 1b. and 1c.), whereas in 2. humor alters our expectations of relevance. Based on these principles of Relevance Theory, Yus (2004) carried out analysis stand-up monologues in *El club de la comedia* - a popular stand-up comedy show in Spain. The pragmatic analysis focused on two main strategies used by the comedians in stand-up performances. The first one is about how humorous effects are processed. According to Yus (2004, p. 321), the fact that the audience selects the first interpretation, which offers an optimal relevance (i.e. positive cognitive effects) and small mental effort, and then *stops* comprehension at this point, "is one of the key aspects of human comprehension which humorists can predict and manipulate in the creation of humorous effects". Comedians know which inferences the audience is likely predict and design their jokes on the basis of these assumptions. The second one is about the way comedians play with "mutual cognitive environment" or "collective background knowledge" (Yus, 2004, p. 325), i.e. the collective/the individual interface. He explains that some members of the audience "may be amused to discover that some assumptions

made manifest by the comedian are collective, rather than purely personal” (Yus, 2004, p. 242).

Infringement of Grice’s conversational maxims and non-cooperative behavior are frequent pragmatic mechanisms of humor creation in different humorous contexts, including stand-up comedy (see Table 5). In other words, violation of conversational maxims, i.e. a fail to conform to conversational principles, is a guarantee of a comic effect.

Table 5. Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims in humor by Raskin (1985) and Attardo (1990).

Grice (1975, p. 45)	Raskin (1985, p. 103)	Attardo (1990, p. 355)
<p>QUANTITY:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make your contribution as informative as is required. • Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. 	<p>QUANTITY: Give exactly as much information as is necessary for the joke.</p>	<p>QUANTITY: (1) “Excuse me, do you know what time it is?” “Yes.”</p>
<p>QUALITY: Try to make your contribution one that is true.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not say what you believe to be false. • Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. 	<p>QUALITY: Say only what is compatible with the world of the joke.</p>	<p>QUALITY (2) “Why did the Vice President fly to Panama?” “Because the fighting is over”</p>
<p>RELATION: Be relevant.</p>	<p>RELATION: Say only what is relevant to the joke.</p>	<p>RELATION (3) “How many surrealists does it take to screw in a light bulb?” “Fish!”</p>
<p>MANNER: Be perspicuous.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid obscurity of expression. • Avoid ambiguity. • Be brief. • Be orderly. 	<p>MANNER: Tell the joke efficiently.</p>	<p>MANNER (4) “Do you believe in clubs for young men?” “Only when kindness fails”</p>

Example (1) violates the maxim of quantity by not giving enough information. Example (2) is a deliberate violation of the maxim of quality. Example (3) is an absurd joke, based on violation of the maxim of relation. Example (4) violates the ‘submaxim’ of manner that reads “avoid ambiguity”.

As stated in Attardo (1990, p. 356), the process of ‘getting a joke’ is akin to “disambiguation process” and includes several stages: establishment of the sense (first script); encounter with an element that defeats this sense and creates ambiguity (punchline); and reinterpretation (second script) of the processed text. Humorous texts are thus constructed on the principles of violation and are based on the deception of the hearer’s expectation (Attardo 1990: 360).

II. 6. Summary

Chapter II began with a brief overview of the history of stand-up comedy, its development in the United States, in the United Kingdom and in Portugal. Though it is difficult to say whether stand-up originated from American vaudeville or British music hall, it clearly underwent a parallel evolution on both sides of the Atlantic, having developed into an independent modern form of art. Stand-up comedy came to Portugal in the early 2000s. Nowadays, it is still at a very early stage of development, which turns it into a valuable data for the linguistic investigation here proposed. Also, ten most distinguishing key features of stand-up comedy have been presented, as well as its synthesized definition.

Next, several main theories on research in humor (and in stand-up comedy) were presented. The theories were grouped into three principal currents: semantico-pragmatic, conversation analysis and pragmatic approaches. Semantico-pragmatic approaches include The Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH), The General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) and the two revisions of GTVH, proposed by Attardo (2001) and by Ruiz-Gurillo (2012). These theories are grouped into semantico-pragmatic approaches, although their focus can slightly vary, either toward semantics (SSTH) or toward pragmatics (GTVH revised by Ruiz-Gurillo), or toward narratology (GTVH revised by Attardo). Conversation analysis approach includes the study by Rutter (1997), who focuses on skills and techniques employed by comedians in a stand-up performance and

proposes a basic structure of stand-up, including openings, main body of comedian's act (rhetoric techniques), and closing. With regard to pragmatic approaches, humor in stand-up comedy has been explained in terms of Relevance Theory (Yus 2004, 2008, 2016), which focuses on the search for optimal relevance as a mechanism for humor creation and comprehension in stand-up comedy. Violation of Grice's conversational maxims and cooperative behavior are also frequent pragmatic mechanisms of humor creation in different humorous contexts (Attardo 1990).

Based on these considerations, it can be said that stand-up comedy has been investigated in a large number of perspectives with different linguistic focuses. It is important to stress here that the main research focus of these perspectives is *humor*. In other words, the focus is on *how* humor is created by the speaker (or, the comedian), i.e. what are *the linguistic mechanisms of humor creation* (e.g. violation of maxims, manipulation of optimal relevance, rhetorical techniques, etc.), *how humorous texts are organized* (e.g. setup/punchline or 'micro-narrative' structure for jokes); and, finally, *how the listener* (or, the audience) *perceives humor*.

Unlike these approaches, which are mostly concerned with the *humorous* aspect of stand-up comedy, this thesis searches to investigate stand-up comedy from text linguistics perspective (which has not been considered so far). That is, the main concern is not humor or the way it is constructed in texts of stand-up comedy. On the contrary, *texts themselves* are the main concern; and mostly, their internal structure and the way they are organized. In this respect, discourse markers are the main objects of text analysis. Their textual and interactional properties are of great importance when it comes to configuration of text structure of stand-up comedy.

So far, the term 'genre' has been intentionally avoided. Stand-up comedy has been designated as a 'form of art', in general terms. A more profound theoretical account of the term 'genre', as well as some of the main theoretical currents in text linguistics and discourse analysis, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter III: Stand-up comedy as a genre

III. 1. Socio-discursive approaches to genre

III. 1. 1. Bakhtin²⁰ on the notion of speech genre

Mikhail M. Bakhtin was one of the greatest philosophers of the 20th century, whose works in the field of linguistics on the theory of speech genres had a huge impact on perspectives proposed by J.P. Bronckart, J.-M. Adam, L.A. Marcuschi, among others.

Bakhtin (1986, p. 60) defines speech genres as “relatively stable types” of utterances²¹ that incorporate such aspects as thematic content, linguistic style and compositional structure, which are *determined* by the various areas of human activity, in which genres may occur, or further:

“These utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is, the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure. ... [these utterances] are determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication”, (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 60).

As stated in Bakhtin (Morris, 1994, p. 87), “a speech genre is not a form of language, but a typical form of utterance: as such the genre also includes a certain typical kind of expression that inheres in it”. The speaker’s choice is determined by the specific nature of the sphere of communication, concrete situation of the speech communication, its participants, their personal interrelations or their status, linguistic forms available in the language and so on (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 78). It is important to stress that linguistic forms are stable and compulsory, while genres are much more flexible, changeable and free (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 79).

²⁰ I refer only to works signed by M.M. Bakhtin. It is beyond doubt that M.M. Bakhtin, V.N. Voloshinov and P.N. Medvedev lived actual historical lives, met and discussed ideas together, as stated in Morris (1994, p. 2) in *The Bakhtin Reader*. I adhere to the opinion that Bakhtin’s works were published under the names of his friends, as stated in *M.M. Bakhtin pod maskoi*, edited by Peshkov, 2000. I do not raise the issue of the disputed authorship of certain texts by M.M. Bakhtin.

²¹ According to Bakhtin, sentences are only grammatical units, whereas utterances are highly interactive expressive units produced by an author for his addressee; its boundaries are determined by a change of speaking subjects (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 71–73). For Bakhtin (1986, p. 73), utterance is a unit of communication, whereas sentence is a unit of language.

In Bakhtin's terms (1986, p. 68), the listener always takes an active, responsive attitude towards the speaker's words from the very beginning, sometimes from the speaker's first word. He either agrees or disagrees with it, arguments it, implies it, etc., he constantly processes and reacts to the received information, and generates a "response", even if it is not verbally expressed. The active role of the listener in communication is a distinctive feature of Bakhtin's theory. It differs from the general linguistics by Saussure, who understood language as a speech flow from the speaker to the passive recipient. Another essential quality of every utterance is its *addressivity*, i.e. every utterance is always directed to someone (1986, p. 95). In an utterance, both addressivity and response explain inherently interactive and *dialogic* nature of discourse. Like utterances, entire texts enter into a dialogic relation with each other.

Bakhtin places a special emphasis on the extreme heterogeneity of speech genres (oral and written). Such diversity of speech genres is explained by the fact that "the various possibilities of human activity are inexhaustible", in the first place. Secondly, "each sphere of activity contains an entire repertoire of speech genres that differentiate and grow as the particular sphere develops and becomes more complex" (Bakhtin, 1986: p. 60). That is why speech genres are *relatively* stable types. Their configuration (i.e. thematic content, linguistic style and compositional structure) may undergo significant changes over time, resulting in generation of an entirely new genre (e.g. emerging genres such as Internet memes) or discontinuation of outdated non-used genres. Speech genres are thus highly sensitive toward human activity in which they occur; they adapt and transform according to the current reality.

In his reflections on heterogeneity of speech genres, Bakhtin (1986, pp. 61–62) further draws a special attention to the difference between primary (simple) and secondary (complex) genres. Secondary (complex) speech genres emerge in more complex and developed (mostly written) communication, such as artistic, sociopolitical, scientific genres and so on (e.g. novels, dramas, all kinds of scientific research, etc.). As the author explains, in the process of their formation, secondary genres absorb primary genres (e.g. everyday dialogues or letters). When this happens, primary genres assume a different character and become part of a more complex genre (e.g. an everyday dialogue enters the reality of a novel). Secondary genres (specially rhetorical ones) are often characterized by a change of speaking subjects, i.e. a change of speakers. Quite frequently the speaker raises questions, answers them himself, raises objections and arguments, etc.

As Bakhtin explains (1986, p. 73), it helps to introduce primary speech genres into the construction of the secondary ones.

In Bakhtin's terms (1986, p. 78), we speak in diverse *predefined* speech genres. Our selection of oral genres is rich, and we use them in practice without suspecting that they exist in theory (e.g. everyday greetings, farewells, congratulations, wishes, information about health, business, etc.). Even in a most conventional conversation, we structure our speech according to particular generic forms. The better our command of genres is, the more clearly and effectively we communicate in different situations of communication (Bakhtin 1986, p. 80). In Bakhtin's point of view (1986, p. 78), we are given speech genres in the same way that we are given a native language, i.e. sets of configured speech genres are at our disposal once we are born. We acquire and absorb new language forms only in conjunction with these forms. We learn to structure our speech in genres, and we recognize them when we hear others' speech. The author argues that if speech genres didn't exist, or if we had to generate them during our speech process, constructing each utterance as if for the first time, human communication would be impossible (Bakhtin 1986, p. 78). Therefore, these sets of configured utterances, defined as speech genres, are necessary instruments that allow us to convert our thoughts into speech and to structure speech into speech genres.

Although this thesis is written in English, there is an important terminological aspect of Bakhtin's theory of genres to be stressed here, namely, the difference between the concepts of *géneros do discurso*, on the one hand, and *géneros de discurso* or *géneros discursivos*, on the other. The term 'discourse' in Russian has entered into a frequent use in linguistics only recently (Gorbunova 2008). Instead, the term speech ('*rech*') has been largely used. During the last two or three decades the popularity of the term 'discourse' had been growing and in recent times both designations exist in Russian (i.e. *géneros de fala* or *géneros de discurso* ('*zhanri rechi*' or '*zhanri discursa*') and *géneros discursivos* ('*rechevie zhanri*' or '*discursivnie zhanri*'). In English, there seem to be no problem with the term *speech genres*, for it is the only designation. In Portuguese, the designation/translation *géneros do discurso* creates an ambiguity within the theory itself because of its definite article '*do*', which (due to its grammatical nature) seems to impose limitations on the types of genres covered. In his original works, published in *Estetika*

slovesnogo tvorcestva in 1979, Bakhtin uses the term “speech” (‘*rech*’²² in Russian) to describe speech genres, i.e. these are ‘*rechevie zhanri*’, i.e. *speech genres* or *généros de fala*. Bakhtin (1986: 61-62) stresses extreme heterogeneity of speech genres, i.e. since genres occur *in* human activity, their configurations are limitless due to unlimited possibilities of human activity itself. The author does not limit genres to particular types of speech/discourse. It seems that the term *généros do discurso* contradicts to Bakhtin’s theoretical assumptions on boundless nature of genres. A similar (and unnecessary) limitation can be observed in English, if we compare, for instance, *discourse genre* (‘*généro de discurso*’) with *genre of the discourse* (‘*généro do discurso*’). Because of these reasons, I consider the term *généros do discurso* less felicitous and prefer to talk about *généros de discurso* or *généros discursivos*, or speech genres, in English (or ‘*rechevie zhanri*’, according to Bakhtin’s original proposal).

Bakhtin’s perspective was not situated exclusively within (internal) linguistics or psychology. Rather, it occupied an intermediary position between the two fields. The author explains that the true substance of a language is not constituted by an abstract system of linguistic forms, but by the utterances that emerge in the social interaction (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 123). Thus, the verbal interaction is what constitutes the fundamental reality of the language.

III. 1. 3. Text genre and discourse type in the framework of socio-discursive interactionism (SDI)

Based on the principal theoretical assumptions of speech genre theory (Bakhtin, 1979) and social interactionist framework (Vygotsky, 1995)²³, Bronckart (1997, 2012b) proposed a new epistemological current of socio-discursive interactionism (SDI) as a contemporary attempt to continue the trend of social interactionism (Bronckart, 2012b, p. 33). Methodologically, SDI framework is a top-down approach, which means that it first considers social situation of communication and text production conditions, and then

²² It is also interesting to mention that Bakhtin himself (1986, p. 70) held the view that *speech* (‘*rech*’) is quite an imprecise term, which stands for a number of concepts and may create a terminological ambiguity. For instance, it can designate language, the speech process (i.e. speaking), the individual utterance, an entire series of such utterances, and even a particular speech genre (e.g. “he gave a speech”).

²³ Other frameworks that inspired SDI include psychological organization and functioning (Piaget, 1970), forms of sociological organization (Habermas, 1987) and course in General Linguistics (Saussure, 1959 [1906–1911]), (Bronckart, 2013, p. 65–66).

descends to the text itself. In other words, it is never a bottom-up approach that implies exhaustive description of texts to relate them later with aspects of social situation of communication (Rojo, 2005, p. 199; Coutinho, 2014, pp. 226–227). From the socio-historic perspective:

- SDI framework pays particular attention to activity (social and historical dimensions of human conduct) and to products of this activity, i.e. language actions.
- Action is considered, from a psychological point of view, as a unit of mental-behavioral functioning. Human actions are studied in their social and discursive dimensions.
- Semiotization contributes to emergence of language activity in the process of socialization. Verbal production/output is conceived as a form of language action. Language activity materializes in the form of discourses and texts.
- The psychological dimension of an action results from appropriation by the human being of the properties of social activity mediated by language. Appropriation of semiotic forms is crucial for development of superior psychological functions.
- Due to the differentiation of human activities and situations of communication, new semiotic tools emerge for each of them. These tools get stabilized, thus constituting genres.
- When the speaker (or agent) adopts one of these preexisting models to produce a new text, he adapts them to a particular situation of communication.
- This perspective has a practical applicability to educational issues and methodology for teaching languages and texts (didactics) across different age groups and language contexts (mostly native language teaching).

Based on Bakhtin’s (1979) theoretical assumptions, Bronckart proposes a series of equivalent terms established in his approach (see Table 6).

Table 6. Terminological equivalences established between Bakhtin’s speech genre theory and SDI (adopted from Rojo, 2005, p. 190; Bronckart, 2012a, p. 143).

Bakhtin (1979)	Bronckart (1997, 2012a)
<i>forms and types of language interaction and concrete conditions of their realization</i>	language actions
<i>speech genres, text genres and stable sets of utterances</i>	text genres
<i>utterances, enunciations and texts</i>	texts

	(when seen as complete verbal productions, associated with a single language action) or utterances (when seen as segments of verbal output at phrase level)
<i>languages and styles</i> (when seen as constitutive elements of textual heterogeneity)	discourse types

Text genres are seen as pre-constructs (Bronckart, 2012a), pre-existent to our actions and necessary for accomplishment of these actions. Moreover, *text genres* are subject to permanent social evaluation, which turns them into a “reservoir of reference models” available for every language speaker to carry out language actions (Machado, 2005, p. 250). Therefore, *text genres* are socio-historical units that part from language actions (Machado, 2005, p. 250). Bronckart (2012a, p. 74) further describes *text genres* as quite vague units, when he states that organization of genres for language users is a sort of a nebula, which comprises small islands that are more or less stabilized (i.e. genres that are clearly defined and labeled) and other sets of texts with rather vague contours (for which the definitions and classification criteria are still unsettled and volatile)²⁴. Due to their unlimited number, genres can never be object of a rational, stable and definitive classification (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 138). Regularity can only be found at the level of discourse types, which are specific forms of semiotization with more or less stable status.

Bronckart (2012a, p. 137) posits that any unit of verbal production which carries a linguistically organized message and which tends to produce a coherent effect on its addressee can be defined as *text*. According to Bronckart (2012a, p. 75), *texts* are complete and self-sufficient units of language production situated in a situation of communication²⁵. *Texts* are units of language production considered as communicative units of superior level (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 71).

²⁴ “...a organização dos gêneros apresenta-se, para os usuários de uma língua, na forma de uma nebulosa, que comporta pequenas ilhas mais ou menos estabilizadas (gêneros que são claramente definidos e rotulados) e conjuntos de textos com contornos vagos e em intersecção parcial (gêneros para os quais as definições e os critérios de classificação ainda são móveis e/ou divergentes)”, (Bronckart, 2012^a, p. 74).

²⁵ “Chamamos de texto toda unidade de produção de linguagem situada, acabada e auto-suficiente (do ponto de vista da ação ou da comunicação). Na medida em que todo texto se inscreve, necessariamente, em um conjunto de textos ou em um gênero, adotamos a expressão de gênero de texto em vez de gênero de discurso”, (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 75).

He further explains that since each text belongs to a particular set of texts or *genre*, the term *text genre* (instead of *discourse genre*) is preferred. As for their composition, texts consist of certain segments or *discourse types*. *Text genres* are communicative forms (novel, editorial, encyclopedia, etc.), whereas *discourse types* are specific linguistic forms that enter into the composition of genres.

SDI framework does not see text genres as its main units of analysis, nor does it consider their analysis to be its goal. In fact, in the SDI perspective, verbal and non-verbal actions assume a privileged position and are main object of analysis (Machado, 2005, p. 238).

III. 1. 3. Text genre and text type in the socio-interactionism perspective by Marcuschi (2005)

In the socio-interactionism perspective of Marcuschi (2005, p. 19), *text genres* are defined as socio-discursive (and culturally sensitive) entities or forms of social action, which can be found in any communicative situation. *Text genres* are dynamic and ‘plastic’ events that arise as a response to socio-cultural needs, activities and technological innovations. With regard to the last point, Marcuschi compares the amount of text genres that exist today in relation to the past societies, in which written communication was predominant. Today, new means of technology (such as the Internet, radio, television, e-mail, videoconference, webinar, etc.) gave rise to an explosion of new genres (e.g. Internet memes, virtual lessons). Bronckart (2012a, p. 72) takes a similar view, when he describes new social motivations and emerging circumstances and props of communication that contribute to emergence of new *species of texts*. Of course, these forms are not entirely new; they are based on previously used models of genres (Bakhtin, 1979; Todorov, 1980).

As Marcuschi (2005, pp. 22–23) further explains, the term *text genre* is a purposely vague notion, which it used to refer to materialized texts in our daily life and which present socio-communicative characteristics defined by their contents, functional properties, style and composition. As socio-discursive events that occurs in interaction, Marcuschi underlines that genres are innumerable. This position is quite similar to that of Bronckart (2012a), with regard to genres (as infinite units) that refer to a group of texts.

Marcuschi (2005, p. 25) further draws a comparison between *text genre* and *text type* (see Table 7).

Table 7. Marcuschi's (2005, p. 25) perspective of text genre and text type.

Marcuschi, 2005, p. 25	
Text type	Text genre
1. theoretical construct defined by intrinsic linguistic properties;	1. concrete linguistic manifestations defined by socio-communicative properties;
2. constitute linguistic sequences or sequences of utterances, text types are not empirical texts;	2. constitute empirically accomplished texts fulfilling functions in communicative situations;
3. it covers a limited set of theoretical categories determined by lexical, syntactic, logical relations, verbal tense;	3. it covers an open and limitless set of concrete designations determined by the style, content, composition and function;
4. theoretical assignments of types: narration, argumentation, description, injunction and exposition.	4. examples of genres: phone call, sermon, business letter, personal letter, novel, ticket, lecture, horoscope, cooking recipe, medicine information leaflet, shopping list, menu, instructions, police inquiry, joke, spontaneous conversation, virtual chat, etc.

A *text type* is a kind of theoretical construction defined by the linguistic nature of its composition (lexical, syntactic, tenses, logical relations), (Marcuschi, 2005, pp. 22–23). Unlike genres, text types include only several categories, known as narration, argumentation, exposition, description and injunction. Each of the categories is defined by its predominant linguistic traits.

According to Marcuschi (2005, p. 21)²⁶, both *text genre* and *text type* are important aspects of verbal communication, because verbal communication is impossible, unless performed by means of some genre or some text – a similar argument was first stated by Bakhtin (1979) and further by Bronckart (2012).

In addition, Marcuschi (2005, p. 19) uses the term *discursive domain* to refer to a sphere or instance of discursive production (sometimes very specific ones) or human activity, i.e. journalistic discourse, religious discourse, etc. *Discursive domains* contain

²⁶ “...é impossível se comunicar verbalmente a não ser por algum gênero, assim como é impossível se comunicar verbalmente a não ser por algum texto”, Marcuschi (2005, p. 21).

discursive practices, in which one can identify a set of *text genres* that are common to this practice.

III. 1. 4. Discourse genre according to Textual Analysis of Discourses (Adam)

Textual Analysis of Discourses, developed by Adam (2008), is described as “...a theory of co(n)textual production, which should necessarily be based on the analysis of concrete texts”²⁷ (Adam, 2008, p. 13). This formulation provides a synthesized articulation between an elaboration of a theoretical framework, on the one hand, and its implementation on the analyses of concrete empirical texts, on the other. Adam (2008) brings forward his new theory as an attempt to approach text linguistics, thinking of a correlation between text and discourse. Text linguistics, according to this perspective, is seen a part of the larger domain of discourse analysis. In other words, Adam’s main concern is to prove the complementarity between text linguistics and discourse analysis and to place the first one in the center of the second one, as partly responsible for text analysis and operations of textualization (Rojo, 2005, p. 192).

Adam (2017, p. 37) distinguishes prototypical sequences, discourse genres and text genres, which he defines as follows:

1. *(proto)types of textual sequences*: a limited number of basic sequential types, including narrative, descriptive, argumentative, explanatory and dialogic types. Sequences describe different fragments texts are composed of (Adam, 2017, p. 16);

2. *discourse genres*: categories based on socio-discursive practices and formations such as journalistic discourse genre, literary discourse genre, advertising discourse genres, medical discourse genre, political discourse genre. In other words, a sphere of human activity they occur in delimits discourse genres.

3. *text genres*: an interplay between the first two categories, which makes it possible to distinguish linguistically genres of narration/storytelling (such as fables, tales, anecdotes, news items, etc.), genres of description (a portrait, a landscape), genres of

²⁷ “...uma teoria da produção co(n)textual de sentido que deve, necessariamente, ser fundada na análise de textos concretos”, (Adam, 2008, p. 13).

argumentation (syllogism, pleading, essay), genres of explanation (etiological tales), genres of dialogue (ordinary conversation, interview), and genres of action and counsel.

Based on Bakhtin's reflections, Adam (2017, pp. 36–37) assigns genre emergence exclusively to social practices and sees it as a mechanism that enables establishment of a connection between a text and a speech²⁸. And further, genres, organized into systems of genres, are socio-communicative and socio-historical patterns or models that social groups have at their disposal to organize forms of language into discourse²⁹. A text is thus defined as a semiotic materialization of a socio-historical action of speech within social interaction³⁰.

As the author himself explains, his terminological choice (i.e. *discourse* genre) is greatly influenced by the first readings of the French translation of Bakhtin's famous article *The Problems of the Speech Genres* published in 1979 by *Estetika slovesnogo tvorcestva. The Problems of the Speech Genres*, which can be translated literally as “the problem of the genres of speech” or even “...of speech registers”, has been translated into French under the title “genres of discourse”³¹.

In this sense, Maingueneau (2013, p. 57) holds a similar point of view. He prefers the term “discourse” to “language” (*língua* or *linguagem*, in Portuguese) and sees it as an ambiguous term, denoting several concepts. Discourse can denote a system that enables emergence of various texts, but also it can refer to a set of produced empirical texts (e.g. political discourse, administrative discourse, youth discourse, etc.). Besides, discourses (in plural) refer to verbal activities in general or to particular speech events (Maingueneau, 2013, p. 58). Similar to Adam³² (2008, p. 59; 2017), Maingueneau's

²⁸ “...un discours s'articule en divers genres, qui correspondent à autant de pratiques sociales différenciées à l'intérieur d'un même champ. Si bien qu'un genre est ce qui rattache un texte à un discours. Une typologie des genres doit tenir compte de l'incidence des pratiques sociales sur les codifications linguistiques. L'origine des genres se trouve donc dans la différenciation des pratiques sociales”, (Rastier, 1989, p. 40 apud Adam, 2017, pp. 36–37).

²⁹ “Les genres, organisés en systèmes de genres, sont des patrons sociocommunicatifs et sociohistoriques que les groupes sociaux se donnent pour organiser les formes de la langue en discours”, (Adam 2017: 36).

³⁰ “Tout texte est la trace langagière d'une interaction sociale, la matérialisation sémiotique d'une action sociohistorique de parole. La narration, la description, l'argumentation, l'explication et le dialogue sont des formes que peut prendre cette conduite discursive”, (Adam 2017: 36).

³¹ “Problema recevye zanry”, qui peut être traduit littéralement par “Le problème des genres de la parole” voire “... des registres de la parole”, a été traduit en français sous le titre “les genres du discours”, (Adam 2017: 26).

³² “A partir do momento em que o texto é definido como uma "ocorrência comunicativa" (de Beugrande e Dressler 1981), a linguística textual pode aparecer como uma pragmática textual”, (Adam 2008: 59).

(2013, p. 58) theoretical stance and the way he perceived the notion of discourse is pragmatically oriented³³.

In Adam's point of view (2017, p. 36), each text is ascribed to a genre: "il n'y a pas de textes sans genre(s)", and further "c'est par le système de genre d'une formation sociohistorique donnée que la textualité rejoint la discursivité". In other words, there is interplay between speech (or discourse) and its textual materialization (or text) available by means of genre system. Bronckart (1997, p. 138) holds a similar point of view, when he states that each new empirical text is necessarily built on a genre model ("tout nouveau texte empirique (est) donc nécessairement construit sur le modèle d'un genre"). Thus, certain elements such as empirical texts, representations of the context of interaction and the genre systems available to a particular culture overlap in the frameworks of these two authors.

However, there are certain major differences and critiques. As Adam (2017, pp. 35–36) explains, Bronckart opts to refer to discourse genres as text genres "for technical reasons". This terminological choice, in Adam's opinion, remains problematic for several reasons. Firstly, Adam argues that Bronckart's discursive level is an abstract level of "standardized conditions of use of the resources of a language" (Bronckart, 2008, p. 61 *apud* Adam, 2017, p. 35) and differs from the socio-discursive level of the genre systems recognized by Rastier, Maingueneau and Adam himself. Secondly, Bronckart's "intertext" corresponds to what discourse analysts call "interdiscourse"; therefore, "intertextuality", which is an individual or collective memory of texts or fragments of texts, is part of "interdiscourse".

On the other hand, Bronckart's main criticisms of Adam's work has to do with the unclear status of the term 'text'. As Bronckart (2012a, p. 146) explains, text is seen by J.-M. Adam as an abstract object. However, in certain passages, Adam refers to text as an object of language produced by human conduct or within interaction that circulate in society, i.e. it indisputably refers to an object of a concrete character and not an abstract one (Bronckart, 2012, p. 147).

The second point of criticism has to do with the problems of conceptualization which, according to Bronckart, seem to derive from heterogeneous character of the

³³ "Mais que uma doutrina, a pragmática constitui, com efeito, uma certa maneira de apreender a comunicação verbal. Ao utilizar o termo "discurso", é a esse modo de apreensão que se remete implicitamente", (Maingueneau 2013: 58).

epistemologies the theoretical framework is inspired on (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 148). As stated in Bonini (2005, p. 229), Adam combined an internal cognitive perspective (based on pragmatics) with an external discursive perspective (based on French discourse analysis), which represent quite opposite linguistic traditions.

Despite certain conceptual and methodological differences, there is an agreement among these researchers on several points. Genres are socio-discursive entities, which occur in various area of human activity; and their parameters and characteristics are configured in relation to these areas of human activity. Genres occur in situations of interactions, and imply a producer, an active receiver (or an addressee). Texts are complex, concrete and empirical units, which necessarily belong to particular genres.

Next, several main approaches to text structuration (not only humorous, but in general terms) will be discussed, including the SDI perspective and the approach described in Text Analysis of Discourses.

III. 2. Some converging principles on language, text and genre between the socio-discursive approaches and Systemic Functional Linguistics

As Bronckart himself explains (2013, p. 67), the original SDI model *Le fonctionnement des discours*³⁴ was inspired by two main contributions of functional linguistics, *Notes of Transitivity and theme in English* (Halliday, 1967) and *Cohesion in English* (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). As time passed by, the two perspectives took separate paths and eventually became two distinct linguistic approaches. Nowadays, the SDI has little to do with the approach known as Systemic Functional Linguistics (*ibidem*).

Despite some debatable questions between the two perspectives³⁵, there are several major converging principles on the notions of language, text and genre between Systemic Functional Linguistics, on the one hand, and the genre theories (including contributions of mainly Bronckart and Adam), on the other. Some of these key ideas,

³⁴ “Le fonctionnement des discours” (1985), Paris: Delachaux et Niestle.

³⁵ It is not my intention to provide here a detailed overview of Systemic Functional Linguistics and to draw a thorough comparison between the overviewed theoretical accounts. My main objective is to establish common ground between these different perspectives, and to show some key points of Systemic Functional Linguistics *in relation* to genre theories.

which lay the theoretical foundations of linguistics, and especially of genre and text studies, are listed below.

a. The semiotic status of language³⁶

Language is understood as a semiotic system or a resource for making meaning (Halliday, 2014, p. 5, 20, 23). A characteristic of the systemic approach is that it is comprehensive. It means that it analyzes language as a whole, and each of the analyzed aspects is related to the global picture.

“A language is a system of meaning – a semiotic system. [...] semiotic means “having to do with meaning” (semiosis); so a system of meaning is one by which meaning is created and meanings are exchanged.”, (Halliday, 2003, p. 2).

Besides, language has evolved as part and parcel of human history (Halliday, 2003, p. 255) and operates in social context (Halliday, 1976, p. 305; 2014, p. 32). Finally, language is seen as an inherent characteristic of a human being: “language is what defines the brain of *homo sapiens*: what constitutes it as specifically human” (Halliday, 2003, p. 390).

b. Language as a functional system

SFL model of language as a semiotic system implies a trinocular conception of meaning, i.e. metafunctions. Halliday (2003, p. 249) identifies ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, or further: “the ideational, whereby language construes human experience; the interpersonal, whereby language enacts human relationships; and the textual, whereby creates the discursive order of reality that enables the other two”. Ideational metafunction is a theory of human experience, i.e. it names phenomena and classifies them into grammatical categories. Interpersonal metafunction suggests both interactive and personal functions (Halliday, 2014, p. 30). It expresses our senses, appraisal and attitudes towards the addressee or towards what we are talking about. Textual metafunction relates to construction of a text, as it enables to build and organize discourse and discursive flow, creating textual cohesion.

Some of these functions (namely, interpersonal and textual ones) inspired further studies on discourse markers (e.g. Brinton, 1996, see Chapter IV).

³⁶ These categories are partially adopted from Bronckart (2013, pp. 67–69); however, the list has been extended in relation to other frameworks, such as Textual Analysis of Discourse (Adam, 2008, 2017).

c. Text as the main unit of linguistic analysis

In Halliday's view, text is a global communicational unit that can be of any kind (in terms of length, type, support, etc.), as long as it makes sense to its addressee: "The word text is used to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole", (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 1). The length of any text varies greatly; it can be constituted by a nominal, verbal or a propositional group (e.g. a sign "*For sale*") and can stretch up to a novel, a romance, etc.

Besides, text is the main resource of making meaning, as people communicate (in spoken or written form) by means of texts, thus creating meanings:

"When people speak or write, they produce text; and text is what listeners and readers engage with and interpret. The term 'text' refers to any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who who's the language; we can characterize text as language functioning in context. Language is, in the first instance, a resource for making meaning; so text is a process of making meaning in context.", (Halliday, 2014, p. 3)

Lastly, a text is "a unit of language in use", i.e. it is a highly contextualized unit that is dependent on the situation of interaction in which it is used (Halliday, 1976, p. 1).

d. Text as both (concrete) artefact and (abstract) specimen

One of the previously discussed theoretical incompatibilities between the SDI framework and the Textual Analysis of Discourses was the way the notion of text was treated. Whereas Bronckart clearly sees it as an empirical complex object, situated in a particular social context, Adam's view on text is unsteady (which caused some criticism of his proposal). At times, it is described as an abstract linguistic unit; in other contexts, however, it is seen as a contextually-dependent empirical object.

In Halliday's SFL, there are two main angles of vision of a text: one of them focuses on the text as "an object in its own right", another one focuses on the text as an instrument for finding out about something else (e.g. about the system of the language it is spoken/written in). In the first case, the text is viewed as artefact (a concrete empirical object), in the second case it is seen as specimen (an abstract theoretical object of linguistics) (Halliday, 2014, p. 3). In Halliday's view, both perspectives are complementary and necessary to consider. The meaning of a particular empirical text can be explained only in relation to the whole language system it is inserted into. And, at the

same time, we can't draw conclusions on the language system, unless we understand the functioning and the meaning of a concrete text.

e. Genre as a social, goal-oriented practice

In SFL, genre is seen as a social process, as we communicate in various genres with other people. It is also a goal-oriented practice, because we use genres with a particular communicative purpose (e.g. to complain, to praise, to entertain, etc.) (Martin 2005: 32).

Since language is a system of meaning, it is the genre's task to organize the meaning into recurrent configurations/parameters, which allow us to achieve concrete communicational goals:

“The model [of language strata] was further elaborated by adding on a level of genre, whose job it was to coordinate resources, to specify just how a given culture organizes this meaning potential into recurrent configurations of meaning”, (Martin, 2009, p. 12).

Therefore, genre is defined as “a recurrent configuration of meanings and culture as a system of genres” (Martin, 2009, p. 13).

f. Social applicability

SFL provides necessary guidelines for teaching, native and second language (L2) learning. It has been successfully applied to enhance teaching and learning literacy in Australian schools, and its genre-based methodology has been implemented on students' writing in primary and secondary schools (Martin, 2009).

The list of converging points is by no means exhaustive. Yet, it covers several key concepts necessary to consider in the study that aims to approach stand-up comedy as a genre, and to investigate its texts as empirical “artefacts”. Besides, some of these theoretical notions of SFL (namely, its metafunctions) served as a foundation for the development of new approaches to discourse markers (for instance, Brinton, 1996, see Chapter IV).

III. 3. Approaches to structuration of texts

III. 3. 1. General infrastructure of texts (Bronckart)

In the SDI framework, organization of a text is conceived as a hierarchic and multi-layered scheme, which includes general infrastructure of the text, mechanisms of textualization and mechanisms of enunciation (see Table 8). Infrastructure, which is the most ‘profound’ level of text organization, is defined, on the one hand, by the characteristics of the general planning of the thematic content, and, on the other hand, by the discourse types (Bronckart, 2003, p. 66). The second level is constituted by the mechanisms of textualization, which contribute to linear or thematic coherence of the text by the set of isotopic connection processes, nominal cohesion and verbal cohesion (Bronckart, 2003, p. 67). The most ‘superficial’ level includes mechanisms of enunciative responsibility and modalization, which make explicit the type of enunciative commitment in the text and which gives it its interactive coherence (Bronckart, 2003, p. 68).

Table 8. Text organization or ‘internal architecture of texts’ proposed by Bronckart (1997, 2012).

INFRASTRUCTURE			MECHANISMS OF TEXTUALIZATION		MECHANISMS OF ENUNCIATION
PLANIFICATION	DISCOURSE TYPES	→	ISOTOPIC PROCESSES (NOMINAL COHESION & VERBAL COHESION)	→	VOICE DISTRIBUTION
	SEQUENCES				MODALIZATION

At the level of infrastructure, there are two main ‘compositional’ elements to be found: discourse types and other local and more elementary forms of planification (e.g. sequences, scripts and schematizations). As previously said, types of discourse are forms of linguistic organization, in a limited number, with which text genres are composed in different modalities (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 250). In the SDI framework, types of discourse are fundamental elements of the general infrastructure of texts (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 217).

Sequences are forms of conventional (simpler) planification that can be found within a discourse type (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 251). There can be of six types of sequences,

i.e. dialogical, descriptive, narrative, explanatory, argumentative and injunctive (see Table 9). Whereas discourse types refer to a psychological notion, according to which general properties of human language can be identified by “abstraction-generalization” of different forms observable in natural languages (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 156), sequences refer to other types of operations. In particular, narrative sequences create tension; descriptive sequences intend to convey some information; injunctive sequence encourages its addressee to act; explicative and argumentative sequences aim at solving a problem or convincing the addressee; dialogal sequence regulates interaction (Bronckart, 2012a, pp. 237–238). Since sequences promote and encourage some kind of action (i.e. to create tension, to make see, to act, to solve a problem, to convince, to regulate interaction), their operations are of dialogical character (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 240).

It is also important to mention that Bronckart extends Adam’s original proposal of five types of sequences, adding an injunctive sequence. Injunctive sequence encourages the addressee to act, i.e. it can be found in many genres such as a cooking recipe, instruction manual, etc.

Table 9. Typology of textual sequences presented by Bronckart (in Machado, 2005, pp. 246–247).

SEQUENCES	EFFECT	PHASES
Descriptive	to make the addressee see in detail elements of an object of discourse, as directed by the speaker	anchorage aspetualization relationship reformulation
Explicative	to make the addressee understand an object of discourse, seen by the speaker as incontestable, but also as difficult to understand for the recipient	initial verification problematization resolution conclusion/evaluation
Argumentative	to convince the addressee of the validity of the speaker’s positioning toward an object of discourse considered as questionable (by the speaker and / or the addressee)	premises argumentative support counter-argument conclusion

Narrative	to maintain the attention of the addressee through the construction of suspense, created by establishing tension and subsequent resolution	initial situation complication actions triggered resolution final situation
Injunctive	to make the addressee (re)act in a certain way or in a particular direction	enumeration of temporarily subsequent actions
Dialogal	to keep make the addressee stay in the proposed interaction	opening transactional operations closure

As for other forms of local planification, Bronckart (2012a, p. 238, 241) distinguishes two elementary forms of organization such as scripts and schematizations. Scripts organize thematic content in a chronological order (e.g. events are arranged and narrated in a chronological order), whereas schematizations organize thematic content according to the procedures of natural logic (e.g. enumeration, definition).

With regard to sequences proposed by Adam (2008, 2011), Bronckart critically evaluates this concept and considers that sequences could be one of possible forms of organization of thematic content, together with more elementary form of organization such as scripts and schematizations. As Machado (2005, p. 248) explains, in the SDI perspective it is not possible to define or classify all genres based on the sequence criterion, given the fact that there are certain texts in which sequences may not occur. In other words, certain texts or/and text genres may not contain them. Sequences may appear in texts as manifestations of supplementary operations. Moreover, sequence distribution is largely determined by discourse types employed in a particular genre (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 250).

Although Bronckart seems to agree with the definitions of sequential prototypes, he denies the fact these are cognitive models preexisting to sequences and capable of generating them (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 233). He sees sequential prototypes only as theoretical constructs, which have been deduced from examination of the sequences found in empirical texts.

Marcuschi's (2005, p. 21) view is quite similar to the SDI perspective on the optionality of sequences. In his opinion, text genres cannot be characterized or defined

merely based on formal aspects (be they structural or linguistic ones), but by socio-communicative and functional aspects.

These reflections, however, do not mean that identification of discourse types and sequences is useless (Machado, 2005, p. 248). Sequence (or discourse type) analysis might not be sufficient enough to define a particular genre, but it can be enough to reveal its more or less typical macro-level textual organization.

