''If Humor Doesn't Prickle, It Doesn't Work'' Reflections on the Translation of Dark Humor in Piers Morgan's Interview with Bassem Youssef Regarding the Israel-Hamas War.

«إن لم تُثر الفكاهة استياءً، فلن تُجدي نفعاً» تأملات حول ترجمة الفكاهة السوداء في مقابلة بيرس مورغان مع باسم يوسف بشأن حرب إسرائيل وحماس.

Hamza Benacherine*
Senior Lecturer at the University of Tamaghasset
LLPDS Research Lab
Algeria

hamza.benacherine@gmail.com

Received: 01/04/2026 **Accepted:** 03/05/2026 **Published:** 09/06/ 2026

Abstract

Achieving accuracy in the translation of dark humor epitomizes a form of unique cross-cultural communication. Cultural nuances, wordplay, and proverbs are at the center of the challenging aspects of dark sarcasm in politics. Proceeding from the fact that the pragmatic intent of political satire could represent a crux for the translator/ interpreter, this article purports to review several subtitled Arabic translation renderings of the famous interview of Piers Morgan with the Egyptian satirist Bassem Youssef regarding the Israel-Hamas war. Through this analytical study, a qualitative approach has been adopted to investigate aspects of prickliness translation from a humor-paralinguistic lens, while providing suggestions and troubleshooting. The overall findings of the present study showed that many humorous expressions have no counterparts in the Arabic Language; therefore, loss and gain, cultural adaptation, and weakening strategies are inevitable. Based on these findings, the study concluded that the type of translation can considerably reduce the sharp differences between the SL English and TL Arabic and vice versa.

Keywords: **Cultural nuances, pragmatics, dark humor, translation, equivalence, sarcasm**

ملخص

يُجسّد تحقيق الدقة في ترجمة الفكاهة السوداء شكلاً فريداً من أشكال التواصل بين الثقافات. فالفروق الثقافية الدقيقة، والتلاعب بالألفاظ، والأمثال، تُشكّل جوهر التحديات التي تواجه السخرية السوداء في السياسة. وانطلاقاً من حقيقة أن الغاية العملية للسخرية السياسية قد تُمثّل معضلةً للمترجم، تُقدّم هذه المقالة مراجعةً لعددٍ من الترجمات العربية المصحوبة بترجمةٍ نصيةٍ للمقابلة الشهيرة التي أجراها بيرس مورغان مع الكاتب الساخر المصري باسم يوسف حول حرب إسرائيل وحماس. ومن خلال هذه الدراسة التحليلية، تمّ اعتماد منهج نوعيّ لدراسة جوانب ترجمة السخرية اللاذعة من منظورٍ لغويّ فكاهيّ، مع تقديم اقتراحاتٍ وحلولٍ للمشاكل. وقد أظهرت النتائج العامة للدراسة الحالية أن العديد من التعبيرات الفكاهية لا يوجد لها مقابل في اللغة العربية؛ ولذلك، فإنّ فقدان المعنى واكتسابه، والتكيّف الثقافي، واستراتيجيات التخفيف، أمورٌ لا مفرّ منها. وبناءً على هذه النتائج، خلصت الدراسة إلى أن نوع الترجمة يُمكن أن يُقلّل بشكلٍ كبيرٍ من الفروقات الحادة بين اللغة الإنجليزية المصدر واللغة العربية الهدف، والعكس صحيح.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الفروق الثقافية الدقيقة، البراغماتية، الفكاهة السوداء، الترجمة، التكافؤ، السخرية

* Corresponding author: Hamza Benacherine

1. Introduction:

The gist of political satire might sometimes be hugely misleading for translators and interpreters, especially when produced more darkly. Achieving accurate rendering in the translation of dark humor could be a daunting task, as it might yield cross-cultural misconceptions for the target audience should the translation fail to convey the intended meaning.

In the realm of political satire, the translator is arguably acting as a political mediator who must be deeply engaged in political issues and political behaviors. Therefore, Familiarity with the field of political satire helps comprehend different emotions evoked for various purposes. This might be to communicate (implicit) discriminatory messages, racism, ethnic cleansing, ableist statements, warmongering, etc. In this study, the language combination English- Arabic is rarely seen in political debates where the satirist is of Arabic descent (Egyptian) using his satire as a weapon to face sweeping political backlash regarding the war in Gaza. Proceeding from this fact, translation bears a cultural burden, transmitting the accurate intent of the utterance.

