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Conceptual Metaphor in Female Stand-up Comedy

Konceptuální metafora v ženské stand-up komedii

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ABSTRAKT

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá využitím konceptuální metafory v rámci ženské stand-up komedie. Teoretická část práce představuje teorii Konceptuální metafory (*Conceptual Metaphor Theory*), teorii Konceptuální integrace (*Blending Theory*), různé teorie humoru a průsečíky mezi metaforou a humorem. Dále se také věnuje historii a charakteristikám stand-up komedie jako takové. Analytická část práce se zaměřuje na nejčastěji se vyskytující témata a motivy z korpusu a analyzuje sdělení a postoje, které komičky komunikují skrze konceptuální metafory. Korpus, který byl vytvořen pro účely této práce obsahuje celkem 154 příkladů, z toho se do podrobná věnuje 71 z nich. Výzkum ukázal četné výskyty negativních sentimentů napříč všemi analyzovanými tématy.

Tato práce nabízí nahlédnutí na konceptuální metaforu a její využití v kreativní sféře, skrze tuto analýzu je cílem práce poskytnout hlubší pochopení jejich funkcí a potenciálu.

Klíčová slova: konceptuální metafora, ženský stand-up, konceptuální integrace, teorie humoru

ABSTRACT

This diploma thesis investigates the usage of conceptual metaphor by female stand-up comedians. The theoretical part discusses the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the Blending Theory, theories of humor and the relation between metaphor and humor. It also presents the history and characteristics of the genre of stand-up comedy. The analytical part of the thesis focuses on the most recurring topics in the corpus and attempts to unravel the underlying messages and attitudes the comedians convey with the help of conceptual metaphor. The corpus, which was specifically created for the purpose of this thesis, contains 154 examples, 71 of which are analyzed in depth. The analysis revealed a substantial display of negative sentiments and outlooks across the majority of the examined topics.

The thesis provides an insight into the notion of conceptual metaphor and its usage in a creative genre, and hopes to contribute to the greater understanding of its inner workings and potential.

keywords: conceptual metaphor, female stand-up, blending, humor theory

Contents

List of tables and charts	7
Introduction	8
Metaphor	10
Conceptual Metaphor Theory	10
The Blending Theory	14
Humor Theory	17
The Three Major Humor Theories	17
The Semantic Script-Based Theory of Humor	18
Metaphor and Humor	24
Metaphor and Humor: Common Ground	24
Humorous Metaphors	25
Stand-Up Comedy	28
Definitions and Characteristics	28
Some History	29
Female Stand-Up Comedy	30
Methodology	31
Hypotheses	31
Material	32
Collection and Classification	35
Identification of Metaphors	35
Analysis	38
Men and Relationships	38
Conclusions to Chapter 6.1.	53
Female Body	56
Conclusion to Chapter 6.2.	69
Motherhood and Children	71
Conclusions to Chapter 6.3.	74
Conclusion	76

References	79
Sources	83
Resumé	86
Appendix	92

List of tables and charts

Table 1. Overview of the comedians and performances selected for analysis	34
Table 2. Breakdown of the collected material	34
Table 3. Source domains used with the target domains of men and women and their frequency	53
Table 4. Source domains used with the target domain of relationships	54
Table 5. Source domains used with the target domain of the female body and their frequency	69
Table 6. Source domains used with the target domain of motherhood and their frequency	74
Table 7. Source domains used with the target domain of children and their frequency	74
Figure 1. Integration network for Example (4)	40
Figure 2. Integration network for Example (5)	42
Figure 3. Integration network for Example (20)	48
Figure 4. Integration network for Example (27)	51
Figure 5. Integration network for Example (31)	57
Figure 6. Integration network for Example (58)	72

Introduction

“When I perform, it's very personal. I'm sharing things I like, inviting the audience into my room.” Perhaps unknowingly, but Andy Kaufman perfectly summarized what makes stand-up comedy *stand-out*: the way it builds a personal connection with the audience. The building of personal connection – or the general quality of being relatable – is in a lot of ways what makes a stand-up performance successful. However, this poses a great challenge for the comedians, as the world and existence in it can be chaotic and hard to grasp. Metaphor is one of the ways performers can ease this burden, as they provide a tangible way to put one's thoughts and feelings into words, while also making it entertaining for the listener. The cognitive linguistics approach to metaphor (conceptual metaphor), in turn, provides the framework for an unparalleled insight into the way we think and make sense of the world. Sadly, the field of stand-up comedy has not exactly been inclusive to voices from minority groups, including women. This has, however, been undergoing transformation in the past couple of years, and women are firmly establishing themselves to be an integral part of the genre.

This diploma thesis investigates the underlying messages and attitudes that female stand-up comedians convey with the metaphorical language they use. The theoretical part is primarily based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), which gave rise to the study of metaphor the way we know it today. It also presents further works of such scholars as Kövecses, Croft & Cruse, Evans, Goatly, Attardo, Semino, and some others. Considering the creative nature of the research material, the thesis also presents and makes use of the Blending Theory, which is considered to be an extension of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Then, it studies the theory of humor, starting from the three major humor theories and then moving on to the The Semantic Script-Based Theory of Humor and lastly, The General Theory of Verbal Humor. The two elements - metaphor and humor - are then put together and several studies on humorous metaphors are presented. The final chapters of the theoretical part are devoted to the genre of stand-up comedy, its characteristics, history and the place of women in this men-dominated scene.

The analytical part is concerned with the conceptualizations and narratives created by female comedians on the most recurring topics. A corpus of 154 examples was specifically created for the purpose of this research and the total of 71 examples were analyzed in depth in the empirical part. The rest of the corpus is presented in the Appendix.

1. Metaphor

The traditional approach to metaphor is to see it solely as a literary device and an attribute of poetic use, serving to embellish literal, “ordinary” language. Within this rhetoric approach it was typically realized as a schematic form “A is B”, e.g. *Achilles is a lion* (Evans & Green, 2006: 293). Such implicit comparisons (as opposed to simile) were regarded as the only function of metaphor, up until it was rediscovered within the framework of cognitive linguistics, primarily by the groundbreaking Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

One of the most important concepts presented in the book is that metaphor is not merely a linguistic phenomenon, but a fundamental aspect of human thought, which plays an important role in construing our everyday realities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). Without even noticing it, we speak and think metaphorically, be it about our feelings, emotions and experiences, or something as trivial as time. Metaphors perpetuate our lives and take many different forms not just linguistically, but even in the form of gestures. Naturally, all of this means that the range of use of metaphor goes far beyond mere embellishment of language, and it is in fact a very useful tool for us to get our messages across or express our feelings and desires in a clearer way. What is more, studies have suggested that metaphor is commonly used to produce certain effects in a given discourse (Ugarte, 2015: 10). Goatly (2007) even argues that metaphors reveal hidden ideologies.