In any kind of produced text, we can identify a dominant discourse type and secondary discourse types. For instance, it is very common to find narrative discourse in novels, i.e. certain discourse types are characteristic for particular text genres. Texts are considered homogeneous if they consist of a single and same type of discourse (which is rare in practice). Texts are considered heterogeneous when they are composed of various types of discourse (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 253). In heterogeneous texts, discourse types can be combined by means of insertion or fusion (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 254).

As for the notion of text plan, according to Bronckart (2012a, p. 247), it is often confused with discourse plan. The author defines discourse plan as a combination of various forms of planification. As for individual texts, Bronckart sees their 'text plan' as an unnecessary option for two reasons. Firstly, reconstruction of text (or linguistic) plan implies identifying the forms of planification employed, which may result in a very complex plan. Secondly, as due to unlimitedness of these forms of planification, it seems impossible to characterize or to classify texts. In other words, a text plan of an individual text presents a rather complex layout that does not contribute to text classification in any way. Therefore, Bronckart sees text plan as a weak and non-technical conceptualization (2012a, p. 248).

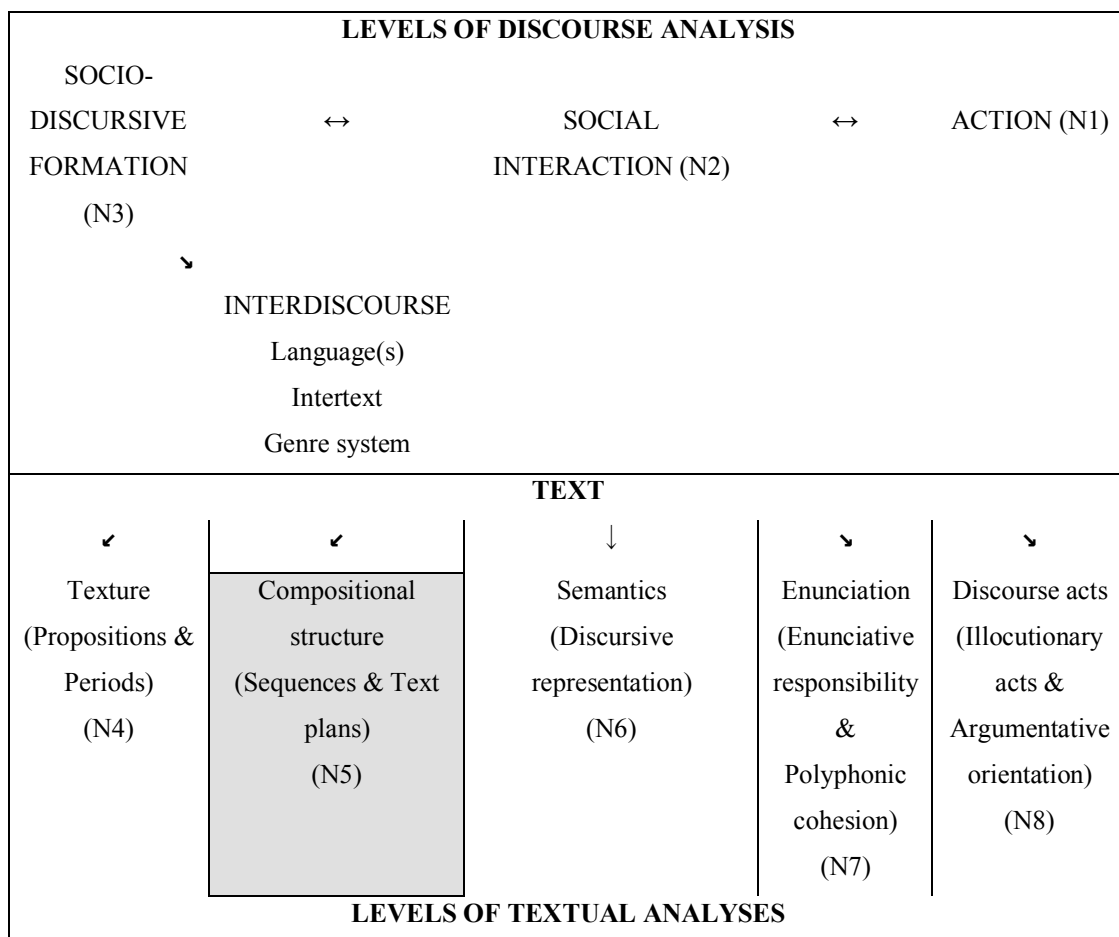
Summing up, it is important to stress that Bronckart's proposal in general does not focus exclusively on the internal organization of the units that appear in the text. For the author, the central problem is the relation that these units maintain with the external parameters of language action (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 139).

III. 2. 2. Sequences and text plan (Adam)

Adam's (2008, 2017) theoretical framework incorporates socio-discursive interaction (discursive dimension) and linguistic-textual structuring (textual dimension)

(see Figure 3). The scheme presents a top-down approach, emphasizing the major role of genre and socio-discursive interaction (Adam, 2017, p. 39). The lower part of the scheme integrates Bakhtin’s tripartite representation of a genre: its composition corresponds to level N5, thematic content to level N6 and style to level N4. Bakhtin’s polyphony is reflected in level N7 and the interactive component of his social theory of discourse is found in level N8. These five levels are not hierarchically linked; nevertheless, they constantly interact according to produced texts, or further: “[this scheme] shows that everything is connected, everything fits together and only a modular model can account for this complexity”³⁷. Level N2 refers to human discursive productions that are part of interactions and social formations in which they take place. These socio-discursive formations possess their own genre systems, found in level N3.

Figure 3. Levels of discourse analysis proposed by Adam (2008, p. 61, 2017, p. 38).



³⁷ “...elle veut montrer que tout est relié, que tout se tient et que seul un modèle modulaire peut rendre compte de cette complexité”, (Adam, 2017, p. 39).

Text linguistics, according to this framework, is seen a part of the larger domain of discourse analysis and is primarily concerned with the analysis of empirical texts, based on levels N4-N8. Adam (2017, p. 49) explains that the reason for developing text linguistics is an attempt to account for ‘complexity and compositional heterogeneity of utterances’, as Bakhtin (2003, p. 286) underlined. Another important ‘role’ of text linguistics, according to Adam, is to explore and theoretically account for intermediate (or *meso-textual*) level of text structuration³⁸, “without neglecting the complex interplay of low-level (bottom-up) transphrastic constraints and higher-level (top-down) discursive and generic constraints” (Adam, n.d., p. 7).

As it can be seen from the scheme, level N5 is responsible for compositional structure of a text. As Adam (2017, pp. 49–50) explains, elementary propositions can be arranged and grouped into: a) periods and paragraphs, which are weakly typified textual units; and b) sequences, i.e. more complex units with a stable typification. As stated in Bonini (2005, p. 209), Adam’s notion of sequence arises from six key linguistic notions, formulated in his first proposal in 1992. These principal concepts include: Bakhtin’s theoretical conceptualizations of speech gender, the concept of prototype (Rosch, 1978), the basic concepts of text type (Werlich, 1976) and the notion of superstructure (van Dijk, 1980).

Textual sequence is seen as a set of psychological propositions (or cognitive schemes) that got stabilized and became a compositional resource of the various genres (Bonini, 2005, p. 208, 232). Adam (2017, p. 50) defines sequences as complex textual units, which are composed of sets of basic propositions, i.e. macropropositions. In other words, clauses are first grouped into sets of macropropositions, which are specific to each type of sequence. Then these macropropositions are grouped together into a textual unit formed by the sequence. The structure for all sequential groupings is presented as follows: [Sequence [macropropositions [clause(s)]]]. Such hierarchic approach, i.e. when lower-level units are integrated into higher-level units, is the basic condition for a unified approach to textual sequences (Adam, n.a., p. 8).

What fundamentally distinguishes a sequence from a genre is its limited variability. Whereas genres occur in social situations and are mainly heterogeneous,

³⁸ “Le rôle de la linguistique textuelle est d’explorer et de théoriser ce niveau intermédiaire (mésotextuel) de structuration, sans négliger le jeu complexe des contraintes intraphrastiques, interphrastiques et transphrastiques, discursives et génériques”, (Adam, 2017, p. 25)

sequences are relatively stable and can be delimited in a small set of types, or *prototypes*³⁹ (Bonini, 2005, p. 218).

What radically distinguishes Adam's perception of sequences from their terminological equivalent in SDI is the fact that sequences are seen as autonomous entities that occur in all genres, endowed with an internal *preformatted* organization of its own. In terms of their textual placement, sequences are *meso-textual* structures (Adam, 2017, p. 70), responsible for configuration of a text plan. Adam (2017, p. 54) argues that together with discourse genres, a speaker gains meso-structures (or sequences) in the process of language acquisition, or further:

“Les séquences sont des catégories de textualisation articulant et hiérarchisant des regroupements d'énoncés à un niveau mésotextuel pré-générique qui, de ce fait, traverse tous les genres. Ces règles de mésostructuration sont, comme les genres de discours, l'objet d'un apprentissage parallèle à celui de la langue”, Adam (2017, p. 54).

Based on their pre-defined, pre-formatted and relatively stable nature, Adam (2017, pp. 54–55) believes sequences are what Bakhtin (1986, p. 60) defines as ‘relatively stable types’ of utterances. Primary genres are conceived as textual sequences, that is, as textual components (composed of relatively stable propositions) that are part of secondary genres (Bonini, 2005, p. 210). In Bakhtin's theory, according to Adam, sequences are just reduced to basic types of utterances. Adam's reflections largely overlap with the ones made by Bakhtin, when he says, “when we learn a language of a particular social group, we acquire, at the same time, discourse genres by means of which this language is realized” (“en apprenant la langue d'un groupe social, nous apprenons en même temps les genres discursifs dans lesquels cette langue se réalise”, 2017, pp. 54–55). In addition to discourse genres, we learn and acquire primary speech genres⁴⁰.

This last point received some criticism. According to Bonini (2005, p. 230), Bakhtin does not see primary genres as more stable forms than secondary genres. The distinction is rather based on complexity of the utterance that is found in each of these types. Whereas primary genres generally include simpler forms utterances (e.g. a face-to-

³⁹ “C'est le schéma ou image mentale du prototype abstrait, construit à partir de propriétés typiques de la catégorie, qui permet la reconnaissance ultérieure de tel ou tel exemple comme plus ou moins prototypique” (Adam, 2017, p. 68).

⁴⁰ “En plus de la grammaire de la langue, nous apprenons des grammaires secondes, qui portent sur ce que Bakhtine appelle les genres premiers de la parole”, (Adam, 2017, pp. 54–55).

face dialogue, a phone conversation, a letter/email), secondary genres comprise more complex forms of utterances (e.g. a novel, a scientific article) and incorporate primary genres into their structure.

Another controversial point of TAD has to do with prototypes, namely, their preformatted status. As Bonini states (2005, p. 230), the assumption that textual categories are organized in terms of sequential prototypes is inconsistent. As the author explains, these categories are formed as a response to language actions and experiences that speakers are faced with.

Table 10. Approaches to structuration of texts in Bronckart (2012) and Adam (2017).

Bronckart (2012)		Adam (2017)	
INFRASTRUCTURE		COMPOSITIONAL STRUCTURE	
MACRO-LEVEL	DISCOURSE TYPES	TEXT PLAN	MACRO-TEXT
		SEQUENCES <i>(mandatory)</i>	MESO-TEXT
MICRO-LEVEL	SEQUENCES, scripts & schematizations <i>(optional)</i>	periods/paragraphs	MICRO-TEXT

Table 10 compares two principal approaches to structuration of texts: Bronckart's (2012) infrastructure of texts within SDI and Adam's (2017) compositional structure of texts within TAD. As it can be seen, the notion of sequence occupies different positions within the two frameworks. Whereas in SDI sequences are understood as local, elementary and optional forms of planification of text at a micro-level of text structure, sequences in TAD hold occupy a prominent position and form a meso-textual level of text structure. Besides, their presence is mandatory in any kind of empirical text, according to Adam's methodological choice.

When it comes to sequential organization of a text, a number of similar correspondences can be established between sequences in TAD and discourse types in SDI. Firstly, similar to discourse types, combinations of sequences (or text plans) can generally be very complex (Adam, 2017, p. 61). Secondly, an empirical text is rarely homogeneous, i.e. composed of a single type of sequence. Instead, a mix of various

sequences is more common. With regard to this point, Adam (2017, p. 16) adopts the concept of compositional heterogeneity of texts proposed by Rastier. Thirdly, an empirical text can have several clearly identifiable sequences or it can be totally or partially regulated by sequences of sentences and periods grouped together in paragraphs by semantic (N6) and illocutionary (N8) links, thus forming a text plan (Adam, 2017, p. 61). In this respect, it is important to stress here the author finds it impossible to define any rule that would explain how sequences can be segmented (Adam, 2008, p. 226). Fourthly, similar to discourse genres, sequences can be combined by means of coordination, alternation or insertion⁴¹ (Adam, 2017, p. 62). Finally, sequences are further grouped into sets that become a blueprint of a text plan. As for Adam's theoretical stance, text plan is an obligatory factor of a compositional structure. As he further explains (Adam 2017: 63), whereas certain genres have a more *fixed* and pre-defined text plan, others can have an occasional text plan.

Thus, in the TAD perspective, compositional structure of texts results from two compositional processes, i.e. planification and structuration. Planification is a top-down process that is rooted in a particular genre that has a fixed, conventional text plan. Structuration, on the other hand, is a bottom-up process. At a micro-textual level proposition form macropropositions, which are further grouped into sequences in order to obtain an occasional text plan (Bonini, 2005, p. 215).

III. 3. 2. 1. Narrative sequence

In one of his articles on narrative sequences, Adam (n.d.) recollects a definition of narrative construction proposed by Aristotle, i.e. "a whole, which has a beginning, a middle and an end". In the same article, Adam (n.d.) makes a reference to Tomashevsky and explains that tension, which occurs in a narrative sequence, reflects its dynamic nature, or further: "...in order to get the story going, a dynamic motif destroys the initial peaceful situation". Similar to other sequences, narrative sequence is a preformatted "textual schema" situated between the sentence- and period-level structuration of clauses

⁴¹ As stated in Adam (n.d., p. 19), a more complex compositional textual matrix can be formed either through the linear coordination of sequences [Seq. 1 *and* Seq. 2 *and* Seq. 3 *and* Seq. n]; or by the *embedding-insertion* of sequences one within another [Seq. 1 [Seq. 2] *continuation* of Seq. 1]; or through a *parallel-alternating assemblage* [Seq. 1 / Seq. 2 / *continuation* of Seq. 1 / *continuation* of Seq. 2 / *end* of Seq. 1 / *end* of Seq. 2].

and the macro-textual organization of text plans, i.e. at the meso-textual level. In a hierarchical organization, clause groupings form narrative macropropositions (Np) that correspond to various moments: m1, m2, m3, m4 and m5 (See Figure 4).

Figure 4. Linear, temporal series of moments in narrative sequence (adopted from Adam, n.d., p. 9).

Moment m1 = BEFORE the process (action is imminent)	= Np1
Moment m2 = BEGINNING of the process (beginning to, undertaking)	= Np2
Moment m3 = DURING the process (continuing to)	= Np3
Moment m4 = END of the process (ceasing)	= Np4
Moment m5 = AFTER the process (recently completed)	= Np5

Moment m1 is a narrative's *initial situation* (Np1) and it creates (or not) tension. Moment m2 or *node* (Np2) interrupts the initial situation and starts the narrative process through action, event, or through some kind of a cognitive shortcoming (e.g. a secret yet to be revealed, curiosity). Moment m3 is a *re-action* or *evaluation* (Np3) of the characters' action. Moment m4 or *denouement* (Np4) draws the narrative process towards its end. And moment m5 or *final situation* (Np5) releases the initial tension introduced by *node* (Np2). Np5 can be left exterior to the main storyline of the narrative sequence.

Figure 5 (see below) shows a shift from linear, temporal series of moments to semantically linked macropropositions found in a narrative sequence, in which initial situation (Np1) and final situation (Np5), node (Np2) and denouement (Np4) are interconnected.

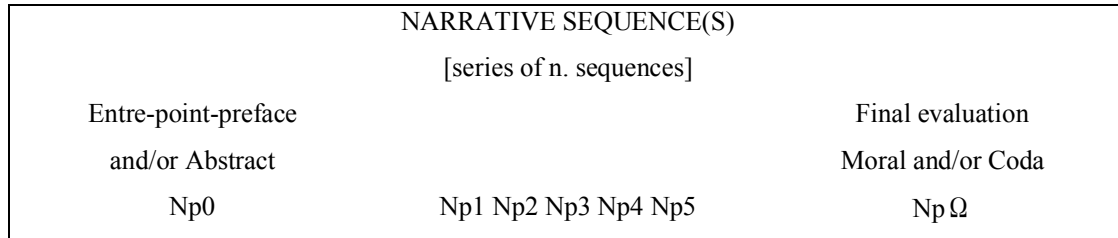
Figure 5. The structure of narrative sequence (adopted from, Adam n.d., p. 9).

(Re)action or Evaluation (Np3)	
Node (Np2)	↔
Initial situation (Np1)	↔
Denouement (Np4)	↔
	Final situation (Np5)

At a higher-level of organization, narrative sequence is complemented with opening (Np0) and closing (Np Ω) pragmatic macropropositions. As Adam explains (Adam, n.d., p. 19), these additional macropropositions ensure transitions between a conversation and a narrative, for instance. The idea is adopted from Bakhtin's speech genre theory, in which he states: "The first and last sentences of an utterance are unique

and have an additional quality. For they are, so to speak, sentences of the ‘frontline’ that stand right at the boundary of the change of speech subjects” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89).

Figure 6. The structure of narrative text (adopted from Adam, n.d., p. 11).

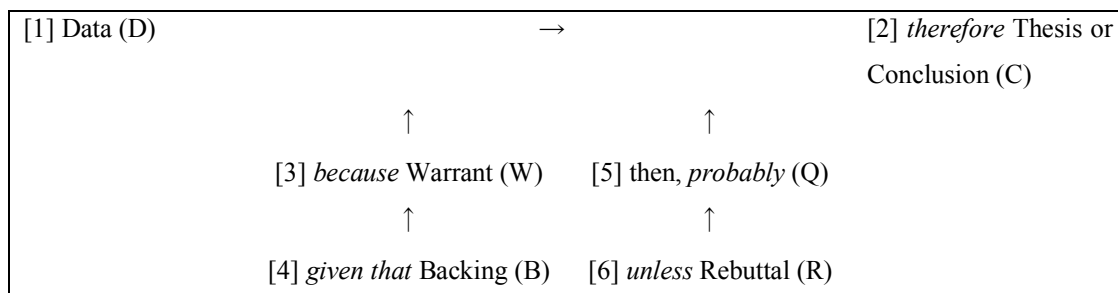


III. 3. 2. 2. Argumentative sequence

Adam’s argumentative sequence is based on Toulmin’s (*The Uses of Argument*, Chapter III) six components argumentation scheme (see Figure 7), which includes:

- a) D: Data [Data]⁴².
- b) *therefore* C: Thesis or Conclusion [Claim], i.e. given the data D, we can assume that C.
- c) *because* W: Guarantee [Warrant], i.e. “a license to infer”.
- d) *given that* B: Foundation or Warrant Support [Backing], i.e. what the warrant is based on.
- e) *then, probably/presumably* Q: a qualifier or a modal indicator of “strength” of conviction or persuasion.
- f) *unless* R: Refutation Conditions [Rebuttal], i.e. the conditions of rebuttal (R) point out the circumstances in which the general authority of the guarantee should be annulled.

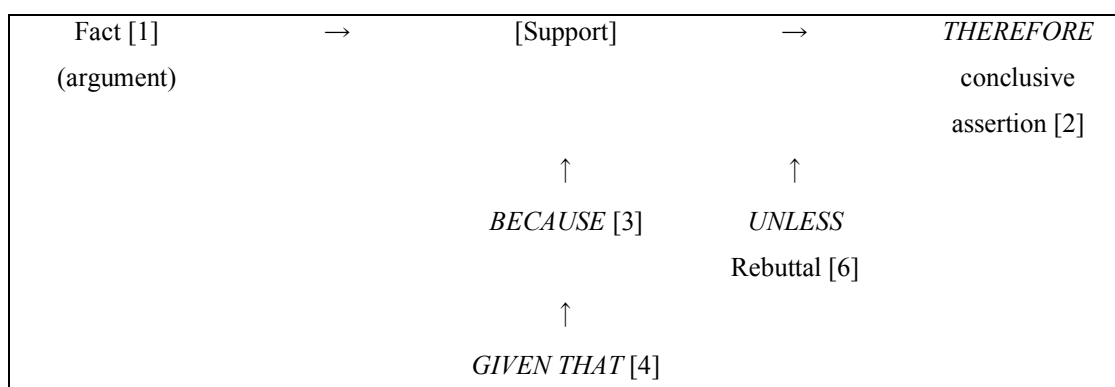
Figure 7. Toulmin’s argumentation model (adopted from Adam, 2017, p. 158).



⁴² In Adam (2004, 2017, p. 157), *Une approche textuelle de l’argumentation: ‘schéma’, séquence et phrase périodique* (Retrieved on April 27, 2018 from <http://books.openedition.org/psn/763?lang=fr#text>).

J.-B. Grize (1981) proposed a simplification of Toulmin’s argumentative scheme. The new scheme (which is further adopted by Adam) reformulates the principal components of Toulmin’s model and leaves aside the qualifier or a modal indicator (Q) (see Figure 7). As Adam explains (2008, p. 233), the linear organization of an argumentative sequence is not compulsory, i.e. the sequence may begin with a conclusive assertion [2] that is further backed up and a new argument is created.

Figure 8. Argumentative sequence (adopted from Adam, 2017, p. 158).



III. 3. 2. 3. Explicative sequence

As stated in Adam (2008, p. 237), explicative sequence occurs when IF introduces a problem and BECAUSE (OF) provides some explanation. In general terms, the formula may undergo several transformations, e.g.: [IF p, it is BECAUSE OF q], or [IF p, it is FOR q], or [IF p, it is DUE TO q], or [it is (BECAUSE (OF)/FOR) q, that p]. The marker BECAUSE establishes a causal relation between two periodic structures. Besides, the marker THAT IS WHY can also mark the presence of explanation in a text, especially when used in final position (Adam, 2008, p. 239). Explicative sequences have a two-fold objective. Firstly, it is to share a particular point of view, belief or another piece of knowledge by establishing a “mechanical” relation between p and q. Secondly, it is to convince the addressee, i.e. to encourage him/her to act (Adam, 2017, p. 241).

The structure of explicative sequence is tri-fold (see Figure 9), i.e. it typically includes questioning, resolute and conclusive phases. It is frequently preceded by a description that introduces a complex object or problem (P.expl.0). It is then questioned by WHY and the corresponding first macroproposition (P.expl.1) is provided. The second

macroproposition (P.expl.2) BECAUSE (OF) is an answer or explanation of the problem. The sequence ends with a third macroproposition (P.expl.3), which ratifies and evaluates the answer/explanation (Adam, 2008, pp. 243–244).

Figure 9. Explicative sequence (adopted from Adam, 2008, p. 244).

Explicative sequence	WHY p?	P.expl.0	Initial schematization
	BECAUSE q	P.expl.1	Problem (question)
		P.expl.2	Explanation (answer)
		P.expl.3	Ratification/evaluation

III. 3. 2. 4. Descriptive sequence

Descriptive sequence differs from other sequence types, for it does not consist of sets of propositions grouped into macropropositions (Adam, 2008, p. 215). Instead, there are four descriptive operations, such as operations of thematization (pre-, post- and re-thematization), operations of aspectualization (fragmentation and qualification), operations of relation (continuity and analogy) and operations of expansion through sub-thematization. Each of these sub-operations is briefly clarified below (from Adam, 2008, pp. 216–24):

(a) Operations of thematization:

- a. Pre-thematization: names the object from the outset and opens descriptive period.
- b. Post-thematization: names object only in end of the sequence.
- c. Re-thematization (or reformulation): gives a new name to the object and closes descriptive period.

(b) Operations of aspectualization:

- a. Fragmentation (partition): a selection of parts of description of an object.
- b. Qualification (attribution of properties): indicates all properties of an object and/or of the parts selected by the fragmentation operation.

(c) Operations of relation:

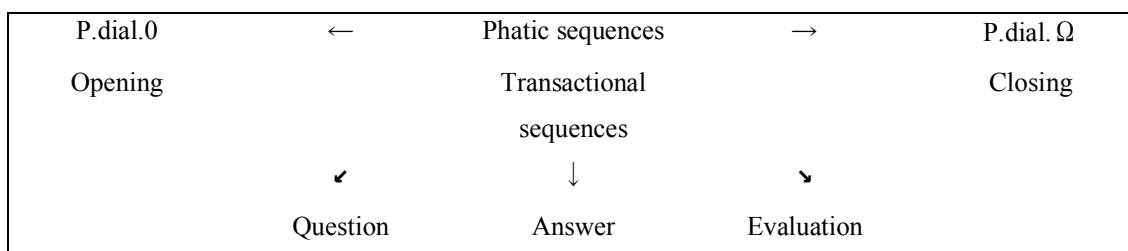
- a. Continuity: temporal or spatial conditions of a descriptive process.
- b. Analogy: comparative or metaphorical description of an object (or its parts) in relation with other objects.

(d) Operations of expansion through sub-thematization: extension of description by means of combinations of various types of operations (e.g. operations of qualification are frequently combined with analogy).

III. 3. 2. 5. Dialogal sequence

Another peculiar type of sequence is a dialogal one. As stated in Adam (2008, p. 248), a dialogal text is composed of phatic sequences of opening and closing, and transactional sequences that constitute dialogic interaction. The utterances are not grouped into paragraphs as in written discourse. Instead, they follow a turn-taking model, constituting interactive speech turns. A complete elementary conversational text is seen as follows (see Figure 10):

Figure 10. Dialogal sequence (adopted from Adam, 2008, p. 248).



As Adam explains (2008, p. 252), in a situation of oral spontaneous conversation, compositional structure is mostly described as a dialogal one. It can be composed of narrative, descriptive, explicative and argumentative sequences.

III. 3. 3. On the notion of texture (Halliday & Hasan)

The review of the studies of text and its internal structure would be incomplete without a brief reference to the influential work entitled *Cohesion in English* by Halliday & Hasan (1976). Their theory provides a detailed description of the resources for text construction, i.e. lexical and grammatical linking devices within a text or sentence that turn a text into a text as a whole entity (and thus makes it different from a group of grammatical sentences).

The main objective of the work on cohesion proposed by the authors is to demonstrate and explain what makes a whole text different from a group of unrelated stretches of sentences. In other words, there are certain features or characteristics of a unified text that cannot be found in a group of sentences. It can be said that any text has a certain structure, or, as Halliday & Hasan put it, each text has *texture*. Texture is defined as “the property of being a text” (1976, p. 2); and it is texture that “distinguishes a text from something that is not a text” (*ibidem*).

There are three components of texture: cohesion, texture within the sentence and texture of discourse. The theoretical focus is not evenly distributed between the three components: whereas cohesion receives the main attention, the other two components are clearly less examined.

(a) Cohesion

The main role of cohesion is to help to create a text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 298). Cohesion is used by both speakers and writers to signal texture, as they produce texts. The listeners, on the other side, are invited to decode the texture, i.e. cohesion serves as a criterion of the boundaries of the text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 295). Also, it is a necessary element in text interpretation (1976, p. 300).

In Halliday & Hasan, cohesion corresponds to a semantic level of language, as it provides a range of lexicogrammatical resources, such as reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. As the authors explain (1976, p. 293), typically, every sentence except the first shows some kind of cohesion with an immediately preceding sentence (e.g. anaphoric ties). A text is said to begin where a sentence shows no cohesion with previous sentence (1976, p. 295). At the same time, the authors admit existence of isolated sentences in the structure of the text, i.e. sentences, which do not create cohesion with other segments around them (even though these are part of the same passage). This can signal some kind of *transition* between different segments of a text, e.g. between a narration and a description (*ibidem*). These instances are defined as discontinuities, which signal the beginning of a new text or text segment. Therefore, when we deal with texts, we deal of textual continuities (cohesive ties) and discontinuities (transitions within the text structure). Each text is a unique instance with its characteristic texture. It can be more dense or loose, with more or less cohesive ties displayed. The authors do not explain explicitly enough what these texture “configurations” depend on. In their work, however,

they clearly distinguish various text types, e.g. conversation, narration, lyric, commercial correspondence (1976, p. 324). It might therefore be assumed that texture configurations might actually rely on a concrete text type, and a concrete text genre.

Cohesion is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of text creation. The other two components (however, less examined by the authors) are texture within the sentence and texture of discourse.

(b) Texture within the sentence

The main components of texture within the sentence are the theme systems and the information systems. The theme systems are concerned with the organization of the message in terms of a theme and a rheme; and the information systems are concerned with the organization of the text into units of information (expressed by the intonation patterns), (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 325).

(c) The texture of discourse

The third and final component of texture is the texture of discourse, i.e. the macro-level of texture. Halliday & Hasan (1976, pp. 326–327) explain this component as follows:

“By this we mean the larger structure that is a property of the forms of discourse themselves: the structure that is inherent in such concepts as narrative, prayer, folk-ballad, formal correspondence, sonnet, operating instructions, television drama and the like”, Halliday & Hasan (1976, pp. 326–327).

In other words, every text has its own macro-texture of discourse or a macro-textual organization/structure, which depends on a particular genre: “It is safe to say that every genre has its own discourse structure” (1976, p. 327).

The authors do not expand on this last point, as their main focus is on micro-level cohesive relations between the sentences. Nevertheless, it is important to observe a link between what is referred to as text plan in TAD and SDI perspectives, and the texture of discourse, which corresponds to the structure of particular texts/genres in Halliday & Hasan.

These theoretical approaches, irrespective of their focus, see genres and texts as entities capable of containing a macro-level textual organization. In some genres, certain text structure is expected; whereas certain empirical texts may reveal a variation/adaptation of this structure to its particular needs.

III. 4. Synthesis of speech genre theories in light of stand-up comedy

Although the theoretical frameworks proposed by J.P. Bronckart, L. Marcuschi, J.-M. Adam, D. Maingueneau prioritize different aspects, terms such as texts, text genres, text and discourse structure, discourse types, sequence types are central elements of their analysis and may directly relate to theorization of stand-up comedy acts.

Recapitulating the speech genre theories overviewed in this chapter, it can be said that:

(a) all the theories are largely based on Bakhtin's groundbreaking contributions on speech genres, i.e. "relatively stable types" of utterances, which incorporate such aspects as thematic content, linguistic style and compositional structure. Speech genres are determined by the various areas of human activity, including humoristic activity, in which genres (e.g. a stand-up comedy act, an anecdote, a satirical feuilleton, an Internet meme, etc.) may occur.

b) all the theories see genre as a set of empirical texts that circulate in language practices in a particular society. Genre is therefore an abstract notion that comprises a set of concrete empirical texts. For instance, individual texts from Portuguese or American English stand-up performances necessarily fall into the category of genre, designated as stand-up comedy. Genres can be identified by means of characteristic similarities or *genre parameters* (Coutinho, 2007, p. 644). Genre parameters comprise aspects such as composition (e.g. opening, body, closing of a stand-up act), at textual level, and its conditions of production (e.g. a venue, a single comedian onstage, no theatrical props except for a microphone and sometimes a bar stool, an audience, etc.), at contextual level (Rojo, 2005, p. 192), (see Table 11 for more details).

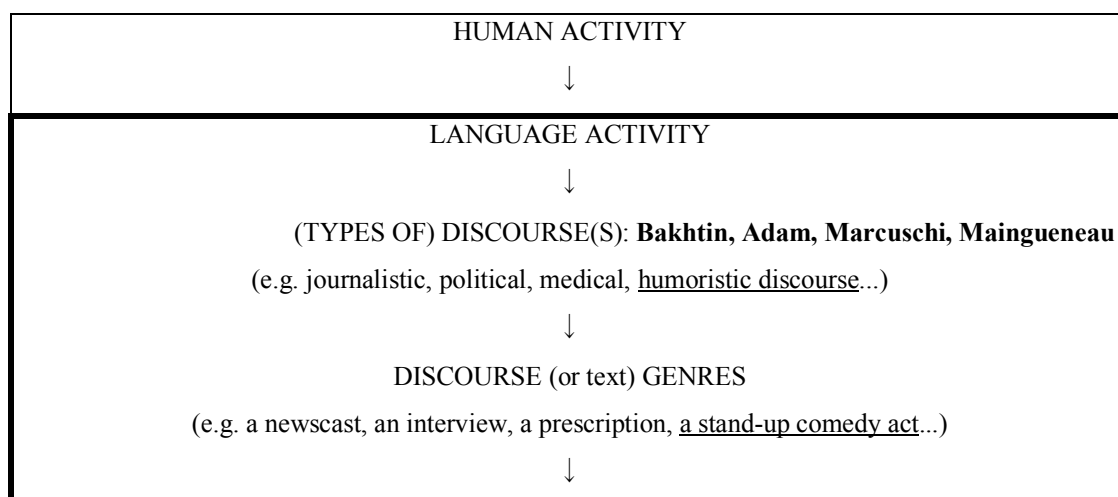
c) all the theories seek to provide textual analysis based on descriptions of empirical texts of particular genres either by means of sequences and text types (Adam, Marcuschi), or by means of discourse types (Bronckart). In other words, the theories pursue a textual descriptive purpose (Rojo, 2005, p. 192) and provide a description of textual materiality (Rojo, 2005, p. 185). In Adam's text linguistics this purpose is more straightforward. His framework is concerned with compositional organization (sequence analysis), integrated in textual composition of genre. Bronckart's proposal focuses on both context and conditions of text production, as well as linguistic descriptive aspect.

His approach tends to choose specific linguistic marks, i.e. linguistic aspects configured by the parameters of situation of communication.

d) With regard to structuration of texts, in the SDI perspective discourse types are fundamental elements of general infrastructure of texts (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 217), whereas Adam (2008, 2017) considers sequences as central and *compulsory* elements of text organization (whereas sequences for Bronckart are seen as a possibility of text organization).

With regard to discourse(s) in different socio-discursive perspectives (see Figure 11), Adam (2008, 2017), Maingueneau (2013) and Marcuschi (2005) share a similar theoretical view, which is largely influenced by Bakhtin’s (1979, 1986) notion of *speech* genres. Due to translation issues, *speech* genres (or ‘*rechevie zhanri*’, in Russian) have been designated as discourse genres in French, English and Brazilian Portuguese translations. Because of this fact, these authors (especially, Adam, 2008, 2017) favour the notion “discourse genres”. Discourse is an umbrella term that covers a series of concepts. In wide sense, discourses (in plural, mostly) refer to human practices/activities in various spheres of life, e.g. political discourse, administrative discourse, youth discourse, humorous discourse, etc. In other words, discourses are large-scale sets, which our speech is ‘categorized’ into. In the narrow sense, discourse can refer to particular utterances produced by an individual. Concerning the notion of “discourse”, Bronckart (2012) assumes a different position. For the author, discourses are more local stretches of speech that come in a limited number of types and enter into compositional structure of empirical texts.

Figure 11. The notion of discourse(s) in different socio-discursive perspectives.



TEXTS (a stand-up comedy text)



Discourse Types: **Bronckart**

Despite some terminological dissimilarities, many ideas overlap. It can be said that:

(a) Discourse is a form of action, i.e. any utterance constitutes a language action (i.g. to inform, to promise, to suggest, to persuade, *to make laugh*, etc.).

(b) Discourses (i.e. sets of utterances or texts) are necessarily integrated into certain genres (e.g. a newscast, an article, a query, *stand-up comedy*, etc.).

(c) Discourse is always purpose-oriented and is subject to particular rules of internal organization (a narration, a dialogue, an argumentation, etc.). The humoristic discourse of stand-up comedy is a turn-taking dialogic model, albeit heavily one-sided (narrations occur only in the comedian's turns). The internal organization of stand-up includes opening (compere's introduction), body (comedian's act/narration) and closing (comedian's farewell and compere's reintroduction/cheering).

(d) Discourse is always oriented toward an addressee, a *co-communicator* or an *audience*, i.e. there is a constant interactive exchange between interlocutors both ways, and not just a one-way speech movement toward an addressee. Discourses are thus characterized in terms interactivity and dialogism. The role of the audience's in a stand-up performance is crucial, for it is the audience and validates the comedian's humoristic discourse/jokes. Besides, it is an active participant of the interaction, i.e. the audience constantly reacts to each message transmitted by the comedian.

(d) Discourses do not occur out of context or out of communicative situation. A stand-up act is delimited by spacio-temporal boundaries (a venue/setting, an isolated comedian onstage versus his/her audience in the hall of the theatre or a comedy club, an interaction that occurs between comedian and audience at that precise moment).

The assumption of stand-up comedy as a genre is mainly based on the notions of *genre parameters* (Coutinho, 2007, p. 644), which comprises, on the one hand, the conditions/context necessary for genre production (physical and socio-subjective parameters in Bronckart, 2012a, p. 93) and, on the other hand, the textual parameters with regard to text plan/organization that is *expected* to be found in individual texts. Table 11

is largely inspired on the notions of genre parameters and their methodological implications (Coutinho, 2007, p. 644), the genre parameters in the SDI perspective (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 93), the text plan/organization, which has been theoretically accounted for in Adam (2012) and empirically demonstrated in Rutter (1997), Scarpetta & Spagnolli (2009) and Chauvin (2015) for stand-up comedy.

Concerning the textual parameters and, in particular, the notion of text plan/organization, it is conceived as is an obligatory factor of any empirical text, which “plays a fundamental role in the macro-textual composition of sense” (Adam, 2008, p. 255). Indeed, “the recognition of the text as a complete unit passes through our perception of a text plan with its constituent parts” (Adam, 2008, p. 254). Therefore, text plan forms a silhouette of an empirical concrete text. In order to locate a text plan, it is necessary to identify its constituents:

- to analyze a text plan, it is necessary to identify the different sections that organize the text and that are part of the textual composition, to describe how they are interrelated and how they are segmented in the textual space, (Gonçalves, 2011, p. 9);
- text plan is a model that consists of the distribution of manifested contents and, in written support, in the formal segmentation attested in a text (Silva, 2016, p. 193);

According to Bronckart (2012a, p. 120), one of the practical ways to identify these sections or constituents of text plan is to analyze the way the thematic content is organized: “text plan refers to the overall organization of the thematic content; is visible in the reading process and can be encoded in a summary”⁴³. Brinton (1996, p. 40), whose proposal on discourse markers will be discussed further, holds a similar view: “...in the narrative context, structure is determined in large part by the theory, or plot, of the narrative”. Topic shifts can thus serve as indicators of text plan, especially in a conversation (Adam, 2008, p. 275). As it has been previously assumed, the genre of stand-up comedy has some conversational traces (turn-taking model of organization, a range of personal topics, etc.), topic shifts are signals of section shifts in the macro-textual organization of the genre.

⁴³ “...o plano geral refere-se à organização de conjunto do conteúdo temático; mostra-se visível no processo de leitura e pode ser codificado em um resumo”, (Bronckart, 2012a, p. 120)

With these considerations in mind, text plan can be defined as a necessary element of every empirical text, whose configuration largely depends on the genre the text is associated with, and local segmentation depends on the distribution of the thematic content.

Table 11. Three-dimensional genre parameters of stand-up comedy.

Physical parameters	Place of production: a physical place, in which the text is produced.	A venue of stand-up performance ranges in size and location; it is typically performed indoors either in purpose-built venues (e.g. comedy clubs) or in bars, pubs and theatres. In certain cases, people can eat and drink during the performances.
	Moment of production: the time length of text production	Text production corresponds to stage time, i.e. the duration (in minutes) a comedian spends in front of an audience making them laugh. Stage time varies from several minutes up to an hour, in case of solo performances.
	Emitter: a speaker who physically produces a text	A stand-up comedian, who makes his/her living by being funny and telling jokes. It is therefore typically a professional activity on a paid basis; however, there may be cases of amateur stand-up comedy on an unpaid basis.
	Receiver: a person/people who can receive the text	An audience is a group of the assembled spectators/listeners in a stand-up performance; typically, responsive and interactive only by means of laughter, cheering and whistling (i.e. not verbally responsive). The audience (or live spectators) can share the same spacio-temporal coordinates with the emitter/comedian during the performance. Alternatively, the “audience” may not be live, e.g. TV viewers who watch a stand-up show at home. However, in both cases there is a reaction towards the text, which either co-occurs in the moment of text production, or takes place as a post-event engagement.
Socio-subjective parameters	Social place: the mode of interaction, in which the text is inserted	Humor interaction as part of entertainment and lifestyle or leisure activities.
	Social position/status of emitter or <i>enunciator</i> : the social role of the emitter	Stand-up comedians are granted authority to control the way the performance carries on ⁴⁴ . Besides, there is a clear spatial demarcation of distance (the comedian being on a stage and the audience not). The stage is slightly higher and brighter, and it is separated from the audience, which contributes to the dominant status of a comedian.

⁴⁴ Yus (2016, p. 174).