In this research, Bassem tries to transfer his political standpoints using backhanded criticism while displaying a range of moods, such as amusement, irony, and false seriousness. These parameters can deeply impact the translation behavior. Additionally, the author's attitude and the reader's feelings are what place the process of translation between a rock and a hard place, handling equivalence and the targeted audience’s perception at once.

To approach this translation issue, the study employs a qualitative approach to explore the challenges of translating prickliness from a humor-oriented paralinguistic perspective, while also offering practical suggestions and solutions. The study concluded that many humorous expressions lack direct equivalents in the Arabic language, making strategies such as loss and gain, cultural adaptation, and mitigation unavoidable. Based on these results, the study validates that the choice of translation approach can significantly minimize the stark differences between the source language (English) and the target language (Arabic).

2. Dark humor and translation:

There is a plethora of humor instances occurring in different contexts; however, in politics, dark humor gains ground and appears mostly as a “sharp, bitter, or cutting expression or remark; a bitter gibe or taunt.” (The Oxford English Dictionary). Therefore, dark humor may be enveloped within sharp cleverness to produce intended satiric remarks. (Alharthi, 2016, p. 22). Uttering remarks in a self-Denigrating way is commonly known as " putdowns, “which are abusively directed to a particular person to put him down. (Alharthi, 2016, p. 23) These types of dark humor involve deliberately teasing or poking fun at someone's views, quirks, or physical characteristics, often lightheartedly. the challenges that arise due to differences in language and culture between the original and translated versions, are what make translators often struggle to capture the essence of jokes, while preserving the comedic essence. Common stereotypes within a cultural Arabic, especially if uttered in a colloquial manner often contribute to make audiences from diverse backgrounds interpret it differently or struggle to understand the intended elements.

2. Literature review:

a. Humor and pragma-linguistics:

The scope of the present study draws on an interdisciplinary field that highlights the intersection of humor, language, and context, probing into how humor is created, conveyed, and interpreted through pragmatics and linguistic mechanisms. Pragma-linguistics focuses mostly on key concepts such as speech acts, implicature, conversational maxims, and face theory. It highlights how humor can manipulate language to generate incongruity, surprise, irony, sarcasm and how its meaning is shaped by the social, cultural, and situational context in which it occurs.

The understanding of pragma-linguistics is essential for producing accurate translations that convey the intended meaning and communicative functions of the original text. Translators must consider not only the words and grammar of the source and target languages but also the contextual and cultural factors that shape language use.

Different theories and approaches offer perspective frameworks for understanding the nuances of humor and sarcasm in language and communication. Sperber and Wilson’s (1986) relevance theory, for instance, posits that interpretation requires a cognitive effort to maximize relevance. In their seminal work, Sperber and Wilson assert that “interpretation involves the effort to identify a contextually relevant interpretation.” This suggests that translators must prioritize maintaining the relevance of humorous and sarcastic elements in the target language context, ensuring that the intended meaning is effectively communicated (Sperber & Wilson, 1986).

Translating humor between languages poses challenges due to cultural and linguistic differences that shape comedic expressions. According to Peter Newmark (1988), humor is often context-dependent and relies on cultural references and wordplay that may not have direct equivalents in another language. Translators must navigate these differences carefully to maintain the humorous elements of the original text while ensuring that the translated version is culturally relevant and engaging to the target audience.

- Natalia Emmanouil conducted a literature review on humor, focusing on the challenges and strategies in translating humor across languages. The review highlighted the impact of cultural and linguistic differences on humor translation, emphasizing the context-dependent nature of comedic expressions. Emmanouil discussed the importance of translators understanding the cultural references, wordplay, and idiomatic expressions that underlie humor to effectively convey its essence in the TL. The review also explored the various approaches and strategies employed by translators, such as using footnotes, explanations, and adaptive language techniques to capture the humor of the original text. Overall, Emmanouil's literature review shed light on the complexities of translating humor and the key considerations for ensuring successful cross-cultural communication of comedic elements

- Dr. Nuri Ageli (2014) emphasizes the importance of understanding linguistic and cultural aspects to maintain the communicative objective of the message while translating media into English. The complexity lies in capturing the intended meaning, which can be challenging even for expert students in translation.
- Also, Miss. Rym BOUGHERARA (2017) research paper explores the cultural nuances that influence communication in the English and Arabic languages. The study delves into various aspects such as language structure, idiomatic expressions, nonverbal cues, and social norms that shape communication patterns in both languages. Through a comparative analysis, Miss. Rym identifies key differences and similarities, shedding light on how cultural context impacts verbal and nonverbal communication. The paper aims to deepen understanding and foster effective cross-cultural communication between English and Arabic speakers.