In order to show how metaphors work within the frameworks of cognitive linguistics and what their most important characteristics are, the next section is dedicated to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory introduced by Lakoff and Johnson.

1.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is based on the idea that metaphor is a mental process by which we reinterpret one conceptual domain in terms of another. To illustrate, let us consider the following expressions speakers of English commonly use to talk about love (Kövecses, 2010: 6):

We're at a crossroads.

We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
We can't *turn back* now.
I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
Where are we?
We're *stuck*.
It's been a *long, bumpy road*.
This relationship is a *dead-end street*.
We're just *spinning our wheels*.
Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
We've *gotten off the track*.
This relationship is *foundering*.

The concept that appears to unite all of the examples above is the concept of journeys, which is considered to be the **source domain**, and the concept that is being described (in our case, love) is called **target domain**. To describe a conceptual metaphor Lakoff and Johnson made use of the “A is B” formula, where “A” is the more abstract target domain, and “B” is the more concrete source domain, in terms of which the target is described, e.g., LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The opposition of abstract and concrete makes sense in the context of conceptual metaphor: it is easier for us to grasp a concrete, or even tangible, object or phenomenon, and we use it to fully comprehend and communicate something abstract, for instance, a feeling or an emotion. To quote Zoltán Kövecses (2010: 7), “our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains”. One significant feature of metaphoric domains is their unidirectionality: “the metaphoric process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way around” (ibid.). This idea is also supported by Kövecses’s (ibid.: Chapter 2) findings of the most common source and target domains, which are very different in nature:

The most common source domains:

1. Human body
2. Health and Illness
3. Animals

4. Plants
5. Buildings and Construction
6. Machines and Tools
7. Games and Sport
8. Money and Economic Transactions (Business)
9. Cooking and Food
10. Heat and Cold
11. Light and Darkness
12. Forces
13. Movement and Direction

The most common target domains:

1. Emotion
2. Desire
3. Morality
4. Thought
5. Society/Nation
6. Politics
7. Economy
8. Human Relationships
9. Communication
10. Time
11. Life and Death
12. Religion
13. Events and Actions

As we can see, the items from the list of most common source domains are mostly objects that we encounter and come into physical contact with on a daily basis, or experiences that are familiar to everyone. On the other hand, the target domain items are exclusively abstract and often idiosyncratic.

It is important to point out once again that conceptual metaphor is not simply the way we talk about things, but rather the way we conceive things (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 5). Concepts in the human mind are constructed in the form of **metaphorical mappings**, which represent the correlations between different elements of the two domains. One of Lakoff’s primary goal was to reveal these mappings and see “how they have guided human reasoning and behavior” (Croft & Cruse, 2010: 194). Let us have a look at the mapping of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY presented in (Kövecses, 2010: 9):

<i>Source: JOURNEY</i>		<i>Target: LOVE</i>
the travelers	⇒	the lovers
the vehicle	⇒	the love relationship itself
the journey	⇒	events in the relationship
the distance covered	⇒	the progress made
the obstacles encountered	⇒	the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	⇒	choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	⇒	the goal(s) of the relationship

Looking at all the correlations and similarities between the two domains one might think that they were there all along and people came up with the metaphor to “label” them, but it is not the case. The reality is that the journey domain was applied to the love domain and provided the concept of love with this particular structure. To prove this point, (Kövecses, 2010: 9) suggests trying to imagine all the correlations mentioned above (e.g., lovers, events, goals) without making use of the journey domain. It proves to be very difficult, because the love domain is simply not built in our mind outside of or independently from the source domain of journey.

Another very important characteristic of conceptual metaphor is the way it **highlights** and **hides** certain aspects of our feelings and experiences. These two things go hand in hand: a metaphor focuses on (highlights) one aspect of a concept, while all the other aspects, if there are any, are left hidden (Kövecses, 2010). For instance, the ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY metaphor (e.g. *We have covered a lot of ground*) highlights the progress and content of the argument, while the ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING metaphor (e.g. *She constructed a solid argument*) focuses on the process of constructing an argument and its strength (Croft & Cruse, 2010). The same way all the different conceptual metaphors of love highlight and hide different feelings, experiences

and attitudes connected with it: the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor focuses on the progress of a relationship, the LOVE IS MADNESS metaphor (e.g. *I'm crazy about her*) highlights our lack of control over the feeling, and the LOVE IS WAR (e.g. *He fought for her love*) metaphor prompts us to see love as a struggle, or perhaps something worth fighting for. All the different concepts and the aspects they highlight and hide do not merely embellish our language, but, as Evans (2015: 56) put it, they “induce different ways of thinking and, hence, different actions, and so, real-world consequences”.

So far only conventional metaphors have been discussed – the kind of metaphors that have become established in our lexicon and in our cultures. In a way, we do not perceive them anymore as metaphorical, but rather as literal expressions due to their automatic and unconscious nature (Croft & Cruse, 2010: 290). However, we encounter and use metaphorical creativity virtually every day and in many kinds of discourse, and it appears to affect us greatly. Steen (2008: 214) points out that “metaphor may be divertive in literature and conversation, informative in news and science, persuasive in advertising, politics, and science, and instructive in education”. He also mentions that “such linguistic invitations to conceptualize one thing in terms of another can be expressed in various ways (metaphor, simile, analogy, extended comparison, allegory, and so on)” (ibid.). Goatly (2007: 28) goes as far as to suggest that “by applying language in new or unusual ways of structuring concepts differently metaphors have a potential for challenging the commonsense categories of knowledge”. In order to account for highly complex novel metaphorical expressions (among other things) which the CMT was not designed for, the Blending Theory was developed, which will be presented in the following chapter and later used to provide deeper analyses of some novel humorous metaphors in the empirical part of the thesis.

1.2. The Blending Theory

Blending Theory (also known as Conceptual Integration or Conceptual Blending Theory) has its roots in two approaches within the theory of cognitive semantics: Mental Spaces Theory and Cognitive Metaphor Theory. It is now considered to be complementary to the

Cognitive Metaphor Theory by many cognitive researchers (e.g. Attardo, 2015; Semino, 2010) and is used to account for mental processes CMT is not designed for.