		In addition, the social status of a comedian is sometimes akin to a “bullhorn”; the comedian represents the collective voice of the society he/she is part of. The comedian is therefore empowered to speak his/her own mind in front of the audience.
	Social position/status of receiver or <i>addressee</i> : the social role of the receiver	The audience’s status is multi-aspectual. In terms of spatial coordinates, its role is subordinate as opposed to the comedian’s positioning. At the same time, the audience is an active receiver, which means it is in constant interaction with what is being said. Besides, it is the audience that validates the joke, its success and impact. So, in this respect the audience assumes an important role of “ratifiers” of the comic thematic content.
	Objective(s) of interaction: the effect(s) the text can have on the receiver (according to the emitter)	The main purpose of stand-up comedy (although not limited to it) is to make the audience laugh through high quality performance.
Textual parameters	Text plan/organization: its configuration is based on the distribution of the thematic content; the shifts between the topics contribute to identification of section shifts in a global text plan ⁴⁵ .	Opening: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the presenter opens a new “bit”, warms up/cheers up the audience, introduces the comedian, evaluates him/her or makes a comment on his/her performance/biography or personality, and requests the audience welcome the comedian with a big round of applause; Body: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the comedian appears onstage, he/she greets the audience, comments on the setting and/or produces a first “introductory” joke to set the register and draw the attention of the audience. The body of the performance/narration is organized into large blocks according to the thematic content; Closing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the comedian presents his/her final joke, comments on the audience, evaluates and thanks the audience. The presenter reintroduces the comedian and requests the audience to cheer him/her up with a final applause.

⁴⁵ The idea is suggested in both Adam (2008, p. 276) and Bronckart (2012a, p. 120).

Summing up, stand-up comedy is a highly interactive, seemingly improvised humoristic genre, mainly designed to elicit its addressee's laughter; its internal organization is based on a tripartite model, comprising opening, body and closing of a stand-up act. Its addressee is an active participant of the interaction, as it plays an essential role both in its internal organization (=turn-taking) and validating humor (=laughter). It occurs in a live setting and has a TV/online format. In terms of its thematic content, it is largely autobiographical and promotes the use of material based on comedians' own experiences. Besides, it is a multimodal interaction, which includes gestures, facial expressions and prosody (some of these characteristics were previously identified in I. 4.). It should be noted that these genre parameters are not fixed or obligatory imposed but *expected* to be found when we deal with stand-up comedy across different languages and cultures.

As for *individual texts* from Portuguese and American English stand-up performances, one can also find *mechanisms of textual realization* (Coutinho, 2007, p. 644) in them, i.e. the ways in which each empirical text manifests the expected characteristics, adapting/changing and customizing them according to its own unique configurations and possibilities of the genre.

The range of interest in this thesis is limited to the textual genre parameters. Namely, one of the objectives is to see how these textual parameters are realized through mechanisms of textual realization, more precisely, through discourse markers. Based on the assumption that discourse markers (or textual organizers and connectors, in Adam's words) contribute to text structuration and shape text plan of a particular genre⁴⁶ (Adam 2017, p. 64), and their role in text plans is "determining" (2008, p. 278), the main objective is to see to what extent discourse markers demarcate text plan/organization in stand-up comedy and what key textual and interactional functions these linguistic elements perform in the genre under investigation.

⁴⁶ "...organisateurs textuels et connecteurs peuvent également venir souligner un plan de texte", (Adam, 2017, p. 64).

IV Discourse markers

IV. 1. General theoretical background on discourse markers

IV. 1. 1. Terminological discussion

From the outset, the nature of discourse markers was not easy to perceive. Some researchers (Lutzky, 2012, p. 9; Brinton, 1996, p. 1; Brinton 2001, p. 141) refer to the study of Longacre (1976, p. 468), in which he labeled discourse markers as “mystery particles” and described them as “simply salt-and-peppered through a text to give it flavour, ... to make it sound like so-and-so language or so-and-so style within that language”. And further, their function “relates to a unit of larger than a sentence, i.e. to the paragraph and the discourse” (Longacre, 1976, p. 468). As stated in Lutzky (2012, p. 9), Longacre was one of the first to notice that the mysteriousness of these particles could be resolved when going beyond the sentence-level and placing them at the level of *discourse*. Although Zellig Harris had used the term ‘discourse analysis’ for the first time in 1952, it was in 1970s that higher units of language organization were brought into the limelight of linguistic research. Thanks to introduction of this new focus, words such as *well* and *you know*, which were seen as elements of sentence level unworthy of any attention, came into play (Schourup, 1999, p. 228). These items began to figure in pragmatic and discourse analytic research. Research on discourse markers expanded tremendously during 1980s and 1990s, covering new linguistic fields and theoretical frameworks and reflecting new methods, objectives and interests. Since then, discourse markers have been principal objects of analysis mainly in interactional sociolinguistics (Schiffrin, 1987; Redeker, 1992), historical pragmatics (Brinton, 1996; Lutzky, 2012) and pragmatics (Levinson, 1983; Blakemore, 1992, 2002; Östman, 1981). One of the reasons for a growing interest to these discourse units is due to the increasing interest in spoken language during the late 1960s and early 1970s, which discourse markers are said to be frequently part of (Fischer, 1996, p. 853). Another reason is versatility and “plasticity” of discourse markers as linguistic objects, whose description and analysis enable researchers from various theoretical perspectives to test and confirm hypotheses from different frameworks (Valentim, 2013, p. 298).

The terminological designation *discourse markers* may seem quite felicitous, since it refers to linguistic markers that operate on the level of discourse. However, there is a wider and more complex list of terms with overlapping meanings. The ‘mystery particles’ have been referred to as discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1999; Fraser, 1999, 2009a, 2009b; Lopes, 2014), discourse particles (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg, 2003; Fischer, 1998), pragmatic markers (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg, 2004; Brinton, 1996, 2001; Cuenca, 2008; Fraser, 1996), pragmatic particles (Östman, 1981), pragmatic connectives (van Dijk, 1979), continuatives (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), cohesive conjunctions (Halliday, 2014), discourse connectives (Levinson, 1983; Lopes & Sousa, 2014), discourse operators (Redeker, 1991, 2006), etc.⁴⁷ Depending on the theoretical framework involved, the contours of each term can be traced more towards pragmatics, semantics, a text-based or a grammar-based approaches (Valentim, 2013, p. 298).

As a result of this terminological variety, there is no generally accepted term or widely used definition for these units (Brinton, 1996, p. 31; 2008, p. 14).

It is not easy to define these units due to a number of reasons. As stated in Fraser (2009b, p. 2), researchers are interested in different goals (e.g. to illustrate their role in discourse coherence as in Schiffrin, 1987; to show their role in pragmatic interpretation as in Fraser, 1999; to demonstrate their role in relevance principle application as in Blakemore, 1992, etc.). Fischer (2016) adds cross-linguistic comparison as another potential difficulty for developing a universal definition, as languages may have different preferences for realization of discourse marker functions, concerning their size (e.g. small particles or larger expressions), position (initial, medial or final) and functions expressed. Therefore, it is quite problematic to come up with a satisfactory definition that would apply to discourse markers in all languages.

Lastly, researchers may take different stances toward terminology. For instance, Mosegaard Hansen (1998b, p. 4) uses the terms ‘discourse markers’ and ‘discourse particles’ interchangeably in her work to refer to a functional class of linguistic items, which primarily operate on the level of discourse. Schourup (1999, p. 229), on the contrary, draws a sharp distinction between these two denominations. Whereas ‘discourse

⁴⁷ The above is by no means an exhaustive list. It mentions only the contributions reviewed in this paper. Brinton (1996, p. 29) and Lutzky (2012, p. 9–10) provide a more complete list of names used to refer to these expressions.

markers' are more advantageous due to association a functional class of units that includes items belonging to various syntactic classes, 'discourse particles' are said to be a less felicitous term for a number of reasons. As the author (1999, p. 229) explains, the main problems include: (i) the fact that a 'particle' is traditionally associated with a syntactic unit; (ii) 'particle' is used to refer to uninflected units such as conjunctions, prepositions, interjections, adverbs, and also particles are sometimes words that do not fit into any well-established word class, i.e. it is used as a matter of convenience; (iii) 'particle' is used to refer to modal particles as a group, which does not overlap with the class of discourse markers. As Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg (2011, p. 227) add, 'discourse marker' has a wider meaning than 'discourse particle', for it signals how the prior/upcoming discourse should be interpreted. 'Particle' is used mainly as a grammatical term to refer to either part of speech or to monosyllabic linguistic items.

Another common discussion occurs when researchers attempt to distinguish between a 'discourse marker' and 'a modal marker' or 'a modality marker' (Degand, 2013; Cuenca, 2013). This problem occurs due to the facts that discourse markers are known to express a set of textual or structural and modal or interpersonal functions with intersubjective values (Schiffrin, 1987; Redeker, 1992; Brinton, 1996), which overlap with modal marking meanings (Cuenca, 2013). According to Cuenca (2013, p. 2), modal marker is an umbrella term for modal particles, interjections and modal adverbs, i.e. those elements that add to discourse attitudinal coloring. The analysis of Spanish discourse markers carried out by Cuenca (2013) has demonstrated that certain units can acquire a prototypically modal (e.g. modal particles) or a prototypically structural (e.g. discourse markers and connectives) meaning. Besides, certain units (*és clar* and *és que* in Spanish) are located in an intersected zone between modal and discourse marking functions, thus explaining the ambiguous nature between these two classes.

According to Degand (2013, pp. 14–15), the approach to discourse/modal markers depends a lot on the theoretical stance of the researchers, which triggers further categorization. In case discourse markers and modal particles are defined in formal terms, they are distinct linguistic phenomena. Modal particles are said to be a defined class in German (e.g. the analysis of the modal particle *ja* in Fischer, 1998). Discourse markers, on the contrary, constitute a heterogeneous linguistic class that fulfills various functions, not characterized by distributional constraints. If, on the other side, discourse markers and modal particles are defined in functional (or pragmatic) terms, these classes can be

“two sides of the same coin” (Degand, 2013, p. 14). Both discourse markers and modal particles relate to the utterance’s linguistic or situational scope.

Yet, there is another distinction to be made between a ‘discourse marker’ and ‘a pragmatic marker’. According to Hansen (2005, p. 13), the latter is a hyperonym or an ‘umbrella term’ that includes discourse markers and other interactional devices, such as turn-taking or politeness markers, hesitation markers and others:

“Discourse marker should be considered a hyponym of “pragmatic marker”, the latter being a cover term for all those non-propositional functions which linguistic items may fulfill in discourse. Alongside discourse markers, whose main purpose is the maintenance of what I have called “transactional coherence”, this overarching category of functions would include various forms of "interactional markers", such as markers of politeness, turn-taking, etc., whose aim is the maintenance of “interactional coherence”; “performance markers”, such as hesitation markers; and possibly others”. (Hansen, 2005, p. 13)

The term ‘discourse markers’ is said to be too narrow (Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg, 2011, p. 226), for it refers to items that “bracket units of talk”, i.e. whose main function is cohesion of discourse segments. With regard to cohesive functions, discourse markers are quite similar to conjunctions *and* or *but*, for instance. Besides, Cuenca (2013) distinguishes another group of coherence-based items, such as *however*, *moreover*, *in contrast to*, *consequently*, *nonetheless*, i.e. items commonly used in written speech. She defines these grammatical connectives as parenthetical connectives.

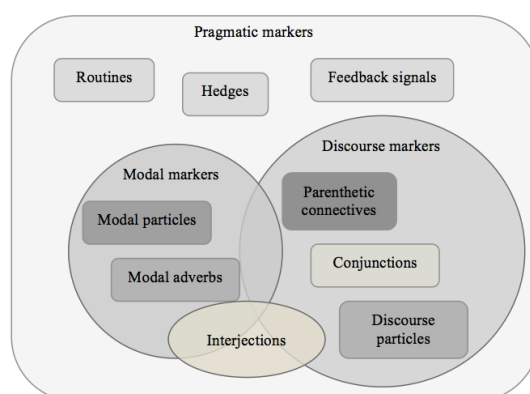
Pragmatic markers, on the other hand, offer a wider range of functional uses. This term is preferred when the theoretical approach/stance of the researcher and the type of analysis carried out imply identification of not only discourse-marking, but also pragmatic functions of the markers. In other words, pragmatics markers are said to include a variety of functions on both textual and interpersonal levels (Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg, 2011, p. 227; Brinton, 1996, p. 40). Besides, the authors claim that pragmatic markers constitute a wide field that includes hedges (*I don’t know*, in Hyland 1998, p. 349), routines (*how are you*) and feedback signals (*right*).

Some authors (Norrick, 2009b, p. 889) argue that interjections (*oh*, *boy*, *hell yeah*) function as pragmatic markers and demonstrate a series of typical functions, such as response, back-channel, contrast, elaboration, etc.; whereas others (Cuenca, 2013, p. 2) see interjections as part of modal markers due to the expressiveness of emotional involvement, attitude and, therefore, some degree of modality.

As it can be seen, a wider view of discourse markers and other designations of this linguistic group are quite complex. Many of the definitions are inconsistent due to the possibility of partial overlaps between them. Besides, researchers frequently take opposing stances on the terminological options available, which results in general overlaying of the concepts. In general, many of these terminological options are motivated by the theoretical and methodological frameworks researchers work with. That is why it is a matter of conscious decisions and theoretical stances, which further have a direct impact over data analysis and future results.

In Figure 12, the terminological differences on discourse markers presented so far are schematically sketched. This simplistic representation provides the big picture on these linguistic units, as well as the theoretical position adopted here toward the terminological discussion.

Figure 12. Relations between discourse markers and other pragmatic expressions.



On upcoming pages, I will make use of the term ‘discourse markers’ for three reasons. Firstly, the term ‘discourse marker’ is the common term from the above-mentioned list (Schourup, 1999, p. 228). Secondly, the term ‘marker’ is preferable to ‘word’ or ‘particle’ since it marks/signals some kind of relation, or how a particular discourse segment should be interpreted (Brinton, 1996, p. 29). Thirdly, it is straightforward and non-ambiguous as it refers to linguistic expressions, which operate on the level of discourse without being too restrictive (Lutzky, 2012, p. 10). In this respect and as far as their functions are concerned, (parenthetic) ‘connectives’ refer to coherence devices, denying analysis beyond the level of sentence. ‘Pragmatic markers’, on the contrary, seem to rest entirely on pragmatic interpretations/inferences derived from the context, neglecting textual plane/coordinates where markers can also operate. ‘Particle’

is the least successful term, for it refers to short monosyllabic words that are associated with a grammatical class of part of speech. Therefore, the term ‘discourse marker’ functions as a hyperonym or ‘an umbrella term’ for a number of designations listed above, which makes it a more general and widely known designation.

IV. 1. 2. Main approaches to the study of discourse markers

One of the earliest claims that discourse markers constitute a linguistic group worthy of attention belong to Levinson (1983), who stated the following:

“...there are many words and phrases in English, and no doubt most languages, that indicate the relationship between an utterance and the prior discourse. Examples are utterance-initial usages of *but*, *therefore*, *in conclusion*, *to the contrary*, *still*, *however*, *anyway*, *well*, *besides*, *actually*, *all in all*, *so*, *after all*, and *so on...* such words have at least a component of meaning that resists truth-conditional treatment... what they seem to do is indicate, often in very complex ways, just how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse”, Levinson (1983, pp. 87–88).

Since then several researchers began to investigate discourse markers in more details. For instance, Zwicky (1985, p. 302) attempts to classify discourse markers as an independent grammatical class, “...grammatically significant class of items, in English and in languages generally”. For Zwicky (1985, p. 303), English discourse markers are words such as *well*, *hey*, *okay*, *oh*, *yes*, *like*, *y'know*, *no*, *uh*, *now*, *say*, *why*, *look*, *listen* and *please*. Zwicky’s view of discourse markers is different from the current use of the term. In particular, he proposes that exclamatory interjections (e.g. *ouch*, *boy*, *gosh*, *holy cow*, *wow*, *my goodness*) should be grouped with these markers.

Another detailed research is found in Schiffrin (1987), who provides a functional analysis of discourse markers integrated into the general study of discourse coherence. Based on assumption that language is used “...for a referential function (to transmit information about the world), for a social function (to establish, maintain, and adjust relationships with others), and expressive function (to display various selves and their attendant feelings, orientations and statuses)”⁴⁸, Schiffrin deliberately chooses a vague term “units of talk” when she refers to discourse markers cohesive properties. Schiffrin

⁴⁸ Schiffrin (1987, p. 12).

insists that sentences are not the genuine units to understand language use and social interaction, as markers occur at the boundaries of various units, such as tone groups, sentences, actions, verses, and so on (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 36). With regard to this point, Schiffrin recognizes two important aspects of discourse markers and language interrelationship: 1) recognition as a social work and the status of language social (inter)action; and (consequently) 2) the need to study discourse markers beyond sentence-level, i.e. at the level of “units of talk”, probably utterances and larger groups of utterances.

Assuming words such as *and*, *because*, *but*, *I mean*, *now*, *oh*, *or*, *so*, *then*, *well* and *y’know* to be discourse markers, she proposes that these markers typically serve three main functions: (i) to provide contextual coordinates for ongoing talk (1987, p. 41); (ii) to relate an utterance to prior or subsequent discourse, i.e. “discourse markers have a role in accomplishing the integration needed for discourse coherence” (1987, p. 29); (iii) to indicate adjacent pairs of utterances in discourse, i.e. coherence is constructed through relations between these pairs (1987, p. 24, 114). As Fraser (1988, p. 20) explains, markers in Schiffrin’s perspective serve “as a kind of discourse glue”. Schiffrin (1987) identifies the function of discourse markers mainly by locating them as five planes of talk (ideational structure, action structure, exchange structure, information state and participation framework), i.e. the model of discourse coherence. At the first plane, the ideas expressed in an utterance form an ideational structure. At the second plane, utterances function as speech acts (to convince, to inform, to argue, etc.), forming an action structure. At the third plane, utterances combine to form sequences and turns, i.e. a mechanical management of talk or an exchange structure. At the fourth plane of discourse or the participation framework, speaker/hearer relations are considered. Finally, the participants’ shared knowledge and meta-knowledge is reflected in the information state. Each discourse marker is integrated into (at least) one of the five planes of talk. Thus, the discourse marker *I mean* functions within the participation framework of talk and has relevance for information states (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 295).

In 1991, Redeker proposed a revised version of the model of discourse coherence. In particular, she eliminated two of Schiffrin’s five planes of talk (namely, participation framework and information state) because they “are not on a par with the other three planes” and are “concerned with individual utterances, while the building blocks at the other three planes are relational concepts” (Redeker 1991: 1162). The remaining three

planes are also redefined. Schiffrin's ideational structure is redefined "in terms of relations predicated of the world the discourse describes (as opposed to relations that hold between discourse units in any kind)" (Redeker, 1991, p. 1163); action structure is renamed as rhetorical structure and understood as a relation between illocutionary intentions of the utterances (Redeker, 1991, p. 1168); and exchange structure is renamed sequential structure and includes transitions between issues of topics. Thus, Redeker's ideational structure, rhetorical structure and sequential structure are three new components of coherence. Another difference is that Redeker opts for the term discourse operators and defines them as "linguistic signals of textual coherence links" (Redeker, 1991, p. 1139). In particular, a discourse operator is "a word or phrase... that is uttered with a primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediately preceding discourse context" (Redeker, 1991, p. 1168).

In contrast to coherence-based functional definitions, Fraser's proposal (1988, 1996 and mostly 1999) is slightly different, i.e. it sees discourse markers mainly in pragmatic perspective. In Fraser's approach, discourse markers are seen as a subclass of pragmatic markers (1988, 1996). In 1999, Fraser begins to see them as a pragmatic class, i.e. as main elements of pragmatic meaning of an utterance (as opposed to semantic meaning of an utterance, or its propositional content). Fraser (1999, p. 936) characterizes discourse markers as a class of exclusively lexical expressions (in contrast to Schiffrin, who permits non-verbal discourse markers), mostly drawn from syntactic classes of adverbs, conjunctions and prepositional phrases, which: (i) have a core meaning that is enriched by the context, i.e. procedural meaning; (ii) signals the relationship that the speaker intends between the utterance the discourse markers introduces (S2) and the foregoing utterance (S1). Thus, Fraser (2009b, p. 6) excludes syntactic structures, prosodic features (such as stress, pauses, and intonation) and non-verbal expressions (such as a grunt or a shrug) from the class of discourse markers. Besides, in contrast to Schiffrin, Fraser excludes *well* from the class he defines as discourse markers, for it does not signal a relationship between the two textual segments. In his perspective, it signals a separate comment that relates to the prior/upcoming segment (Fraser 1999, p. 942). Due to the same reason, vocatives and interjections are also excluded.

Aside from coherence-based approaches to discourse markers proposed by Schiffrin (1987), Redeker (1991) and Fraser (1999), Blakemore studies discourse

connectives (as she labels them) within relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 2002). She points out that discourse connectives, such as *and*, *after all*, *you see*, *but*, *moreover*, *furthermore* and *so* do not contribute to the truth conditions of utterances, but “impose constraints on the inferential phase of comprehension by indicating the type of inference process that the hearer is expected to go through” (Wilson & Sperber, 1993, p. 12). According to Blakemore’s proposal, these expressions contribute to relevance by guiding the hearer towards the intended contextual effects, thus minimizing the required effort. From relevance-theoretic perspective, every utterance is intended to achieve relevance. As Schourup (1999, p. 240) explains, there is a crucial difference between these two approaches. Whereas discourse coherence is a primary concern for the first group of authors, from the relevance-theoretic point of view it is a secondary, derivative notion. Instead, utterance interpretation/processing is of primary concern and it is guided exclusively by the principle of relevance and the least cognitive effort required for its interpretation.

In Halliday’s proposal of Systemic Functional Linguistics (2014), discourse markers are said to be textual and interpersonal units. When these markers function on a textual level, they are referred to as textual continuatives. Their main function is “to signal a move in the discourse: a response, in dialogue, or a new move to the next point if the same speaker is continuing” (Halliday, 2014, p. 107). Common textual continuatives are said to be words such as *well*, *oh*, *now*, *yes*, *no*. According to the author, interpersonal functions are performed by modal or comment adjuncts. These units (e.g. *in my opinion*, *frankly*, *to be honest*) “express the speaker/writer’s judgment on or attitude to the content of the message” (Halliday, 2014, p. 108). A number of approaches to discourse markers (Brinton, 1996; Erman, 2001), discussed further in this chapter, have been influenced by Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 2014), in particular by its textual and interpersonal functions.

IV. 1. 3. Main characteristics

- *Connectivity*

Connectivity is probably the most prominent characteristics of discourse markers, i.e. is their ability to relate utterances and other discourse units (Schourup, 1999, p. 230).

As stated in Adam (2008, p. 180), “their fundamental function is to signal a connection between two semantic units, to create the structure *p CONEX q*”⁴⁹.

Discourse markers are seen as “processing devices intended to help the hearer perceive the upcoming discourse” (Mosegaard Hansen, 1998b, p. 73). Besides, connectivity (along with optionality and non-truth-conditionality) can be a criterial feature as discourse markers can be distinguished from other classes, such as illocutionary adverbials (*frankly, confidentially*), attitudinal adverbials (*fortunately, sadly*) and interjections (*oops*) (Schourup, 1999, p. 231). However, it is important to stress here that connectivity alone is not sufficient to distinguish discourse markers from other classes.

According to Schourup (1999, p. 230), connectivity is conceived in different ways by various authors. For Schiffrin, discourse markers are “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (1987, p. 31). Fraser defines a discourse marker as an expression, which “imposes a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, call it S2, and some aspect of a prior discourse segment, call it S1” (1999, p. 938; 2009b, p. 5). The canonical form of it is represented as <S1. DM+S2>⁵⁰. Thus, Schiffrin and Fraser clearly determine the necessity to have at least two textual segments that are related by a discourse marker.

Other writers (for instance, Blakemore, 1992, p. 138) argue that certain discourse markers do not necessarily connect two segments of text, but their propositions. In this case, proposition of a second text segment (or an utterance) is related to assumptions that may have been expressed by a prior segment (or an utterance). Blakemore (1992, p. 139) provides an example that illustrates the role of *so*:

- (a) A: You take the first turning on the left.
B: **So** we don't go past the university (then).
- (b) (*Hearer (who is driving) makes a left turn*)
So we're not going past the university (then/after all).

In both cases *so* introduces a confirmation of an assumption which has been expressed. Whereas in (a) this assumption is clearly and explicitly expressed by another utterance (a) A, in (b) this assumption is derived from observation of an event.

⁴⁹ “A função fundamental é marcar uma conexão entre duas unidades semânticas, para criar uma estrutura *p CONEX q*”, Adam (2008, p. 180).

⁵⁰ But for the canonical form, there might be other patterns, such as <S1, DM+S2> or <DM+S2, S1> (Fraser, 1999, p. 940).

Irrespective of the type of connection established (between textual units or between propositions they express), it is evident that discourse markers contribute to textual coherence.

- *Heterogeneity*

It is assumed that discourse markers constitute an open single functional heterogeneous class of items drawn from different linguistic classes (Shourup, 1999, p. 234, 236; Fischer & Drescher, 1996, p. 853; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 41; Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, p. 236). Linguistic categories to which discourse markers functions have been attributed generally include adverbs (e.g. *now*, *actually*, *anyway*); coordinate conjunctions (e.g. *and*, *or*); subordinate conjunctions (e.g. *however*, *so*); interjections (e.g. *oh*, *gosh*, *boy*); verbs (*look*, *see*); idioms (e.g. *by and large*) and clauses (e.g. *I mean*, *you know*). Due to this diversity of classes, discourse markers are said to be “grammatical leftovers” (Brinton, 1996, p. 34).

As Mosegaard Hansen (1998a, pp. 237–238) states, heterogeneity can be explained by the fact that some discourse markers are still in the process of being grammaticalized. She demonstrates the functional uses of *anyway*, which range from an adverb of manner (i.e. non-discourse-marking use) to non-truth-conditional concession (an intermediary position within grammaticalization) and finally to marking a resumption of a topic after a digression (i.e. a discourse-marking use). The author argues that some markers may be located at various points of grammaticalization, i.e. from content words at one end to function words at the other end: “...linguistic elements typically start out having a propositional function, and only achieve discourse marking functions over time” (Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, p. 237). Consequently, *in other words* is closer to the content end, whereas *well* is closer to the function end.

- *Multifunctionality*

Authors distinguish a radically pragmatic approach, called *monosemy* (i.e. a discourse marker has only one core meaning from which all uses can be derived; in other words, a core meaning is enriched by context-driven pragmatic interpretations), a radically semantic approach, called *homonymy* (a single expression has different semantic meanings), and a combination of both, called *polysemy* (words may have more than one core meaning and several context-dependent related interpretations) (Fraser, 2009b, pp.

14–15; Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, p. 239; Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg, 2011, p. 228; Pons Bordería, 2008, p. 1418).

Fraser (1999, p. 944), Redeker (1991, p. 1165) and relevance-based approaches (Blakemore, 1992) treat discourse markers as monosemous units, i.e. that have a single core meaning and context-dependent interpretations. van Dijk (1979, p. 449) was among the first to propose a similar idea: “...we assume that each connective has a certain (minimal) meaning which may be further specified depending on its semantic or pragmatic use”.

The core (or minimal) meaning of discourse markers is procedural, rather than conceptual, i.e. it means that possible interpretations are negotiated by the context. As Fraser explains (1988, p. 23), a core sense is typically enriched with a wide range of interpretations, derived from a particular linguistic context. In other words, these interpretations are context-driven. He provides some examples of the English discourse marker *so*:

- a) Susan is married. **So**, she is no longer single. Damn!
- b) John was tired. **So** he left early.
- c) Attorney: And how long were you part of the crew?
Witness: Five years.
Attorney: **So** you were employed by G for roughly 5 years?
- (d) Son: My clothes are still wet.
Mother: **So** put the drier on for 30 minutes more.
- (e) Teenage son: The Celtics have an important game today.
Disinterested parent: **So**?
- (f) (Grandmother to granddaughter)
So tell me about this wonderful young man you're seeing.

These examples show that *so* has a wide range of possible context-driven interpretations, all of which *presumably* emerge from a core meaning (Fraser, 1988, p. 23). Later, Fraser (2009b, p. 16) reinforces this idea by providing an example of the marker *but*. As Fraser explains, *but* signals the semantic relationship of contrast, i.e. it is a core meaning, which can acquire many uses. For instance, simple (or explicit) contrast; compensatory function (e.g. There was no chicken *but* I got some fish); comparison (e.g. He plays basketball *but* he also plays ping pong); correction (e.g. She's not my niece *but* my daughter); exception use (e.g. No one said a word *but* me); etc. (these examples are adopted from Fraser, 2009b, 16–20).

In contrast to Fraser, Mosegaard Hansen (1998a, p. 241) is more inclined toward polysemy, which, as she states: "...obviates the need to find a basic meaning which is common to all possible uses of a word, but at the same time allows for a certain indeterminacy of meaning". An alternative view of discourse marker's multifunctionality can be found in a functional-pragmatic analysis of *you know*, proposed in Östman (1981: 11). The author uses the concept of 'meaning' to refer to the basic function of *you know*, and 'function' to refer to other meanings/interpretations of this marker. He also refers to the marker's core meaning as propositional or prototypical meaning (Östman, 1981, p. 17).

- *Optionality*

As stated in Schourup (1999, p. 231), discourse markers are claimed to be optional in two senses. Discourse markers are regarded syntactically optional, since their removal from an utterance "does not render an utterance ungrammatical and/or unintelligible" (Fraser, 1988, p. 22). However, discourse markers are also claimed to be semantically optional, since "they do not enlarge the possibilities for semantic relationship between the elements they associate" (Schourup, 1999, p. 231). In other words, if a marker is omitted, the relationship it signals is still there (although it is no longer explicitly stated). This is especially true for markers of causality and contrast: "The others are going to Stoke. (However,) I am going to Paris". *However* is said to be optional, since it has no or little impact over the utterance's interpretation and grammaticality. Its presence, though, reinforces and intensifies the interpretation meant by the speaker (Schourup, 1999, p. 232).

- *Non-truth-conditionality*

Discourse markers are claimed to add nothing to the truth-conditions of the utterances that contain them (Schourup, 1999, p. 232; Blakemore, 1992, p. 146). It means that an utterance is true irrespective of whether it contains a marker or not. Non-truth-conditionality distinguishes discourse markers from other 'content' words, such as adverbs of manner (*sadly*), and from disjunctive forms that affect truth-conditions, such as evidential sentence adverbials (Schourup, 1999, p. 232). Sometimes, non-truth-conditionality is similar to a propositional meaning, i.e. discourse markers are said to have little or no propositional meaning (Östman, 1981, p. 9; Brinton, 1996, p. 33; Mosegaard

Hansen, 1998a, p. 236, 1998b, p. 75; Aijmer 2002a, p. 19; Coutinho, 2008, p. 196; Erman, 2001, p. 1339).

- *Weak clause association*

Discourse markers usually occur “either outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it”, and hence have no clear grammatical function (Brinton, 1996, p. 34; Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, p. 236, 238; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 32; Zwicky, 1985, pp. 303–304; Fraser, 1996, p. 169, 1999, p. 944; Erman, 2001, p. 1339). As stated in Shourup (1999, p. 223), weak clause association is sometimes related to phonological independence of discourse markers.

Discourse markers are often independent prosodic units, separated by pauses (or commas, in written discourse) irrespective of their position in an utterance (Zwicky, 1985, p. 303; Lopes, 2014, p. 34; Heine, 2013). Moreover, these are phonologically reduced or unstressed items; they form a separate tone group with typically falling-rising or rising intonation (Brinton, 1996, p. 33).

- *Initiality*

Although initiality cannot be a criterial feature of discourse markers, most items considered discourse markers occur predominantly in the initial position or on the left periphery of the utterance (Shourup, 1999, p. 233; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31; Brinton, 1996, p. 33; Fraser, 2016; Morais, 2011). Initiality may not necessarily refer to the position of the first word in an utterance, but to the central elements of a clause. The idea that markers are units that bracket units of talk (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31) presupposes that these units are likely to occur at the boundaries of an utterance. As Shourup (1999, p. 233) explains, this tendency can be related to their function of restriction of a context before it is (badly) interpreted. Certain markers, however, may be found exclusively in utterance-final positions or in medial positions.

- *Orality*

Most conversational discourse markers such as *well*, *you know*, *I mean* tend to occur primarily in oral discourse (Brinton, 1996, p. 6, 33; Fischer & Drescher, 1996, p. 853; Erman, 2001, p. 1339). Besides, certain markers (especially conversational ones) can combine, for instance: *Well, anyway, I mean, what was the reason...* (Brinton, 1996, p. 33; Fraser, 2015).

Their appearance predominantly in oral discourse is explained by the informality of oral speech and its fragmented structure due to the lack of planning time (Brinton, 1996, p. 33). Also, in oral speech discourse markers play the role of punctuation marks, i.e. they segment and delimit textual fragments and contribute to designing a text plan (Adam, 2008, pp. 188–189). As stated in Brinton (1996, p. 33), because of their frequency, discourse markers are seen as a sign of dysfluency and carelessness.

In written discourse, certain spontaneous discourse markers can be substituted by their formal counterparts (*therefore* instead of *so*; *moreover* instead of *also*) and the reasons for using them can be different.

- *Non-discourse marking uses*

When it comes to discourse-marking or non-discourse marking uses of the same item, one should clearly distinguish between discursive uses of markers and their grammatical functions. In fact, almost every discourse marker possesses its grammatical counterpart. Aijmer (2007), for instance, distinguishes between non-discourse and discourse uses of *so*. *So* is used non-discursively when it is an adverb expressing conclusion, whereas its discursive uses include a range of functional uses, such as request for confirmation, framing marker, marker of hesitation or reformulation. *Well* is mostly used as an adverb of manner (Müller, 2005) in its grammatical use. Besides, *well* is used in a fixed expression *as well*, which is usually paraphrased in dictionaries as “in addition to something” (Müller, 2005). Several markers in their non-discourse marking uses form a clause, which consists of a personal pronoun and a verb (*you know*, *I mean*). In these cases, the markers can be used in general questions (do you know, do you mean), affirmative statements (you know what to do, I mean the other one) and conditional questions (would you know, would you mean). The distinction between non-discourse (or grammatical) and discourse-marking uses will be presented further in the textual analysis.

Summing up, I take discourse markers to be linguistic units:

- (a) which form a heterogeneous functional word class;
- (b) which are syntactically optional, but pragmatically essential;
- (c) which have little or no semantic/prepositional meaning;
- (d) which primarily occur at the beginning of an utterance, but may occupy medial or final positions;

- (e) which are multifunctional;
- (f) which predominantly occur in oral discourse.

IV. 1. 4. Functions of discourse markers

Discourse markers are said to function on two levels, the textual and the interpersonal level, with slight differences between these designations (Halliday, 1976, 2014; Brinton, 1996; Erman, 2001; Schiffrin, 1987; Fischer & Drescher, 1996; Östman, 1981). For instance, Schiffrin (1987, p. 323) recognizes the textual coordinates of talk, which focus on prior/upcoming discourse and participant coordinates, which index speaker-hearer relationship. Thus, there is a textual-indexing and a participant indexing function of discourse markers. Östman (1981) recognizes a textual and a pragmatic function of a marker. According to his proposal, discourse markers may operate on the structural level and on the pragmatic level simultaneously. Despite slight differences, these perspectives represent a two-fold functioning of discourse markers (Brinton, 1996, p. 39).

Erman (2001, p. 1339) opts for a tripartite model, which comprises discourse, social and metalinguistic domains. Within the discourse domain, markers function as textual monitors and in the social domain, their function is of social monitors. As textual monitors, markers are responsible for textual coherence. As the author explains (2001, p. 1343), markers that function on the textual level are mostly concerned with the organization of the discourse rather than with indicating the way in which the addressee should decode the message. As social monitors, their main function is “to negotiate the meaning and management of discourse and to ensure that the channel is open between interlocutors” (Erman, 2001, p. 1339). Besides, Erman claims there is a third metalinguistic domain, when discourse markers function as comments not on the propositional content of an utterance, “but on the implications of it and on the speaker’s intended effect with it” (Erman 2001: 1339). Within each domain, the author (Erman, 2001, p. 1342) distinguishes a series of functions:

(a) Markers as textual monitors: structuring and editing discourse (to indicate boundaries between topics, between modes of speech (direct and reported speech), between foreground and background information in the thematic structure, as cohesive

devices between sets of propositions at the textual level, to insert parenthetical comments, etc.);

(b) Social monitors: negotiating discourse (to elicit a response from the listener, as a turn-yielding or confirmation-seeking device, etc.);

(c) Metalinguistic monitors: commenting on discourse (to emphasize or to tone down the effect of the utterance, to appeal to shared knowledge, etc.).

Fischer & Drescher (1996, 1998) further observed a two-fold role of discourse markers in discourse planning/organization and interpersonal interaction. As stated in Fischer & Drescher (1996, p. 854), discourse particles (their term) contribute to the micro and macro structure of dialogues. Fischer (1998, p. 112) further claims that, in addition to textual functions, discourse particles also express attitudes and emotions:

“Discourse particles participate in the turn-taking system; they help speakers to organize their speech; they segment and connect utterances; and they contribute to the macro-structure of discourse. Furthermore they display speaker attitude and certain emotions”, (Fischer, 1998, p. 112).

Their role on the interpersonal level is to “support the speaker-hearer interaction” (Fischer & Drescher, 1996, p. 854).

One of the most significant studies on the binary (i.e. textual and interpersonal) functions of discourse markers belongs to Brinton (1996, 2001). She holds that while discourse markers are grammatically/syntactically optional and semantically empty, they are not pragmatically optional and serve a range of pragmatic functions (1996, p. 35). In the pragmatic domain, the author identifies two different planes (textual and interpersonal).

Brinton (1996, p. 6) argues that discourse markers (*well, so, oh, you know, I mean*) perform certain textual functions on the textual level, “fall more under the rubric of discourse analysis” (Brinton, 2001, p. 139). For instance:

(a) to mark various kinds of boundaries (e.g. to initiate or end discourse, to signal a topic change, to denote old information or new information);

(b) to organize oral discourse into “chunks”, i.e. narrative segmentation or discourse types;

(c) to assist in turn-taking in discourse;

(d) to repair one’s own or other discourse;

(e) to serve as a filler or a delay to sustain discourse or hold the floor.

Some of these functions (d and e) are important for coherence in oral discourse, which is where they mainly operate. In written discourse, planning and time is not an issue, thus there is usually no need for self-repair or for buying some time.

On the other hand, discourse markers perform interpersonal functions (e.g. expressing evaluation or emphasis, focusing on the speaker, evoking the hearer's attention, appealing to the addressee, expressing common knowledge, signaling politeness or face-saving, establishing intimacy, requesting confirmation, effecting cooperation, expressing response/reaction/attitude to the following/prior discourse). These functions “fall under the rubric of pragmatics proper” (Brinton, 1996, pp. 36–40; Brinton, 2001, p. 139).

As Brinton explains (1996, p. 340), she keeps Halliday’s term “interpersonal” since it comprises both the speaker and the hearer; whereas Traugott (1982) uses the term “expressive” functions, which focuses only on the speaker. However, Brinton substitutes Halliday’s term “ideational” mode by “propositional” mode and defines it as “the expression on the content”, which is realized in elemental structures of language (Brinton, 1996, p. 38). Due to the fact the discourse markers have little or no propositional meaning, they typically occur outside the propositional mode. This results in a binary functioning of discourse markers, both on the textual and interpersonal levels. As Brinton (2017, p. 7) further explains, markers can serve simultaneously textual and interpersonal functions.

As for interpersonal level/mode of discourse marker functioning, it encompasses the speaker’s attitudes, evaluations, judgments, expectations and demands, as well as the social setting in which the speakers are placed into, their individual roles and roles/positioning toward each other (Brinton, 1996, p. 38).

Concerning the textual level/mode, it comprises the speaker’s intention to organize his message into a comprehensive and cohesive text with a focus on thematic structure, distribution of new of old information, etc. (Briton, 1996, p. 28). Moreover, these textual relations do not reveal themselves at a micro textual level of an utterance. On the contrary, these functions go beyond the utterance-level to the structure of the entire text. A similar idea can be found in Adam’s (2008) approach. In his view, discourse markers operate on the textual level both locally (establishing local coherence between the utterances) and globally (designing and shaping a text plan). In other words, discourse

markers signal various relationships between segments, which constitute a text (Morais, 2011, p. 17).

According to Adam's textual perspective on connectors (his term), their functions vary according to the discourse genres, in which they occur (Adam, 2008, p. 180). It means that a particular type of discourse genre determines the frequency and the type of discourse markers to be used, their range of functions and their employment or absence. In this respect, certain genres may rely on discourse markers to a greater or lesser degree. As Brinton (1996, p. 35) adds, sometimes markers can be omitted without any grammatical changes, but the resulted utterance/message is perceived as "unnatural, awkward, disjointed, impolite, unfriendly or dogmatic". Consequently, lack of genre conformity may result in miscomprehension or communication breakdown (Brinton, 1996, p. 36).

Concerning the textual perspective and the functions of discourse markers identified in Adam (2008, p. 180, 2017), these are quite limited. As Adam explains, the basic function of discourse markers is connective. In some cases, it can combine with signaling enunciative responsibility and/or argumentative orientation of discourse (Adam, 2008, p. 180; Coutinho, 2004, p. 286). Because of the restricted functional range described in Adam, Brinton's perspective on discourse markers is favored for the purposes of textual analysis.