- Lately, Rasha and Ghaleb (2023) delved into the challenges and strategies involved in translating humor from English comedy films into Arabic. The research highlighted the linguistic and cultural issues encountered by students, especially in relation to the source text. Through the application of different translation strategies, such as Newmark's model, the study aimed to address these challenges and provide a better understanding of the

complexities involved in translating humor across languages. The findings of this study offer valuable insights for students, translators, and researchers in the field of English-Arabic translation.

- Based on this literature review, we observe that the translation of humorous and sarcastic texts into Arabic has been the subject of several studies. These studies have extensively covered the challenges in translating humor and sarcasm between English and Arabic, highlighting issues related to cultural context, linguistic nuances, and pragmatic intent. However, a significant research gap remains in the translation of political texts that involve dark humor. Political humor often intertwines with cultural and social commentary, making it particularly challenging to translate due to the specific contextual knowledge required.
- Furthermore, the concept of dark humor, which involves making light of subjects that are generally considered serious, politically sensitive, or taboo, is still under researched in Arabic translation studies. This type of humor relies heavily on cultural perceptions of what is acceptable or taboo, adding another layer of complexity to the translation process. Therefore, the lack of research on political dark humor in translation presents a notable gap that this study aims to address, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges and strategies in translating different types of humor between English and Arabic.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Collection

This study employed a qualitative case-study approach to investigate the translation of dark humor during a broadcast interview. Recognizing that humor in a live, mediated context is a dynamic, performative act shaped by both the immediate interlocutors and the remote audience, data were collected from a single primary source: authentic broadcast recordings, along with stimulated-recall subtitles.

4.2 Sampling and case selection:

A purposive sampling technique was used to select broadcast interviews that were rich in potential for analysis. Purposive sampling, which is defined as a purposeful selection of specific units (such as individuals, cases, or events) based on their relevance to the study objectives, enables researchers to acquire deeper insights into complex phenomena. (Tajik, O., Noor, S., & Golzar, J., 2024)

The criteria for selection were:

1. The interview was recorded for later broadcast on the BBC News Channel.

2. The interview involved a speaker using English and was subtitled for an Arabic-speaking audience.

3. The content of the interview included identifiable instances of humor or culturally specific comedic references (e.g., jokes, sarcasm, wordplay, anecdotes, non-verbal cues).

4.3 Data Generation:

The primary artifact for analysis was the video/audio recording of the selected broadcast interviews. These recordings were obtained directly from the BBC broadcasting network on YouTube. To prepare them for analysis, the recordings were enhanced with a detailed timecode log, noting key features such as:

- The original utterance (in English).

- The translated/ subtitled rendition (in Arabic). This transcription produced a multi-layered record of the broadcast event, capturing not just the words, but the performance of humor itself.

4.4 Results:

In political debates, dark humor/ sarcasm always serves as a sharp verbal weapon reflecting negative effects. The qualitative analysis delves into the pragmatic structure and function of the sarcastic utterance. The translation strategies were then identified and analyzed according to potentially the most controversial elements that appeared during the interview. The description is adopted for the most significant instances:

In general, the majority of dark humor instances were rendered in a way that remains close to the original. The intended impact on viewers is expected to be preserved. In most cases, verbal dark humor was weakened as a result of its cultural adaptation into Arabic. "While some instances showed an increased use of literally rendered expressions in the TL version as a way to ensure the denotative meaning was preserved. By prioritizing clarity, the rendering became denotative rather than connotative, disrupting the cognitive gap required for irony to function properly and eventually reconfiguring the reader's interpretive experience. Whereas some verbal dark humor elements were completely omitted to avoid offending the sensibilities of the target audience. While other, less provocative jokes were retained or even adapted.