The basic unit of cognitive organization according to BT is a ‘mental space’ – a term introduced by Fauconnier (1994), which refers to a temporary conceptual structure built up in the moment of speaking or understanding. Spaces are smaller and more specific than conceptual domains: “they represent particular scenarios that appear in a certain context and are usually structured by given domains” (Grady, 2001: 102). In contrast to domains, which are permanent and conventional, spaces are temporary representational structures built up ‘on-line’, which makes them more suitable to account for novel and unique linguistic representations.

The most obvious difference between CMT and BT is that BT makes use of at least four mental spaces instead of just two domains. However, two of those four mental spaces are directly associated with source and target domains (in a metaphorical example) and are called **input spaces** (although, within BT there is no limitation to the number of input spaces). Another space is called a **generic space**, which contains elements of a conceptual structure, which are shared by both inputs. Finally, and most importantly, there is a **blended space**, where the material from the input spaces is combined (Grady, 2001: 103). Such a four-dimensional model complements the two-domain projection of CMT and helps to account for phenomena which CMT does not address. To illustrate, let us consider this well-known example (Kövecses, 2010: 313):

(1) This surgeon is a butcher.

Within the frameworks of CMT the mechanism is quite straightforward: the source domain of butchery is projected upon the target domain of surgery, which results in a series of mappings, such as ‘butcher – surgeon’, ‘animal – human being’, ‘clever – scalpel’, ‘healing – cutting flesh’ and so on. What is missing, however, is the element of incompetence, which is metaphorically implied and unmistakably understood by anyone who hears this sentence. Butchery as a profession in and of itself is not associated with a lack of skill but rather requires very specific knowledge and expertise, so it would be wrong to state that the element of incompetence comes from this source domain. Emergence of this new meaning, which does not

result from simply a projection of pre-existing knowledge structures onto each other, is what CMT fails to account for and what BT was designed to explain (Evans & Green, 2006: 402). The way Evans & Green (2006: 400) put it, “the crucial insight of Blending Theory is that meaning construction typically involves integration of structure that gives rise to more than the sum of its parts”.

Therefore, getting back to sentence (1), as two input spaces we have the domains of SURGERY and BUTCHERY (notice, also, that the relationship is not unidirectional as it is in CMT) with their respective sets of mappings. In the generic space we have a person who uses a sharp tool on a body for a specific goal. Finally, by incorporating certain elements from both inputs, the blended space reconstructs a scene where a butcher performs an operation on a patient using their normal butcher’s means, which results in a total incompatibility between the goal (healing) and means (cutting flesh with a cleaver) (Croft & Cruse, 2010: 209). The inference of incompetence arises precisely from this mismatch: a surgeon who uses the means of butchery cannot perform their job well, which makes us think of such a person as nonprofessional and ineffective (Kövecses, 2013: 14).

According to BT, blending involves three processes – composition, completion, and elaboration. Composition refers to the projection of inputs into the blended spaces. Completion is the process of emergence of new information resulting from the material transpiring in the blend. Lastly, elaboration is our own deliberate extension of the scenario from the blend. For instance, one could imagine a butcher packaging their patient’s tissue as meat for sale (Grady, 2001: 107).

2. Humor Theory

Just like any other multifaceted phenomenon, humor has presented a challenge for a vast number of researchers who have attempted to define it. In fact, it has even been labeled “undefinable” several times (Attardo, 1994: 3). To put it simply, humor is “something that makes people laugh or smile” (Ross, 1998: 1), but this is hardly all there is to it.

Why do some things make us laugh and others do not? Why is one utterance funnier than another?

These questions have been a topic of interest since the time of the ancient Greeks. Since then, three major branches of humor theory have developed: incongruity, superiority and release. This section begins with a description of all three and then continues with two major modern theories of humor – the Semantic Script-Based Theory of Humor and the General Theory of Verbal Humor.

2.1. The Three Major Humor Theories

Incongruity theories are built around the existence of something incongruous, odd and unexpected in a humorous utterance. Within this framework incongruous is to be understood as “the discrepancy between two mental representations, one of which is an expectation [...] and the other is some idea or percept” (Suls, 1983 as cited by Dynel, 2013: 26). Modern humor theories usually make use of the incongruity-resolution model – a two-stage process involving the discovery of an incongruity and its resolution resulting from the application of an appropriate cognitive rule (Larkin-Galiñanes, 2017: 14). The way this is typically realized in verbal humor is by the hearer building up certain expectations of how a joke might turn out based on the stimulus they receive and then hearing the punchline of the joke and arriving at a new interpretation that was hidden from them. Thus, the element of surprise and novelty, which catches the hearer “off guard with something that they cannot smoothly assimilate” is key for an utterance to be

perceived as humorous (Morreall, 1983 as cited by Dynel, 2013: 27). Another important condition for an utterance to be humorous is that the incongruity should be resolvable, otherwise it is considered nonsensical (Shultz, 1976: 13).

Superiority theories focus on humor as a way to express superiority over someone or as a reaction to someone's mishaps. Whenever there is a target or a so-called butt of the joke at whose expense the hearer is supposed to be amused, we are dealing with the superiority (also called hostility or criticism) element of humor (Dynel, 2013: 28). The target of a joke can also be 'ideological', which means that instead of an individual (or a group of individuals), institutions or certain establishments can be ridiculed, e.g. marriage or romantic love (Attardo, 2001: 24). This element does not normally elicit a humorous reaction on its own, but is rather interwoven with other elements, e.g. an incongruity. As pointed out by Morreall (2008, as cited in Dynel, 2013: 30), "most of the incongruities we laugh at, especially in comedy, are human shortcomings – ignorance, stupidity, awkwardness, mistakes, misunderstandings, and moral vices. The Incongruity Theory would say simply that it is the out-of-placedness of these shortcomings that we enjoy". Some scholars have suggested that one can laugh at their own misfortune as well by dissociating from their alter ego and feeling superior to it as though it was someone else (Rapp, as cited in Morreall, 1983: 12).

Release theories refer to the feeling of relief or liberation by laughter. These theories are profoundly psychological and were initially developed by Sigmund Freud. Proponents of such theories believe that laughter provides "relief for mental, nervous and/or psychic energy and thus ensures homeostasis after a struggle, tension, strain, etc." (Raskin, 1985: 38). It can also be perceived as liberation from laws, social constructs, taboos or one's own inhibitions.