IV. 2. Conversational discourse markers in stand-up comedy: previous research

IV. 2. 1. The English discourse markers *well*, *you know* and *I mean*

IV. 2. 1. 1. *Well*

The discourse marker *well* is probably the most frequently analyzed marker not only in English (Schiffrin, 1987; Bolinger, 1989; Fraser, 2009a; Schourup, 2001; Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg, 2003; Heritage, 2015; Norrick, 2001), but also in other European languages (e.g. *bon* and *ben* in French in Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, 1998b; *bueno* in Spanish and *bé* in Catalan in Cuenca, 2008; *bien* in Spanish in De Fina, 1997;

bem in European Portuguese in Lopes, 2004, in Valentim, 2008; *hát* and *nos* in Hungarian in Furkó & Nagy, 2013).

It is important to distinguish between discourse-marking uses and non-discourse marking uses of *well*. As a non-discourse marker (Müller, 2005, p. 106), *well* can be used as a verb (e.g. “tears welled up in my eyes”), as noun if it means “a hole in the ground from which a supply or water is extracted”), as an adjective if it means “in a good or satisfactory condition”, as an adverb when it is an equivalent to ‘good’.

As stated in Müller (2005, p. 101) and Furkó & Nagy (2013, p. 145), one of the earliest descriptions of *well* as a discourse marker is found in Lakoff (1973, p. 458), who noted that *well* is used in indirect answers, that is, when the respondent is not giving directly the information the questioner sought or when the answer is incomplete. Thus, one of the first functions of *well* to be attested is the one of a ‘diverger’.

Later, Halliday & Hasan (1976, p. 267) described *well* (and a series of other markers, e.g. *now*, *of course*, *surely*, *anyway*) as a conjunction that does not express any particular conjunctive relation, but which is nevertheless “used with a cohesive force in the text”. Its function was thus mainly seen as textual/cohesive: to signal a response in a dialogue, to introduce an explanatory comment, to signal hesitation (i.e. a person is thinking of what he/she has been asked about) (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 269).

Due to its conversational nature, the functional arsenal of *well* attested in the literature follows mainly a conversation analysis perspective, i.e. it is analyzed within a turn-taking mode of conversation. The corpus is often a collection of transcribed oral data, e.g. sociolinguistic interviews for English (Schiffrin, 1987), TV series for English/Hungarian (*Breaking Bad* in Furkó & Nagy, 2013), films for English, Spanish and Catalan (*Four Weddings and a Funeral* in Cuenca, 2008), transcribed conversational data for British and American (Heritage, 2015), etc.

As it often begins turns in a conversation, Schiffrin (1987, p. 102) proposes that *well* functions in the participation framework of discourse and marks responses at an interactional level. In particular, *well* is a response marker, which “anchors its user in an interaction when an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with prior coherence options” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 103):

(1) [adapted from Schiffrin, 1987, p. 110]

Debby: What happened?

Zelda: **Well**... at one time he was a very fine doctor. And he had two terrible tragedies.
[story follows]

A similar function is found in Fischer (1998, p. 112), who states that *well* functions as a turn-taking signal, i.e. 'I want to say something now' is part of the meaning of the marker.

Respondents may delay their answers with *well*, prefacing the main answer (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 109). As Schiffrin explains, it can be due to non-compliance with a request (e.g. for action, disagreement, evaluation, etc.), which is more likely to be marked with *well*.

Well can also be used in exchange structures as a self-response. It means that speakers answer to their own discourse and treat it as something to be responded to, thus shifting orientation toward what is being said (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 123).

Fraser (2009a, p. 893, 896) categorizes *well* as an attention marker, which calls the hearer's attention to the fact that a topic change is about to occur, i.e. the act he calls 'discourse oil' (Fraser, 2009a, p. 297). *Well* anticipates forthcoming topic orientation and often signals contrast toward prior utterance. According to Fraser (2009a, p. 896), two attention markers may co-occur in a sequence:

- (2) [adapted from Fraser, 2009, p. 296]
"It's very bad, you know." The Priest waited politely for a few moments and then he said, "**Well**, now, what should we do about it, I wonder?"

Also, *well* can signal a reflection regarding the next utterance [Continuation/Return to topic] (Fraser, 2009a, p. 897). According to Fraser (2016), whose recent research focus is on combinations of discourse markers, *well* can also signal (3) contemplation, (4) resignation or (5) agreement, when it is combined with other markers, for instance:

- (3) A: I see virtually no change of it passing the House.
B: *Well*, *but* something has to be passed.
- (4) So it's not as if you're missing someone and you go, *oh, well, but* I'll watch next week.

- (5) A: They want you to stay here.
B: *Well, alright, but* I don't really care.

Based on the principles of conversational analysis, Heritage (2015, p. 101) identifies a series of functions. According to his analysis, based on almost 24 hours of transcribed oral British/American corpus, *well* can signal a new topic start and topic/conversational closing (i.e. these are generally referred to as a topic management function), responses to questions and ‘my side’ corroborations of descriptions and judgments.

Whereas Schiffrin (1987) views *well* as conceptually empty and described only in relation to “characteristics of the discourse slots in which the marker occurs” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 73), Fraser (1999, p. 936) considers the meaning of *well* to be procedural. Bolinger (1989) assumes a different approach and claims that the semantic meaning of *well* is similar to “relatively good, relatively strong”, which is then transferred to illocutionary sphere, where it has a wide variety of specific discourse functions (Schourup, 2001, p. 1029; Bolinger, 1989, p. 302).

Bolinger (1989, pp. 321–331) proposed an impressive functional range of *well*, having identified eleven different conversational uses of the marker in both turn-taking and narrative modes of conversation/story-telling. These functions include:

(1) continuity or ‘narrative’ use of *well*: the author explains that “the speaker gives the nod to the state of affairs then current, accepting it as background, and goes on to add”, (1989, p. 321). These uses of *well* are best illustrated on the examples taken from monologues, in which it creates an expectation:

- (6) She figured that she had to fire Janet, who had been with the firm for six years. *Well*, that was her big mistake⁵¹.

(2) as a consequence, i.e. *well* (then). This type can express certain interpersonal emotions/attitudes, such as a regret or a reprimand:

- (7) You didn’t do your homework. *Well* (then), you shall have no supper.

⁵¹ All the following examples have been adopted from Bolinger (1989, pp. 321–331).

(3) *well* as a concession, when the speaker either gives in or abandons his position:

(8) I'm afraid I'm not up to doing the whole course today. - *Well*, just do the best you can.

According to Bolinger (1989, p. 324), concession can also take a more positive form of reassurance, e.g. *You ask if I'll help you. Well of course! Isn't that what friends are for?*

(4) *well* as an opposition (for instance, criticism, disagreement, rejection or challenge):

(9) He asked me to resign. *Well* I won't, so there.

(5) to signal a topic shift, when "the speaker decides to take a different tack" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 328):

(10) *Well*, you wanted me to take a look at your tax return, so shall we get busy on it?

(6) *well* as a demand, when the speaker demands an explanation from the hearer or a command to do something:

(11) *Well*, please step aside then.

(7) to signal obviousness, i.e. "the hearer is assumed to be able to draw the right conclusion in view of the evidence", (Bolinger, 1989, p. 330):

(12) The insurance agent said I needed proof of damage. I showed him the wreckage and said simply: "*Well?*"

(8) to signal surprise; in these cases, intonation plays an essential role in interpretation:

(13) Ronald is chasing skirts again. - *Well!* And him with a wife and six kids!

(9) *well* is used to signal indecision or hesitation:

(14) *Well*, what shall we do next? I guess I'll take care of the bills.

Schourup (2001) raises objections to some of the functional uses identified by Bolinger (1987). For instance, he claims that when Bolinger identifies the function of *well* as an exclamation of surprise, the examples he provides are exclamatory independently of whether they are preceded by *well* or used without it (Schourup, 2001, p. 1030). If we consider the same example: *Ronald is chasing skirts again. - And him with a wife and six kids!*, it can be seen that surprise is conveyed in this utterance independently of the use of *well*. Whereas Bolinger (1989, p. 302) treats *well* as an adverb/verb that, due to its illocutionary operation, has a range of functions, Schourup (2001, p. 1058) characterizes this marker as “standing at the boundary between language and gesture”. On the one hand, it has traces of the lexical meaning of the adverb/adjective *well*, but on the other hand, it behaves like a gestural interjection.

In contrast to Bolinger and the conversational analysis perspective, Norrick (2001) argues that the function of *well* is unrelated to any of its adverbial or adjectival meanings. Norrick (2001: 850) proposes that *well* is a special sort of discourse marker found in oral narratives, whose functions within the oral narrative differ from its usual functions in other contexts. Narratives' organization differs from turn-taking mode of interaction, and thus the markers are said to perform special narrative organizational functions not encountered in other forms of talk. Thus, in oral narratives *well* is used:

(i) to signal the beginning of a story following a digression or an interruption (2001, p. 850, 854) or to signal conclusion of a narrative action/summary of a point of the story (2001, p. 855);

(ii) to re-establish the main storyline or theme (2001, p. 855);

(iIi) to recall listener attention to the developing plot or the point of a story (2001, p. 851).

IV. 2. 1. 2. *You know*

You know is another frequently described discourse marker (Fraser, 2016; Östman, 1981; Schiffrin, 1987). As stated in Fox Tree & Schrock (2002, p. 736), its basic meaning is to establish shared knowledge (Schiffrin, 1987; Östman, 1981; Schourup, 2001).

Östman proposes (1981, p. 17) a core meaning (or prototypical meaning) of *you know*, which he defines as follows: “The speaker strives towards getting the addressee to cooperate and/or to accept the propositional content of his utterance as mutual background knowledge”. This prototypical meaning can acquire a number of interpretations in the context. First of all, according to this definition, the speaker is likely to use *you know* when the hearer does not know what the speaker is talking about. Put differently, *you know* is a signal that ‘you’ (or the hearer) does not know what the utterance is about. Secondly, by using *you know* the speaker engages the hearer into a conversation, i.e. the hearer becomes the center of attention. Östman defines it as the speaker’s “plea for cooperation” (1981, p. 18), thus showing that *you know* plays a crucial role in ensuring cooperative interaction.

According to Fraser (2016), *you know* is an interpersonal marker that signals the speaker’s anticipation towards the upcoming discourse interaction. As stated in Schiffrin (1987, p. 267), *you know* marks transitions to meta-knowledge about shared knowledge, which are relevant for participation frameworks. *You know* has two possible meanings: 1) info X is available to the recipient(s) of talk; 2) info X is generally available. Consequently, it suggests two discourse functions: 1) a marker of meta-knowledge about what speaker and hearer share; 2) a marker of meta-knowledge about what is generally known, i.e. truths that are shared by co-members of the same culture, society or group (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 268, 275). Besides, the literal meaning of *you know* (and also *I mean*) has a direct influence over its functions in discourse, i.e. its meaning is semantic-based.

These functions can be found in background explanatory clauses in narratives: the speakers may need to present background information before an upcoming narrative, so that it makes sense to their hearers:

- (15) [adapted from Schiffrin, 1987, p. 271]
 Zelda: *Y'know* that eh orthopedic doctor? *Y'know* that took care of Henry when he had his back? Problems?
 Irene: Who, that Chinese doctor?
 Zelda: No, the Italian. Bonzi!
 Irene: Oh yeh.

Östman (1981, p. 16) also found that *you know* tends to be used to narrative parts of conversations. As he further explains, *you know* does not add anything to the propositional meaning of the utterance, but it is used as a hedge for transmission of implicit information.

Utterances that are 'bracketed' by *you know* give a special status to information as to-be-shared. The hearer is invited to share the information provided through narrative discourse. Moreover, as Schiffrin (1987, p. 281) stresses, *you know* invites the hearer not just as a passive information recipient, but also as an active participant to the storytelling. This is especially applicable to an audience in a stand-up performance and its active role in the established interaction. Besides, as Schiffrin further explains, the function of *you know* is to draw the hearer's attention to most important parts of storytelling and make him/her understand why it is important. Sometimes, *you know* is used together with some other markers of general truths (e.g. You know, they say...).

The discourse marker can also be found in arguments. As Schiffrin explains (1987, p. 277), it allows the hearer to affirm the receipt of new information, to create a gradual transition in participant roles throughout the discourse or it appeals to shared knowledge in an attempt to convince an opponent in an argument. Thus, all these functions are due to the literal meaning of *you know* (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 294).

According to Jucker & Smith (1998), in some cases *you know* does not manifest any traces of shared knowledge and its function lies elsewhere, for instance:

- (16) [adapted from Jucker & Smith, 1998, p.194]
 B: Yeah, but I don't want to be in a class
 I want to be ON a team
 A: Ey if you can't be on the team, you might as well take the class, **you know**

The authors (1998, p. 196) argue that *you know* “invites the addressee to complete the argument by drawing the appropriate inferences” or, put another way, “invites the addressee to recognize both the relevance and the implications of the utterances marked by *you know*” (1998, p. 194). This argument is similar to Blakemore’s (1992) approach, whose main claim is that discourse markers contribute to optimization of relevance.

Another important function of *you know* is to encode and edit the text. As stated in Erman (2001, p. 1340), encoding and editing implies that the speaker is concerned about the right meaning or the right word, i.e. giving the message the appropriate intended meaning. The speaker typically uses *you know* to signal repairs of previous discourse or planning of upcoming discourse. Alternatively, the speaker may want to buy some time to have a chance think over the conveyed message. Encoding and editing functions are text-oriented, which means they establish relationship within the domain of text. In the social/interactive domain, *you know* signals confirmation of a previous claim or functions as an assurance that the speaker has been properly understood (Erman, 2001, p. 1340).

Fox Tree & Schrock (2002, p. 728) claim that *you know* (similarly to *I mean*) operates on the metacommunicative level and performs various functions, which fall into five categories. These categories include up to several functions:

- a. interpersonal (to invite addressee’s inferences, to signal uncertainly, confidence or politeness);
- b. turn management (to accomplish a turn coordination);
- c. repairing (to boost addressee’s inferences processes);
- d. monitoring (to evoke addressee's backchannels);
- e. organizing ones (to signal topic shift, topic introduction or emphasis of a particular point of a narrative).

As it has been seen, *you know* has a wide range of identified conversational functions. It mostly occurs in conversation because its functions are linked to “the naturalistic, unplanned, unrehearsed, collaborative nature of spontaneous talk” (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002, p. 745).

IV. 2. 1. 3. *I mean*

In Halliday & Hasan framework on coherence, *I mean* was initially categorized as a conjunction that signaled two types of sentence (and merely textual) relations. It was classified either as an additive conjunction with the meaning of apposition between the two sentences, or as an adversative conjunction, used for correction of the speaker's working (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, 242).

A decade later, and thanks to the pioneering work by D. Schiffrin, *I mean* began to be seen as a discourse marker. As the author explains, the basic meaning of *I mean* is to indicate upcoming adjustments (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 304; Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002, p. 741). According to Schiffrin (1987, p. 303), *I mean* is a member of a larger group of meta-linguistic expressions such as *let me tell you*, *let's put it this way*, *like I say*, *what we call*, *so called*, *in other words* which she also defines as discourse markers.

The author defines *I mean* is a marker of speaker orientation, i.e. it marks speaker's orientation toward his/her own talk. In this respect, it marks speaker's own adjustments in the production of his/her talk, e.g. modification of ideas (or propositional information) and speaker's intentions (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 267). Consider the example below:

- (17) [adapted from Schiffrin, 1987, p. 297]
He says, "Oh, I wish you could come with me!" And I said- I was very pro-proper, and prim! And I said, "Oh, I couldn't go away with you." And he says, "**I mean**, let's get married!" And I said. "Oh okay!"

Similar to *you know*, the discourse marker *I mean* functions within the participation framework of talk and has relevance for information states (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 295).

Curiously, Schiffrin (1987) does not exclude any uses (even literal ones) of *you know* or *I mean* from the class she defined as discourse markers. In 1991, Redeker (1991, p. 1145) was the first to argue that literal uses of these markers do not have connecting or structuring function, thus should not be considered discourse markers. When these units are used as counterparts of markers, they do contribute to the propositional content and

to the truth-conditions of the utterances in which they appear (Mosegaard Hansen, 1998a, p. 236; 1998b, p. 65).

As other functional uses of *I mean*, Fox Tree & Schrock (2002, p. 728) argue that *I mean* operates on the metacommunicative level rather than the propositional level. Their functional analysis of *I mean* includes five categories: interpersonal, turn management, repairing, monitoring, and organizing (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002, pp. 730–736). One of the functions of the interpersonal category is politeness, i.e. it is used “to make speech more casual and to decrease social distance” (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002, p. 730). Another widespread function is to serve as self-presentation. *I mean* contributes to turn management in three ways. It aids in turn-taking, turn-holding (in medial position) and turn-relinquishing. With regard to repairs, there are three functions of *I mean*. Firstly, it substitutes a pause, i.e. it repairs and avoids the break in fluency caused by a pause. Secondly, it stalls for time for the speakers to complete the planning of upcoming discourse, e.g. words selection or false starts. And thirdly, it is used to explicitly anticipate an upcoming adjustment of discourse (a function originally identified by Schifffrin, 1987). Monitoring functions of *I mean* refer to the fact that addressees are encouraged to think about what has just been said, i.e. to focus his/her attention. In terms of its organizing properties, *I mean* is used to introduce a commentary, a justification, etc. Also, it can be used to introduce new information.

IV. 2. 2. The Portuguese discourse markers *bom (bem)*, *sabe(s)* and *quer(o) dizer*

IV. 2. 2. 1. Establishing functional equivalence

In previous analysis (Morozova 2017), I established the functional equivalence between the English discourse markers *well*, *you know*, *I mean* and their Portuguese counterparts, based on the translation method.

In short, translation method, proposed by Aijmer & Simon Vandenberg (2003) and Aijmer (2004), “contributes to specifying how markers function intralinguistically, how they relate to other, semantically and pragmatically similar items in the same language, and how semantic fields in different languages relate to one another” (Aijmer, 2004, p. 1782). The main idea of this method is to set up semantic fields based on

translations of a particular discourse marker into another language. Assuming that discourse markers typically have a core semantic meaning and a context-dependent pragmatic function, the authors suggest that a discourse marker can have various translations (or pragmatic functional equivalents) in the target language.

Translations function as means to establish paradigms between languages (Aijmer, 2004, p. 1785). Besides, translations are a useful tool for identifying the meaning and function of discourse markers, especially when it comes to multilingual perspective, for it contributes to a better understanding of credibility and appropriateness of established crosslinguistic equivalents. The application of the method was demonstrated on the discourse markers *actually*, *in fact* and *really* in English and their pragmatic equivalents in Swedish and Dutch on the basis of the English/Swedish Parallel Corpus for English/Swedish and of the Triptic Corpus for English/Dutch. Besides, it was further implemented by Cuenca (2008) for Spanish and Catalan and focused on the English DM *well* and its translation equivalents.

To establish equivalence for the selected English/Portuguese discourse markers, I used COMPARA⁵² corpus, which is a bidirectional parallel corpus of English and Portuguese. In other words, it is a kind of database with original and translated texts in these two languages, which have been linked together sentence by sentence. Altogether, I analyzed 300 occurrences of *well*, *you know* and *I mean*, which correspond to the discourse marking uses. Literal meanings of *well* (e.g. *She sings well*), *you know* (e.g. *You know what I'm talking about*) and *I mean* (e.g. *I mean now*) were not considered in this analysis.

Having analyzed the occurrences found in COMPARA, I observed the following tendencies. The Portuguese discourse marker *bem* and *bom* are predominant translation equivalents of *well*. The least frequent options include *ora esta*, *paciência*, *percebo*, *ora*, *afinal*, etc. (see Table 12).

Concerning the English discourse marker *I mean*, it is mainly translated as *quero dizer* or *quer dizer*. Options like *quero eu dizer*, *quero dizer que*, *ou seja*, *isto é* are less

⁵² COMPARA (<http://www.linguateca.pt/COMPARA/>) is currently the largest post-edited Portuguese-English parallel corpus in the world, totaling around three million words. At present, COMPARA consists of 75 text pairs of literary genre from Angola, Brazil, Mozambique, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States.

frequent. Besides, there are single translations, such as *por exemplo*, *afinal*, *aliás*, *a propósito*, etc. (see Table 14).

The English marker *you know* presents the widest range of possible translation equivalents in Portuguese. In total, 34 tokens have been identified (see Table 13). The most frequent translations include *sabes* and *sabe*. Majority of tokens are single translations and sometimes can be quite unexpected (for instance, *sei lá*, *já se sabe*, *o/a senhor(a) sabe*, *imaginem lá*, etc.).

Table 12. Translations of the English discourse marker *well* into Portuguese.

Translations	N. of occurrences
bem	29
bom	9
enfim	9
ora esta	1
paciência	2
percebo	1
OK	1
ora	1
afinal	1
com que então	1
pois	1
então	2
∅ ⁵³	34
Total n. of occurrences	1000 (1064) ⁵⁴
Total n. of DMs	92

Table 13. Translations of the English discourse marker *you know* into Portuguese.

Translations	N. of occurrences
sabe	17
sabes	13
você sabe	3
sabem	2

⁵³ ∅ stands for omission of discourse markers in the target language.

⁵⁴ For copyright reasons, Compara provides a random sample of 1000 occurrences out of 1064 that have been found.

como sabes	2
como sabe	2
como sabem	1
estás a ver	1
se quer saber	1
sabe disso	1
não sei se sabes	2
sabia	1
sabias	1
sabe como é	1
bem sabes	1
bem vê que	1
veja lá bem	1
imaginem lá	1
não sei se estão a ver	1
sabes que	3
sabem como é	1
percebem	1
percebe	1
percebes	2
compreende	1
compreenda	1
não é	1
claro	1
já se sabe	1
não acham	1
a senhora sabe	1
o senhor sabe	2
olha que	1
sei lá	1
Ø	28
Total n. of occurrences	388
Total n. of DMs	100

Table 14. Translations of the English discourse marker *I mean* into Portuguese.

Translations	N. of occurrences
quero dizer	41
quer dizer	20

quero eu dizer	5
quero dizer que	3
ou seja	4
por exemplo	1
isto é	6
afinal	1
aliás	1
a propósito	1
claro	1
o que eu quero dizer é que	2
Ø	22
Total n. of occurrences	188
Total n. of DMs	108

The analysis permits drawing several common tendencies in translations of discourse markers:

(i) *well, you know* and *I mean* have a wide range of functional equivalents in Portuguese, with *you know* getting up to 34 possible translations.

(ii) the semantic correspondences of *well, you know* and *I mean* in Portuguese can be very distant from their literal translation (e.g. *you know* = *imaginem lá* or *imagine*). This fact proves that translation can be misleading if it is based on establishing a corresponding token with the same core semantic meaning, without considering its functional counterpart.

(iii) literal Portuguese translations of *well, you know* and *I mean* represent the highest number of occurrences, therefore, the tendency towards literal translation is maintained.

IV. 2. 2. 2. Back translations from Portuguese into English

In the next step of the analysis, I identified the translations that are “mirrored back” into the original language (see Table 15). This method, also cited in Aijmer (2007, p. 1785) is especially useful, for it “implies that we look at the meaning of a lexical item as mirrored in its translations in another language”. It is handy when a discourse marker has an extremely wide range of translations in the target language (for instance, you

know). By looking at the back translations we can see “which translations are more frequent or prototypical, and which are less frequent or even ‘singleton’ translations” (Aijmer, 2007, p. 1785). Table 15 shows back translations from Portuguese into English of the two most frequent equivalents of *well* (*bem* and *bom*), *you know* (*sabes* and *sabe*) and *I mean* (*quero dizer* or *quer dizer*).

Table 15. Back translations from Portuguese into English.

DM	Translation (n. of occurrences)
bem	well (13)
	that's that (1)
	Ø (2)
bom	well (8)
	good (1)
	anyhow (1)
	all right (1)
	Ø (4)
sabes	you know (10)
	you see (1)
	Ø (0)
sabe	you know (17)
	you see (7)
	do you know (1)
	you understand (1)
	I hope you realize (1)
	Ø (2)
quer dizer	I mean (11)
	that is to say (5)
	that is (4)
	you mean (1)
	in other words (1)
	Ø (3)
quero dizer	I mean (10)
	I meant to say that (1)

which is to say (1)

Ø (4)

As it can be seen, the ‘mirrored’ translations from Portuguese back into English confirm the results of the first step of the analysis and permit stating more confidently that the English/Portuguese discourse markers *well* (*bem*, *bom*), *I mean* (*quer(o) dizer*) and *you know* (*sabe(s)*, *sabem*) are likely to be functional equivalents.

IV. 2. 2. 3. *Bom* and *bem*

Similar to the English discourse marker *well*, its Portuguese equivalent *bem* is a polyfunctional discourse marker and has several uses in the syntactic and pragmatic domains⁵⁵:

(I) In the syntactic domain, when it is part of propositional content of an utterance:

(a) as an adverb, for instance: “O João comeu bem⁵⁶” (“John ate well⁵⁷”), in which *bem* (*well*) refers to mode or manner (Lopes, 2004, p. 7; Valentim, 2008, p. 306).

(b) as an adjective modifier, for instance: “O homem é bem alto” (“The man is very tall”). The meaning of the marker is similar to the Portuguese adverb *muito* (*very*) and has no appreciative value (Valentim, 2008, p. 306). Also, it serves as an intensifier. Lopes (2004) defines these adjectives (e.g. ‘alto’ or ‘tall’) as pure adjectives, i.e. they are not derived from verbs.

(c) as an adverbial modifier of mode or manner (with verbal adjectives), for instance: “uma mulher bem arranjada” (“a good looking woman”).

(d) as an adverbial modifier of quantity or degree, for instance: “Momento de decisões históricas que quase passavam para segundo plano depois da morte de dois soldados israelitas na zona de segurança junto ao Líbano – bem perto de Haifa.” (“Moment of historical decisions that almost passed into the background after the death

⁵⁵These functions have been identified by Lopes (2004) on the basis of Reference Corpus of Contemporary Portuguese (Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo).

⁵⁶ All the examples can be found in Lopes (2004, pp. 7–8)

⁵⁷ These translations from Portuguese into English are my own.

of two Israeli soldiers in the security zone near Lebanon – very close to Haifa.”), (Lopes, 2004, p. 8).

(II) In the pragmatic domain⁵⁸, when it is not part of propositional content of an utterance:

- (a) it marks / signals discordance with the information stated before;
- (b) it initiates discourse, serving as a conversational marker of turn-taking;
- (c) it marks / signals topic shift;
- (d) it signals mitigation.

Lopes (2004, p. 8) provides various examples of pragmatic functioning of *bem*:

- (18) “*Bem*, agora estão a lavar as grelhas, depois para o tempo da...da sardinha descabeçam as sardinhas...”.
“*Well*, now they are washing the grill, then for the time for the sardines... they behead the sardines...”.
- (19) Não quero dizer que fossem os espanhóis que os construísem, mas foi construído na época deles. *Bem*, aqui naturalmente predominou muito o algarvio.
I do not mean that it was the Spanish who built them, but it was built in their time.
Well, here, of course, Algarve was predominant.

As the author explains, *bem* (*well*) clearly does not perform any syntactic function. It is not part of propositional content of the utterance either. Rather, it operates on the interactional level.

Following Traugott (1998), Lopes argues a wide range of uses of *bem* in the pragmatic domain is the result of grammaticalization (or ‘semantic bleaching’), i.e. recategorization of the linguistic unit. Similar to Fraser (1999), the author identifies a series of different uses of *bem* expressed by the same lexical item. Her claim is that there is a ‘core’ prototypical center of *bem*, which allows for a diversification in its functional uses (Lopes, 2004, p. 9). She further explains, “...the evaluative polarity is an intrinsic part of the meaning of *bem*”⁵⁹. As in previously overviewed approaches (Redeker, 1991;

⁵⁸ Lopes (2004, p. 21) explains that the wide range of functions *bem* performs in the pragmatic domain is due to its interactional nature.

⁵⁹ “...a polaridade avaliativa faz parte intrínseca do significado de *bem*” (Lopes, 2004, p. 10).

Schiffrin, 1987; Brinton, 1996; Erman, 2001), Lopes (2004, p. 21) concludes that there is a transposition of meaning that comes from the domain of the speaker's internal evaluation toward the range of meanings from the domain of textual/discursive interaction and text structuring⁶⁰.

With regard to the pragmatic domain, Valentim (2008) proposes an impressive list of functions performed by *bem* in dialogues⁶¹:

(1) *bem* as a disagreement with a simultaneously concessive and rectifying values:

(20) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 307]

- Então, posso concluir que só te deram o emprego porque falas alemão...
- *Bem*, eu também tenho bons conhecimentos de gestão e de informática...
- So, I can conclude that you got the job because you speak German...
- *Well*, I also have some management and computer knowledge.

(2) to attenuate disagreement, especially when it is followed by *but*:

(21) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 308]

- Eu nunca faria aquilo de que me acusam. Até tenho pena desse senhor... Acha que eu lhe faria mal, que eu ia mandar matá-lo?
- *Bem*, mas há várias provas documentais de que ele trabalhou para si e de que terá participado em situações que o comprometem.
- I would never do what you are accusing me of. I even have pity for that man... Do you think I would issue orders to hurt him?
- *Well*, but there are several documentary proofs that he worked for you and that he participated in situations that compromise you.

(3) to signal modal (or meta-discursive) value, which acknowledges the reception of a message, but can imply a negative (see below) or a positive appreciation:

(22) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 309]

- Professora, não fiz os trabalhos de casa.

⁶⁰ “Parece haver evidência empírica para afirmar que se assiste basicamente a uma transposição de significação que releva do domínio da avaliação interna do falante para significação que releva do domínio da interação e da estruturação textual/discursiva”, (Lopes, 2004, p. 21).

⁶¹ These functions have been identified by Valentim (2008) on the basis of The Davies, Ferreira Corpus of the European Portuguese available online (<http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>).

- *Bem*. Temos que conversar.
- Teacher, I didn't do my homework.
- *Well*, we must talk.

(4) to introduce an answer to a question, i.e. it signals a hedged or 'softened' agreement (see below), a temporal hesitation or a divergent answer:

- (23) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 309]
- Está satisfeito com os serviços prestados pela empresa X? - *Bem*, não.
 - Are you satisfied with the enterprise X services? - *Well*, no.

(5) as a comment toward prior discourse:

- (24) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 311]
- O maior, o maciço apoio que a Renamo recebeu, de facto, foi o da própria população de Moçambique. Apoio interno! Em que moldes esse apoio se traduziu?
 - *Bem*, a Renamo expressava a revolta da própria população moçambicana.
 - In fact, the major support that Renamo received was that of the Mozambican population. Domestic support! How was this support in concrete terms?
 - *Well*, Renamo expressed the Mozambican population's indignation.)

(6) to signal uncertainly, especially with the verbs *crer* (to believe), *achar* or *pensar* (to think), *presumir* (to presume), *supor* (to suppose);

(7) to signal the opening of a conversation (see below) or a conclusion/farewell:

- (25) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 312]
- (the doctor to the patient)
- *Bem*, vamos lá a ver o que temos aqui.
 - *Well*, let's see what we have here.

(8) to signal a topic shift:

- (26) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 312]
- Cheguei também a escrever que a terra deveria ser nacionalizada e entregue – sem indemnização! – aos trabalhadores.
 - *Bem*, então o que o separava da esquerda?

- It happened to me being writing that the land should be nationalized and given – without any indemnification! – to the workers.
- *Well*, so, what separated you from the left?

(9) to establish a thematic/discourse continuity and to serve as a conversation progress, for instance after a digression or to recapture the central theme:

- (27) [adapted from Valentim, 2008, p. 313]
- “Last but not least”, o sector financeiro.
 - Sim, com o Banco Totta e a companhia de seguros Império. *Bem...* no essencial, em 74 era isso.
 - Last but not least, the financial sector.
 - Yes, with the Totta Bank and the insurance enterprise Império. *Well...* essentially, in 74 it was like this.)

(10) to reformulate prior discourse (this function is generally known as repair of one’s own discourse).

According to Lopes (2004: 20), *bem* can be combined with different ‘crystalized’ expressions, such as *ora bem*, *muito bem*, *está bem*, *tudo bem*, which are seen as ‘discursive formulas’, frequently used in verbal integration. Similar to discourse marker *bem*, these expressions are used to signal of topic shift (*ora bem*), to signal that prior discourse has been processed and simultaneously accepted (*muito bem*), to signal a positive reception of an illocutionary act (*está bem*) or as a phatic expression in greetings (*tudo bem*).

IV. 2. 2. 4. *Sabem* and *sabes*

So far, there is no linguistic study on the functional uses of the discourse marker *sabe(s)* in European Portuguese. In Brazilian Portuguese, Martelotta (1996) was the first to observe significant transformations of the verb *saber* due to the processes of grammaticalization and discursivization, which resulted in an innovative description of pragmatic functions of *sabe?* (*you know?*). Although there are a significant number of linguistic distinctions between European Portuguese and its Brazilian variant, I proceed

to present a theoretical account proposed by Martelotta (1996) due to scarcity of research in European Portuguese.

As Martelotta (1996, n. p.) points out, there are two meanings of the verb *saber*:

(a) to know something or to have knowledge of something, i.e. it is linked to mental capacity;

(b) the sensation of flavour or taste perceived in the mouth in contact with a substance.

The meaning (b) is exemplified in the excerpt below:

(28) [adapted from Martelotta, 1996, n. p.]

Não tem passado nem futuro
Não sabe a fel nem sabe a mel
é de papel

[my translation]

There is no past, no future

It's (=it tastes) neither bitter, no sweet

It's made of paper

With regard to grammaticalization and discursivization, there is a shift from a more concrete meaning of *saber* (=mental capacity, perception of flavour) to a more abstract one. Throughout these processes, semantic meaning fades and gains a pragmatic value, which is observed in various contexts. The verb *saber* is moving towards discourse and assumes a discourse-marking function (Martelotta, 1996, n. p.). The range of these functions and certain recurrent functional patterns are examined on the basis of oral interviews, collected by the group Discourse & Grammar (Rio de Janeiro). As a discourse marker, *sabe?* (*you know?*) typically occurs in oral speech, where it is said to perform a basic modal/evaluative function in relation to prior or upcoming discourse. Besides, *sabe?* (*you know?*) occurs outside its normal position, which is the end of clause.

Martelotta's (1996, n. p.) analysis demonstrated that *sabe?* (*you know?*) can be used:

(a) as a pause filler, i.e. it is a tool that enables a short moment of reflection, sometimes necessary for the speaker. Without losing his turn of speech, the speaker may

need to think of what to say next or to structure the message appropriately. *Sabe?* (*you know?*) helps to fill in the pause and to maintain discourse.

(b) to signal hesitation. In this sense, it is similar to *eh*, *tipo assim* (*something like that*), *eu acho que* (*I think that*) and other expressions that also add modality to discourse. For instance, they express insecurity of the speaker in relation to his/her discourse.

(c) to assist in drawing appropriate and better understanding on the part of the listener. As the author explains, the marker appears when the speaker exposes evaluative or explanatory arguments and provides background information.

- (29) [adapted from Martelotta, 1996, n. p.]
"ela passava uma imagem pra mim... assim... de uma menina... uma menina pura...
sabe? que não pensava nessas coisas..."

[my translation]

"she was transmitting an image to me... like... of a girl... a pure girl... **you know?** who did not think about these things..."

(d) to draw the listener's attention. The speaker uses *sabe?* (*you know?*) to reorient discourse or to emphasize certain elements.

IV. 2. 2. 5. *Quer dizer*

In European Portuguese, the functional range of the discourse marker⁶² *quer dizer* was identified by Lopes (2014). According to the author, the core meaning of *quer dizer* is described as "to interpret what follows as a better formulation of what has just been said"⁶³ (Lopes, 2014, p. 34). In this respect, *quer dizer* typically signals upcoming reformulation of discourse. As stated in Valentim (2013, p. 298), *quer dizer* is similar to other Portuguese discourse markers, i.e. *ou seja*, *por assim dizer*, *mesmo assim* and *isto é*, as in certain linguistic contexts these units correspond to predicative constructions (non-discourse marking use) and, in other contexts, they function as discourse markers

⁶² In *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* (2003), *quer dizer* is designated as "connector" (Duarte, Inês, Chapter IV).

⁶³ "...interprete o que se segue como uma melhor formulação do que acabou de ser dito", Lopes (2014, p. 34).

with (mostly paraphrastic) reformulative functions. In particular, Valentim (2013) provides a more detailed analysis of *isto é*; Bordería & Lopes (2014) analyze the Portuguese discourse marker *ou seja* and its Spanish counterpart *o sea*.

As a discourse marker, *quer dizer* has several specific characteristics, such as: (1) it is a fully grammaticalized language item, which consists of the verb *quer* in the 3rd person singular, followed by the infinitive *dizer*; (2) it is a prosodically independent unit of the main utterance either by pauses (in oral discourse) or by commas (in written discourse); (3) it implies the presence of two textual segments; typically there is an utterance on the left, and another (reformulated) utterance on the right.

Concerning the reformulative functions of *quer dizer*, there is a division between paraphrastic and non-paraphrastic reformulation. Paraphrastic reformulation implies the existence of equality between the two related utterances/clauses, whereas non-paraphrastic reformulation signals distance between them or, in its extreme version, rejection of the perspective in the initial formulation, (Pons Bordería, 2013, p. 152; Lopes, 2014, p. 35). In Adam (2008, p. 187), for instance, markers of reformulation predominantly signal modification of point of view.

The functions identified by Lopes (2014) are based of Reference Corpus of Contemporary Portuguese (Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo) and listed below:

(a) to signal reformulation. As explained in Lopes (2014, p. 37), *quer dizer* functions as a marker of paraphrastic reformulation and implies the speaker's distance in relation to his/her initial point of view. Also, it can acquire different semantic values, e.g. explanation, clarification, etc., as demonstrated in Fonseca (1992, apud Lopes, 2014) and Valentim (2013) for *isto é*, in particular. Here, the possibilities values of reformulation are limited to two principal categories: paraphrastic or non-paraphrastic one.

(30) [adapted from Lopes, 2014, p. 37]

Interessa sobretudo distribuir bem, **quer dizer**, com justiça, o que se vai produzindo.

[my translation]

It is especially important to distribute well, **I mean**, with justice, what is being produced.

(b) to signal mitigation/to soften discourse. As Lopes (2014, p. 38) explains, *quer dizer* softens negative evaluation expressed with regards to the student.

(31) [adapted from Lopes, 2014, p. 38]

E então esse aluno, **quer dizer**, foi um bocadinho insolente, na maneira de falar e eu reagi e disse que ia comunicar à reitoria.

[my translation]

And then this student was, **I mean**, a little insolent in the way he spoke, and I reacted and said I would report to the rectory.

(c) to signal conclusion.

(32) [adapted from Lopes, 2014, p. 39]

Os indivíduos nascidos em países de determinada religião seguem, em regra, essa religião: a maioria dos árabes são muçulmanos; a maioria dos anglo-saxões são protestantes. **Quer dizer**, doutrinas e crenças são, para muitos, aquilo que lhes foi ensinado.

[my translation]

Individuals born in countries of a certain religion usually follow this religion: most Arabs are Muslims; most Anglo-Saxons are Protestants. **I mean**, doctrines and beliefs are to many people what they have been taught.

(d) to serve as a filler or a discursive pause. It is common for spontaneous impromptu conversations. It means that the speaker has not properly planned the discourse beforehand, and therefore it is being formulated at the moment of speaking.

(33) [adapted from Lopes, 2014, p. 40]

Gosto mesmo de falar com esse senhor. É formidável. Agora, **quer dizer**, o ambiente assim daqui, quer dizer é... não gosto...

[my translation]

I really like talking to this gentleman. It's superb. Now, **I mean**, the environment like this, I mean it's... I don't like it...

A final remark concerns the status of the reformulation process itself. Reformulation is generally understood as a process of reinterpretation and re-elaboration, which plays a part in text cohesion and, at the same time, contributes to a discursive progression/continuation (Valentim, 2013, p. 303). For Lopes (2014, pp. 34–35), reformulation is mostly a metadiscursive operation, which aims at elaboration/correction of discourse, so that it is properly perceived by the listener/addressee (so-called auto-reformulation). Besides, reformulation serves as a guarantee of mutual understanding from an interactive point of view. Therefore, it operates exclusively on the interactional level. This approach differs from the previously described perspective by Brinton (1996), who sees repair/reformulation of discourse as a textual function of discourse markers.

IV. 3. Hypothesis of the study: taxonomy of conversational discourse markers in the genre of stand-up comedy

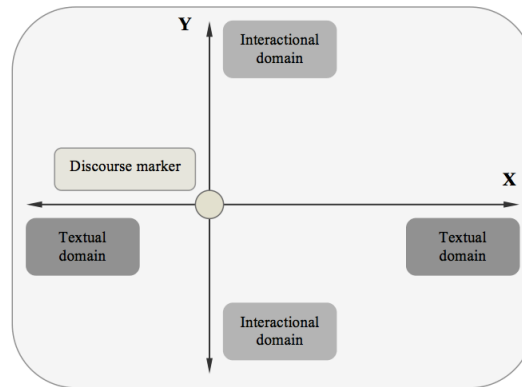
For the purposes of this research, it is assumed that the main function of discourse markers is to relate an utterance to the situation of discourse, i.e. to *speaker-hearer interaction, speaker attitudes, and/or organization of texts* (Heine, 2013, p. 1211). Following Coutinho (2007), Brinton (1996) and Adam (2017), I see discourse markers as mechanisms of textual realization, i.e. two-fold linguistic devices, which operate at the textual and interactional domains/levels in the genre of stand-up comedy. At the textual domain, discourse markers' functions are restricted to the level of text, i.e. they contribute to coherence of textual segments. At the micro-level of text organization, discourse markers connect parts of utterances or utterances, thus contributing to speech fluency and internal text cohesion. At the macro-level of text organization, utterances group into larger thematic/sequential blocks, allowing for a compositional structuration of a particular genre. In other words, discourse markers play a role in text planification/organization of comedian's act of a stand-up comedy performance (or *bits*). From the point of view of storytelling, discourse markers may assist in the way comedians organize the layout of the narrative joke-telling.