Extract 1

SL	TL

It's very repetitive. We used to them being bombed every time. *By the way my my my wife's family is all right and they sent us a house it's it's bombed it's beautiful it's it's going to be a good like Halloween theme."*	أمر يتكرر كثيرا، اعتدنا على مشاهدتهم يُقصفون انه طوال الوقت. بالمناسبة، عائلة زوجتي بخير، وقد أرسلوا لنا منزلاً، إنه مدمر ولكنه جميل، وسيكون مكاناً رائعاً لحفلة الهالوين.

a/ Pragma-linguistic analysis:

a.1 Propositional sarcasm:

Propositional sarcasm focuses on the proposition through which a sarcastic remark is achieved, presenting the reverse of a factual utterance (Camp, 2012, 607). Thus, to pretend something means another thing.

In this instance, Bassem utilizes propositional sarcasm, which includes Non-Conventional Implicature denoting the contrary of his spoken words. He adheres to the speech act through assertive SA, the speaker can convey complaints to the counterpart's policy and attitude. Furthermore, Bassem`s sarcasm gives away an implicit hint at the boredom that envelopes Western policymakers as the issue gets repetitive over time without any positive development. Bassem is also sneering at the British anchorman by referring to the biased political attitudes of Western policies towards the horrific situation in Gaza. Thus, highlighting the absurdity of being indifferent about loved ones stranded and experiencing repeated bombings as if it were a routine.

b/ Translation strategy:

b.1 Literal translation:

The translator is expected to be well-versed in the field of sarcasm and humor and their pragmatic functions so as to craft the appropriate equivalence in the target language. The translation strategy adopted in this example was more literal as it adheres to the semantic aspect of the translated version. The choice of literal translation is thought to align with the audience`s prior knowledge of the speaker`s intent over the issue in question. Therefore, even though the translation is rendered literally, the sense is already assimilated in a non-literal way.

Extract 2

ST	TT
They're very dramatic. "Ah, Israel is killing us.	"آه،اسرائيل تقتلنا ".يبالغون كثيرا

you know, when I asked him, does that happen? He told me. No, the lying SON OF BITCH lied to me. I told him you don't understand. Ben Shapiro and Ron de Santis keep saying that Israel warned you and Hamas asked you to keep to stay put. So I told you he's a loser.	أتعرف، عندما سألته: هل يحدث هذا؟ أجابني: لا، لقد كذب عليّ الوغد الكاذب. قلت له: أنت لا تفهم. بن شابيرو ورون دي سانتيس يكرران أن إسرائيل حذرتكم وأن حماس طلبت منكم البقاء في أماكنكم. لذلك قلت لك إنه شخص فاشل.

a/ Pragma-linguistic analysis:
a.1 Illocutionary Sarcasm

The phrases "*the lying Son of a B… lied to me*" and calling the person "*a loser*" imply deep and strong skepticism and total rejection of the narrative promoted by Ben Shapiro and Ron DeSantis. This skepticism is a conversational implicature, inferred from the context and the speaker's tone.

Moreover, Bassem creates a non-conventional implicature by conveying indirectly, and beyond the literal meaning of the words spoken, the western mainstream narrative towards the narrative of human shields. This humorous expression plays on the stereotype of Palestinians being overly dramatic about their struggles, implying a dismissive and mocking attitude towards their suffering.

b. Translation strategy
b.1 Cultural adaptation:

Cultural adaptation strategy was utilized to be more culturally resonant as a way to convey the same sense of exaggeration and drama. "يبالغون كثيراً " translates to "They are exaggerating a lot," which captures the dramatic tone. The phrase "تقتلنا إسرائيل آه" remains the same to preserve the dramatic quote. The same strategy goes to the lying SON OF B..و لقد كذب عليّ الوغد he is a loser,إنه شخص فاشل . as the communication was tailored to align with the cultural sensitivities and preferences of the Arab public."