2.2. The Semantic Script-Based Theory of Humor

The SSTH originates from generative grammar and was proposed by Victor Raskin in 1985. The premise of the theory was "to formulate the necessary and sufficient conditions, in purely semantic terms, for a text to be funny" (Raskin, 1985: 47). Strictly speaking, it is designed

to determine which semantic properties a text should possess to be considered funny. According to this theory, in order to be funny a joke should meet two conditions: it should be compatible with two scripts and these scripts should be opposite. Scripts are defined as “chunks of semantic information”, which “represent the native speaker’s knowledge of a small part of the world” (Raskin, 1985: 81). The theory clarifies that a joke follows one script up until it reaches the punchline, which activates the second script and causes the hearer to realize that it was possible from the start. This is why both conditions should be met: the first one only makes a joke ambiguous, but what makes it funny is the oppositeness of the scripts. This process can be exemplified with the following one-liner: “the first thing which strikes a stranger in New York is a big car” (Raskin, 1985: 46). Due to the ambiguity of the word ‘strike’, the joke is accordant with two scripts. Here’s how Kyratzis (2003: 3) explains the process of script opposition in this joke:

“The opposition is that between the real and imaginary script. The blurring of the boundaries between the two scripts is achieved via the wording of the joke: the word ‘strikes’ is ambiguous as it can belong to both scripts. The hearer, however, chooses the ‘impression’ script over the ‘collision’ script, since other words in the sentence (such as stranger) pertain mainly (but not only) to that script. However, the introduction of the ‘big car’ leads the hearer to understand that the real script is that of the ‘collision’. At this moment, the duality is realised, the boundaries are no longer blurred and the tension between them causes laughter.”

This was the pioneer theory of semantics of humor, and at the time of publication Raskin himself admitted that more research was due to eliminate some of the limitations of the theory. After all, it was only applicable to “the simplest and least complicated type of humorous text.” (Raskin, 2008: 108).

2.3. The General Theory of Verbal Humor

The General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) was proposed by Victor Raskin and Salvatore Attardo in 1991 as an extension of SSTH. While the latter is a solely semantic theory, GTVH was developed to be a multidisciplinary linguistic theory. It incorporates phonological and morphological information, text-level organization, sociological information, cognitive

information and more (Attardo, 2017: 126). It is also designed to be applicable to different types of humorous texts, even non-linguistic ones.

This was achieved by introducing five new components or so-called Knowledge Resources (KRs):

- Script Opposition (SO): the KR carried over from Raskin's (1985) SSTH, which deals with scripts overlap and opposition described in the previous chapter.
- Logical Mechanism (LM): "accounts for the way in which the two senses in the joke are brought together" (Attardo, 1994: 225). According to Attardo (2001: 25), this parameter embodies so-called 'local' logic, which does not necessarily exist outside the joke and the participants 'go along with it' (or, rather, with the faultiness of it) for the sake of the joke. The word 'logical' here should not be understood in the sense of deductive reasoning or logicity, but rather in the sense of 'rational thinking or acting' (Krikmann, 2006: 37). For instance, let us consider one of the most famous examples of figure-ground reversal as a logical mechanism by Attardo (2001: 25):

"How many Poles does it take to screw in a light bulb? 5. One to hold the light bulb and four to turn the table he's standing on."

The logic of turning the table instead of the light bulb is clearly false and does not hold outside of the world of the joke.

Some of the most common logical mechanisms include: juxtapositions, false analogies, garden path phenomena, figure-ground reversals and chiasmic arrangements (Attardo, 2001: 26), and also 'tricks made by means of polysemy and homonymy in puns' (Krikmann, 2006. p. 37). Attardo (2015: 107) pointed out that metaphoricity can also be considered a Logical Mechanism, and proposed that metaphors and blends together with some other similar cognitive phenomena could form a whole separate class of Logical Mechanisms.

- Target (TA): the so-called "butt of the joke". This parameter, in a way, embodies the aggressive side of humor and the superiority theory. In ridicule, the target of the joke is an

individual or a group of people, which is often driven by certain social stereotypes, one of the most common ones being stupidity of a certain group of people (which, of course, has no correspondence to reality). For instance, going back to the bulb-screwing joke above, the TA of the joke are the Poles: independently from the other KRs, the audience finds it funny because of the shared stereotype of the target.

This parameter can be considered optional, as not all jokes are aggressive and are targeted at someone or something. Attardo (2017: 131) provides the following example:

Q: What do you get when you cross a cow and a lawnmower?

A: A lawnmooer.

It is obvious that the joke is not targeted at any of the elements in it (a cow or a lawnmower), nor does it presuppose any stereotypes and the humorous effect is achieved solely by means of resemblance of the sounds.

- Narrative Strategy (NS): refers to the way the text of the joke is organized, both in terms of the distribution of its parts as well as the placement of the humor (Tsakona, as cited in Attardo, 2001: 130). For instance, the form of a dialogue with a final punchline, which is one of the most common types of NS of a joke. Some other types of NS include a monologue, a (pseudo) riddle, an aside conversation, etc.

As for the ‘placement of the humor’, apart from a punchline, which is placed at the end of the joke, there are also so-called jab lines, which can be placed anywhere else in the text and are not limited in number. Although they both include script opposition and are identical semantically, they differ in their function: a punch line is the driving force of the reinterpretation and switching of the scripts, while jab lines are not disruptive of the development of the main interpretation (Attardo, 2001: 130). For example, let us consider the following text, in which the jab lines are underlined (Tsakona, 2003: 323):

At four o'clock in the morning, a hotel receptionist receives a phone call from a guy who sounds drunk and asks him at what time the bar opens. “The hotel bar opens at noon, sir,” replies the receptionist. An hour later, the receptionist receives

another phone call from the same guy who sounds even more drunk. “At what time does the bar open?” “As I told you, sir, the bar opens at noon,” answers the receptionist. After another hour, the guy calls again and sounds even more drunk than before. “At what time did you say the bar opens?” The receptionist replies, “The hotel bar opens at noon, but if you cannot wait, you can ask room service to bring you something to drink in your room.” “No, I don’t want to get into the bar,” says the man. “I want to get out of it.”

The example consists of three jab lines, which are based on the persistent desire of the participant to get into a bar, while also sounding drunk. The punchline at the end of the text reveals that the guy is, in fact, already at the bar and is trying to get out of it rather than enter it. Therefore, the jab lines serve as a set up of the joke, and the punch line concludes the joke and creates the humorous effect. Such an element of setting up a joke narrative is very important in creation of longer texts.