The interactional domain goes beyond the level of text and includes a pragmatic orientation. It engages the addressee, i.e. someone to whom the discourse is addressed. The interactive mode, as Brinton explains, implies the speaker's intrusion into the speech event (1996, p. 38). Besides, it relies on the contextual setting and the relationship

established between the speaker and the addressee. In a particularly interactive and dialogic nature of stand-up performances, comedians can use discourse markers to establish a *bond* with the audience, i.e. a special kind of intimacy between the solo speaker and the audience. The idea of the bond in stand-up comedy shows is an essential and ultimate goal that every comedian attempts to achieve. I see interpersonal uses of discourse markers described in Brinton (1996), namely, to express attitude or emotions to prior/upcoming discourse, to signal shared knowledge, etc., as means toward this goal. In the investigation of stand-up performances, I opt for interactional functions rather than interpersonal ones mostly because I consider the term interpersonal functions to be too narrow and not exhaustive enough to reflect the main feature of stand-up, which is interaction on *both* sides. In other words, when a comedian expresses certain attitudes or emotions toward prior/upcoming discourse, he/she does not do it merely for the fact of ‘interpersonal’ manifestation. In fact, these attitudes and signals of shared knowledge are used as tools to establish an intimate bond between him/her and the audience. The bond is established mainly in the process of interaction, i.e. it is placed within the interactional domain. For these reasons, I opt for the term interactional functions of discourse markers. Besides, the term ‘interactional functions’ of discourse markers already exists in the literature and sometimes overlaps in meaning with ‘interpersonal’. For instance, Furkó (2017, p. 4, 7) makes use of interactional descriptions of pragmatic markers in political discourse. Also, interactional uses of discourse markers are described in Pons Bordería (2006), Fiorentini (2017, pp. 418–419), Crible & Zufferey (2015, p. 15).

Inspired by Schiffrin’s (1987, p. 41) idea of discourse markers as “contextual *coordinates* for ongoing talk”, I propose to view the functions of discourse markers in stand-up comedy within the duo-domain coordinates (see Figure 13). The textual domain is presented as a horizontal axis (X), as it indicates horizontal functioning of markers within the textual canvas (e.g. signaling relations with prior or upcoming utterances; cohesive, connective and formulative functions). The interactional domain is represented as a vertical axis (Y) that stretches all the way through discourse towards interaction with the addressee.

Figure 13. A duo-domain functioning of discourse markers in stand-up comedy.



I have selected a range of English discourse markers for the analysis of stand-up performances, including *well*, *you know*, *I mean* and their Portuguese functional equivalents *bom (bem)*, *sabe(s)*, *quer(o) dizer*. This choice is far from being random. In fact, the nature of stand-up comedy performances is the main motivation for this choice. As it was previously stated, its seemingly spontaneous and conversational manner is a distinctive feature of stand-up, which has been described by many authors (Brodie, 2014, p. 5, 2008: 153; Rutter, 1997, p. 249; Double, 2014, p. 339; Greenbaum, 1999, p. 35). As a result of its resemblance to a face-to-face interaction, stand-up integrates a large number of ‘conversational’ discourse markers (*well*, *you know*, *I mean*) due to their conversational nature and predominant operation in oral discourse (in English, *well*, *you know*, *I mean* as referred to in Schourup, 1998, p. 227).

This paper is thus concerned with identifying and determining the functions of a variety of conversational discourse markers in American English and European Portuguese. Besides, its analysis is restricted to a particular genre, and that is stand-up comedy.

The main research questions of this thesis are outlined below:

- Which textual and interactional functions do the selected discourse markers perform in American and Portuguese stand-up comedy?
- What is the frequency of the discourse markers in both contexts?
- What is their position in macro-textual organization of the genre (i.e. the textual parameter that corresponds to the text plan)?
- How does the frequency (or the functions, the distribution) of the selected discourse markers compare in American and Portuguese stand-up comedy?

The next chapter will introduce the corpus for this study, establish its main criteria and transcription conventions, and present the methodology adopted for textual analysis.

V Corpus and methodology

V. 1. Corpus

Several criteria needed to be established in order to constitute a corpus that would fit the described research goals. These criteria include:

(i) time limits: the data was collected during six months in 2014–2015. At that time, I randomly recorded a number of TV programmes in two languages (English and Portuguese) and transcribed the data. The analyzed programs were filmed between 2014–2015, accordingly.

(ii) location limits: I randomly selected two popular comedy clubs that were geographically located in largest cities, i.e. Lisbon and New York.

(iii) format limits: the performances of both comedy clubs were available in both TV format (i.e. each of them aired on a local TV channel) and in social media (YouTube).

With these criteria in mind, I collected a series of authentic texts from the Portuguese stand-up show *Graças a Deus*⁶⁴ (*Thank God*) - the first stand-up club in Portugal to host performances in Lisbon and transmit them on local TV channel (*Canal Q*). In the United States, I chose *Gotham Comedy Club*, located in New York. It aired on *AXS TV*. For each of the selected languages, I composed 25 samples of transcribed texts for each language (totaling 50 samples), which correspond to performances of individual comedians. These samples slightly vary in size and duration due to the comedians' individual style and speech pace. Structurally, the samples are composed of a single comedian's set or bit, which includes opening, main body and closing. The bits are typically preceded and followed by short music intros. Table 16 provides a quantitative overview of the selected corpus.

⁶⁴ At present, the stand-up comedy club *Graças a Deus* is closed. The club functioned for a short period between 2014–2016 and produced one full TV season of stand-up shows. Nowadays, some of the comedians perform at *Teatro Villaret* in Lisbon.

Table 16. Quantitative characteristics of corpus selection.

Language	N° words	N° hours	N° samples/comedians
American English	44,938 words	3 hours 50 minutes	25
European Portuguese	41,651 words	3 hours 34 minutes	25
Total	86,589 words	7 hours 24 minutes	50

It is important to stress here that there are certain limitations of the collected corpora, namely, its Portuguese part. The programme *Graças a Deus*, on the one hand, represents a unique and original linguistic material, and it is the first study to investigate the genre based on the recorded and transcribed linguistic data. On the other hand, there are quantitative limitations of the corpus due to the fact that the programme existed for a short period of time. The samples that have been collected are the only examples of Portuguese stand-up comedy available for linguistic research so far, which biases textual analysis to a certain degree.

V. 2. Transcription conventions

Textual analysis of oral data presents a certain degree of difficulty due to its technical aspect, namely, the process of transcribing the data. As explained in Gibbon (1998, p. 146), it is only with the aid of symbolic representation of the speech that we are able to “navigate through the corpus”. Transcriptions, regardless of their usefulness, come under criticism for a number of reasons. Firstly, they are quite subjective. It is the transcriber who decides what and how is going to be transcribed (Ochs, 1999). Secondly, transcriptions are said to be inconsistent (Bucholtz, 2007). Their changeability can be explained by the fact that a number of aspects are needed to take into account when transcribing oral data. Finally, transcribing oral discourse is a time-consuming process. According to Edwards (2001, pp. 336–337), estimates for a basic word-level transcription with no or little extra information range between 10 to 11 minutes of transcribing for every 1 minute of speech. If a transcript contains various types of extra information (pauses, overlaps, prosody), it can take up to 20 minutes for every 1 minute of speech.

There are several existing transcription conventions, e.g. Discourse Transcription, Dubois (1991, 2004); C-ORAL-ROM Project and CHAT Transcription Format (MacWhinney, 2000). In my previous work (Morozova, 2018), I explained why these conventions are not helpful for the analysis of transcribed texts from stand-up comedy. Besides, based on previous theoretical contributions, I provide some key aspects necessary to take into account while developing a transcription system. I will provide a brief summary of some of these points here.

Based on previous research on transcription (Ochs, 1999; Bucholtz, 2000; Gibbon, 1998; Edwards, 2001), certain aspects are important to consider before designing new conventions. These aspects typically include the purpose of the transcription, the theory we adopt, the selectivity, the accuracy and readability of our transcription.

(i) the purpose of the transcription

According to Gibbon (1998, p. 146), the purpose determines the degree of detail that is required. For instance, a corpus that has been constituted to analyze the total time of overlapping speech between the interlocutors in an oral interaction/dialogue requires a very global transcription. On the other hand, if a corpus has been collected to analyze the regional dialects and differences in pronunciation, a detailed and precise prosodic transcription with various phonetic features is more appropriate.

(ii) the theory we work with

According to Ochs (1999, p. 167), transcription is a highly selective process, which mainly reflects theoretical goals and stances. Therefore, transcription is a symbolic representation of oral speech based on the researcher's particular theoretical orientation. In fact, the same piece of data can be transcribed and interpreted in different ways, depending on the theoretical assumptions adopted by the researcher.

(iii) selectivity

A more selective transcription is said to be a more useful one (Ochs, 1999, p. 167). A transcript should not have too much information, so that it is easy to read and to follow. Considering the previous two steps (the purpose of the transcription and the selected theory), the researcher himself chooses what type of information to keep, which descriptive categories to use and how to organize the information in the written and spatial medium of a transcript (Edwards, 2001, p. 321).

(iii) accuracy and readability

As for what type of symbols one should use, the choice is mainly dictated by the principles of readability, efficiency and compactness (Edwards, 2001, p. 326, 329). According to these principles, descriptive categories should be coded with as few symbols as possible and the meaning should be easily recoverable. It is also quite important to minimize non-essential and distracting elements.

As for the objectives of the present research, which the transcript has been designed for, the study gives a special attention to a set of English and Portuguese discourse markers (*well, you know, I mean, bem, quer dizer*, etc.) and analyses their frequency, distribution, textual and interpersonal functions, as well as their role in macro-structural organization of the genre stand-up comedy. The focus of the research is thus twofold: on the one hand, the study analyses micro-elements (discourse markers) and, on the other hand, it emphasizes their interrelationship within the macro-elements of text plan. Taking these objectives into consideration, a more general type of transcription is required.

The selected transcription is quite global with words and turn-taking. The preference is towards precision, simplicity, and easiness of reading. Besides, a number of content-based aspects are taken into consideration regarding the specificity of the genre stand-up comedy. For instance, certain aspects of stand-up, such as laughter and cheering are identified throughout the transcription. Non-verbal behavior is of great importance, for it provides visual support of the performance. As the data showed, gestures and voice change can serve as independent non-verbal punch lines. In other words, there are certain non-verbal “jokes” based on mimics or gestures, which immediately followed by bursts of the audience’s laughter. In these cases, non-verbal behavior is complementary. Comments are provided throughout the transcript to clarify these examples for the reader. To do so, a multi-linear format will be applied. It involves placing comments or annotations on separate lines beneath the data they clarify.

In order to design a transcription for stand-up interactions, I analyzed the glossary of transcript symbols in Conversational Analysis proposed by Jefferson (2004), Discourse Transcription, or DT (later developed into DT2) by presented John Dubois (1991, 2004), as well as the transcription norms used in C-ORAL-ROM Project (Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Roman Languages) presented in partial collaboration with CLUL,

Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa) and CHAT Transcription Format (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts) elaborated by MacWhinney (2000).

None of these transcriptions, however, proved to be useful for the current research due to a number of reasons. The classic transcription system developed by Gail Jefferson used in Conversational Analysis is a quite detailed model. It includes intonation, sound stretching and some other prosodic features, which are unnecessary in the analysis of stand-up comedy assumed in this paper. Discourse Transcription (or DT, later developed into DT2) by John Dubois (1991, 2004) is another example of a detailed transcription. It comprises four levels of analysis: Preliminary (words, word sequence, speaker change, turn sequence, intonation unit), Basic (sequences and comments framed by time pauses, extra linguistic information, e.g. laughs or uncertainty), Boundary (a more developed chart of symbols with their corresponding meanings) and Interaction (code-switching, groups or multiple speakers, non-interactive agents or recipients, etc.). Due to over-complexity of the 3rd and 4th levels, only a partial applicability of DT2 is possible.

Finally, MacWhinney's CHAT Transcription Format (2000) is another possible model for transcribing oral data, though with certain restrictions. MacWhinney's chart is originally a tool for analyzing children's speech, which provides "options for basic discourse transcription as well as detailed phonological and morphological analysis" (MacWhinney, 2000, p. 14). The interactions involve children and parents, doctors and patients, or teachers and second-language learners. A distinguishing feature of CHAT format is its computerized format and integrated computer software used to read the files. In practice, however, this transcription model appears to be too technical and over-detailed, which conflicts with the principles of brevity and simplicity discussed above.

In CHAT, each transcript has additional information on interactional context, including initial headers, such as @Begin, @Languages, @Participants, @Options, @ID, and @Media, and @End. Some of these headers prove to be handy for stand-up interactions, especially when partly applied (for instance, in Morais, 2010, p. 22).

Dependent tiers are another useful element. These are lines typed below the main line, which contain codes, comments, events, and descriptions of interest to the researcher (MacWhinney, 2000, p. 79). Dependent tiers should begin with the percentage symbol (%) followed by three lower-case letters. For instance, %act describes the actions of the

speaker or the listener, %com is a general purpose comment tier; “%fac” codes facial actions, etc.

The recordings from Portuguese and American stand-up performances have been grouped into samples, which correspond to comedians and their individual complete performances. Each of the transcribed samples begins with initial headers, which provide information on the language of the interaction @Language and indicate the beginning of the transcript @Begin. The final line of each sample ends with @End header.

Standard orthography is applied only in representing words (space before and after). The first word in a word sequence is capitalized (standard capitalized initial). Also, standard left-right reading is applied.

The structure of stand-up performances is organized into turns between the "interlocutors": the comedian, on the one hand, and the audience, on the other. A new line introduces every turn. The comedians and the audience are identified by the three initial capitalized letters, followed by a semicolon: COM:, AUD:. The presenter is fully identified either as *Presenter* or *Apresentador* and typically occurs either in the very beginning of the performance or during the show to present the comedians coming to the stage).

Unintelligible words are presented by [XXX], where “X” corresponds to each word. Interjections, i.e. words like uh, um, ah, mm, hmm, ha, huh are presented according to the rules of the standard orthography. [Beep], which is similar to the actual sound “beep”, represents profanity and obscene language (whether it is censored on the recordings or not).

In terms of prosody, the utterances are delimited by short (/) or long (//) pauses, appeal intonation or high rise (?) or exclamatory utterance (!). The pauses typically delimit intonation units. An intonation unit consists of about four to five words and expresses one new idea unit. Also, they often match grammatical clauses, as stated in Norrick (2009b, p. 889).

Some of these elements can be found in bold in the example below:

1. **@Language: English**
 @Begin
 Presenter: Let’s hear for Carina Livoti //
 [%com: the audience is applauding]

COM: Ahm / Before I tell any jokes / I would like to give a shout out to my grandma who is in the audience // **Ahm** // Nana / I'm sorry when I invited you / I didn't think you'd say yes //

AUD: hhh

Proper names, geographical denominations and official entities are capitalized. Incomplete words are presented as words followed by gap and hyphen (e.g. "word" becomes wor-). Repeated words are presented by a word between less-than sign & greater-than sign separated by gaps (<word> <word>).

As for discourse markers, these units are presented in bold type in the body of the text:

2. **COM:** I did get to go home a couple of times last year / it was really nice / I got to go home / we had a barbecue / cause family got together / which was lovely / we had a cousin in from out of town / who nobody / **well** I had never met before / His name's Richard but he goes by Dick /

Several dependent tiers have been adopted: action tier (%act:) to reflect actions of the speaker or listener; gesture tier (%ges:) to denote gestures of the speaker; paralinguistic tier (%par:) to introduce paralinguistic information; comment tier (%com) to provide general comments of the researcher. In addition, there are two types of laughter identified in the present transcription: "hhh", which stands for weak laughter, or "HHH", which denotes a burst of laughter. In both cases, each symbol corresponds to one pulse or particle of laughter.

3. **COM:** Childish behavior / people / All of my behavior is childish / like am I the only one at 31 that still balances the light switch halfway between off and on /
[%com: imitates switching the lights off and on] //
AUD: HHHH
COM: Just to see when the circuit breaks / right? //
AUD: HHH
COM: Sometimes I still close the refrigerator door slowly / and peak inside and see when the light goes off //
[%ges: closes the refrigerator door, then peaks inside]
AUD: hhhh

A complete list of adopted transcription conventions can be found in Annex 1.

V. 3. Method

To carry out quantitative and qualitative analyses, I used the method described in Müller (2005, p. 28), who analyzed discourse markers in native and non-native English speakers. The method applied was the same for all the selected discourse markers; and it consists of two types of analyses, which are further described.

- Qualitative analysis

In the course of the first stage, I extracted all script lines containing the selected range of discourse markers in two languages (e.g. *well*, *you know*, *I mean*, *okay*, *bom(bem)*, *quer(o) dizer*, *sabe(s)* and *okay*). Applying close reading and interpretation, I identified the functions of each of them. In this process, I relied on the functions identified by Brinton (1996), who follows a two-level (textual and interpersonal) discourse markers functional classification. Besides, contributions of other researchers (reviewed in the previous chapter) were taken into consideration. This research hybridizes both a corpus-based and a corpus-driven approach, as I first attested the textual and interpersonal functions identified by Brinton (1996) and other researchers, but also paid attention to the data to find new functional patterns emerging from the corpus. My categorization of textual functions is similar to Brinton's textual functions, but 'textually' the analysis goes beyond an utterance and stretches its dimension toward a text as a whole. In this respect, it is mainly built on the notions of text plan (Adam, 2008, 2017), i.e. the analysis of each discourse marker is placed into both local and global/macro- text level. In contrast to textual functions, I derived a list of interactional functions, which focus on interactional relationship between comedian and his/her audience. I repeatedly recoded the examples to find several frequently recurrent patterns with constant reference to the transcript and the context of markers' use. Based on these recurrent patterns, I set up a functional taxonomy for each discourse marker.

- Quantitative analysis

Once the taxonomy for each of the selected discourse markers was complete, I transformed the results into a quantitative data. Discourse markers' counterparts (e.g. *well* as a noun, adverb, adjective, etc.) were counted as a matter of statistical representation of their occurrence. These words, however, were not considered in the functional analysis.

VI Qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis

VI. 1. *Well*

VI. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

As a non-discourse marker, *well* is mostly used as an adverb of manner (Müller, 2005, p. 108). There have been four instances attested in the corpus, illustrated in examples (792, 834, 1251, 2445). The comedian makes use of *well* to ask the audience about their emotional state. It is commonly used in the beginning of a comedian's bit and can signal a conversation initiator, an icebreaker or a simple indicator of politeness typically used in conventional verbal interactions (792). *Well* as an adverb of manner also expresses how a comedian feels towards a particular event of his own life (834 and 2445), or it is used to comment on somebody's life event in the narrative (1251).

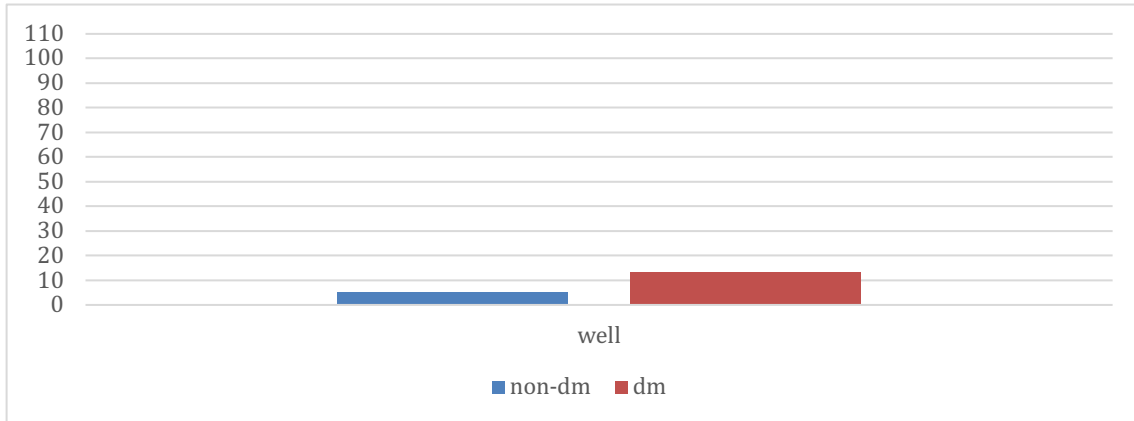
- (35) 792 COM: Hello everyone / How are you guys doing? / Hope you are all **well** / I'm gonna tell you the most important thing about me /
- (36) 834 COM: Some other weird things are happening / I'll be peeing / something I've been doing really **well** for the last 5 or 6 years /
- (37) 1251 COM: He's having a hard time / He needs God in his life / prayer and meditation / some kind of exercise routine / it's <it's> not going **well** for him /
- (38) 2445 COM: I need somebody cute to tell me what to do //
 AUD: hhh
 COM: Cause the shit I'm coming up with on my own / is not working out **well**

Besides, *well* is used in a fixed expression *as well*. It is usually paraphrased in dictionaries as "in addition to something" (Müller, 2005, p. 108). There was only one instance in my corpus, illustrated in example (3581).

- (39) 3581 COM: No / I'm kidding / <I'm kidding> / I / I am Jewish **as well** //

As for the distribution of discourse versus non-discourse of *well* in the American corpus, there have more cases of discourse-marking uses (see Figure 14).

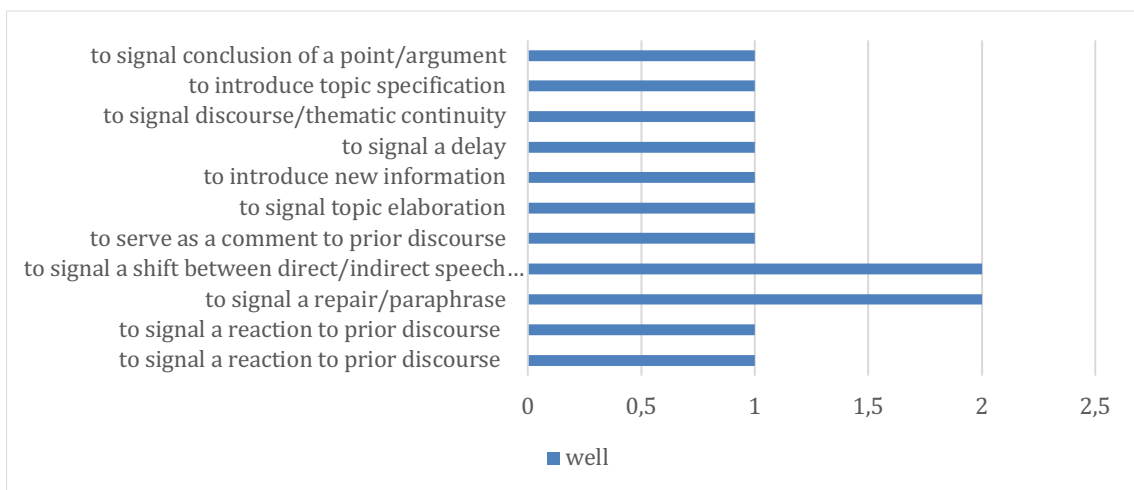
Figure 14. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *well*.



VI. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses

In total, thirteen discourse-marking uses (both textual and interpersonal) have been identified. Figure 15 summarizes the functional range of the English discourse marker *well*.

Figure 15. Textual and interactional functions of *well*.



VI. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions

In the textual domain, which corresponds to the horizontal axis (X) previously presented on Figure 13, discourse markers signal relationship established between these units and other segments of texts within the textual canvas. Based on the previously discussed theoretical contributions (Brinton, 1996; Erman, 2001; Valentim, 2008; Bolinger, 1989; Norrick, 2001), I identified nine functional uses of discourse marker *well* within the textual domain.

1) to signal a repair of comedian's own words. It is used when the discourse still in progress needs to be immediately corrected, repaired or reformulated. By doing so, the comedian ensures that the audience perceives the intended message correctly, for instance:

(40) 531 COM: I did get to go home a couple of times last year / it was really nice / I got to go home / we had a barbecue / cause family got together / which was lovely / we had a cousin in from out of town / who nobody / **well** I had never met before / His name's Richard but he goes by Dick /

(41) 1155 Presenter: Thus guy lives all over / spreading jokes / he's like the Johnny Appleseed of jokes / You know what I'm talking about? / He spreads them all over the country / This young man **well** Vegas too / This guy worked in Vegas/

2) to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech. This function of *well* is directly related to storytelling and assists in signaling a move from the comedian's narrative to a short dialogue or a dialogic interaction within the narrative story, as it happens in the two examples below (117 and 3225). But for the presence of the discourse marker *well*, the shift between direct/indirect speeches in these examples is implemented with the use of expressions "*I'm like...*" or "*He's like*". These are common English conversational expressions used in oral interactions to set an imaginary boundary between what the speaker is telling and his/her comment or reaction to it, or between the speaker's narration and other characters' opinions, organized (as if) into a dialogue or a short turn-taking within the principal narrative.

- (42) 117 COM: Cause my brother went up to my mom / and said we want to see
Predator / and she's like / "I don't care / get out" //
AUD: hhh
COM: He's like / "**Well** / we need you to buy us tickets" / she's like / "OK /
let's go" //
AUD: hhh
- (43) 3225 COM: "I got an idea / let's kill them all and let God sort out the good and bad
ones" //
[%com: the audience sighs in disapproval]
I'm like / "Sir, that's not nice / I'm Arab" / "Because you don't freaking look
it" // I'm like / "**Well** / that just makes it easier for me to achieve the goals of
my mission" //

3) as a comment on prior discourse. Although this extract bears some resemblance with the two previous ones, the use of *well* is quite different. The comedian has no intention to introduce a dialogue within a story she is narrating. The fragment starting with "*Well if you didn't get the first one you couldn't have got the second one*" looks like a remark or a comment to her prior discourse. Besides, it has the value of obviousness or a logic inference and resembles the use of the marker 'so': "*So, if you didn't get the first one you couldn't have got the second one*". In the excerpt, she is desperately trying to get in touch with her ex-boyfriend, hoping to be able to repair their relationship after a breakup. After she had tried a number of methods (a text, a Facebook message and yet another Facebook message), she came to realize that if her previous messages had stayed unread and unanswered, her subsequent ones would be read either. *Well* signals a comment to her prior discourse, as if she is talking to herself trying to logically deduce what has been happening.

- (44) 758 COM: Ah so I sent you a text just to see what's going on / see how you've
been / see if you wanna get together / you know no big deal / see if you got my
Facebook message / And I didn't hear back right away so I sent another text
saying are you getting my messages? / Then I was like / **Well** if you didn't get
the first one you couldn't have got the second one /

4) to signal topic elaboration. In the excerpt, the comedian is probably talking about certain kind of underwear popular among teenage girls, which can have a message

or a phrase on them. As she tells the audience about various kinds of those ‘messages’ (*“I’m pink!”*), she elaborates on the topic with the use of *well* (*“Well I’m juicy!”*). By doing so, she develops the topic and continues her discourse/storytelling.

(45) 918 COM: Yes you do! / <Yes you do> / you see them! / <You see them> every
 day at the malls and outside the schools /
 [%com: talking in a childish girlish way]
 “I’m pink!” //
 AUD: hh
 COM: “Oh yeah **well** I’m juicy!” / “Oh / and I’m cutie” / I don’t wanna read
 your ass //

5) to introduce new information. The next example is the presenter’s remark, in which he first greets the audience (*“Welcome back to Gotham Comedy live”*) and then, by means of *well*, he introduces new information about the next comic to perform (*“Well / we have a great comic coming up next”*). *Well* signals a shift toward reception of new information, as it can be seen below:

(46) 2060 Presenter: Welcome back to Gotham Comedy live //
 [%com: the audience is applauding]
 Well / we have a great comic coming up next / This is actually his television
 debut //

6) to signal a delay. In these cases, comedians try to buy some time and to sustain discourse. In the excerpt below (*“Maybe / well / maybe if you eat it”*), there is a pause after *“maybe”*, which is immediately followed by *well* and then the discourse continues. *Well* can also be called a filler, for it compensates for the lack of narration in that particular moment. It is difficult to say, however, whether a delay is spontaneous or intentional. A comedian may want to delay the upcoming discourse merely due to textual planification/organization of the next joke or narrative. Alternatively, he/she may do it intentionally, postponing the delivery of the punchline and thus intensifying the effect of the joke.

(47) 2405 COM: ...in California right now where we pretend that like marihuana is
 medicine / Ah / We wink at each other when we buy it / We pretend like it's
 healthy / Is it healthy? //
 [%com: the audience is applauding and cheering]
 It's a lot of energy for pot smokers but I'll take it / I just got up here / It might
 be healthy / Maybe / **well** / maybe if you eat it //

7) to signal discourse continuity/topic continuation. Taking into account the theoretical considerations regarding this function, it seems to take place, in most general terms, when there is no indication of other possible interpretation. In other words, it seems to be one of the most basic and neutral uses of *well* in the wide range of the identified functions. The excerpt below illustrates the use of *well*, which the comedian makes use of and immediately proceeds with the discourse:

(48) 2434 COM: Now I'm trying to get home drunk / there's more bars / there's more
 deals / Seen other bar / it's like Free Parakeet //
 AUD: hhhh
 COM: With purchase / of house whiskey //
 AUD: hhhh
 COM: **Well** I need a bird //
 AUD: hhh
 COM: They <they> know I need a bird /

8) to signal topic specification. In the excerpt below, the comedian hypothesizes about the possibility of her pregnancy (“*if I <if I> was pregnant*”). *Well* signals some additional specification on the topic (“*well and kept it*”), which causes the audience's laughter. One might suggest she had been pregnant before, but aborted her child. Alternatively, abortion might be a common thing to do, which is why in the narrative she adds a specification introduced by the discourse marker *well*.

(49) 2681 COM: I would <I would> never do this / cause I know / if I <if I> was
 pregnant / **well** and kept it / you know //
 AUD: hhhh
 COM: I / Let's be honest / <let's be honest> / <let's be honest> // Anyway / if
 I was pregnant /

9) to signal conclusion of a narrative story/performance. In the next excerpt, the comedian makes use of *well* to set a boundary between his last narrative (“*Only one lady*”) and the closing. The closing consists of appreciation (“*thank you very much guys*”) and a farewell (“*Enjoy the rest of the show!*”). The discourse marker *well* signals the end of the comedian’s act.

(50) 3288 COM: Only one lady // **Well** / thank you guys very much / I really enjoyed it /
and you guys are a great crowd / Enjoy the rest of the show! //

VI. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions

In the interactional domain, which corresponds to the vertical axis (Y) previously presented on Figure 13, discourse markers signal relationship established between these units and the addressee, i.e. this type of relationship goes beyond the textual canvas and occurs in the interactional speaker-listener mode. Besides, discourse markers express a series of emotions, attitudes and feelings of the comedians towards his discourse. I identified only two functional uses of discourse marker *well* within the interactional domain:

1) to signal a reaction to prior discourse. In the excerpt below, the comedian draws a parallel between the way the film “*Predator*” affected him when he was a child, and the expression “sexual predator” (similar to “sex offender”, i.e. someone who has committed a sex crime). *Well* signals a consequence, a result of phobia and expresses the comedian’s negative emotions regarding the issue. *Well* is also similar to “then, in this case”, compare: “*Well (then, in this case) I’m not leaving the house ever again*”). Therefore, it clearly introduces a consequence, which results from the previous discourse. Also, it signals a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech on the textual level.

(51) 134 COM: You should have seen my face the first time I heard the phrase / sexual
predator / I was /
AUD: HHHH
COM: I was like / **Well** / I’m not leaving the house ever again //
AUD: hhhhh

2) to attenuate negative appreciation. The comedian is talking about a new app, which has a series of physical weight loss exercises she wants to try doing. She goes on to describe one of the exercises but finds it rather “stupid”. The discourse marker *well* is used to soften her negative evaluation (“*well / this feels really stupid*”).

(52) 3381 I have seen people do that before / so you do that for a minute / and then like
the second exercise was a video of this woman like just punching the air
[%com: punches the air]
And I was like / okay / **well** / this feels really stupid /

Table 17. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the English discourse marker *well* in stand-up comedy.

	Function	Definition
Textual	to signal repair/paraphrase	It is used when a comedian immediately needs to correct, repair or reformulate ongoing discourse.
	to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech	It is used when a comedian intends to signal a move from his/her current narration to a short dialogue or a dialogic interaction within the main story.
	to signal a comment on prior discourse	It is used when a comedian comments on his/her own previously stated discourse.
	to signal topic elaboration	It is used when a comedian develops an ongoing topic in further detail.
	to signal conclusion	It is used when a comedian finishes his/her narrative story/performance.
	to signal topic continuation	It is used when a comedian continues talking about the same topic.
	to signal a delay	It is used when a comedian stalls for time, i.e. he/she intentionally causes a delay either to think over what to say next, or to prolong the effect of the previous joke/punchline.
	to introduce new information	It is used when a comedian presents new information to the audience.
	to introduce topic specification	It is used when a comedian provides some details on the narrated topic/subject.
	Interaction.	to express a reaction to prior discourse
to attenuate negative appreciation		It is used when a comedian tries to reduce the force of negative evaluation of something.

VI. 1. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

As the analysis of the discourse marker *well* at the macro-level of text organization demonstrated, it can operate in all structural “blocks” the text is organized into. Namely, it occurs in the opening part, the body of the stand-up act, and in the closing block. However, the predominant majority of the functions of *well* occur within the body (11 out of 13 occurrences).

The examples below (i.e. the opening and closing blocks) are analyzed in terms of their micro-textual organization. In 2060, the opening consists of a compere’s greeting, followed by the audience’s applause. *Well* provides a shift in the compere’s discourse and signals a new topic. Namely, it draws the audience’s attention to the fact that another comedian is about to show up onstage. Shortly afterwards, the compere introduces the comedian and leaves the stage, accompanied by the audience’s applause.

Table 18. *Well* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	(X) 2060
[compere’s greeting]	Presenter: Welcome back to Gotham Comedy live //
[audience applause]	[%com: the audience is applauding]
[well = shift/new topic]	Well /
[compere's introduction of the next comedian]	We have a great comic coming up next / This is actually his television debut //
[audience applause]	[%com: the audience is applauding and cheering]
[request for action]	Let’s welcome onto the stage Will Noonan //
[audience applause]	[%com: the audience is applauding and cheering]

In 3282, which corresponds to the closing part of the stand-up act, the comedian is about to finish his narration. After he introduces the punchline of his final joke (“...to introduce my lovely first lady / and my second lady / and my third //”), he ends the joke. *Well* is a signal of another upcoming shift, namely, it signals conclusion of the comedian’s act. Then, there is an appreciation phase and a comment on the audience, followed by a final exclamatory closing and the audience’s applause.

Table 19. *Well* and its position in the closing of a stand-up act.

CLOSING:	(X) 3282
[narration]	COM: I'm so happy to be president / every Friday half price on falafel / just like a promised / AUD: hhhh COM: And now it gives me great pleasure / to introduce my lovely first lady / and my second lady / and my third // AUD: hhhhhh [%com: the audience is applauding]
[well = shift/conclusion]	COM: Only one lady // Well /
[appreciation]	thank you guys very much / I really enjoyed it /
[comment on audience]	and you guys are a great crowd /
[exclamatory closing]	Enjoy the rest of the show! //
[audience applause]	[%com: the audience is applauding and cheering]

VI. 2. *You know*

VI. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

As a non-discourse marker, *you know* is used as a clause, which consists of a pronoun “*you*” and a verb “*know*”. The verb “*to know*” literally means to be aware of information or to have knowledge about something. In the excerpts below, it is used in general question (“*do you know*”), affirmative statements (“*you know what to do*”) and conditional question (“*would you know*”).

(53) 300 COM: Do **you know** / what that the motto / for the FedEx is // It got there //
AUD: HHHH

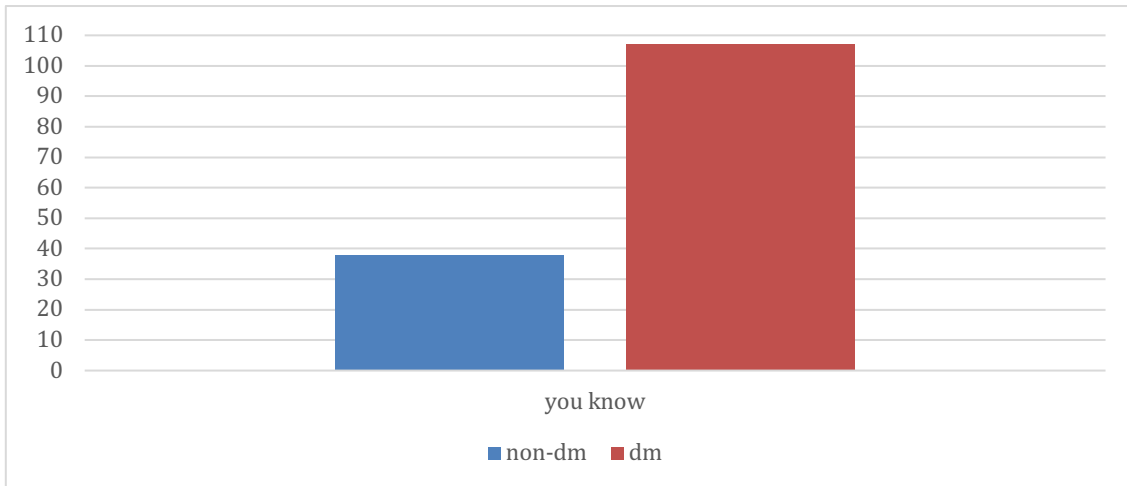
(54) 916 COM: Right **you know** what I'm talking about pervy don't you? //
AUD: hhh

(55) 1810 COM: Just another bear / like teasing the bear that lost / okay / **you know** what to do / assume the position //

(56) 2549 COM: Relationships are important / because without relationships how else would **you know** / that you're annoying / even when you're asleep / right //

The quantitative results of non-discourse versus discourse-marking distribution are summarized in Figure 16 below. As is the case of *well*, *you know* is predominantly used as a discourse marker (107 out of 145 occurrences).

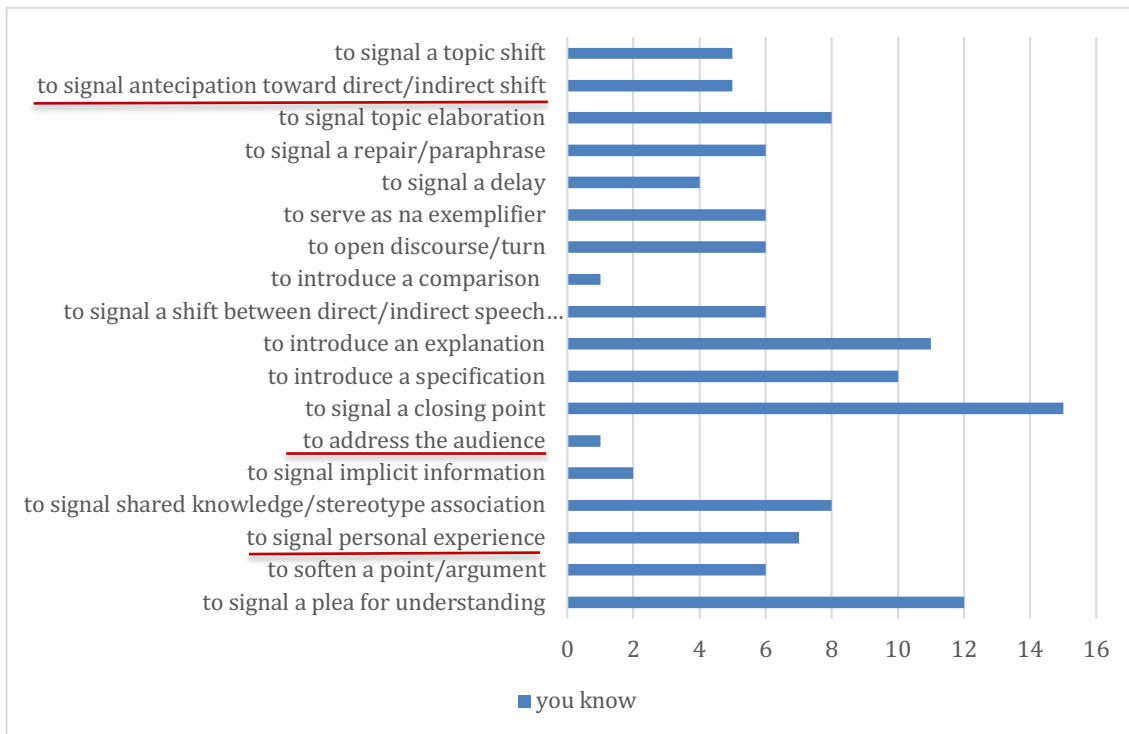
Figure 16. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *you know*.



VI. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses

In terms of functional range, *you know* is the most productive discourse marker. Its analysis resulted in identification of eighteen different textual and interpersonal functions (see Figure 17). Besides, the majority of the functions is rich in examples (< 1 occurrence).

Figure 17. Textual and interactional functions of *you know*.