Extract 3

ST	**TT**

*I really try to get to her every time, but she uses our kids **as human shields.***	**احاول جاهدا التخلص** منها لكنها تحتمي بأطفالنا كأنهم دروع بشرية.
He even like failed in all of the interviews to become like a human shield. I would believe in friendship with you."	حتى أنه فشل في جميع المقابلات ليصبح بمثابة درع بشري. كنتُ أؤمن بالصداقة معك.

a. Pragma-linguistic analysis:

a.1 Illocutionary Sarcasm:

Camp (2012, p. 618) believes that illocutionary sarcasm involves not only a part of the utterance, but the entire illocutionary act. Bassem tries, in this instance, to implicitly refer to the sufferings of the Gazan people through evaluative attitudes such as backhanded pity, outrage, and sorrow that are initiated in implicature as 'an overtly aggressive type of irony. The implicature, along with the speech tone, plays a major role in transferring the depth of sarcasm.

b. Translation strategy :

b.1 Explicitation

Translating by explicating holds that the translation overly introduces information from the source text that was implicit in the context of the source text. This translation choice combines a direct approach emphasizing the effort with "أحاول جاهداً" ("*I really try*") with a slight cultural adaptation in ""تحتمي بأطفالناوكأنهم دروع بشرية means "she shields herself with our kids," which retains the original meaning "*she uses our kids as a means of illegal protection*"

The choice of translation is also meant to maintain the same sarcastic tone as a way to vehicle a similar sensation to the target audience.

Extract 4

ST	TT
I think we should kill as many sons of b as possible.*	أعتقد أننا يجب أن نقتل أكبر عدد ممكن من الأوغاد
*I mean, how **F**.. cute. That is so nice of them*	يعني، يا إلهي، ما ألطفهم! هذا لطف كبير منه

a. Pragma-linguistic analysis:

a.1 Illocutionary Sarcasm: Breach of politeness

In this instance, Bassem is using an exaggerated language as a way to reveal an outright hostility in a revered manner. From a politeness perspective, this statement

is highly impolite but effective. As Kreuz (2020) explains that using profanity promotes sarcasm. therefore, using abusive and vulgar language during this interview was meant to show strong disapproval and frustration towards the inhumane killings of Gazans.

b. Translation strategy

b.1 weakening

Translating this statement into Arabic requires careful consideration of cultural sensitivities and linguistic nuances. Therefore, the translation adopted a weakening strategy as a way to render a dark humor element with a diluted, "harmless" equivalent in the target language: *how F.. cute* يا إلهي، ما ألطفهم!. That being the case, weakening the source language element through cultural adaptation strategy involves adopting an inevitable loss, which is defined by Dizdar (2014) as the incomplete replication of the source language in the target language due to sharp dissimilarities between languages of distant backgrounds and sensitivities, like the case of English and Arabic.

EXTRACT 5

ST	TT
Perfect, you were honest about it. You are a good man. I applaud you.	رائع ..لقد كنت صادقا بشأن ذلك، أنت رجل طيب، أنا لا بأس بذلك حصل خير أحييك

a. Pragma-linguistic analysis:

a.1 Lexical Sarcasm:

Aspects of lexical sarcasm often appear mostly in interjections and in expressions like: 'brilliant', 'surprise, 'perfect', fantastic. etc (Camp, 2012, 607). Through these utterances, the satirist is inferring the very contrary meaning of his words. Bassem inserted words like; *You are a good man! perfect! you are an honest man!* to implicitly convey the opposite of meaning of these words; focusing on presenting the reverse of the factual utterance.

b. Translation strategy:

b.1 Translation blend:

The translation of this statement demonstrates an effective blend of literal translation and cultural adaptation. The use of "لا بأس بذلك حصل خير" integrates a cultural adaptation that aligns with the authentic Arabic expression, conveying a sarcastic dismissal similar to "It's fine. It's fine." Fidelity was also maintained for a literal tone in: you are a **good** man; you are an **honest** man insomuch as it is required for transparency.

5. Discussion of the findings

This study sought to capture the importance of understanding pragmatics and pragma-linguistics for translation purposes, where the complexity lies in the intended meaning by the speaker. The findings suggest that handling the translation of sarcasm, irony, and dark humor in political settings around a war context presents significant pragmatic challenges. Dark humor, commonly known as black comedy or gallows humor, is a style of comedy that uses situational pointers that are considered taboo, sensitive, or even tragic. It often involves making jokes or finding humor in subjects such as death, violence, illness, and other dark or controversial themes. Further, Dark humor is characterized by its subversive and often ironic nature, challenging societal norms and pushing the boundaries of what is considered acceptable or appropriate. (Gervais & Wilson, 2018)