- Language (LA): ‘responsible for the exact wording of the text and for the placement of the functional elements that constitute it’ (Attardo, 2001: 22). Typically, the same joke can be worded in a number of different ways, while keeping its semantic meaning. Let us consider this re-wording of the bulb-screwing joke cited above (Clements, 1969 as cited by Attardo, 2001: 22):

The number of Pollacks needed to screw in a light bulb? Five — one to hold the bulb and four to turn the table.

Quite often, the exact choice of words in a joke can ‘make or break the author’s intention’ (Triezenberg, 2004: 413). Consider the following two sentences:

a. Major Major’s father was a long-limbed farmer.

b. Major Major’s father was a tall farmer.

The original line (a) achieves the desired humorous effect by the choice of a more descriptive word, as well as alliteration. Its rephrasing in example (b) fails to perform a humorous effect, even though the two sentences only differ in one word.

Apart from the way a joke is worded, this KR also contains phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of the humorous text (Attardo, 2017: 128). To illustrate, here is an example of syntactic ambiguity handled by LA (ibid: 129):

A woman walks in a store and says to the clerk: "I'd like to try the red dress in the window."

And the clerk says: "But, Ma'am, we have dressing rooms for that."

- Situation (SI): the location, props, participants, etc. of the joke. Depending on the nature of the joke, this KR can be less or more important. For instance, (Attardo, 2001: 24) suggests the following humorous text as an example:

"Can you write shorthand?"

"Yes, but it takes me longer."

As we can see, the text provides no information about who the participants are, where the dialogue takes place or when, but nevertheless, the humorous effect is achieved. Therefore, we can conclude that the KR of SI is unimportant for this joke.

Let us consider, however, an example from (Attardo, 2017: 132):

A guy walks into a bar and says "Ouch!"

In this case, the setting (and therefore, SI as a KR) plays a rather important role, as the humorous effect would not have been achieved without it. At first, the text appears to be compatible with the well-known set-up of a person walking into a bar and, for example, ordering something. This expectation is, however, not met when we read the punchline and realize that the humorous text is built on the ambiguity of the verb 'to walk into' (to enter vs. to hit).

The two examples above illustrate two extremes of how important SI can be in a joke, and, more often than not, it simply creates the background and the set up of the joke. After all, a joke has to be about something or someone (e.g. a drunk man getting out of a bar, Poles changing a light bulb).

3. Metaphor and Humor

Having explored the two phenomena in isolation, one cannot fail to notice that metaphor and humor have a lot more in common than it might appear at first glance. In fact, they seem to share some structural, conceptual, cognitive and pragmatic features. That being said, not all humor is metaphoric and not all metaphors elicit a humorous response. This chapter will focus on the relationship between metaphor and humor and explore the concept of humorous metaphors.

3.1. Metaphor and Humor: Common Ground

Perhaps the most prominent similarity between humor and metaphor is that they both implicate duality: two different scenarios are brought together to give rise to some meaning not previously available or obvious (Piata, 2016: 42). In case of metaphor the two scenarios are source and target domains, which are typically brought together to highlight the similarity between the two or to draw an analogy. According to GTVH, humorous texts bring together two opposing scripts, which result in incongruity or tension. For both metaphors and humorous utterances to be more apt and enjoyable it is believed that the scenarios they bring together should be as inconspicuous or disparate as possible (Mio & Graesser, 1991, as cited in Shen & Engelmayer, n.d.: 4). When two disparate concepts are brought together either with the means of metaphor or humor, it produces the element of surprise and novelty – another feature characteristic to both phenomena at hand. This idea dates back to Aristotle, who believed that “jokes and riddles are similar to metaphor as they all lead to pleasure derived from the unexpected surprise” (as cited in Müller, 2015: 112). Lastly, both humor and metaphor are figurative phenomena, which presuppose “a playful attitude” (Brone et al., as cited in Müller, 2015: 117) and are “eager to deviate from current usage in order to “de-automatise” conventional conceptual combinations” (ibid.).

3.2. Humorous Metaphors

As pointed out by (Dynel, 2009: 27), even though the correspondences between humor and metaphor have received a considerable amount of attention in humor theory literature, metaphor as a source of conversational humor (especially) has not been widely investigated. Originally, what was considered to be the factor that made a metaphor humorous was semantic distance between the domains, or so-called ‘distance theory’ (Fonagy, 1982; Morrissey, 1989; Pollio, 1996, as cited in Attardo, 2015: 91). However, the most obvious disadvantage of this approach is that ‘no precise (or even approximate) quantification of the threshold exists’ (ibid.). Therefore, seemingly the only thing that one could judge the distance from is one’s own intuition, which is very subjective and quite unreliable. What is more, non-humorous metaphors also operate on some distance between the domains. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 3.1., one of the factors which makes a metaphor more enjoyable is the inconspicuousness of the notions compared. Therefore, solely the distance cannot be the driving force of humorous metaphors.

Oring (2003, as cited in Attardo, 2015: 95) proposed that humorous metaphors operate on the same mechanism of incongruity and resolution as other kinds of humorous utterances. The assumption is that while both humor and metaphor bring together distant and incongruous notions, non-humorous metaphors resolve the incongruity completely, meaning that the appropriate resolution that the hearer looks for turns out to be ‘genuine’ or ‘legitimate’ (ibid.). Humorous metaphors, however, similarly to jokes and riddles, resolve the incongruity only partially. This idea can be illustrated by an example from Attardo (ibid.: 96):

“His thoughts tumbled in his head, making and breaking alliances like underpants in a dryer without Cling Free.”

Attardo explains this example as a blend of the domains of ideas and underwear, in which the connection is insufficient to justify the mapping, which brings about a humorous interpretation. Therefore, in this approach the crucial factor is the processing of the metaphor rather than the distance between its domains. Dynel (2009: 33) describes the process in the following way: “The perception of incongruous ideas with the simultaneous expectation of a

metaphorical comparison forces the listener to seek similarities among the attributes of the concepts, and thereby to resolve the incongruity. When found, points of resemblance between the two concepts are all the more striking, granting the interpreter the pleasurable feeling of cognitive satisfaction consequent upon his/her arrival at a resolution and the resultant appreciation of humour”.

One of the explanations for the incongruity element in humorous metaphors is so-called salience imbalance or aptness violation. As it has already been established, the main purpose of metaphor is to elucidate one concept with the help of another, more concrete and coherent. Humorous metaphors, however, appear to break this expectation by combining salient and non-salient (or less salient) properties of the things compared. Let us consider the following examples of metaphorical comparisons from (Shen & Engelmayer, n.d.: 5):

- (1) Billboards are like placards.
- (2) Billboards are like warts.