VI. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions

Based on the theoretical contributions, which account for the functional uses of the discourse marker *you know* (Brinton, 1996; Östman, 1981; Schiffrin, 1987; Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002; Schourup, 2001), I identified twelve different textual functions. Most of these functions are literature-derived. However, some of them have been attributed to the discourse marker *you know* based exclusively on the analyzed genre. For instance, *you know* is used to anticipate a shift in speech mode (on the textual level) or to signal personal experience (on the interactional level, see further below). In fact, these functions are quite specific and directly relate to the nature of the genre stand-up comedy. In terms of structural organization, a stand-up comedy text is a constellation of short stories, often grouped together thematically. Within these mini-narratives, the comedian pictures the characters and sometimes presents dialogic interactions, typically between him/herself and these characters. Therefore, in the oral narrative discourse of stand-up comedy, there is a constant shift from the author's/comedian's words to the character's words. Discourse markers like *well* and *you know* precede these shifts in speech mode, so that the listeners/audience interpret it properly. In stand-up, discourse markers are important organizational tools, which signal transitions between narrative modes of speech and assist in appropriate understanding of the story and its characters.

The complete list of textual functions is discussed below:

1) to signal a closing point. It indicates the end of an ongoing point/argument. In terms of text structure, it typically occurs in the end of the comedian's turn. Also, it is the most frequent textual function of *you know*. In this respect, it can be seen as a recurrent textual instrument for organizing comedian's interaction. Namely, it cuts the discourse/storytelling into smaller chunks of information that are presented in a turn-taking system (367).

You know can also assist in closing a point/argument in the middle of the turn. In 1293, the comedian ends one narrative chunk and then comments on the audience (“*you guys are nice*”) before the actual end of the turn.

Besides, signaling a closing point often combines with an interactional function, i.e. a plea for understanding. In this case, it is not emotionally neutral. By adding *you know* in the end of a point/argument, a comedian wishes his/her message to be properly understood by the audience. It is akin to “*you know what I'm talking about...*” and “*you see my point*”. The comedian tries to appeal to the audience's inference and to see if they comprehend the message (3678).

(57) 367 COM: ...in the state of California / it costs about / sixty thousand dollars / a year / to keep a person in prison / it's a true statistic / I am a stand-up comedian in the state of California / OK so that means / if I went to prison / that would be a forty-five thousand dollar upgrade / on my lifestyle / **you know** //
[%com: the audience is applauding]

(58) 1293 COM: Seems like a pretty significant side effect that you might wanna get taken a look at / I don't know / Just check it out **you know** // you guys are nice /

(59) 3678 COM: My dad told me when you meet a girl / look at the mother / cause that's eventually what she's gonna look like / I say / look at the grandmother right / If she's a GILF / **you know** //
AUD: hhhh

2) to introduce a specification (2320), an explanation (1925 and 4062) or a comparison (2371). In 2320, *you know* brings some extra details about the comedian's

dad, namely, that he is a pensioner and enjoys watching TV. In 1925, the discourse marker introduces an explanation, namely, why she likes visiting her parents (“*because it brings so many memories*”). In 4062, the comedian is trying to explain what kind of movie he is talking about. And in 2371, *you know* introduces a comparison, which is used to explain the scene described in prior discourse.

- (60) 2320 COM: He said the next day all the brothers were doing that / I said / OK dad / I go / but why now? / **You know** my dad is retired and he lives in Florida and he watches a lot of TV / He said... /
- (61) 1925 COM: I’m going home tomorrow to visit my parents / I love going home / **you know** cause it brings back so many memories / like why I left //
AUD: hhhhh
- (62) 4062 COM: I had like that “Taken” moment / **you know** / like the movie “Taken” where / that whole thing / but like in the scenario I’m still me / I’m not Liam Neeson / So //
- (63) 2371 COM: And when you see that much sex like / it’s very mechanical / **you know** / It’s kind of like a cafeteria where people are eating / each other out //

3) to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech. It means that the upcoming dialogic turn, which is integrated into the main narrative story, begins with *you know* and antecedes direct speech.

- (64) 607 COM: I was sitting there and I’m like / **You know** what I need / is the word “luck” / tattooed on side of my body / so I always have luck on my side //
- (65) 1297 COM: And I kind of confided in her a little bit / I told her / **You know** I’m sad / and I’m lonely / and I don’t think I wanna be here anymore /

4) to anticipate a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech. In certain cases, *you know* occurs in the main narrative story. From the organizational point of view, it signals an upcoming shift/change in speech mode, thus preparing the audience for this transition.

- (66) 638 COM: I imagine myself raising a child and it is a harrowing picture / Ahm **you know** the little kid would be like / Mummy I'm so tired I need a nap /
- (67) 1271 COM: maybe every time he pulls somebody over that's what it's like **you know** / Hey / license and registration / you got any ink? You tied up anywhere?
- (68) 2231 COM: I think they just send that new guy / I don't know how they get that number / <I think they just send that new guy> like out like 200 yards / **You know** like / Hey Jimmy what's it feel like out there? //

5) to open discourse. It means that *you know* begins a new turn (often after a previous burst of laughter). It is important to add that the topic of the narration remains the same. In 194, the comedian is telling us about the origin of the word *namaste* (= a respectful form of greeting in Hindu custom and in yoga, in particular). First, he introduces the topic by criticizing girls who do yoga and post it on Instagram. Then, he criticizes them for saying “*namaste*” now and then without knowing what it refers to. Afterwards, he provides his own explanation. That is when his narrative acquires some descriptive elements. At the end, he pictures the situation to the audience: (“*You know / class is over / everybody's in that nap pose you get to do*”).

- (69) 194 COM: I think namaste happened the first time a black guy went to a yoga class right //
AUD: hhh
COM: **You know** / class is over / everybody's in that nap pose you get to do //
teacher came over and is like / Darrel you gotta go / I have another class coming in //
- (70) 240 COM: **You know** / I live in Los Angeles / I live in what I would call a questionable neighborhood /

6) to serve as an exemplifier. In the examples below, the comedian uses *you know* to illustrate his/her point with an example. In 632, “*when are you gonna have a baby?*” is one of the “*creepy personal questions*” she is constantly asked.

- (71) 632 COM: ...my parents' friends think it is appropriate to ask me really creepy personal questions / Ahm / **you know** / like / when are you gonna have a baby? /
- (72) 2722 COM: I'd be like / Oh let's incorporate / romantic foods in the bedroom / **you know** / like sexy foods / like hash browns and bacon / right //

7) to serve as a delay. It is used when a comedian uses *you know* to stall for time, i.e. he/she intentionally causes a delay either to think over what to say next (1470), or to prolong the effect of the previous joke/punchline (2294).

- (73) 1470 COM: So you know ladies / I'm thinking / **You know** / maybe I snagged my nipples on the fence? //
- (74) 2294 COM: We're gonna have catered food there //
 AUD: hh
 COM And **you know** //
 AUD: hhhhh
 COM: My dad said to me / he was like / Heather / you're gonna get yourself fired! / And I was like / oh that might be really nice //

8) to repair/paraphrase discourse. The discourse marker *you know* can be used when a comedian immediately needs to repair (976) or reformulate ongoing discourse (3969).

- (75) 976 COM: I tell the girls / **you know** I perform at a lot of colleges / and they say / [%com: talking in a childish girlish way] / "Tell us about being in the world lady" //
- (76) 3969 COM: I'll tell you guys a little bit about myself / I'm a dad / Even though I have the body of a mom / but //
 AUD: HHHHHH
 COM: I'll accept that / Thank you / It's true guys / But like / **you know** / like a healthy mom in a good long-term lesbian relationship //

9) to signal topic elaboration. In 597, the comedian is talking about the motivational messages inside Dove candy wrappers, which she finds annoying. In 2274, the comedian is trying to figure out her boss's graduate year by recalling different American Presidents. In both cases, *you know* marks topic continuation/elaboration.

(77) 597 COM: Ahm / So I really like Dove chocolate but I'm not fond of the life / sort of advice you get inside of the packets / Ahm / **you know** it always says shit like / "Love yourself today" /

(78) 2274 COM: So / he can't remember the year he graduated so now I try to help him / and I say / You know who was the President at that time? / **you know** / Was it Eisenhower? //
AUD: hhh

10) to signal topic shift. In the examples below, comedians use *you know* as a textual tool to switch between the topics. In 632, the comedian speculates about her life, kids and becoming a mother one day. In the second turn ("*Ahm / You know / kids are always learning new things /*"), she makes a smooth transition to a new topic, namely, things she has recently learnt. In 937, there is transition between two topics. First, the comedian is talking about a T-shirts line she intends to launch. Secondly, by using *you know* to switches to Kim Kardashian and maternity issues. In both cases, the functions of *you know* can also be interpreted as an alert or an attention-getter. It means that the comedian draws attention of the audience to a possible change of topic. Besides, *you know* allows for a smoother shift/transition (if compared with omission of the discourse marker).

(79) 632 COM: The kid would be like I was at Michael's party last night and I drank all this juice and now my head hurts and everything is... / Hey! / You had fun didn't you? / And fun has a price / Now hop to it / Waldo is not gonna find himself / kiddo /
AUD: hh
COM: Ahm / **You know** / kids are always learning new things / Ahm / and I am still learning new things /

(80) 937 COM: Because we can // I also have my own T-shirt line / that's called "Too small to sag" //

AUD: hhhh

COM: Coming to a store near you / **You know** people earlier tonight there were making fun of Kim Kardashian and I kind of feel funny doing that /

VI. 2. 2. 2. Interactional functions

On the interactional level, *you know* can perform six different functions, which are presented in detail below:

1) to signal comedian's personal experience, e.g. general background information, childhood memories, partners and relationships, tough times and even personal traumas. As previously stated, stand-up comedy is a largely autobiographical genre, and it promotes the use of material based on comedians' own experiences. Sharing personal daily experiences is a successful technique of joke telling, since we recognize ourselves in these activities and basically laugh at ourselves, according to a relief theory. Or, alternatively, we laugh at the comedian, as it is argued in the superiority theory of humor. In either way, comedian's remarks of an intimate nature anteceded with the discourse marker *you know* suggest that he/she tries to establish a connection with the audience, a bond or a personal union. *You know* is a plea to establishing this bond between the comedian and the audience.

(81) 2002 COM: My dad's in a wheelchair / he's OK / I just thought you guys were getting too excited //
AUD: hhhhhh
COM: Right? / Guys are a little too happy tonight / I thought I'd bring it down / No it's OK / He's been in a wheelchair my whole life / which has always been a little bit hard / **you know** /

2) to evoke shared knowledge/stereotype association. As described above, the idea of a bond is characteristic of stand-up interactions and it is, besides making the audience laugh, one of the main objectives of the genre. In this respect, *you know* is used in its basic role, i.e. to signal shared knowledge (Schiffrin 1987), which effectively contributes to setting up some common ground between the comedian and the audience. I deliberately add signaling stereotype association to the same function, as there have

been found two manifestations in the corpus. Besides, stereotypes form part of assumed knowledge within a society/community or group of people.

(82) 1226 COM: Nice / Nice town you have here / It's real quaint / Every <every>
woman eventually gets masturbated at / if they live here long enough / That's
just part of New York City baby / **you know** //
AUD: hhh

(83) 1520 COM: And I'm doing like most people do when they get their very first job
working at Macdonald's in the hood / I'm stealing a hundred dollars a day out
of the register //
AUD: hhhhh
[%com: the audience is applauding]
COM: [%com: laughing] **You know** they don't pay shit //

3) to signal a plea for understanding. It is used when a comedian wants to make sure the audience properly perceives the message and understands his/her point of view/argument. This functional use of *you know* as a discourse marker is very similar to the literal meaning of the verb “to know”, e.g. “*you know what I mean*” or “*you know what I'm talking about*”. As previously attested in the corpus, a plea for understanding typically combines with closing a point (on the textual level). In these cases, a comedian formulates his point/argument or takes a particular position and the turn finishes with *you know* to indicate both the end of the point/turn and an appeal for understanding the point.

(84) 107 COM: < I > had two brothers / we were crazy / my mom let us do whatever we
wanted for Halloween / just as long as we got the fuck out of the house / **you
know** //
AUD: hhh

(85) 306 COM: I'm just kidding guys / Colonization did not have a motto / It's just
subjugating other people / that shit sells itself / **you know** //

(86) 1358 COM: Hi / How the hell you all doing? / I'll start by saying / Ladies I've been
trying to lose weight / but I'm in that first stage / **you know** / <you know>
when you are just thinking about it //
AUD: hhhhhhhh

4) to soften an argument/a point of view. The discourse marker *you know* makes the statement sound less categorical. It helps to mitigate criticism (e.g. of social issues) or negative evaluation (e.g. of personal experiences, etc.).

(87) 754 COM: Hey Mike / um / Just sent you a message on Facebook / Just to see how it's going / see what you're doing / see how you've been / see if you wanna get together / **You know**, no big deal, get back to me when you can /

(88) 3626 COM: There are some hot girls there / My ex-girlfriend was gaining a lot of weight / **you know** / But you can't tell her your girl she's gaining weight / **you know** /

5) to signal implicit information. It means that the comedian, for some reasons, does not wish to express a point/argument explicitly. He/she leaves the message codified, and *you know* is a signal for the audience that the information is suggested and not directly expressed. The audience is left to decode and interpret the message.

(89) 2681 COM: I would <I would> never do this / cause I know / if I <if I> was pregnant / well and kept it / **you know** //
AUD: hhhh
COM: I / Let's be honest / <let's be honest> /

6) to address the audience. It is used to directly address a certain group of spectators (e.g. only ladies, see example below).

(90) 1469 COM: I had a look down / my whole right side is full of blood // So **you know** ladies / I'm thinking / You know / maybe I snagged my nipples on the fence? //
AUD: hhhh

Table 20 summaries all the identified functions of *you know*, providing a definition for each of them.

Table 20. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *you know* in stand-up comedy.

	Function	Definition
Textual	to signal repair/paraphrase	It is used when a comedian immediately needs to correct, repair or reformulate ongoing discourse.
	to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech	It is used when a comedian intends to signal a move from his/her current narration to a short dialogue or a dialogic interaction within the main story.
	to signal topic elaboration	It is used when to develop an ongoing topic in further detail.
	to signal closing a point	It is used in the end of comedian's turn to indicate that his/her joke/point ends; it is typically followed by a burst of audience laughter.
	to introduce topic specification	It is used to provide more details on the narrated topic/subject.
	to introduce a comparison	It is used to explain the meaning of prior discourse by means of a comparison.
	to introduce an explanation	It is used to provide an explanation of the previous point/argument.
	to signal opening discourse/a point	It is typically used when a comedian wants to open a new turn.
	to serve as an exemplifier	It is used when a comedian provides an illustration to his/her prior discourse to clarify the meaning of the intended message.
	to signal a delay	It is used when a comedian stalls for time, i.e. he/she intentionally causes a delay either to think over what to say next, or to prolong the effect of the previous joke/punchline.
	to signal anticipation towards a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech	It is used to signal that a shift from narration to direct mode of speech/dialogue is about to occur.
	to signal a topic shift	It is used when a comedian changes between the topics/subjects within the main narrative story.
	Interactional	to signal a plea for understanding
to soften the point/argument		It is used when a comedian intends to mitigate the meaning of his/her point or argument.
to signal personal experience		It is used when some comedian shares facts from his/her personal life with the audience; it is meant to establish a bond or a sense of an intimate union with the audience.

to evoke shared knowledge/stereotype association	It is used to evoke shared background knowledge, something known to everyone; also, it evokes common stereotypes.
to address the audience	It is used to directly address a certain group of spectators (e.g. only ladies)
to signal implicit information	It is used to talk about things the comedian does not want to express explicitly (issues of private character or censured subjects), so he/she leaves them implicit for the audience to decode the message.

VI. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

At the macro-level, *you know* mostly operates in the comedian's act, which correspond to the "body" of the text. There have been no occurrences of *you know* as a discourse marker in the opening part or in the closing block of the act. It can therefore be said that *you know* is a discourse marker of the internal structural organization of comedian's act itself, i.e. it is used to organize his/her discourse textually, and it is used to express a series of interactional uses. In other words, the discourse marker *you know* does not seem to contribute to the global/macro- level of text organization (e.g. to provide shifts between parts within the section, as is the case of *well*). This idea is simply represented in Table 21 below:

Table 21. *You know* and its position in macro-organization of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	
BODY:	textual <i>you know</i> ⇒ interactional
CLOSING:	

VI. 3. *I mean*

VI. 3. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

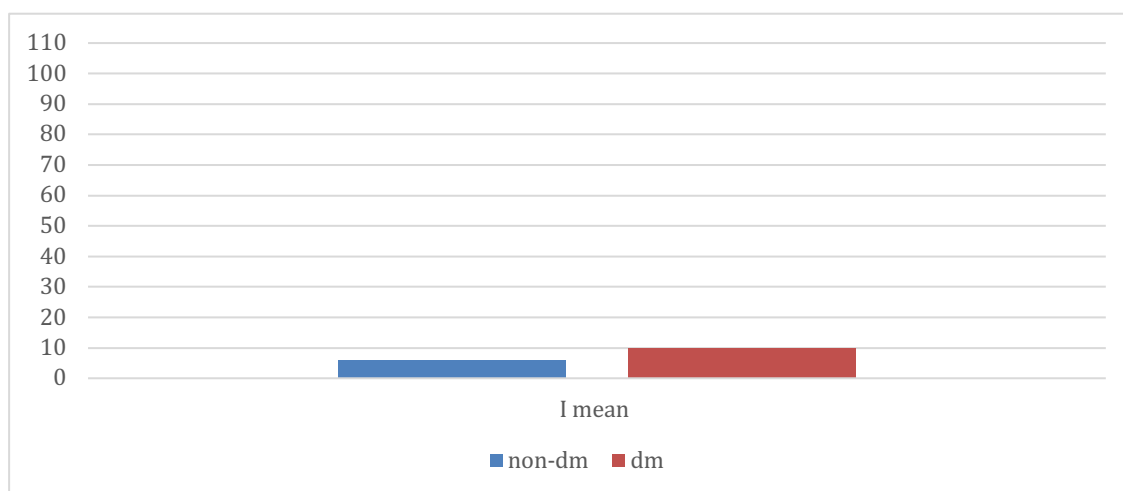
As a non-discourse marker, *I mean* is a clause used in its literal meaning, i.e. "to explain or correct a statement". It is constituted of the 1st person pronoun "*I*" and the verb "*to mean*". In the corpus, it is frequently used as part of a larger utterance "*you know what*

I mean” (2527 and 2744). In these examples, both *you know* and *I mean* are non-discourse markers, intended to clarify the meaning of the prior/upcoming discourse.

- (91) 2527 COM: And I’m so embarrassed about it / I have just been telling everyone I got a DUI / you know what **I mean** //
- (92) 2744 COM: Haha / I was like too much of a confident drunk / you know what **I mean** like / I was a drinker and driver too /

As it can be seen in Figure 18, the proportion between the discourse- and non-discourse marking uses is quite similar; however, there have been slightly more uses of *I mean* as a discourse marker.

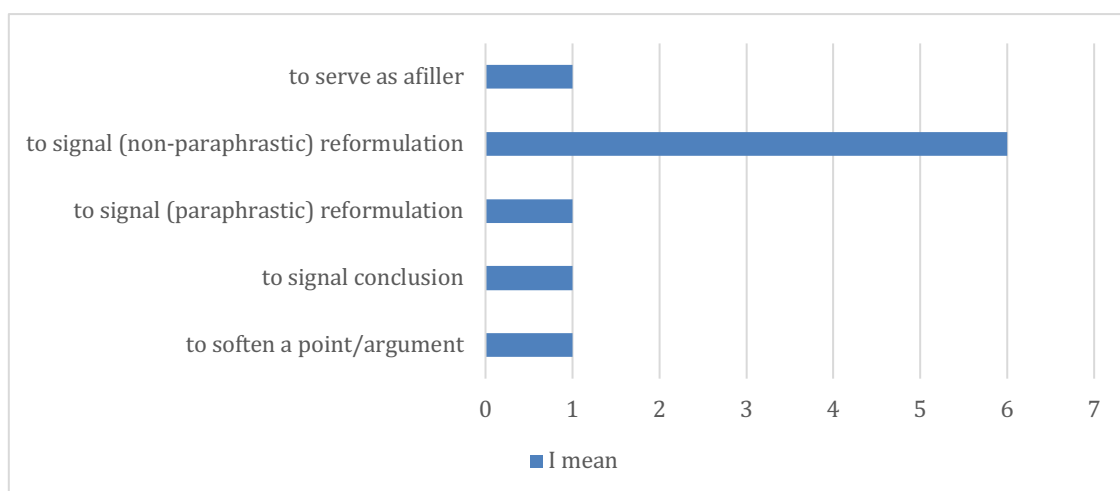
Figure 18. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *I mean*.



VI. 3. 2. Discourse-marking uses

The functional range of discourse-marking uses of *I mean* is quite limited, as compared with *well* and *you know*. Besides, its principal functions are reformulative and heavily rest on the literal meaning of the marker. Its functional distribution is presented in Figure 19.

Figure 19. Textual and interactional functions of *I mean*.



VI. 3. 2. 1. Textual functions

The majority of the textual function *I mean* performs are directly related to its literal meaning of explanation/clarification and reformulation. As previously stated, there are two concepts of reformulation, a paraphrastic (which signals equality) and a non-paraphrastic one (which signals distance and assumption of a different position). In the corpus, both types of reformulation have been observed. Most of the cases, however, are non-paraphrastic and signal a change in perspective or a repositioning toward previous discourse. Reformulative and other identified functions are presented below.

1) to signal (paraphrastic) reformulation. The only example of a paraphrastic reformulation occurs when the presenter cheers and praises the comedians (“*These comedians are great*”). *I mean* does not signal a change in his perspective; on the contrary, it is used to intensify the idea expressed in the previous statement (“*I mean / really funny people*”).

(93) 1741 Presenter: Hey! / These comedians are great! / **I mean** / really funny people //
I’m very happy to be the host /

2) to signal (non-paraphrastic) reformulation, which commonly takes place when the comedian makes an initial statement, which he/she fully modifies in a humorous way later on. In the excerpt below, the comedian is speculating about the term “nigger” and

the negative evaluation it carries. As an example, he is picturing a scene from his private life, in which he refers to his grandmother as a “nigger”. *I mean* is used to immediately reformulate the ongoing discourse with a change in perspective. Besides, the humorous effect is created due to a sharp clash/contradiction of the expressed points.

(94) 1882 COM: I’m like “Hey nigger! / Pass me that fork!” / my grandma was like /
 “what the fuck you just called me?” //
 AUD: HHHH
 [%com: the audience is applauding]
 COM: I was like / “I’m so sorry my nigger” / “**I mean** grandma” //
 AUD: HHH

3) to signal conclusion. In the excerpt below, the comedian is taking about maternity and pregnancy. She is manifesting surprise, for her body biologically is capable of “putting together a human life” while watching a popular American TV reality show. *I mean* signals a conclusion of the previous argument (“*I mean that is a miracle*”).

(95) 340 COM: But you’re telling me that my body / can figure out / how to put
 together a human life / while I’m watching / Duck Dynasty //
 AUD: hhhhh
 [%com: the audience is applauding]
 COM: **I mean** that is a miracle //
 AUD: hhhh

4) to serve as a filler. In these cases, discourse merely “fills in” the pauses/gaps and contributes to a smoother flow of speech without any interruptions. It typically occurs in the middle of an utterance, as in 3977.

(96) 3977 COM: But like I did / I started having kids at a very young age / I was 18 years
 old / right out of high school / when I had my first kid / and **I mean** like I just
 graduated but like public school / so I can like barely read good / so //
 AUD: hhhhh

VI. 3. 2. 2. Interactional functions

1) to soften discourse. In the excerpt below, the comedian is trying to reduce the negative appreciation of the upcoming discourse, which is concerned with ending the relationship (“*that’s when you know / it’s over //*”).

(97) 2536 COM: You <you> don’t even know it / As soon as you hear the words ‘my boyfriend’ / **I mean** / that’s when you know / it’s over //
 AUD: hhh

Textual and interactional functions of the marker *I mean* are summarized and defined in Table 22.

Table 22. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the English discourse marker *I mean* in stand-up comedy.

	Function	Definition
Textual	to signal (non-paraphrastic) reformulation	It is used when a comedian reformulates his/her own discourse to make it clearer for the audience, or to explain something; the comedian assumes a new perspective, distant from his initial position/argument.
	to signal (paraphrastic) reformulation	It is used when a comedian reformulates his/her own discourse to make it clearer for the audience, or to explain something; the comedian holds the same position in the reformulated utterance (as in the initial one).
	to signal conclusion	It is used when a comedian finishes his/her narrative story/performance.
	to serve as a filler	It is used when a comedian intends to about “breaks” in discourse continuity and “fill in” the pauses/gaps with a discourse marker.
Interact.	to soften discourse	It is used when a comedian intends to mitigate the meaning of his/her point or argument.

VI. 3. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

At the macro-textual level, *I mean* is quite similar to the functioning of the marker *you know*. Both markers operate exclusively within the comedian's act, performing a range of function with textual and interactional properties. Therefore, their functioning occurs at the micro-level of text organization of a stand-up act and contributes to structuration of discourse within the "body" of an act (see Table 23).

Table 23. *I mean* and its position in macro-organization of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	
BODY:	textual <i>I mean</i> ⇒ interactional
CLOSING:	

VI. 4. *Bem and bom*

VI. 4. 1. *Bem*

VI. 4. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

Contrary to its counterpart in English, the majority of uses of *bem* are non-discourse marking uses. In total, there have been 75 occurrences of *bem* as a non-discourse marker (see Figure 20). I chose to present twelve cases of *bem*, which clearly illustrate some general tendencies of uses of this marker observed in the corpora. These uses include:

1) *bem* as part of the expression "*bem-vindo(s)*" or "*welcome*", which occurs in the opening part of the performance. Used both by the presenter and the comedians, it is used to greet and cheer up the audience:

(98) 7 Apresentador: **Bem**-vintos ao Graças a Deus / O programa de stand-up comedy do canal Q em parceria com o Lisboa Comedy Club /

(99) 1387 COM: **Bem**-vindos ao programa graças a mim / finalmente //

2) *bem* as an adverb of manner, as in the examples below:

(100) 676 COM: Se vocês virem **bem** o meu sotaque já está cá / não é preciso muito //

(101) 810 COM: Foi graças ao Canal 18 que aprendemos a falar espanhol / Porque há coisas que só soam **bem** em espanhol /

(102) 1399 Isso vai-vos fazer **bem** / até a ti / ah //

3) as part of the expression “*tudo bem*” (“*it’s okay*”, “*it’s all right*”), frequently used not only in the narratives, but also as common conversational models with interactive functions:

(103) 1281 Tudo **bem** / O meu cão não / O meu cão / que é o cão / devia ser o líder / o macho alfa da casa /

(104) 1583 COM: Estão a ver? / E respondeu-me / Está tudo **bem** meu pandinha / E eu / Fogo / Pandinha? /

4) as an adjective modifier, which intensifies the meaning of the adjective (= “*very*”):

(105) 3167 Só vi quatro vezes / não consigo / e finalmente na imagem um vídeo sem maricagem / com uma moça **bem** gostosa que se despindo se desfila /

5) as part of the expression “*está bem*”, which is akin to the English equivalent of “*okay*”. Similar to “*tudo bem*” (“*it’s okay*”, “*it’s all right*”), it performs mainly a conversational function of establishing some common ground between the speaker and the audience. It can also be used in its basic function of confirmation:

(106) 1379 Mas essa merda não conta está **bem**? / Tenta só participar quando eu der ordem <der ordem> /

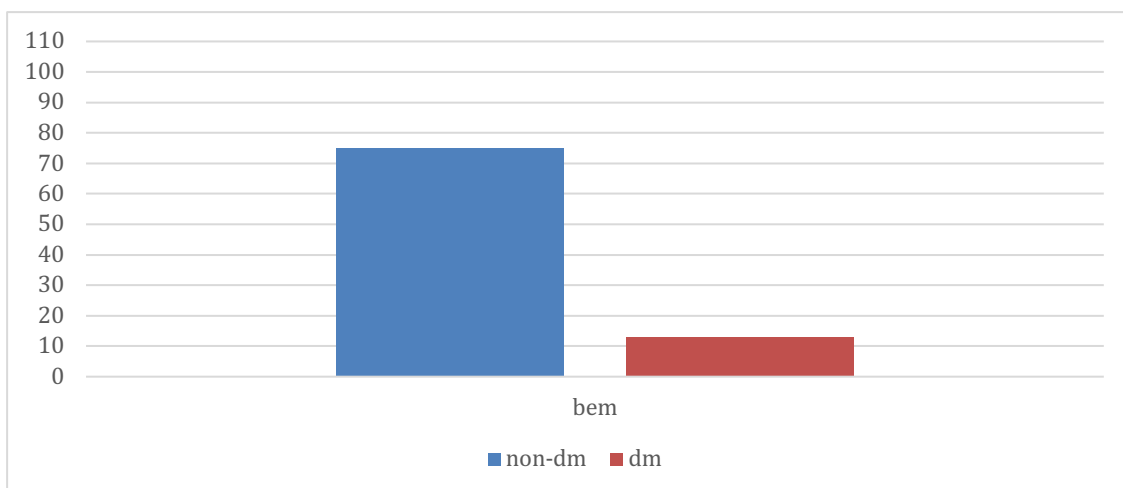
(107) 1730 Eu tenho cavalos / Tenho imensas quintas e não estou para ouvir os seus problemas está **bem**? /

6) as part of other common fixed combinations of discourse markers, such as “*ainda bem*” as an expression of gratitude of relief. The literal translation “*still-well*” makes no sense, however. In English, it is similar to expressions “*Thank God*”, “*Thank Heaven*”. Also, as part of “*ora bem*”, which is similar to “*okay*” or “*all right*” in English.

(108) 236 Boa noite / é um prazer enorme / estar aqui / nesta primeira noite do Graças a Deus / Que nome / Foste tu que escolheste Guilherme / não? // Ainda **bem** /

(109) 523 COM: Ora **bem** / Ninguém aqui me conhece / tenho a certeza absoluta não é /

Figure 20. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *bem*.



VI. 4. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses

VI. 4. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions

Within the textual domain, I identified seven function of the discourse marker *bem*:

1) to signal conclusion. In the excerpt below (80), the presenter invites one of the spectators to come up to the stage to show an image of a cat he had printed before. The image is blurred on TV screen (most likely it is censored due to obscenity), so it is difficult to fully interpret the scene. In the end of this short interaction between the presenter and

one of the spectators on the stage, he thanks her for collaboration and asks her to go back to her seat. *Bem* is used as a maker of transition between the main act and an appreciation phase (“*obrigado / podes*”), signaling conclusion of the act.

(110) 80 Apresentador: Para trazer para vocês todos verem / Estás a gostar de segurar um gatinho / Adoro gatinhos / E **bem** / obrigado / Podes /

2) to signal topic shift. In 605, the comedian interacts with the audience and poses a question what a person could do for a million euros. He suggests a couple of options, some of which are quite obscene. The excerpt below illustrates the passage from one topic (e.g. the topic of the one million euro question, “*É mesmo isto que vou fazer para um milhão de euros*”) to a new topic, namely, his childhood and the days he spent in the primary schools (“*Eu tenho muitas saudades do tempo em que andava na escola primária sabem*”). *Bem* is used as a topic shifting device, as it established a smoother transition between the topics. Examples 1390 and 3018 illustrate identical functions of *bem* as a signal of topic change. In 1021, *bem* marks a topic change with a conclusive value (“*Bem / então para acabar*”). The comedian moves toward the end of his narration and explicitly warns his audience about its coming end. After he presents his last comment on Sporting, he bids farewell to the audience. Therefore, *bem* marks both a change from a penultimate to an ultimate topic and a conclusion.

(111) 605 COM: É mesmo isto que vou fazer para um milhão de euros // **Bem** / Eu tenho muitas saudades do tempo em que andava na escola primária sabem /

(112) 1390 COM: **Bem** eu sou o humorista / o humorista //
[%com: o publico está a aplaudir]
Já perceberam / Já perceberam que os outros são comediantes / Ah / eu sou o humorista portanto basicamente / eu já faço poucas vezes este tipo de espetáculos /

(113) 3018 COM: Só que não há mais nenhum no Algarve / basicamente / **Bem** eu gosto <eu> para mim os microfones é como as [beep] / gosto deles circuncisadas / com licença //

(114) 1021 COM: Só para trocar as vezes / **Bem** / então para acabar / Ah / Grande Sporting / Estamos na final da Taça ah //

3) to signal a self-response. In the excerpt (1121), *bem* functions as a self-response to the comedian's prior discourse (“*esqueci-me completamente / e pensei*”). Besides, it has a contemplation value (“*bem / mais vale tarde do que nunca*”).

(115) 1121 COM: Eu trabalho muito perto com uma instituição com pessoas com doenças mentais / Ah / É pá / Vou lá fazer espetáculos / passo tempo com as pessoas / já estraguei tudo porque fui ao aniversário da instituição / e / é pá / e esqueci-me / esqueci-me completamente / e pensei / **bem** / mais vale tarde do que nunca / e então cheguei lá passados dois dias e disse / Parabéns atrasados //

4) to signal discourse continuity. In 1243, the comedian is telling a story about two dogs, one of which is named Amália and the other one Rodrigues (similar to a famous fado signer Amália Rodrigues). Once the punchline is delivered (“*Amália! / Rodrigues! / Finge de morto! /*”), the audience laughs at the joke. It is then followed by the comedian's post-punchline comment, which he uses to prolong the effect of the previous joke. *Bem* is a filler, which provides for discourse continuity (“*Bem / é verdade / é verdade*”). Excerpt 2258 is an identical case in which *bem* functions as “glue” that interlinks pieces of discourse into a continuous flow of speech.

(116) 1243 COM: Amália! / Rodrigues! / Aqui! / Amália! / Rodrigues! / Finge de morto! / É tão bom //
AUD: hhh
COM: **Bem** / é verdade / é verdade /

(117) 2258 COM: Há maltas com problema //
AUD: hhh
COM: **Bem** eu não sei se já toparam com esta conversa toda que eu estou a ter aqui mas eu não tenho muita sorte com as gajas / AH / Ya /

5) to signal topic initiation. All the three excerpts that illustrate the use of this function belong to one comedian. In 1387, after he has been introduced, the comedian plays with the name of the show and starts his narrative by saying: “*Bem / Bem-vindos ao programa graças a mim / finalmente /*”. Throughout his performance, he teaches the audience about some strategies of joke telling, providing some examples. In 1426, the

comedian argues that a good joke is the one that is based on some touchy subject and gives the example of the earthquake in Nepal. As he presents tries to teach the audience how to produce humor, he says: “*Vocês se quiserem dizer uma coisa do gênero*”. He then uses *bem* to initiate discourse and to tell an example of a joke on this subject, as if it occurs in a conversation: “*Bem aquilo no Nepal é que foi cá uma aula de Zumba*”. In 1440, the comedian teaches another example of a joke. Structurally, the discourse is very similar to the previous example, and *bem* marks discourse initiation of the joke.

- (118) 1387 COM: Vê lá se te acalmas [beep] / **Bem** / Bem-vindos ao programa graças a mim / finalmente //
 AUD: HHHH
 [%com: o publico está a aplaudir]
- (119) 1426 COM: Portanto o salva tudo da comédia / Uma piada difícil / um tema fraturante / Por exemplo / um exemplo / Vocês se quiserem dizer uma coisa do gênero / **Bem** aquilo no Nepal é que foi cá uma aula de Zumba /
- (120) 1440 COM: Por exemplo / podem dizer assim uma piada deste gênero / **Bem** eu curto é miúdas da margem sul / Elas vem logo ter comigo e eu dou-lhes logo palmada /

6) to signal a shift between direct/indirect mode of speech. In the excerpt below, the comedian is describing a popular Japanese and Chinese all-you-can-eat buffet. In the middle of this narration, as he is not a sushi lover, he opens a direct speech by saying: “*bem ótimo quero uma lasanha*”. *Bem* signals a shift between the narrative/indirect mode to a direct speech, i.e. the comedian's direct comment on the subject:

- (121) 2434 COM: Há um sushi onde tu comes tipo tudo o que tu quiseres e as vezes todas que tu quiseres meu / estás mas é maluco / vens comigo ao sushi comes tudo o que tu quiseres / é pá / **bem** ótimo quero uma lasanha //

7) to signal repair of previous discourse. In 2893, the comedian immediately repairs his discourse by introducing a counter-argument to prior discourse (“*Bem / tirando aquele velho que está farto do Natal e quer ir-se embora*”):

(122) 2893 COM: Agora / eu não conheço ninguém assim à primeira vista que se queira mijar todo / **Bem** / tirando aquele velho que está farto do Natal e quer ir-se embora para casa mais cedo / Esse mijá-se todo só porque sim / Mas / tirando esse / ninguém quer fazer isso /

VI. 4. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions

No interactional functions of *bem* have been attested in the corpora under analysis. Its functional scope as a discourse marker is limited to the textual domain. Besides, its non-discourse marking uses are extremely frequent and significantly dominate over discourse-marking uses. The definitions of the textual functions are summarized in Table 24.

Table 24. Definitions of the textual functions of the Portuguese discourse marker *bem* in stand-up comedy.

Definition		
Textual	to signal repair/paraphrase	It is used when a comedian immediately needs to correct, repair or reformulate ongoing discourse.
	to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech	It is used when a comedian intends to signal a move from his/her current narration to a short dialogue or a dialogic interaction within the main story.
	to signal conclusion	It is used when a comedian finishes his/her narrative story/performance.
	to signal topic introduction	It is used when a comedian starts talking about a new topic/subject.
	to signal a topic shift	It is used when a comedian changes between the topics/subjects within the main narrative story.
	to signal a self-response	It is used when a comedian poses a (rhetorical) question and proceeds to answer it him/herself.
	to signal topic continuation	It is used when a comedian continues talking about the same topic.
	\emptyset (interactional functions)	

VI. 4. 1. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

The discourse marker *bem* behaves similarly to its English counterpart *well* with respect to its role at the macro-text level. It predominantly operates within the body of the stand-up act, and sometimes can occur in the opening (77) and closing (1018). As for the first example, it represents a rather lengthy introduction made by the compere in the first episode of the Portuguese stand-up comedy programme. Because of the fact that it was the first episode, the presenter is talking about a series of things, which involve interaction with the audience and sometimes invitation to come up on stage. In 77, the presenter interacts with one of the spectators he invited to join him. Both are showing an image that is blurred, possibly because of obscenity. At the end of the scene, the presenter thanks the participant and asks her to go back to her seat. *Bem* signal a conclusion/end of interaction; it provides a shift from the presenter’s discourse to introduction of the first comedian.

Table 25. *Bem* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	(X) 77
[compere’s narration]	Apresentador: Isto é a grande diferença neste momento para a casa isto é um gatinho / E é um / Eu tive o trabalho de imprimir este gatinho hoje durante tarde //
[audience applause]	AUD: hhh
[compere’s interaction]	Apresentador: Para trazer para vocês todos verem / Estás a gostar de segurar um gatinho / Adoro gatinhos / E bem / obrigado / Podes / Beatriz se calhar na loucura / guarda não é / fica guardadinho / para pores no Instagram /
[bem = shift/conclusion]	
[compere's interaction]	

In 1018, *bem* performs a similar function and signals conclusion of the comedian’s act (“*Bem / então para acabar*”). Afterwards, he presents a final comment (“*Grande golo do Nani [beep]/?*”) and shows his appreciation to the audience. Another common element of the closing block (mostly found in the Portuguese corpus) is when the comedian re-introduces the presenter right at the end.

Table 26. *Bem* and its position in the closing of a stand-up act.