The assumption of Mona Baker (2018), stresses that understanding pragmatics is essential for producing accurate translations that convey the intended meaning and communicative functions of the original text. Therefore, understanding the pragmatic-linguistic dimensions in Bassam Youssef's statements regarding the Israel-Hamas War helps analyze how Bassem's statements convey meaning beyond their literal interpretation, particularly through sarcasm and exaggeration. Humor is often context-dependent and relies on cultural references and wordplay that may not have direct equivalents in another language. Cultural differences between English and Arabic and linguistic differences in the structure and syntax of English and Arabic are likely to be fraught with obstacles when the primary goal of the translator is to convey the same amount of prickliness to the target recipient effectively. Therefore, erroneous understanding of the nuanced elements of dark sarcasm might result in potential misinterpretations and, consequently, a loss of the comedic effect expected.

6. Conclusion

This study purports to underscore the paramount role of pragmatics and pragm-linguistics in translation, specifically examining the intricate process of rendering sarcasm, irony, and dark humor within the high-stakes context of political conflict. The analysis of Bassem Youssef's statements regarding the Israel-Hamas War confirms that meaning transcends the lexical surface of an utterance. As Mona Baker (2018) asserts, a profound understanding of pragmatics is not merely an asset but a necessity for producing translations that are both accurate and functionally communicative.

The findings highlight the profound challenges posed by dark humor, a genre defined by its deep engagement with tragedy and taboo. Youssef's comedic strategy, rooted in sarcasm and exaggeration, is highly context-dependent, relying on shared and non-shared cultural knowledge and specific wordplay that has a less direct counterpart in Arabic language. The cultural distance between English and Arabic, combined with their structural and syntactic differences, engenders a challenging landscape for the translator. The decisive hurdle identified is not the translation of words, but the translation of intent and effect. A failure to navigate the nuanced pragma-linguistic elements of his satire risks not only misinterpretation but the complete dissipation of its intended prickliness and comedic impact.

In conclusion, this study reinforces that translating politically charged dark humor is an act of arduous negotiation. It requires the translator to act as a cultural mediator, tasked with maintaining the original message's subversive spirit and communicative function. The effectiveness of the translation relies on the ability to decode the implicit meaning embedded in the source culture and recode it within the target culture, ensuring that the audience experiences the intended blend of critique and comedy. As global political landscapes increasingly utilize such nuanced forms of expression, the demand for translators equipped with this advanced pragmatic dexterity will only continue to grow.

References

1. Alharthi, A. A. (2016). Challenges and strategies of subtitling humor: A case study of the American sitcom Seinfeld, with particular reference to English and Arabic. Salford, UK: University of Salford.
2. Ali Mohammed, S. A. (2019). Translating humorous expressions into Arabic with reference to loss, gain, and compensation. International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature, 8(6), 16. https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.8n.6p.16
3. Baker, M. (2018). In other words: A coursebook on translation. P. 3. Routledge.
4. Camp, E. (2008). Showing, Telling, and Seeing: Metaphor and ‘Poetic’ Language. The Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic, and Communication, vol. 3: A Figure of Speech [Online], ed. E. Camp, pp 1–24.
5. Kreuz, R. (2020). Irony and sarcasm. MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/12503.001.000
6. Newmark, P. (1988). A textbook of translation. P. 5. Prentice Hall.
7. Nuri, A. (2014). Creativity in The Use of Translation Micro strategies By Translation Students at the University. International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation (IJLLT). University of Bahrain, Bahrain.

8. OED|sarcasm. Oxford English Dictionary. [Online] December 23, 2023. https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=sarcasm
9. Rym, B. (2017). Cultural Differences in the Way of Communicating Between English and Arabic Languages. Algirs 2 University
10. Rasha, K., & Ghaleb, R. (2023). English-Arabic Translation of Humor: Challenges and Strategies. University of Sharjah Journal for Humanities & Social Sciences, Volume 20, No. 3 September 2023.
11. Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). Relevance: Communication and cognition. Harvard University. Press. The Sound of Humor: Translation, Culture, and Phonological Jokes (https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/80041)
12. Tajik, O., Noor, S., & Golzar, J.. (2024). Purposive Sampling. 2. 1-9. 10.22034/ijels.2025.490681.1029.