The comparison in sentence (1) shows ‘salience balance’ as the attributes shared by billboards and placards are high-salient features of both, in the sense that they are fully comprehensible and usually understood as typical. Sentence (2), however, exhibits a salience imbalance: the high-salience features of warts (e.g. ‘ugliness’) are correlated with less salient features of billboards. Therefore, the salience imbalance hypothesis goes as follows: “The salience of the attributes involved in metaphorical similarity statements will be much higher for the *b*-terms than for the *a* terms, whereas for other kinds of similarity statements this imbalance will be very much less pronounced” (Orthony et al., as cited in Shen & Engelmayer, n.d.: 5).

Such imbalance is especially obvious and seems to be widely used in humorous metaphorical comparisons of the form ‘A is like B – both have property C’. Let us consider another example from (Shen & Engelmayer, n.d.: 3):

- (3) A friend is like an anchor – sometimes you want to throw them out of the boat.

This metaphoric comparison brings together two low-salient features, however, the salience of element *b* (an anchor) is still higher than that of element *a* (a friend) – anchors are, in fact, thrown out of the boat. However, there is another important element in this humorous comparison – the ground (also called ‘tertium comparationis’) on which the two elements are compared, and which is provided by the speaker. Dynel (2009: 38) calls this feature ‘unavailability of ground’. In such comparisons the salience imbalance of the elements compared is so high, that the hearer struggles to find the ground and typically activates the most salient features, which do not result in an apt comparison. The ground is then presented by the speaker, therefore acting as the punchline of the joke, and elicits a humorous response as well as an element of surprise.

Humorous metaphoric comparisons can also be implicit, which means that the ground is not explicitly stated by the speaker. Usually, element *b* takes the form of ‘an elaborated situation’ (Shen & Engelmayer, n.d.: 9). Dynel (2009: 42) classifies such cases as ‘humorous incongruity within the vignette of the vehicle’:

(4) My hangover is elephants’ ballet performance held on a ship in a heavy storm.

The source domain in such cases contains its own incongruity and is often quite descriptive or even absurd. Dynel (ibid.) points out that such metaphoric comparisons are processed in two steps: “The interpreter first resolves this subordinate incongruity, and then tackles the higher-level one, i.e. between the vehicle and the tenor, finding the relevant attributes and the ground”.

On balance, humorous metaphor is a multifaceted phenomenon, which takes many different forms and makes use of different mechanisms. Attardo (2015: 92) puts it this way: “It does not seem possible or even desirable, at this point in the research, to reduce the idea of “humorous metaphor” to a unique category. It is not even that the concept is organized prototypically: I think it is safe to say that this is an umbrella concept, that collects a number of heterogeneous phenomena, some semantic, some pragmatic, and some not even linguistic (but still obviously conceptual)”.

4. Stand-Up Comedy

The final chapter of the theoretical part of the thesis is devoted to the discourse of stand-up comedy. First, some definitions and key characteristics of the genre will be presented, followed by a short description of the history of its development and popularization. The empirical part of the thesis will be dealing with examples taken from female stand-up performances, therefore a brief overview of the main historical stages and features of female (or feminist) stand-up comedy will conclude the chapter.

4.1. Definitions and Characteristics

Stand-up is a special genre of comedy, in which a comedian performs a monologue on stage in front of a live audience with the intention to make the crowd laugh. Typically, stand-up comedians perform alone and without the use of any props or the set in general. Although physical humor may play a certain role in a comedian's delivery of jokes or their overall style of comedy, this genre is fundamentally reliant on verbal humor. A stand-up performance is typically a succession of anecdotes, funny stories, commentaries, puns or one-liners that are communicated in a cohesive manner with smooth transitions in between and brief pauses. To quote Attardo (2001: 62), stand-up comedy is "a highly artificial, scripted genre." Normally, stand-up performers come to their shows highly prepared, with their scripts memorized and practiced with a smaller audience. An important feature and probably one of the reasons for the appeal of the genre is its relatedness: stand-up performers typically draw examples from their own lives and give funny commentaries about their everyday experiences, thus building a more genuine connection with their viewers and eliciting a stronger response.

Stand-up comedians, however, are also famous for their commentaries on social, political and cultural issues. Gilbert (1997: 317) points out that "stand-up comics simultaneously perform self and culture, offering an often acerbic social critique sanctioned as entertainment". For this reason Meier and Schmitt (2017, as cited in Votruba, 2018: 1) call this genre "one of the remnants of the rhetorical tradition in contemporary culture" and explain that stand-up comedians perform

with a purpose and use their language in such a way that the audience is compelled to respond in a certain way, thus making the act both amusing and persuasive. Greenbaum (1999, as cited in Schwarz, 2010: 90) believes that this a crucial skill that a stand-up comedian should possess as they “can only be successful in their craft when they can convince an audience to look at the world through their comic vision.”

All of the above-mentioned features make stand-up comedy a very profound and unique genre of comedy. It is primarily entertaining and light-hearted in its essence but at the same time one could hardly call it shallow. Stand-up comedians perform with a vision and raise topics that the audience relates to but might not be willing to express themselves. In a way, they act as the mirror to the society, in which we recognize ourselves or learn something new.

4.2. Some History

The origins of stand-up comedy have not been clearly defined. Some trace it as far back as the Middle Ages and connect it to the tradition of fools and jesters (Mintz, 1985: 72). Others single out Mark Twain as the first stand-up comedian who traveled around the US delivering lectures with humorous and satirical elements for about 50 years starting from 1856 (Stebbins, 1990: 7). However, stand-up comedy as we know it today seems to have started from vaudeville and burlesque shows of the early 20th century. Such shows included different kinds of musical and variety acts in addition to comic monologues, but stand-up tradition grew from the spoken elements. By the year 1935 the popularity of vaudeville and burlesque had suffered a significant decline, but humorous monologues experienced a new wave of popularity thanks to a famous holiday resort called ‘Borscht Belt’ located in upstate New York. This is where one of the most influential comedians in the history of stand-up comedy – Lenny Bruce – began his career. He became very famous for his vulgar and controversial acts, which paved the way for future comedians to talk about such topics as drugs, racism, hypocrisy and other tabooed topics (Schwarz, 2010: 19-20). Since then, stand-up comedy was frequently performed in various nightclubs and coffee houses and in 1962 the first ever stand-up club was opened. Nowadays, stand-up has become an indispensable part of comedic media. Stand-up comedians travel around their countries or even internationally performing their acts for large audiences. Streaming

services, such as Netflix and HBO, pay comedians to film so-called ‘specials’ – (typically) hour long performances, which are then accessible to people all around the world.