CLOSING:	(X) 1018
[narration]	COM: Se os padres podem comer criancinhas / um pedófilo não podia dar uma missa de vez em quando? //
[audience's laughter]	AUD: hh
[bem = shift/conclusion]	COM: Só para trocar as vezes / Bem / então para acabar / Ah / Grande Sporting / Estamos na final da Taça ah //
[narration]	[%com: o público está a aplaudir e apitar]
[audience applause]	Isto só passa no domingo // [XXX] / Grande golo do Nani [beep] //
	AUD: hhhh
[appreciation and farewell]	COM: Obrigado / boa noite //
	[%com: o público está a aplaudir]
[comedian's introduction of compere]	Guilherme Fonseca //

VI. 4. 2. *Bom*

VI. 4. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

Similar to the discourse marker *bem*, the uses of *bom* are predominantly non-discourse marking (see Figure 21). The identified examples can be grouped into two categories, in which *bom* is used:

1) as an adjective, which means good or appropriate for a particular function, etc.:

(123) 1687 COM: É um estádio **bom** para o menino /

(124) 471 COM: ...não sei como é que as pessoas gostam do Magnum / não é assim tão **bom** /

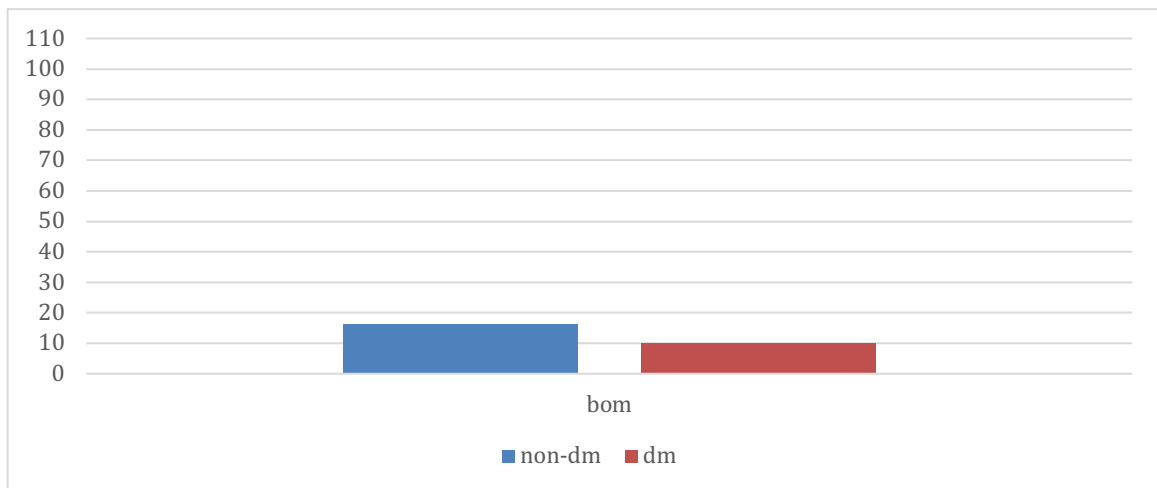
(125) 1243 COM: Amália! / Rodrigues! / Finge de morto! / É tão **bom** //

2) as a part of the expression “*bom dia*” (“*good morning*”):

(126) 509 COM: Daquela malta que diz “Amen! **Bom** dia!” aos meus amigos em Capslock / Daquela malta que às nove da noite “Beijinhos de boa noite gosto muito de vocês” porque pensam que a Internet fecha às onze //

(127) 712 COM: Basta um gaijo não dizer “**bom** dia” que eu digo que é racista e faço
 queixa do gaijo no SOS Racismo / estão a perceber //

Figure 21. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *bom*.



VI. 4. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses

VI. 4. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions

As a discourse marker, *bom* functions only within the textual domain. There are three main functions the marker performs, which are listed below:

1) to signal delay. In the excerpt below, *bom* occurs in the presenter’s discourse. After the previous comedian’s performance, the presenter provides a short comment on it (“*É um misto de shining com Eduardo Madeira*”), and then he sustains his discourse for a couple of seconds (“*bom / ah*”), thus giving the audience time to react and to produce laughter to his comment. The delay technique is oriented towards eliciting the audience’s laughter and postponing further narration. *Bom* signals both a delay and serves as a temporal filler, necessary for a continuous flow of speech.

(128) 112 Apresentador: É um misto de shining com Eduardo Madeira / **Bom** / Ah //
 AUD: hhh
 [%com: o público está a aplaudir]

2) to signal introduction of new topic. In 115, there is a continuation of the previously discussed example (112). While the previous *bom* is used to sustain discourse, in the next line the comedian uses it as a shift between the topics. *Bom* introduces a new subject, or a new comedian coming to the stage (“*Ah / O próximo comediante que vocês vão ver*”). In 396 and 988, the functions are similar. Besides, all the three examples correspond to the presenter's speech.

- (129) 115 Apresentador: **Bom** / Ah / O próximo comediante que vocês vão ver / vocês vão notar uma coisa na voz dele / Ele tem uma voz um bocado diferente
- (130) 396 Apresentador: **Bom** / O que é que vai acontecer aqui hoje / Temos três comediantes / Cada um deles vai fazer vinte minutos
- (131) 988 Apresentador: **Bom** / vamos ao primeiro comediante malta //
[%com: o público está a aplaudir]

In 1141 and 2872, the comedians begin their performances with short comments or canned jokes, and then proceed to sketching a first narrative scene. In both examples, *bom* serves as a shift from previous to upcoming new discourse. Thus, it functions as a signal of a new topic. In 2931, *bom* performs an identical function. The only difference is that it occurs somewhere in the middle of the performance, as it enables a shift between two narratives.

- (132) 1141 COM: Ah / [beep] / **Bom** / Graças a Deus gosto / eu gosto do nome /
- (133) 2872 COM: ...sempre sonhei bué fazer esta merda / que é chegar a um sítio e dizer “Boa noite Lisboa!” //
[%com: o público aplaude e apita]
Que é / que é do [beep] / depois não toco nada e vocês vão bater palmas na mesma / **Bom** / Sejam bem-vindos ao penúltimo não é / É um penúltimo Graças a Deus /
- (134) 2931 COM: E passar ali as próximas duas horas nisto assim // só para ganhar os agudos outra vez / só para recuperar os agudos //
AUD: hhh
COM: **Bom** / continuando / Vocês vão curtir os meus Segways / Curling / É tão estúpido não é /

3) to signal topic continuation. In these excerpts, *bom* does not seem to have any added value, and its function is limited to discourse/thematic continuity.

- (135) 1704 COM: Como é que tu descobriste que eu era alto? /
 AUD: hh
 COM: Inacreditável pá / Possa / **Bom** / e é verdade / Estão sempre a dizer / ah /
 / és muito alto / és muito alto Zê Beirão /
- (136) 2922 COM: Organizar a cena por notas / Portanto é muito fácil / é organizar
 basicamente primeiro o gajo da Casa Pia //
 AUD: HHHHH
 COM: Depois o gajo trabalhou com o La Féria e por aí fora //
 AUD: hh
 COM: Agora atenção / atenção / olha a tua mãe / Pedro / está <está> maluca
 comigo e com o meu texto / está maluca / **Bom** / Ou organizar assim / estão a
 ver? /
- (137) 2923 COM: Que nos diz que tem saudade / Eu sempre quis meter Trovante num
 texto de stand-up / Lindo //
 [%com: o público aplaude]
Bom / Mas estava eu a dizer / que temos de estar de olho neles / porque um
 gajo vai buscar qualquer merda ao carro /

The range of textual functions performed by the Portuguese discourse markers *bem* and *bom*, as well as their definitions, is presented below.

Figure 22. Textual functions of *bem* and *bom*.

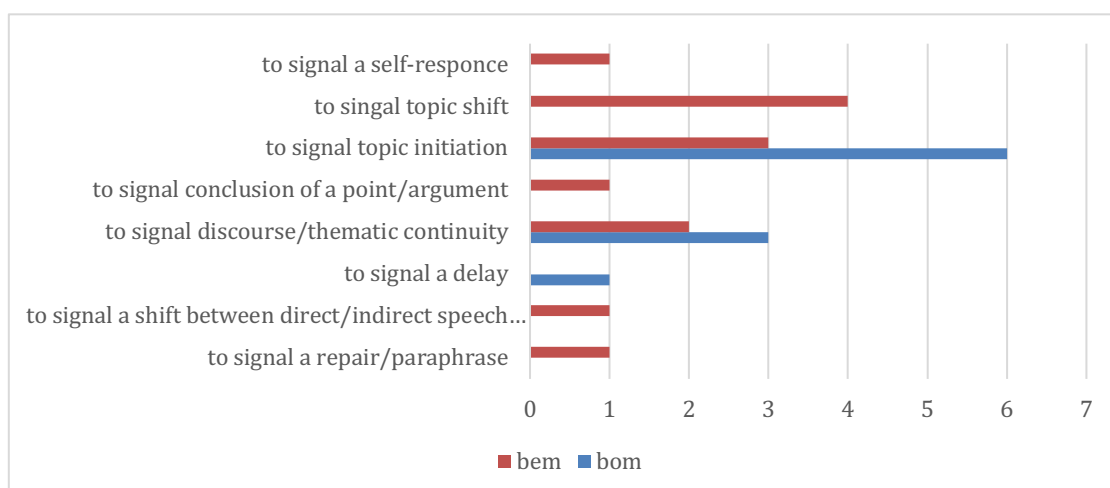


Table 27. Definitions of the textual functions of *bom* in stand-up comedy.

Textual function	Definition	
	to signal a delay	It is used when a comedian stalls for time, i.e. he/she intentionally causes a delay either to think over what to say next, or to prolong the effect of the previous joke/punchline.
	to signal topic initiation	It is used when a comedian starts talking about a new topic/subject.
	to signal topic continuation	It is used when a comedian continues talking about the same topic.
\emptyset (interactional functions)		

VI. 4. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

At the macro-textual level, the discourse marker *bom* occurs in the opening part of a stand-up act as part of the compere's remarks. Its use in the three examples presented below is quite similar, and it predominantly signals a shift to new topic (also designated as "topic introduction"). Also, it is used by the compere's to draw the audience's attention to what he/she is about to say. Therefore, it is seen both as an attention-getter and a "shift" in the textual structure of the performance, implemented by the compere (112, 396 and 988).

As for 112, the first instance of *bom* is used as a delay (probably a strategic one) in order to prolong the effect of the previous comment and the audience's reaction to it.

There have been no other instances of *bom* observed at the boundaries of other sections of the stand-up act, so that other possible structural functions at the macro-level could be revealed and discussed. As is the case with other markers, most cases of *bom* occur within the body of the act.

Table 28. *Bom* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	(X) 112
[compere's comment on previous comedian] [bom = delay]	Apresentador: É um misto de shining com Eduardo Madeira / Bom / Ah // AUD: hhh

[audience's laughter and applause]	[%com: o público está a aplaudir]
[bom = shift/new topic]	Apresentador: Bom / Ah / O próximo comediante que vocês vão ver / vocês vão notar uma coisa na voz dele / Ele têm uma voz um bocado diferente / Agora é / as pessoas em casa vão achar / à medida é que vão ouvindo o próximo comediante / o Pedro Durão a falar / vão achar que ele é uma vítima da Casa Pia //
[comperes introduction of the next comedian]	
[comperes interaction]	AUD: hhhh

OPENING:	(X) 396
[bom = shift/new topic]	Apresentador: Bom / O que é que vai acontecer aqui hoje / Temos três comediantes / Cada um deles vai fazer vinte minutos / Qual é o twist aqui que nunca fizemos / e vai acontecer hoje / no oitavo programa do Graças a Deus /
[comperes introduction]	

OPENING:	(X) 988
[bom = shift/new topic]	Apresentador: Bom / vamos ao primeiro comediante malta //
[audience applause]	[%com: o público está a aplaudir]
[comperes introduction of the next comedian]	Eh / esta energia toda / Senhores e senhoras / É um prazer para mim chamar um comediante que é tão ferrenho do Sporting / tão ferrenho do Sporting que até lhe faz um bocadinho de confusão hoje ser primeiro //
[audience's laughter]	AUD: hhh
[request for action]	Apresentador: Senhores e senhoras / João Pereira //
[audience applause]	[%com: o público está a aplaudir e apitar]

VI. 5. *Sabem* and *sabes*

VI. 5. 1. *Sabem*

VI. 5. 1. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

As a non-discourse-marker, *sabem* is used in its literal meaning, which is “to know something” or “to have knowledge of something”, i.e. it is linked to mental capacity.

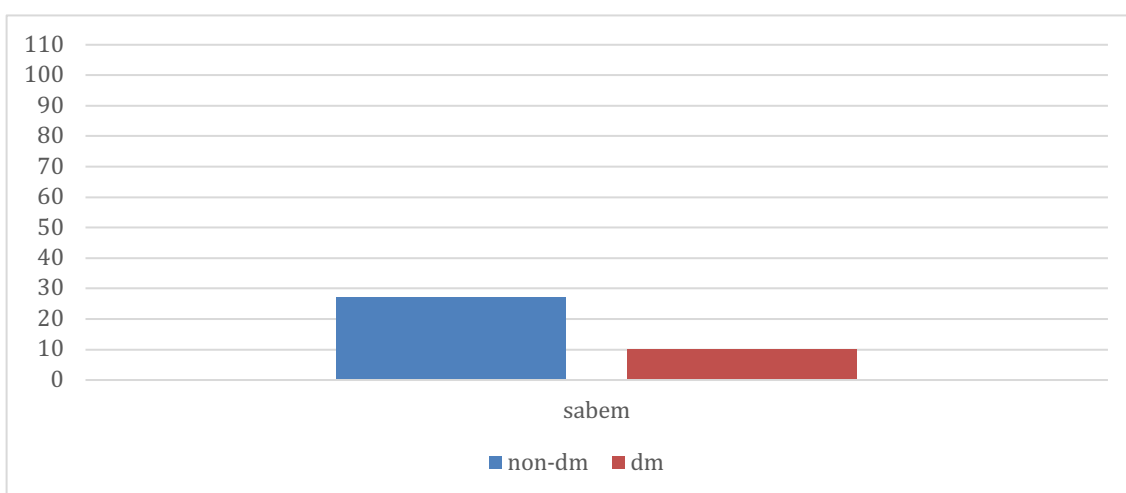
(138) 284

COM: Aliás / **não sabemos** de que planeta é que ele veio / Ah //

(139) 2369 COM: ...e o pica sai na paragem a seguir **sabem** porquê? / Porque houve um africano a sair na Buraca / que lhe roubou a maquina /

In stand-up interactions, the plural form of the verb “*saber*” (“*to know*”) is used as an equivalent of the English discourse marker *you know*. In most cases, the comedian uses the plural form *sabem* to address/interact with the audience. However, in some cases a comedian may interact with a single spectator from the audience. That is when the form *sabes* occurs (see further below).

Figure 23. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *sabem*.



VI. 5. 1. 2. Discourse-marking uses

VI. 5. 1. 2. 1. Textual functions

1) to signal repair of previous discourse. In 1061, the comedian is talking about carnivals that take place around the country. Then, probably due to lack of audience’s reaction or recognition of what he is talking about, he instantly interrupts his discourse and begins to reformulate it. He explains what carnivals are about, in a humorous way. The second instance of *sabem* in the excerpt below is different, though. The function it performs is more interactional, as the comedian appeals to the audience’s understanding.

(140) 1061 COM: ...foi na altura de carnaval / Em que escrevi uma crónica a falar / **sabem** / os carnavais que estão aí no pais com aquelas gordas de biquíni a sambar à

chuva / em Ovar e Estarreja // Estão lá as gordas a sambar em câmara lenta
sabem? //

VI. 5. 1. 2. 2. Interactional functions

1) to signal a plea for understanding. When *sabem* functions as an appeal to the audience's correct perceptions and inferences of the comedian's discourse, it typically occurs in the end of the comedian's turn, as in the examples below:

(141) 771 COM: Quem é que teve ideia de fazer os bairros sociais? / Quem é que teve ideia de- / Porque é que aquilo se chama bairros sociais? / A coisa que menos acontece naqueles bairros é socialização / **sabem** //
 AUD: hhh

(142) 1199 COM: Profissões que não precisam de andar contra o tempo e andam contra o tempo / Aquela psicótica de caixa de supermercado / **Sabem** /

2) to signal personal experience. In the excerpt below, the comedian is sharing his personal childhood memories and telling how he feels about the time. *Sabem* signals his personal experience, which can be seen a strategy towards establishing a bond with the audience, as it brings them back to their childhood memories too. The intimacy is achieved through the audience's identification with the comedian's childhood memories.

(143) 605 COM: Eu tenho muitas saudades do tempo em que andava na escola primária **sabem** / Gostava muito daqueles tempos da inocência /

Table 29. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *sabem* in stand-up comedy.

Textual	Definition	
	to signal repair/paraphrase	It is used when a comedian immediately needs to correct, repair or reformulate ongoing discourse.
Inter actio	to signal a plea for understanding	It is used when a comedian wants the audience to perceive the intended meaning of the message.

	to signal personal experience	It is used when a comedian shares facts from his/her personal life with the audience; it is meant to establish a bond or a sense of an intimate union with the audience.
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VI. 5. 1. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

No instances of *sabem* have been observed in the opening/closing parts of a stand-up performance; it operates exclusively within the body of the comedian's act.

Table 30. *Sabem* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	
BODY:	<p style="text-align: center;">textual</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>sabem</i> ⇔</p> <p style="text-align: center;">interactional</p>
CLOSING:	

VI. 5. 2. *Sabes*

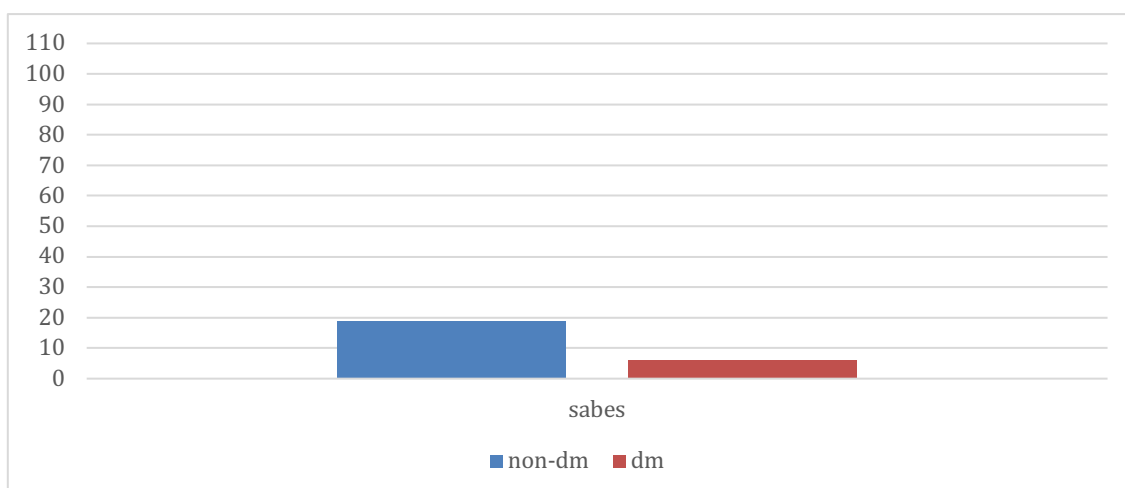
VI. 5. 2. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

Used both as a discourse and non-discourse marker, *sabes* is similar to its Portuguese plural variant *sabem* in several aspects. Firstly, it is predominantly used as a non-discourse marker in its literal meaning (19 occurrences, only 6 as a discourse marker). For instance:

(144) 1419 COM: Se calhar **não sabes** qual é a temperatura de / para lavar roupa escura /
Sabes? /

Secondly, the functional range is quite narrow. The textual and interactional functions are presented below.

Figure 24. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *sabes*.



VI. 5. 2. 2. Discourse-marking uses

VI. 5. 2. 2. 1. Textual functions

1) to open discourse. In this particular individual performance, the comedian teaches the audience several of tricks on how to do comedy, how to be funny and to tell jokes. He does it in an interactive way, addressing both the audience and selecting particular spectators from the audience. In the excerpt presented below, the comedian interacts with a spectator from the audience, addressing him as “*you*” and the corresponding verbal form in Portuguese “*sabes*”.

(145) 1448 COM: Olha / **sabes** / eu vou-te dar um piropo / que eu acho que é de alta
 mente / humana / és uma pessoa muito humana tu //
 AUD: hhh

2) to signal topic elaboration. The peculiarity of this comedian (different from the previous example) is the fact that he addresses the audience as “*you*” singular or *sabes*, referring to a collective “*you*” or the audience in general. Also, a collective plural “*you*” is used strategically for the audience to identify themselves with the described daily routines and recognize themselves in these actions, producing laughter. In 2653, the comedian uses *sabes* as a means of topic elaboration. It means that he is about to develop

an ongoing topic in further detail. The second occurrence of *sabes* in the same excerpt can be seen both as an elaboration or a specification (“*sabes / como se diz no Alentejo*”), which appeals to the audience’s understanding of a popular saying in the region of Alentejo.

- (146) 2653 COM: Sentas o cú na sanita se deres um pum és multado / porque não deste prioridade à uma bufa que vinha pela direita //
AUD: hhh
COM: **Sabes** / e tu sentas o cú na sanita e **sabes** / como se diz no Alentejo / e percebam a metáfora / Quando a larada está atravancada / faz aquela força aquilo não há meio de sair / vem uma lagriminha ao canto do olho /

3) to signal a shift between direct/indirect modes of speech. In 2841, the comedian describes a situation typical for food courts in shopping malls, which are commonly overcrowded during a lunch break. The comedian ridicules people who slightly move aside their tables from others before they start eating (even if it is for 1 cm). According to the comedian, this sense of privacy is false and ridiculous, since they are technically just 1 cm away from other people. However, this does not prevent them from discussing some private matters with each other, which is demonstrated in the excerpt below (*Sabes a Sara traiu o Rui / Só te estou a dizer isto porque estamos só nós os dois juntos* /). *Sabes* functions as a shift between indirect/comedian's and direct/character's speech.

- (147) 2841 COM: Nós agora podemos falar sobre o que quisermos / **Sabes** a Sara traiu o Rui / Só te estou a dizer isto porque estamos só nós os dois juntos /

VI. 5. 2. 2. 2. Interactional functions

1) to signal implicit information. In fact, the excerpt 137 is quite difficult to analyze due to the “implicitness” of the situation. In the given piece of the performance, the comedian refers to the previous scene, in which the presenter interacts with the audience by showing them a picture of a “cat”. The image is censored for TV transmission probably to obscenity of the image itself. The comedian's comment thus encodes this

implicit information (“*O gatinho do Guilherme vai dar tipo / todo o ângulo novo à expressão / dar leite ao gatinho / sabes /?*”).

(148) 137 COM: Está fixe / O gatinho do Guilherme vai dar tipo / todo o ângulo novo à expressão / dar leite ao gatinho / **sabes** //

2) to signal a plea for understanding. In 2663, the comedian ridicules several commercial slogans, including “a mature codfish fillet” (“*posta de bacalhau maduro*”). The comedian puts forward a couple of arguments in a humorous way, e.g. the codfish has gone through tough times in life before it got to the shelves of the supermarket. *Sabes* is used as an appeal to the audience. The comedian wants to make sure the audience understands “how tough it might have been for the codfish”, in a humorous way, or course.

(149) 2663 COM: o rótulo diz “*posta de bacalhau maduro*” / E tu vês que é um bacalhau depois de morto tem outra personalidade / Um bacalhau que passou muito na vida é pá //
 AUD: hh
 COM: Que esquartejou muito para chegar ao Pingo Doce **sabes** / A vida é dura

Figure 25. Textual and interactional functions of *sabem* and *sabes*.

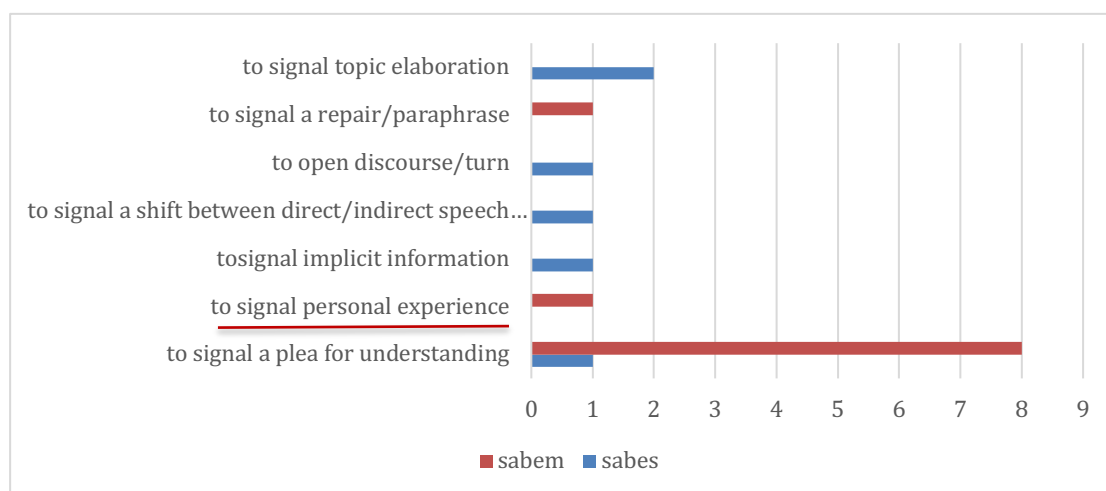


Table 31. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *sabes* in stand-up comedy.

Definition		
Textual	to signal a shift between direct and indirect modes of speech	It is used when a comedian intends to signal a move from his/her current narration to a short dialogue or a dialogic interaction within the main story.
	to signal topic elaboration	It is used when a comedian develops an ongoing topic in further detail.
	to signal opening discourse/a point	It is typically used when a comedian wants to open a new turn.
Interact.	to signal implicit information	It is used when a comedian wants the audience to perceive the intended meaning of the message.
	to signal a plea for understanding	It is used when a comedian wants the audience to perceive the intended meaning of the message.

VI. 5. 2. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

Similar to its Portuguese counterpart *sabem*, the functions of *sabes* are exclusively performed within the main part of a stand-up comedy performance.

Table 32. *Sabes* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	
BODY:	<p style="text-align: center;">textual</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>sabes</i> ⇒</p> <p style="text-align: center;">interactional</p>
CLOSING:	

VI. 6. *Quer dizer*

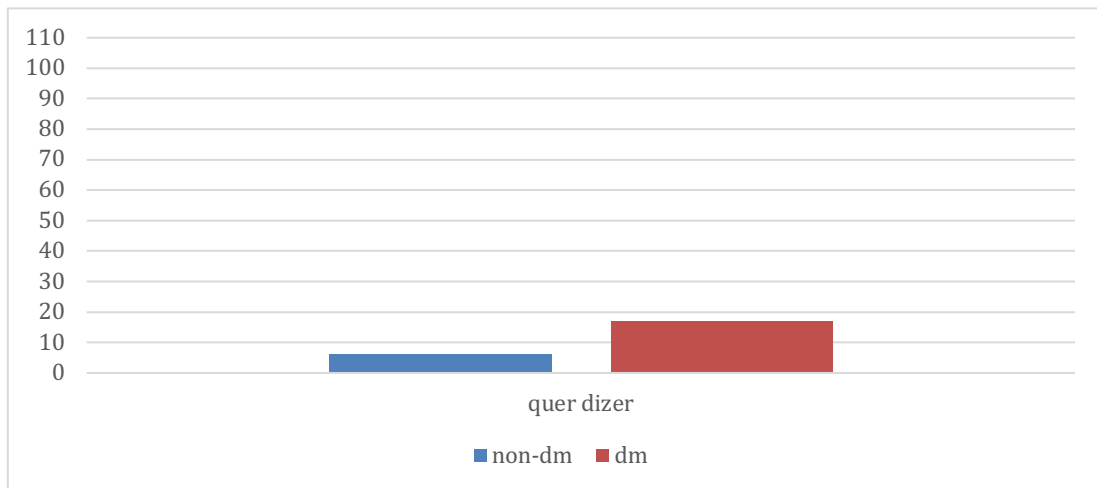
VI. 6. 1. Non-discourse-marking uses

Quer dizer can be used as a non-discourse marker. It is used in its literal meaning, e.g. *quer dizer* (= “to mean”). In these cases, it has no reformulative function. It means that it is impossible to replace *quer dizer* with other Portuguese common reformulative discourse markers, such as *ou seja* and *isto é*.

(150) 420 COM: ...não sou nada / só porque estou com as calças da minha irmã **não quer dizer** nada /

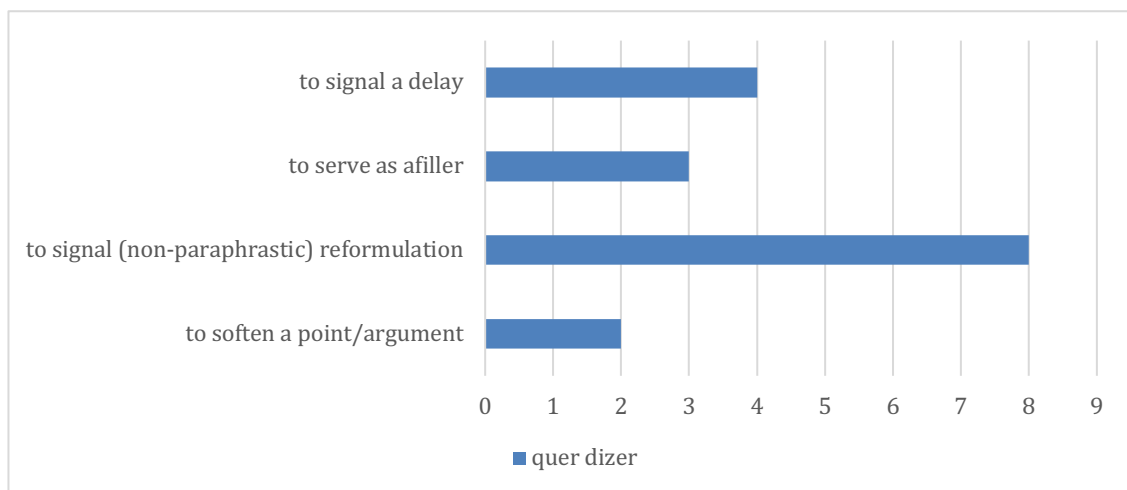
(151) 715 COM: Vocês nem sequer sabem o que é aquilo **quer dizer** / Nem eu sei //

Figure 26. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *quer dizer*.



VI. 6. 2. Discourse-marking uses

Figure 27. Textual and interactional functions of *quer dizer*.



VI. 6. 2. 1. Textual functions

1) to signal (non-paraphrastic) reformulation. In the multi-voiced example below, the comedian is picturing the times when dogs became domesticated animals. Once the dogs figured out they could leave among the humans, they began asking about “the price” (“*E o que é que a gente tem que dar em troca?*”). The comedian, who makes the character of one of the dogs in the pack, says “nothing”. In fact, he further explains that they do need to do something, e.g. to fetch things. However, it is considered insignificant in comparison to the comfort the dogs get from co-living with the humans. *Quer dizer* is used to reformulate the previous discourse, and to demonstrate a new perspective in a humorous way.

(152) 1346 COM: Nós podemos ir viver para casa das pessoas! / A sério? / A sério! / Podemos ir viver para casa deles! / Ah / E o que é que nos fazem? Fazem-nos festas / dão-nos de comer / A sério? / deixam-nos dormir com eles / ou ao lado deles / ou perto da lareira não interessa / Deixam-nos viver lá / A sério? / Sim / Ah / E o que é que a gente tem que dar em troca? / Nada / **quer dizer** / de vez em quando eles atiram umas merdas e temos que ir buscar //

2) filler. When *quer dizer* is used as a filler, it is intended to “fill in” the pauses/gaps that frequently occur in oral discourse. The comedian tries to avoid “breaks” in discourse continuity, as he/she goes on with the story. The example below illustrates this function.

(153) 1152 COM: Quantas vezes toda a gente diz / graças a Deus / e Deus está lá em cima a dizer / não tenho porra a ver com isso / não tenho nada a ver com isso / Essa merda já está em modo automático há imenso tempo / já está em modo aleatório / **quer dizer** / modo aleatório / só pode ser não é / **quer dizer** / há tsunamis / há tremores de terra / há crianças a morrer não é / ou está modo aleatório ou Deus é um cabrão / Também há essa possibilidade /

3) to signal delay. As previously explained, sometimes the comedian may need to stall for time. Either he/she intentionally causes a delay to think over what to say next, or prolongs the effect of the previous joke/punchline. In the multi-voiced examples below,

the comedian explains why he does not want to have children. Namely, he is not prepared for the “Why” questions kids usually ask. Then, he pictures a scene, in which his kid asks him a very uncomfortable question with explicit sexual content. The comedian, who plays the role of the father, feels uncomfortable with the question and tries to come up with some reasonable explanation. *Quer dizer* helps to stall for time (probably intended), and at the same time prolongs the effect of humorous the situation. As it can be seen from the turn-taking organization, the audience keeps laughing every time the comedian “postpones” his discourse.

(154) 2536 COM: Então <então> a mãe faz [beep]? // [%com: atividade sexual]
 AUD: hhh
 COM: A mãe? / a mãe? / Ouve a mãe / **quer dizer** //
 AUD: hhh
 COM: Não é / **quer dizer** / a mãe / a mãe / a mãe / faz / não é sempre que o
 pai quer //
 AUD: hhhh

VI. 6. 2. 2. Interactional functions

1) to soften discourse. As previously stated, a comedian may mitigate the meaning of his/her point or argument by means of the discourse marker *quer dizer*. In the example below, the comedian expresses criticism of the excessive use of social networks, such as Facebook. In particular, the comedian ridicules the clichéd congratulations found there. *Quer dizer* is used to reduce the comedian’s negative evaluation. At the same time, the use of plural forms of verbs (*vamos*, *escrevemos*) suggests that the comedian feels similar to those people.

(155) 1941 COM: Hoje vamos ao Facebook / escrevemos / um abraço de parabéns / Enter
 / pronto / está feito / Até para o ano! / está a andar / Acabou! / Os mais
 empolgados / os mais entusiasmados escrevem um abraço parabéns depois
 metem um ponto de exclamação / é pá / mas **quer dizer** / nunca varia muito
 disto não é /

Table 33. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the Portuguese discourse marker *quer dizer* in stand-up comedy.

		Definition
Textual	to signal (non-paraphrastic) reformulation	It is used when a comedian reformulates his/her own discourse to make it clearer for the audience, or to explain something; the comedian assumes a new perspective, distant from his initial position/argument.
	to signal delay	It is used when a comedian stalls for time, i.e. he/she intentionally causes a delay either to think over what to say next, or to prolong the effect of the previous joke/punchline.
	to serve as a filler	It is used when a comedian intends to about “breaks” in discourse continuity and “fill in” the pauses/gaps with a discourse marker.
Interact.	to soften discourse	It is used when a comedian intends to mitigate the meaning of his/her point or argument.

VI. 6. 3. Position in macro-textual organization

The behavior of the marker *quer dizer* is comparable with other representatives of this linguistic class. No instances of *quer dizer* in the opening/closing sections have been attested. Functionally, its range lies within the main part of a stand-up performance, which corresponds to the comedian’s act itself.

Table 34. *Quer dizer* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

OPENING:	
BODY:	textual <i>quer dizer</i> ⇔ interactional
CLOSING:	

VI. 7. Summary of the findings

This subchapter summarizes the obtained data by placing it into a contrastive perspective (American English/Portuguese languages) and revisits the research questions set in the beginning of this thesis.

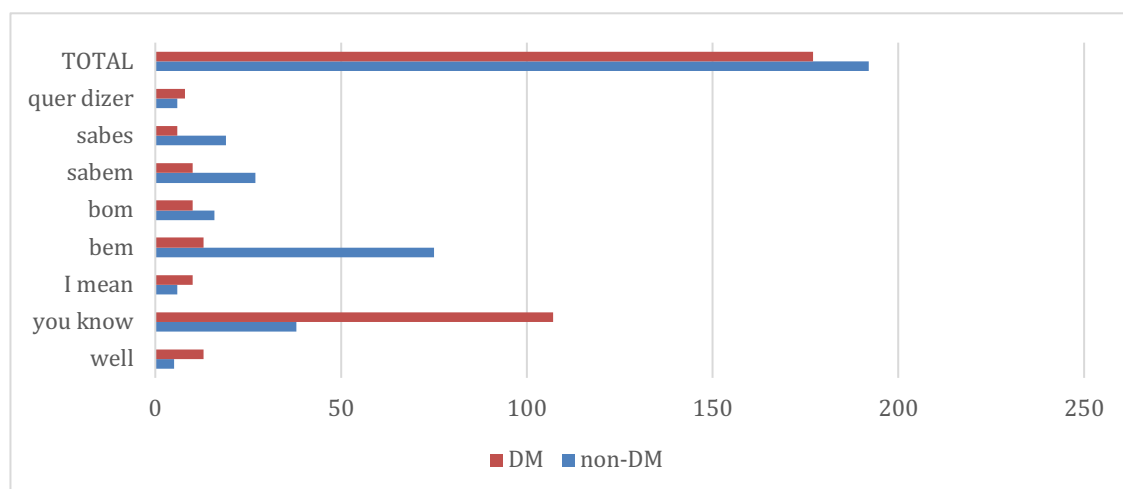
Starting with the non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of the selected set of discourse markers (*well, you know, I mean, bem, bom, sabem, sabes* and *quer dizer*), the results show a clear difference in tendencies with respect to English and Portuguese languages (see Figure 28). Whereas discourse-marking uses of *well, you know* and *I mean* prevail over the non-discourse uses in American English, in Portuguese the picture is quite the opposite. The tendency is towards the literal meaning and grammatical functions of *bem, bom, sabem* and *sabes* (e.g. adverbs of manner and verbal predicates). The only exception is *quer dizer*, whose discourse-marking uses are slightly more frequent than its non-discourse marking uses.

A couple of reflections rise at this point. The tendency towards non-discourse/literal use of markers in Portuguese may suggest that Portuguese may require more explicit articulation of ideas than English; it can be true for certain genres and communicative situations (for instance, in stand-up comedy).

From the perspective of grammaticalization and historical pragmatics (Traugott, 1982), it is possible that the English/Portuguese discourse markers are in different stages of their transition from literal to procedural pragmatic meaning. This leads to differences in their discourse/non-discourse marking use in the two languages.

Also, a possible explanation comes to the fact that certain languages can be richer in discourse markers than others. This assumption, however, has its limitations with regard to the present study, which focuses only on a particular set of discourse markers and their operation in a specific genre. In other words, it is possible that there are other types of discourse markers in Portuguese, which are not analyzed in the present study (e.g. *pois, então, ora*, etc.), but whose operation in discourse is mainly discourse-marking. Because of these limitations, one should not draw hasty conclusions about the nature and the functioning of a language in its conventional, natural and multi-faceted way.

Figure 28. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses and their distribution across the corpora.

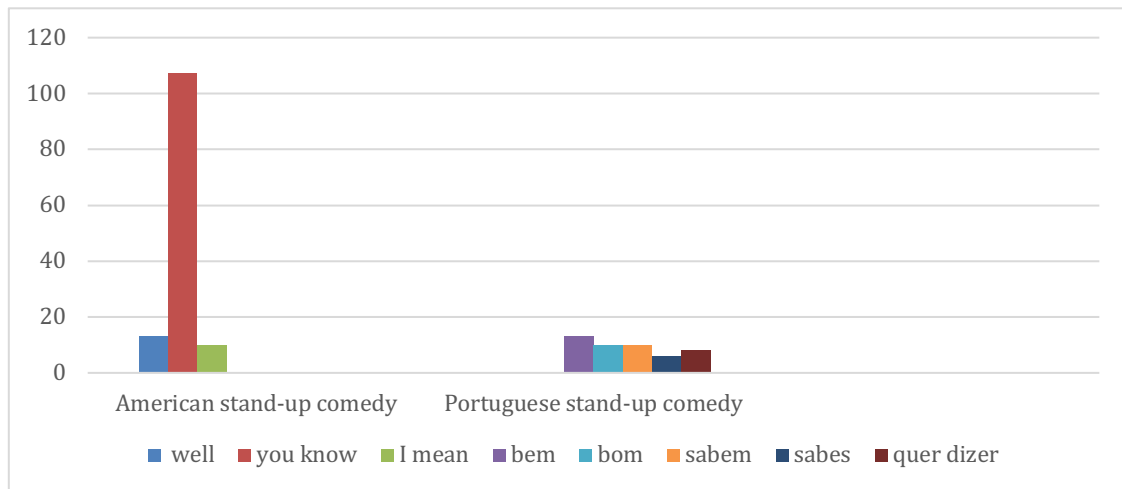


Looking at the frequency of the selected discourse markers in American English stand-up comedy, as compared with its Portuguese counterpart, the results show quite an uneven distribution of discourse markers across the English corpus (see Figure 29). *You know* reached the maximum tokens (107), demonstrating a huge gap, as compared with other markers.

Such high frequency of *you know* reinforces a number of ideas previously stated about the genre of stand-up comedy. *You know* is said to be a frequent conversational discourse marker. Since there are several peculiar genre traces that make stand-up interaction similar to “a form of an intimate talk”, recurrent presence of *you know* may be simply explained as one of the main characteristics of the genre. However, the same does not occur in the Portuguese corpus. Both *sabem* and *sabes* assume quite modest positions (10 and 6 tokens, respectively). This raises the first assumption on the differences between the mechanism of textual realization, namely on discourse markers, between American English and Portuguese texts. In particular, it is possible to think of the differences in the degrees of personal involvement into the interaction and the levels of intimacy. Speaking about the idea of a bond between the comedian and the audience, it seems that this bond is established in a more clearly expressed way in American English texts, rather than in the Portuguese ones.

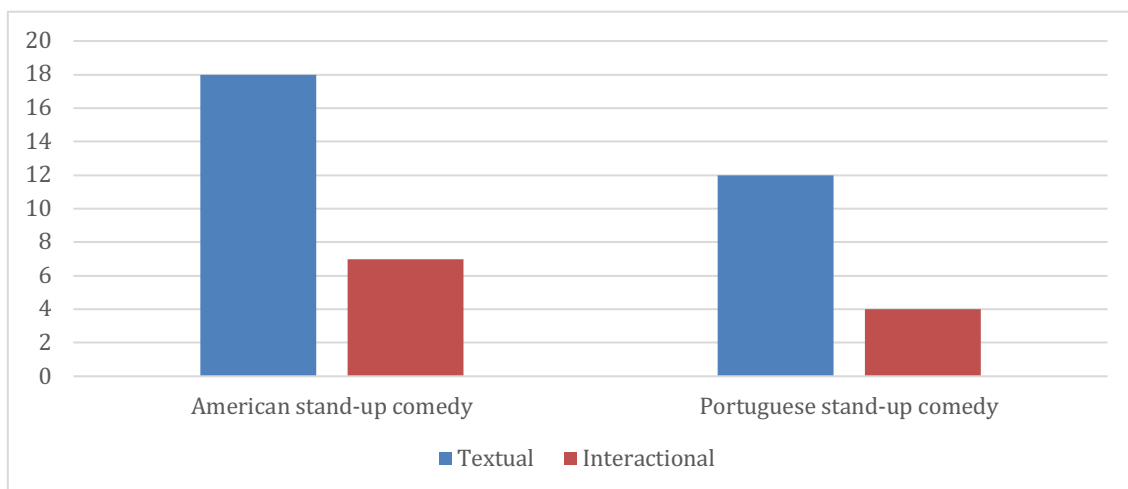
As for the Portuguese corpus and the distribution of forms across it, all the discourse markers are roughly at the same level in terms of their quantitative count.