4.3. Female Stand-Up Comedy

From the beginning and up until recently, stand-up comedy has been considered to be a male-dominated genre. Female comedians have been heavily outnumbered by their male counterparts due to inherent societal bias that dictated that women cannot be funny. Sigmund Freud in his book ‘Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious’ (1905) even proposed a medical explanation as for why it is impossible for women to be funny because of the structure of their brain (Kim, 2019: iv). Before the mid 20th century, when stand-up comedy as we know it today was on the rise, the few female comedians who managed to perform on stage had to primarily stick to self-deprecatory jokes that would reinforce the stereotypes and be non-threatening to men (Votruba, 2018: 8). Women were still fighting with their position as second-class citizens, so raising controversial and charged subjects would be damaging for their careers, especially because male stand-up comedians would rather address light-hearted issues (Krefting, 2014 as cited in Votruba, 2018: 2). In the mid 20th century, thanks to such comedians as Lenny Bruce, who began to address various social issues in their acts, more and more women started to speak out as well. They addressed the issues of inequality and marginalization of women, thus giving rise to feminist humor, which is still relevant to this day.

According to Walker (1988, as cited in Votruba, 2018: 23) “the goal of feminist humor is to make obvious the absurdity of a culture’s views and expectations of women”. Modern female comedians are no longer afraid to raise controversial topics and make someone uncomfortable. Instead, they consistently challenge stereotypes and do their best to raise social awareness about feminist topics, while making their audiences laugh. Even though female stand-up comedians are still outnumbered by male comedians, the trend is rapidly changing with more and more women coming out with specials and touring around the world year by year.

5. Methodology

This chapter is dedicated to the methodological approach on which I will base my analysis. First, the research hypotheses will be outlined. Then, I will describe the material and the process of its collection and metaphor identification. Finally, I will present my approach to the classification of the material collected and the process of the analysis itself.

5.1. Hypotheses

The main goal of this thesis is to investigate the usage of conceptual metaphor by female stand-up comedians. Based on the cognitive and semantic frameworks discussed in the previous chapters, I formulated the following research questions:

- Which topics do female comedians address most often with the use of conceptual metaphor?
- What is the nature of the source domains female comedians use?
- What does the usage of the conceptual domains and mappings found reveal about the female comedians attitudes toward the topics they address? Can any generalizations be made about them?

Based on the research questions, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

- The topics discussed by female comedians with the help of conceptual metaphor address the everyday lives of women, their insecurities, and relationships with the opposite sex.
- The source domains which female comedians use in their metaphors are primarily concrete and experiential.
- Conceptual domains and mappings implied by the female comedians' usage of metaphor reveal their attitudes towards social stereotypes and seek to reframe them.

5.2. Material

The data corpus for my analysis consists of transcripts of female stand-up performances. The majority of transcripts were found online¹, but in case a transcript was unavailable, I created a verbatim transcription myself. This is mostly true for shorter performances that were found on Youtube. No particular strategy was applied to the selection of the comedians to be included in the corpus, as female stand-up comedy representation is rather limited. The only criterion was that the performances were conducted in English by native English speakers.

The corpus includes 35 different performances of 23 comedians. 154 novel metaphorical expressions were found in the corpus. Table 1 provides an overview of all the performances analyzed, the number of words analyzed per each transcript, or the length of the video in case no transcript was available, and the number of occurrences of conceptual metaphor in each.

Name of the comedian	Name of the performance	No. of words / Length of the Video	No. of occurrences
1. Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	10,062	14
	Katherine Ryan at Late Night Show with James Corden (2018)	5:55 min.	1
	Katherine Ryan at Just for Laughs Festival (2015)	7:10 min.	1
	Katherine Ryan at Jonathan Ross' Comedy Club (2020)	4:03 min.	1
	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	8,940	19

¹ <https://scrapsfromtheloft.com/stand-up-comedy-scripts/>
<https://subslikescript.com/>

2. Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	10, 213	8
	Taylor Tomlinson at Comedy Central (2018)	3:33	1
3. Whitney Cummings	Can I Touch It? (2019)	9,129	1
	I Love You (2014)	7,832	1
4. Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	10,783	8
5. Jen Kirkman	I'm Gonna Die Alone (2015)	13,674	14
	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	12,538	5
6. Michelle Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	7,877	10
	Nice Lady (2017)	7,955	12
7. Anjelah Johnson	Not Fancy (2015)	7,110	1
8. Jenny Slate	Stage Fright (2019)	1h	1
9. Chelsea Peretti	One of the Greats (2014)	10,682	3
10. Urzila Carlson	Overqualified Loser (2020)	10,025	2
11. Gracie Canaan	Gracie Canaan at New York Comedy Club (2019)	13:15 min.	1
12. Ellie Taylor	Ellie Taylor Live at the Apollo (2016)	7:15 min.	2
	Ellie Taylor on Stand up Central (2019)	8:58 min.	1
13. Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	6,083	11
	Baby Cobra (2016)	7,369	6
	Don Wong (2022)	5,880	2
14. Wanda Sykes	Not Normal (2019)	6,631	2
15. Amanda Seales	I Be Knowin' (2019)	5,041	4

16. Sara Pascoe	LadsLadsLads (2019)	5,086	4
17. Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	8,238	8
18. Liza Treyger	Liza Treyger in the Degenerates (2019)	15:18	1
19. Sarah Tiana	Sarah Tiana at Just for Laughs Festival (2015)	3:07 min.	1
	Sarah Tiana at Comedy Central Stand-Up (2018)	4:42 min.	1
20. Holly Walsh	Holly Walsh Live at the Apollo (2016)	7:14 min.	1
21. Catherine Cohen	The Twist...? She's Gorgeous (2022)	9,950	1
22. Jaye McBride	Jaye McBride in Amy Schumer's Parental Advisory (2022)	8,490	1
23. Naomi Ekperigin	Naomi Ekperigin in The Standups (2021)	30 min.	4
Total: 23 comedians.			154 metaphors.

Table 1. Overview of the comedians and performances selected for analysis

All the expressions found in the corpus were assigned a topic and the conceptual metaphor they represent. Table 2 presents a breakdown of the collected material based on the topics, with the Miscellaneous category containing the topics which were only represented by one metaphoric expression. All of the expressions can be found in the Appendix.