Figure 29. The forms of discourse markers and their distribution across the corpora.



The general distribution of textual and interactional functions of discourse markers across the corpora demonstrated a similar trend in both languages (see Figure 30). Namely, the discourse markers predominantly tend to operate within the textual domain (the X axis), performing a series of important cohesive and structural functions. Due to a larger number of attested occurrences of markers in the American English corpus, naturally, there are more textual functions identified. Concerning the interactional functions in both corpora, the English corpus demonstrated a slightly wider functional range.

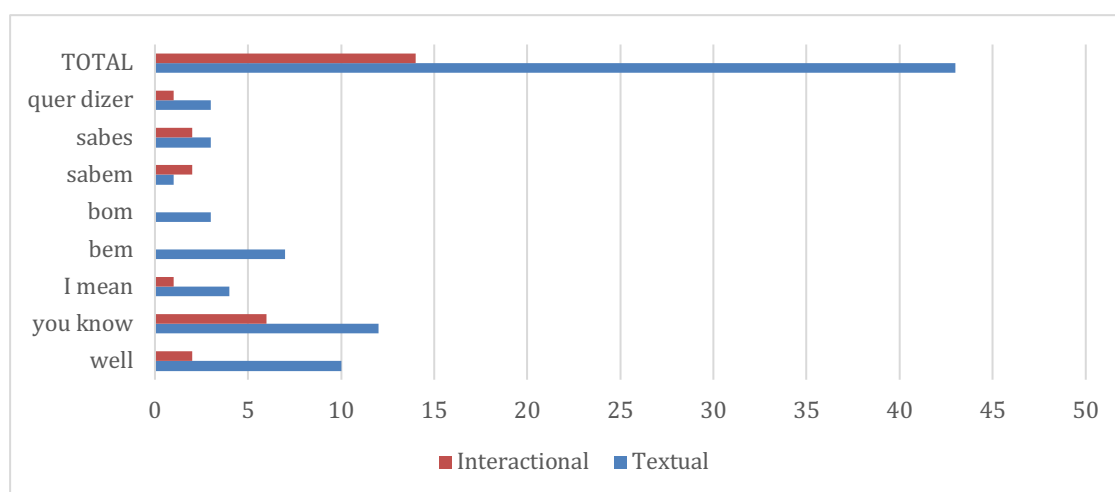
Figure 30. Textual and interactional functions and their distribution across the corpora.



Looking at the type of functions (textual and interactions) performed by each discourse markers, there is an overall tendency towards textual functions. This tendency can be observed for *well*, *you know* and *I mean*, and also for *sabes* and *quer dizer*. The functional scope of *bem* and *bom* is exclusively limited to the textual domain; there have not been identified any interactional functions. *Sabem* is the only example of a discourse marker, whose interactional functions prevail over textual ones. Its general frequency, as compared with the other markers, does not seem to be representative enough to indicate any curious conclusions.

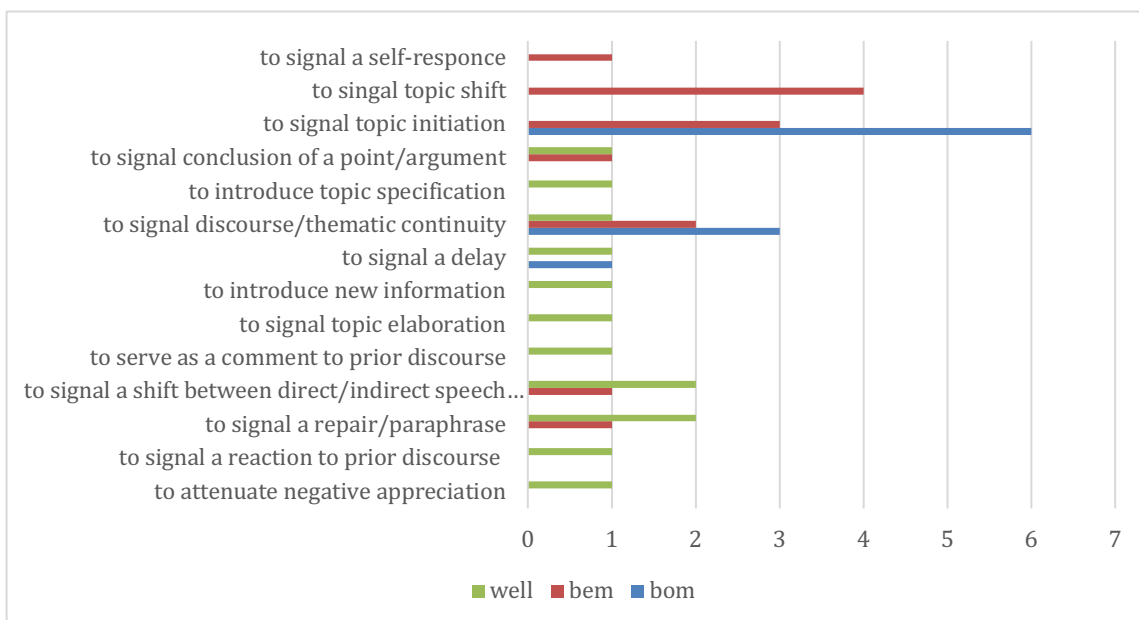
Considering the conversational nature of stand-up comedy, one could expect a higher frequency of interactional functions performed by discourse markers (according to the hypothesis on the duo-domain functioning of discourse markers). The results proved the opposite: textual functions are considerably more widespread. This brings to the conclusion that conversational discourse markers, despite their interactional qualities, are predominantly organizational and structuring textual devices in stand-up comedy.

Figure 31. Textual and interactional functions of discourse markers.



The contrastive analysis of the functional range of the discourse markers *well*, *bem* and *bom*, demonstrated a range of textual and interpersonal functions. The English marker *well* has a considerably wider range of functions performed, both textual and interactional ones. The functions of all the three markers rarely overlap. Most common functions identified between the three markers include signaling topic initiation, signaling conclusion of a point, discourse continuity, a shift between direct/indirect modes of speech and a delay (at least two out of three markers simultaneously indicate these functions).

Figure 32. Textual and interactional functions of *well*, *bem* and *bom*.



The next group of markers, including *you know*, *sabem* and *sabes*, is the most productive. It represented both the widest range of the discourse markers functions, and the highest indicator of occurrences for each of the identified functions. *You know* showed leading positions in both categories.

All the three markers share one common function, i.e. signaling a plea for understanding. This brings to conclude that appealing to the addressee is one of the principal cross-linguistic characteristics (at least, when it comes to the English/Portuguese pair) of the discourse marker. Other quite common but less frequent functional uses include signaling topic elaboration, a repair, opening discourse, signaling a shift between direct/indirect mode of speech, implicit information and personal experience.

Besides, new functions emerged in the process of corpus analysis in the case of *you know* (three new functions) and *sabem* (one new function, i.e. it is also one of the functions observed in case of *you know*), previously not found in the literature on these markers. In the genre under investigation, i.e. stand-up comedy, *you know* performs three unique genre-related functions. These functions include signaling anticipation toward direct/indirect mode of speech on the textual level; addressing the audience and signaling personal experience on the interactional level.

On the face of it, signaling *anticipation* toward direct/indirect mode of speech (a newly emerged function) and signaling a *shift itself* between direct/indirect (a function, which has been previously identified in the literature) may seem rather similar. However, the position of the marker is quite different in each case. Whereas in the first example the marker occurs in the beginning of the speaker's turn (e.g. 1297 COM: *And I kind of confided in her a little bit / I told her / **You know** I'm sad*), in the second example the marker occurs somewhat in advance, as if describing the setting and preparing the listener/the audience for an upcoming shift (638 COM: *I imagine myself raising a child and it is a harrowing picture / Ahm **you know** the little kid would be like / Mummy I'm so tired I need a nap /*). As it can be seen from the examples, *you know*, in fact, is not present in the speaker's turn at all. This slight difference in the discourse marker's positioning suggests that there may be two functions or *two possible takes* on the same function. *You know* can assist in shifting between the modes of speech when used in the beginning of a turn, or, alternatively, it can prepare the listener for the shift. Regardless of the case, these functions are quite characteristic of stand-up comedy and emerge as a demand to provide shifts and transitions within the narration. As stand-up can represent a maze of short narrative stories, either including the comedian him/herself as a participant or other people/characters, there is a constant need to incorporate these short stories into the main narrative story. Discourse markers, and *you know* in particular, satisfy this textual-strategic demand.

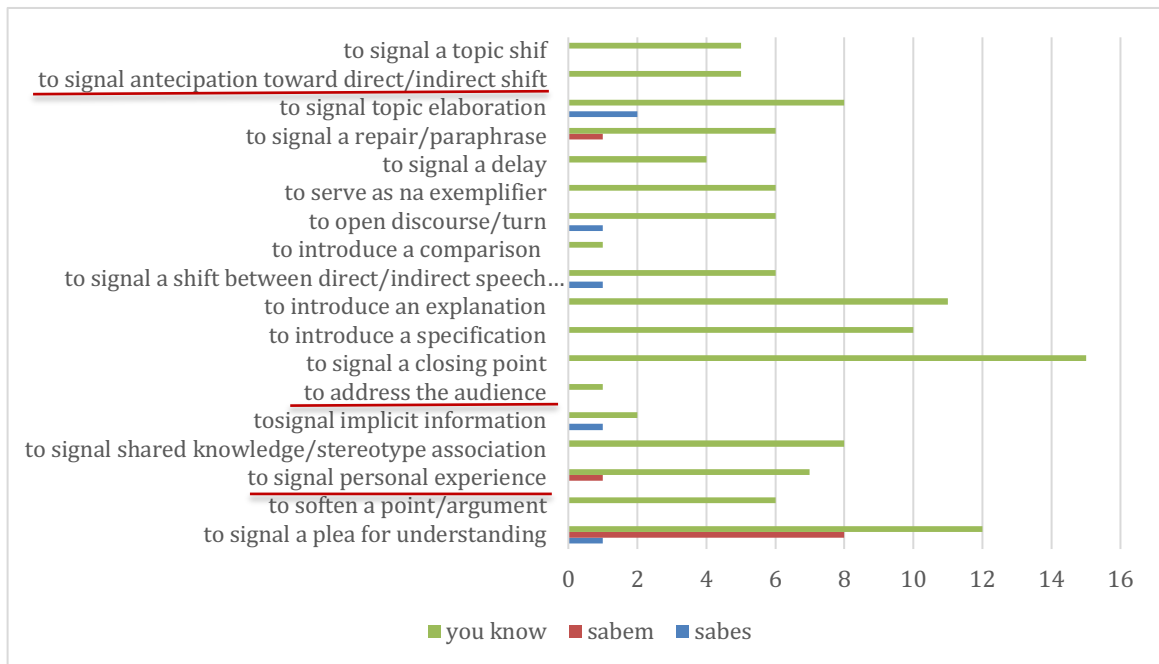
On the interactional level, two new functions emerged, including signaling personal experience and addressing the audience. The necessity to signal personal experience raises as a result of another peculiarity of stand-up comedy, namely, its autobiographical, self-expressed contents. In a certain way, comedians reveal themselves on stage, e.g. they talk about personal background information, childhood memories, partners and relationships, tough times and even personal traumas. Sharing these personal experiences is a good way to establish a bond with the audience and to make them recognize themselves in these activities, and, basically, laugh at themselves. *You know* signals personal experience and suggests that the comedian tries to establish a connection with the audience, a bond or a personal union.

In addition to signaling personal experience, *you know* can be used to address the audience directly (e.g. *you know ladies*). This use of the discourse marker is possible due

to a live, conversational interaction in a shared spatiotemporal setting, which is another peculiar trait of the genre (in case of live performances).

The newly emerging functions are therefore closely related to the specificity of the genre stand-up comedy, namely, its narrative, autobiographical and interactive nature.

Figure 33. Textual and interactional functions of *you know*, *sabem* and *sabes*.

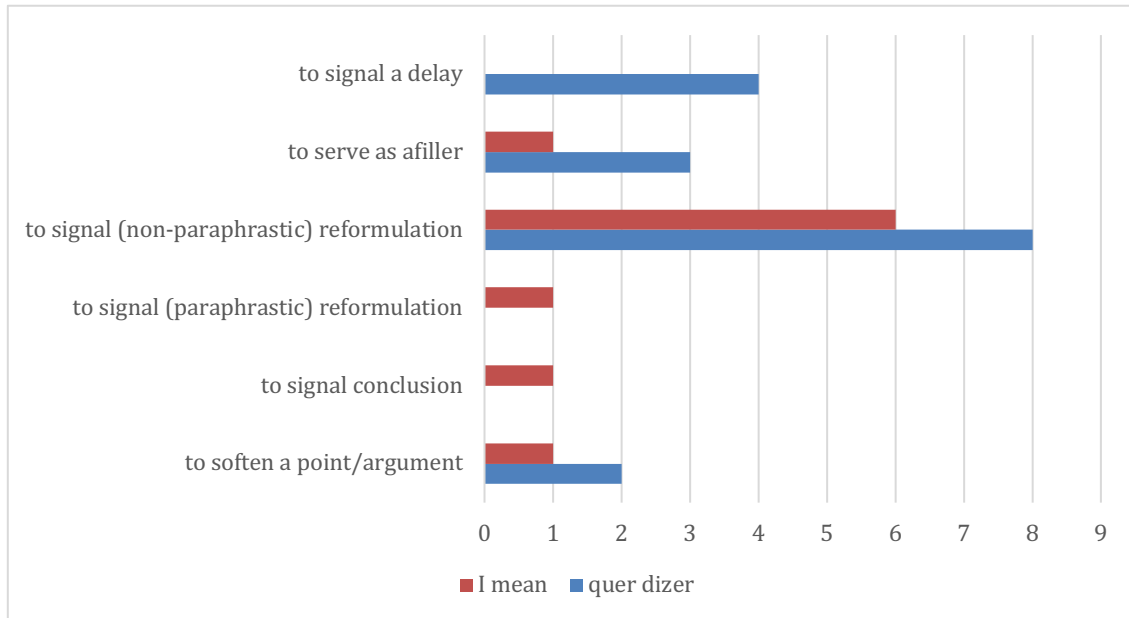


As for *I mean* and *quer dizer*, their principal textual reformulative functions are heavily influenced by the literal meaning of these discourse markers. As a result, signaling both non-paraphrastic and paraphrastic reformulation can be found in the corpus. Predominant majority of reformulations are non-paraphrastic ones, which means that the re-elaborated utterance is different in perspective from the original one. In many cases, there is a sharp contrast between the two utterances, which serves as a foundation for a humorous effect. In other words, by using *I mean/quer dizer*, the comedian can intentionally change the perspective for humorous reasons and to intensify incongruity. In this respect, these markers can be seen as strategic textual devices of humor implementation.

Another peculiar use of *quer dizer* in Portuguese is when it functions as a delay, which can be intentional or not. In case the delay is intentional, it is used to prolong the effect of the previous joke. The audience keeps laughing, whereas the comedian “fills in” the discourse with *quer dizer*, postponing further narration. Also, the delay can be

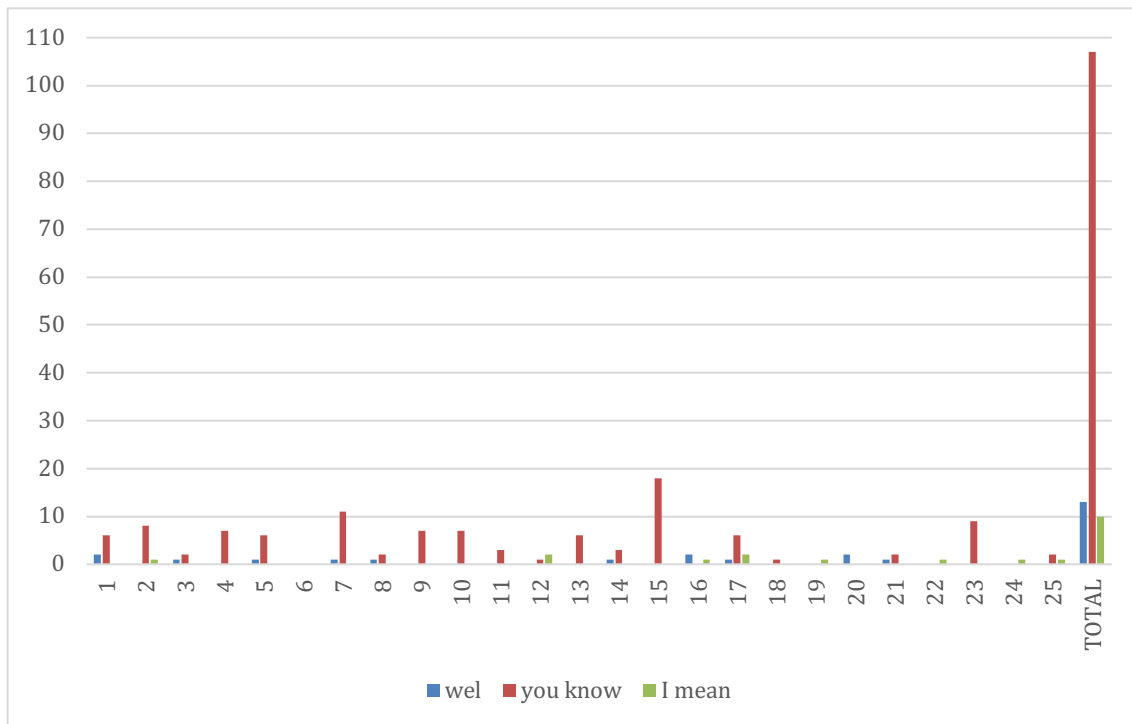
spontaneous. In this case, it is used to stall for time, i.e. the comedian needs to think over the formulation of the next joke, etc. In both cases, the markers are used as textual devices of semi-spontaneous text-structuring in a stand-up interaction.

Figure 34. Textual and interactional functions of *I mean* and *quer dizer*.



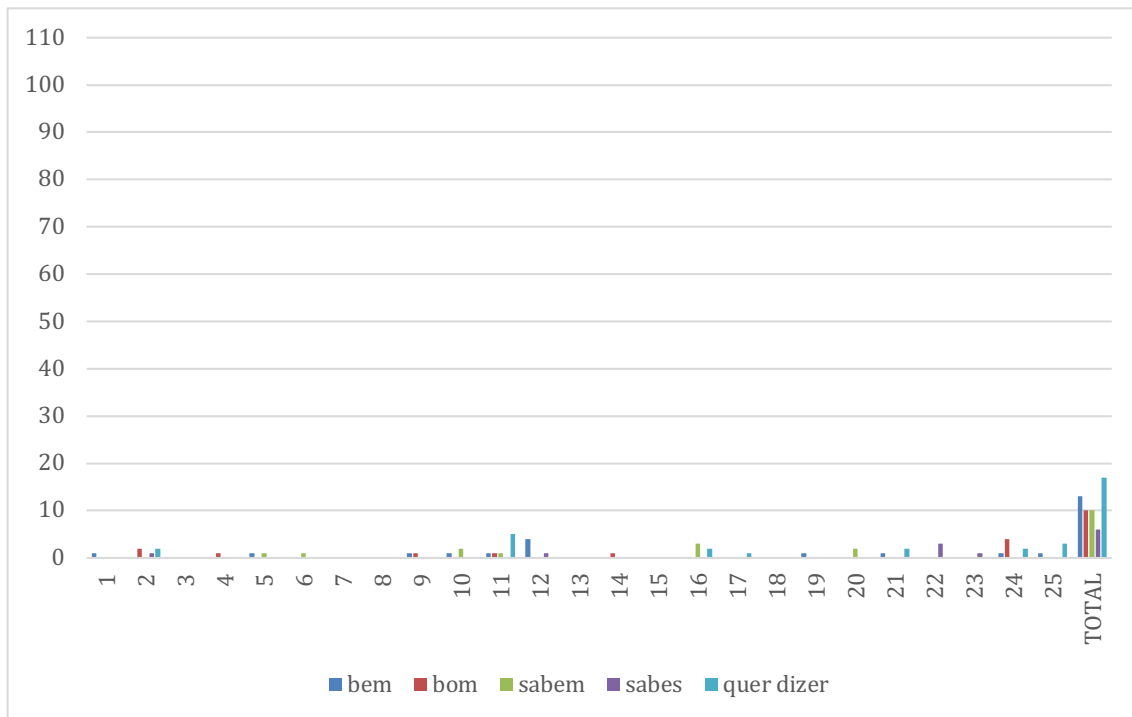
The distribution of the discourse markers across individual performances in American English stand-up comedy demonstrated that there is a tendency towards individual variation in discourse markers use from comedian to comedian. As is apparent from Figure 35, certain comedians integrate a larger number of markers into their discourse (e.g. N° 15, 7 and 23). Some comedians, however, do not make use of discourse markers or make very little use of them (N° 6, 18, 19, 22, 24). It can also be seen that *you know* is a preferred option among the comedians, as compared to *well* and *I mean*.

Figure 35. Distribution of discourse markers across individual performances in American English stand-up comedy.



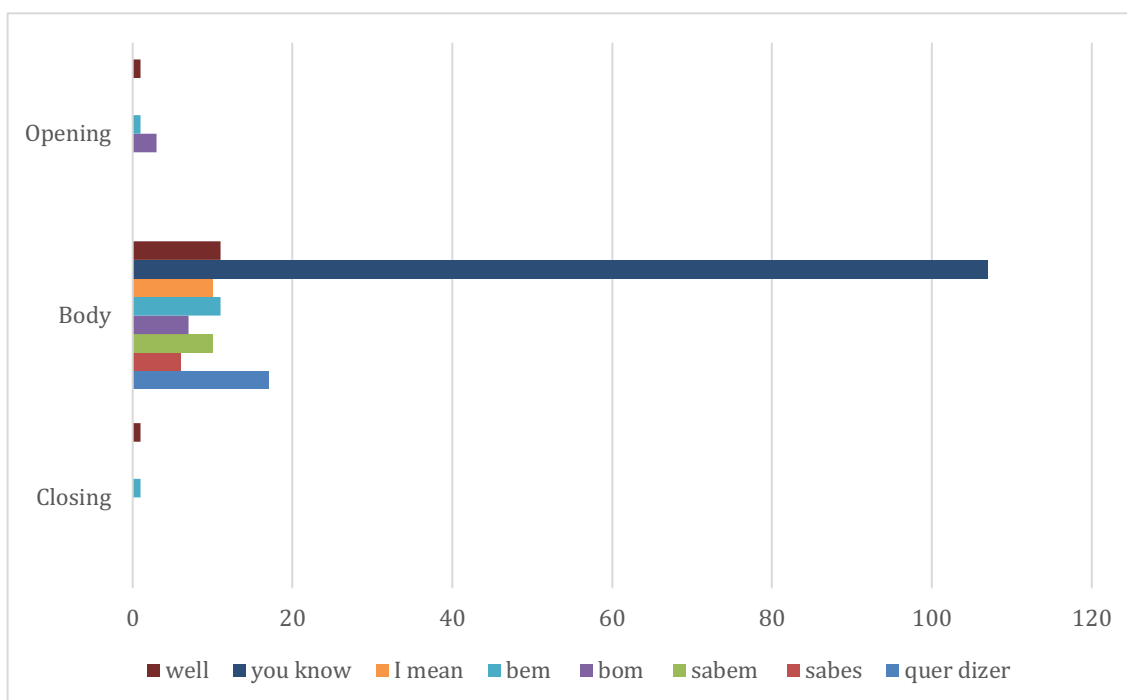
Concerning the distribution across the Portuguese individual performances (Figure 36), the presence is quite poor, with occasional peaks (N° 11, 12, 16, 22 and 24). The maximum scale (<110 tokens) is maintained, so that it is easier to get the general impression of the distribution.

Figure 36. Distribution of discourse markers across individual performances in Portuguese stand-up comedy.



Finally, Figure 37 contains the summary on the presence of the discourse markers in the text organization of stand-up comedy in a contrastive perspective. There are several examples of discourse markers, which occur in the opening part (e.g. *well*, *bem* and most frequently found *bom*) and in the closing part (*well* and *bem*). It can be assumed that these markers play a certain role in text-organization at the macro-textual level. For instance, they are mainly used as “shifts” in topic (e.g. opening a new topic or signaling a conclusion), or as delays. Quantitatively speaking, however, these markers do not seem to be representative enough to be able to speak about their significance and special role in the opening/closing part of a stand-up interaction.

Figure 37. Distribution of discourse markers in macro-textual organization of stand-up comedy.



As for the “body” of the text, which corresponds to a comedian’s individual performance, it is clearly rich in discourse markers. It means that the hypothesis about the role of discourse markers in the macro-text structure is true only for the comedian’s act itself, i.e. these linguistic units operate almost exclusively within the body of a stand-up interaction. It can therefore be stated that conversational discourse markers play an important role in the body/main part of a stand-up comedy text. In particular, they assist in organization of comedian’s internal act, performing a series of textual functions (to open/close discourse, to signal a delay/a repair, to introduce new information/a comment/an explanation/ a reformulation, etc.) within the textual domain. Discourse markers are important linguistic organizational devices of the genre, which contribute to internal text structure of a comedian’s act, orienting and guiding the addressee/audience through the oral text. The obtained results for stand-up comedy confirm that markers of conversation structure play an important role in oral texts by punctuating them (Adam 2008: 187). In this respect, they are similar to textual organizers in terms of the nature of their functions. Moreover, oral discourse equips them with a more explicit “interactive tonality” (*ibidem*). As a result, their role is to decompose a text into a set of blocks or segments, which constitute a text plan (Adam, 2008, p. 189).

In the interactional domain, conversational discourse markers are meant to reach out for the audience in order to establish a bond with the viewers and listeners of a stand-up act. They perform a series of personal expressive functions, which transmit attitude, feelings, reactions of the comedian to what he/she is saying. Most importantly, these functions engage the audience into interaction, invite the viewers to share similar experiences, and set an invisible bridge between the comedian and the spectators, which brings them together in a joint intimate comic experience stand-up comedy offers.

VII Conclusions and suggestions for future research

VII. 1. Conclusions

Due to the existence of several large intersected theoretical components, this thesis presented a panoramic view of both the genre of stand-up comedy and discourse markers, as one of the genre's textual parameters. From a top-down perspective, the research included a number of components, such as the overview of the existing approaches to stand-up comedy in the field of humor studies, the research proposal of the current thesis (which is focused on genre and the socio-discursive approaches to genres), the main approaches to structuration of texts, text plans and text organization and, finally, approaches to discourse markers, i.e. their definitions, main features and existing functional taxonomies.

Unlike previous research on stand-up comedy, which focused exclusively on the humorous side of the texts, the present research proposal assumed a different and new perspective on stand-up comedy as a genre within text linguistics and socio-discursive studies. Based on the assumption that stand-up comedy is a genre (Bronckart 2012, Adam 2008, 2017), the study presented a synthesis of the unique set of physical, socio-objective and textual parameters, which characterize the genre under investigation (Table 11). The main interest of the research lied in the textual parameter of the genre, which stands for text plan or text organization. In particular, the study focused on a range of the selected conversational discourse markers and aimed at analyzing their frequency, distribution, functions, positions and role in text plans of the genre.

Literature review demonstrated that stand-up comedy had been described by many authors as a conversational, dialogic form of art (Attardo, 2001; Brodie, 2014; Double, 2014; Rutter, 1997; Greenbaum, 1999); and therefore, similar to any interactive spoken practice, it is rich in conversational discourse markers. It is this conversational and interactional nature of stand-up comedy that sets the assumption that conversational discourse markers (e.g. *well, you know, bem, quer dizer*) can be regarded as a genre parameter of stand-up comedy, i.e. an expected trait that constitutes the genre's identity (Coutinho, 2007). The analysis of the recorded texts from stand-up interactions proved that this genre parameter is implemented in different ways in concrete texts (in American English and European Portuguese).

Table 35 (see below) presents a general summary of the analysis on discourse markers carried out in this thesis, and recapitulates three main tendencies observed with regard to their functioning.

Table 35. Summary of the findings on discourse markers in stand-up comedy.

Linguistic unit	Tendency towards		Nature of functions identified		Position in text organization/plan		
	non-DM use	DM-use	literature-based	new	opening	body	closing
<i>well</i>		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
<i>you know</i>		✓	✓	✓		✓	
<i>I mean</i>		✓	✓			✓	
<i>bem</i>	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
<i>bom</i>	✓		✓		✓	✓	
<i>sabem</i>	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
<i>sabes</i>	✓		✓			✓	
<i>quer dizer</i>		✓	✓			✓	

Firstly, there is a clear difference in tendencies towards non-discourse marking and discourse marking uses between English and Portuguese. Whereas the English units represent mostly discourse-marking uses, their Portuguese counterparts are predominantly non-discourse marking.

Secondly, the nature of the functions identified in this study is predominantly literature-based. However, new functions emerged in the process of corpus analysis in the case of *you know* (three new functions) and *sabem* (one new function). On the textual level, *you know* can signal anticipation towards direct/indirect mode of speech. As stand-up comedy is composed of short narrative stories, which either include the comedian him/herself as a participant or other people/characters, there is a constant need to incorporate these short stories into the main narrative story, and to shift between them, providing the listener/audience with the necessary clues. Discourse markers, and *you know* in particular, satisfy this textual-strategic demand. On the interactional level, two new functions emerged, including signaling personal experience and addressing the audience. The necessity to signal personal experience comes down to another peculiarity of stand-up comedy, namely, its autobiographical, self-expressed contents. Comedians reveal themselves on stage when talking about personal background information,

childhood memories, partners and relationships, tough times and even personal traumas. Sharing these personal experiences is a good way to establish a bond with the audience, which is the primary goal of stand-up, and to make the audience recognize themselves in these activities, and, basically, laugh at themselves. *You know* signals personal experience and suggests that the comedian tries to establish a connection with the audience, a bond or a personal union. In addition to signaling personal experience, *you know* can be used to address the audience directly (e.g. you know ladies). This use of the discourse marker is possible due to a live, conversational interaction in a shared spatiotemporal setting, which is another peculiar trait of the genre (in case of live performances).

Therefore, the newly emerging functions are closely related to the specificity of the genre stand-up comedy, namely, its narrative, autobiographical and interactive nature, or, in other words, a series of characteristic traits the genre mobilizes.

The third and last observed tendency refers to the position of discourse markers in text organization or text plan. All the selected discourse markers, with no exception, function within the body of a stand-up comedy act, performing a series of textual and/or interactional functions, according to the initial hypothesis on duo-domain (i.e. textual and interactional). Predominant occurrence within the body of stand-up comedy acts indicates the importance of their textual functioning; the wide spectrum of functions they perform within the comedian's act is used to structure, shape, mend, clarify, introduce, prepare, etc. the text for perception. In this respect, conversational discourse markers are akin to guiding devices within the text organization of the stand-up comedy. Their occurrence in the opening/closing parts of stand-up comedy performances is underrepresented; yet, it indicates their potential to serve as textual shifts within these parts.

The observed differences in the tendencies of discourse markers' functioning in American English and European Portuguese stand-up comedy suggest that the genre parameter adjusts to particular needs of a particular linguistic, social, cultural and historical society, as the genre adapts to a particular situation of production. Just like genres, which are potentially limitless forms of human communication, the functional range of conversational discourse markers can be limitless, for each particular text implies an adjustment to particular cultural, social, and linguistic needs.

VII. 2. Future work

Several recommendations for future research on conversational discourse markers follow from the conclusions and my personal experience of language learning. As a Portuguese L2 speaker, I was exposed to a native language learning environment from the start, and completed a six-level scale (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2) of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR, 2001). Despite application of the communicative method, i.e. a method that is largely based on communication through speaking, reading, listening comprehension and writing, there has not been any mention of conversational discourse markers up to C2 level, which stands for C2 Mastery or Proficiency. As a result of this exclusion, L2 language learners (including me), after much time of studies, do not feel at ease when talking to Portuguese native speakers. In fact, my current knowledge on conversational discourse markers is purely empirical, driven from the context in the situations of interaction with native speakers. Common and frequent conversational markers *bem*, *pois*, *então*, *sei lá*, *ora bem*, *é pá* were a major challenge for understanding, as their literal meaning does not contribute to their functional use and contextual understanding. It is a paradox that these frequent real-life interactive linguistic items, which perform a range of important strategic conversational functions (e.g. marking beginning/end of turn, marking topic shift, asking for clarification, interrupting, etc.) were left without consideration during the lessons of Portuguese as a foreign language.

In view of the existing theoretical frameworks on conversational discourse markers, there may be several reasons for their exclusion from classroom activities:

- 1) It may be quite difficult to establish a core meaning of a discourse marker.
- 2) It is challenging to explain the concept of *procedural meaning* of discourse markers, i.e. the meaning it acquires in the context in particular situations.
- 3) Insufficient knowledge on discourse markers in the native language, and/or linguistic and cultural differences that impede proper understanding.
- 4) The idea that discourse markers are “marginal” linguistic units, and they do not “add” anything to a text (as they are syntactically/grammatically optional).
- 5) (possibly) Lack of didactic materials for teachers to incorporate them into their classroom activities.

Because of these limitations, discourse markers are typically introduced as exclusively *cohesive* devices (*portanto, contudo, além disso*, etc.), i.e. their functional range is limited to cohesion. This approach is somewhat outdated, as there have been numerous studies that proved the existence of *both* textual and interactive/interpersonal uses of these units. As a result, conversational discourse markers (*bem, bom, quer dizer*) are commonly ignored.

It is therefore advised to proceed with the investigation of Portuguese conversational discourse markers (e.g. *bem, bom, sabem, sabes, quer dizer*) from a language teaching (L2) perspective, in order to elaborate the necessary didactic support, to incorporate authentic materials into classroom activities and satisfy the demand of language learners in daily “live” interactive Portuguese language.

A first approach to theoretical and didactic challenges of conversational discourse markers as a classroom activity were presented in Pimentel & Silva (2013). Some of the key points from their research, which I believe to be crucial for future research in this field, are presented below.

- (a) Conversation is one of the most frequent forms of social interaction (2013, p. 186), therefore studying its multiple elements (e.g. turn-taking, courtesy and polite language, types of conversations based on various genres, discourse markers as common conversational devices) is an essential L2 classroom activity.
- (b) Incorporation of authentic real-life conversations as a material for a classroom activity allows its student to get a better picture of *real language uses* practiced by native speakers (2013, p. 186).
- (c) Conversations and other authentic materials are seen as cultural examples of the language and reflection of the linguistic reality. It encourages a contextualized, situated approach to language learning and permits to get acquainted with the existing communicational patterns. Authentic material can be of any kind and in different supports, including TV and radio programs, songs, films, recordings of conversations (2013, p. 196). In this regard, recordings of stand-up comedy, which is a kind of conversational genre, could be a rich and interesting material for a classroom activity, especially for B2, C1 and C2 Portuguese language learners. Besides, its strong cultural

component and humorous language play can add to a more elaborated analysis.

- (d) As is the case with other classroom activities, based on communicative method in CEFR, didactic activities on conversational discourse markers include reception and production phases (2013, p. 196). Activities should typically start from reception or passive period, in which the learner is confronted with a new linguistic phenomenon. He/she hears, observes, recognizes and understands properly contextualized conversational discourse markers in their natural, conversational environment; the learner draws a parallel with his/her own mother tongue (based on listening and reading). Production or active period refers to oral production or interaction; the student is given tasks and/or tests in order of increasing difficulty (based on speaking or writing), and other activities to promote learners' autonomy.

The recommendations for future work on conversational discourse markers are more relevant for Portuguese as a second/foreign language, as its linguistic theoretical research and practical didactic applicability is underrepresented, if compared with English as a second language (ESL) and multiple ESL classroom activities, which promote the use of conversational discourse markers among its learners.

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LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. A hierarchical model of six knowledge resources for jokes proposed by Attardo & Raskin (1991).
- Figure 2. Revision of GTVH by Ruiz-Gurillo (2012, 2015, p. 194).
- Figure 3. Levels of discourse analysis proposed by Adam (2008, p. 61; 2017, p. 38).
- Figure 4. Linear, temporal series of moments in narrative sequence (adopted from Adam, n.d., p. 9).
- Figure 5. The structure of narrative sequence (adopted from Adam, n.d., p. 9).
- Figure 6. The structure of narrative text (adopted from Adam, n.d., p. 11).
- Figure 7. Toulmin's argumentation model (adopted from Adam, 2017, p. 158).
- Figure 8. Argumentative sequence (adopted from Adam, 2017, p. 158).
- Figure 9. Explicative sequence (adopted from Adam, 2008, p. 244).
- Figure 10. Dialogal sequence (adopted from Adam, 2008, p. 248).
- Figure 11. The notion of discourse(s) in different socio-discursive perspectives.
- Figure 12. Relations between discourse markers and other pragmatic expressions.
- Figure 13. A duo-domain functioning of discourse markers in stand-up comedy.
- Figure 14. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *well*.
- Figure 15. Textual and interactional functions of *well*.
- Figure 16. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *you know*.
- Figure 17. Textual and interactional functions of *you know*.
- Figure 18. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *I mean*.
- Figure 19. Textual and interactional functions of *I mean*.
- Figure 20. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *bem*.
- Figure 21. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *bom*.
- Figure 22. Textual functions of *bem* and *bom*.
- Figure 23. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *sabem*.
- Figure 24. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *sabes*.
- Figure 25. Textual and interactional functions of *sabem* and *sabes*.
- Figure 26. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses of *quer dizer*.
- Figure 27. Textual and interactional functions of *quer dizer*.
- Figure 28. Non-discourse and discourse-marking uses and their distribution across the corpora.

- Figure 29. The forms of discourse markers and their distribution across the corpora.
- Figure 30. Textual and interactional functions and their distribution across the corpora.
- Figure 31. Textual and interactional functions of discourse markers.
- Figure 32. Textual and interactional functions of *well*, *bem* and *bom*.
- Figure 33. Textual and interactional functions of *you know*, *sabem* and *sabes*.
- Figure 34. Textual and interactional functions of *I mean* and *quer dizer*.
- Figure 35. Distribution of discourse markers across individual performances in American English stand-up comedy.
- Figure 36. Distribution of discourse markers across individual performances in Portuguese stand-up comedy.
- Figure 37. Distribution of discourse markers in macro-textual organization of stand-up comedy.

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1. The structure of stand-up performances in the US and in the UK.
- Table 2. The GTVH six-level representation model by Attrardo & Raskin (1991).
- Table 3. Multiple levels of narratives in humorous texts in Attrardo (2001).
- Table 4. Structure of a conventional stand-up performance as proposed in Rutter (1997).
- Table 5. Grice's (1975) conversational maxims in humor by Raskin (1985) and Attardo (1990).
- Table 6. Terminological equivalences established between Bakhtin's speech genre theory and SDI (adopted from Rojo, 2005, p. 190; Bronckart, 2012a, p. 143).
- Table 7. Marcuschi's (2005: 25) perspective of text genre and text type.
- Table 8. Text organization or 'internal architecture of texts' proposed by Bronckart (1997, 2012).
- Table 9. Typology of textual sequences presented by Bronckart (in Machado, 2005, pp. 246–247).
- Table 10. Approaches to structuration of texts in Brocncart (2012) and Adam (2017).
- Table 11. Three-dimensional genre parameters of stand-up comedy.
- Table 12. Translations of the English discourse marker *well* into Portuguese.
- Table 13. Translations of the English discourse marker *you know* into Portuguese.
- Table 14. Translations of the English discourse marker *I mean* into Portuguese.
- Table 15. Back translations from Portuguese into English.
- Table 16. Quantitative characteristics of corpus selection.
- Table 17. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the English discourse marker *well* in stand-up comedy.
- Table 18. *Well* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.
- Table 19. *Well* and its position in the closing of a stand-up act.
- Table 20. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *you know* in stand-up comedy.
- Table 21. *You know* and its position in macro-organization of a stand-up act.
- Table 22. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the English discourse marker *I mean* in stand-up comedy.
- Table 23. *I mean* and its position in macro-organization of a stand-up act.

Table 24. Definitions of the textual functions of the Portuguese discourse marker *bem* in stand-up comedy.

Table 25. *Bem* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.

Table 26. *Bem* and its position in the closing of a stand-up act.

Table 27. Definitions of the textual functions of *bom* in stand-up comedy.

Table 28. *Bom* and its position in the opening of a stand-up act.

Table 29. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *sabem* in stand-up comedy.

Table 30. *Sabem* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

Table 31. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of *sabes* in stand-up comedy.

Table 32. *Sabes* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

Table 33. Definitions of the textual and interactional functions of the Portuguese discourse marker *quer dizer* in stand-up comedy.

Table 34. *Quer dizer* and its position in the macro-organization of a stand-up act.

Table 35. Summary of the findings on discourse markers in stand-up comedy.