Topics	Number of Expressions
Female Body	34
Men and Relationships	30
Motherhood and Children	7
Objects	6
Mental Health	5

Menstruation	5
Self	5
Sex	5
Genitals	4
Body	3
Family	3
Life	3
People	3
Politics	3
Pregnancy	3
Religion	3
Emotions	2
Fashion	2
Male Body	2
Mind	2
Race	2
Parenting	2
Miscellaneous	19

Table 2. Breakdown of the collected material

5.3. Collection and Classification

According to Cameron and Low (1999: 88) the process of metaphor analysis consists of 3 stages:

“The methodology of metaphor analysis typically proceeds by collecting examples of linguistic metaphors used to talk about the topic [...] generalising from them to the conceptual metaphors they exemplify, and using the results to suggest understandings or thought patterns which construct or constrain people’s beliefs and actions”

This study follows a very similar logic but with a few adjustments. The first step is to collect examples of novel metaphoric expressions used by the comedians regardless of the topic, as one of the goals is to investigate the full range of topics addressed with the help of conceptual

metaphor. Once a metaphoric expression is identified (more on the identification procedure in Chapter 5.4.), a topic is assigned to it (e.g. *Body, Relationships*) and put into a spreadsheet. This process is designed to identify recurring topics. The next step goes in line with Cameron and Low's proposal above, which is to identify the conceptual metaphors the examples convey. This is done with the help of the classic 'A is B' construction (e.g. LOVE IS A JOURNEY). To get the full picture of the narrative, however, this study also makes use of mappings, which help to reconstruct the story behind a metaphoric expression and see what it highlights and hides. Finally, taking all the output into account, I will attempt to identify some tendencies, which could potentially reveal female comedians' positions on certain topics.

The framework of this study, therefore, makes use of both the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Blending Theory and treats them as complementary.

5.4. Identification of Metaphors

Metaphoric expressions are such an integral element of our everyday lives that it is easy for them to go unnoticed for us. That is why the procedure of metaphor identification was approached with the understanding that it should be thorough and scrupulous.

The principal part of the identification procedure was based on close reading of the transcripts. Due to the incongruous nature of humorous metaphors, the first step was to identify all occurrences of incongruity in the texts. The majority of the performances were also available in a video format², which helped to identify the incongruities as they elicited humorous reactions from the audience. The next stage of the process was to analyze the incongruous parts again and identify whether the incongruity was simply humorous, or it involved a metaphoric comparison. To facilitate this task, I made use of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by a group of scholars known as the Pragglejaz Group. The procedure includes the following steps:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse

² <https://www.netflix.com/browse>
<https://www.youtube.com/>

3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:

- More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;
- Related to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3)

In addition to that, particular attention was paid to certain markers of metaphorical language, e.g. words like ‘like’ and ‘as’, which could potentially signal a metaphoric comparison in form of a simile. Stylistically, they can be considered to be different from metaphors on the grounds of being explicit comparisons rather than implicit. However, this difference is not relevant for us in the context of CMT, because simile is only seen as one manifestation of metaphoricity in language (Semino, 2008: 16). Both devices make us see one thing in terms of another and invite us to subconsciously recreate an imagined reality using cross-domain mappings, which is the area of focus of the thesis.

Lastly, two of the transcripts were additionally analyzed by two linguists to confirm that the described procedure is efficient and accurate. The results were almost identical, which proved the credibility of the chosen approach.

6. Analysis

The empirical part of the thesis is split into three sections according to the most recurring topics found in the corpus: Men and Relationships, Female Body, and Motherhood and Children.

6.1. Men and Relationships

It would probably come as no surprise to anyone that the topic of men and relationships with men is so prominent in female stand-up. This section will first look into the way men are portrayed in female stand-up with the help of conceptual metaphor, and then move on to the subject of relationships in its many forms.

The most common conceptual metaphor found in the corpus is MEN ARE POSSESSIONS, e.g.:

- (1) I love men, but I feel that men are like dolphins, in that they should be enjoyed on holiday. And they're very intelligent, almost as smart as people. It's... But that doesn't mean you should have one in your house. Why would you... What a disaster that would be. What do they even eat? And a large number of them turn out to be sexual predators as well. (Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

In this example we are invited to conceptualize men as pets, or more generally, possessions.. At first glance it might seem that this is all there is to it, but we must keep in mind that conceptual metaphors are capable of creating whole narratives. Therefore, if we accept the reality where men are possessions, then it must mean that women play the role of owners. Taking this into consideration we can arrive at the following mappings:

men	→	possessions
women	→	owners

Such conceptualization goes against the social stereotype of men being the head of a household and instead puts women in a superior position of ownership and autonomy. Ryan also alludes to the idea that women do not need men in their lives to survive, but rather to keep themselves entertained. Both of these ideas add greatly to the humorous effect as they force us to

reevaluate the stereotypes that have been imposed by the society and imagine the situation completely ‘upside-down’.

This example is also very interesting in the way it is constructed. The ground on which the comparison of men to dolphins is made is not at all obvious and our initial resolution might revolve, for instance, around both being mammals, which is neither an apt nor a funny comparison. The humorous effect is achieved by the unavailability of ground, which is presented by the speaker as a punchline: “they should only be enjoyed on holiday”. The ground is so unexpected, and the salience imbalance between the elements is so high (dolphins are typically the animals that we see only when we are on holidays and are therefore more compatible with the realm), that it results in a surprised and humorous reaction.

The same mappings as in example (1) are exemplified by another two examples:

(2) "Well, I guess if you won't follow me, that just goes to show that you don't need me." I said, "You're just learning that? No. No, I don't need you, I liked you. I chose to have you around because you're a laugh. I enjoy your company, but you are a luxury item."
(Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

(3) Honestly, he's [her husband] probably the best accessory I've ever had, and I own a Taser. (Ellie Taylor, *Ellie Taylor Live at the Apollo*, 2016)

Here the concept of ownership is even more obvious due to the explicit comparisons of men to items and accessories, as well as the usage of the word ‘own’ in example (3).

Another example from the corpus goes as follows:

(4) Meghan Markle, I'm supposed to like her, even though she took the only viable ginger cock off the market, and that... that cut me very deep. That is the white tiger of the dick world. She saw his rare gemstone penis and captured it like a horny Lara Croft.
(Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

To clarify some of the cultural background of the joke, let us mention that Meghan Markle is a member of the Royal family, who was born in America and became Duchess of Sussex after marrying Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex. In her act Ryan refers to the couple in several different ways thus creating several different scenarios, which can be most effectively analyzed with the help of the Blending Theory. The total of four input spaces can be identified: that of the royal family, white tigers, gemstones, and, finally, the market frame that ties all three together. The integration is depicted in Figure 1.

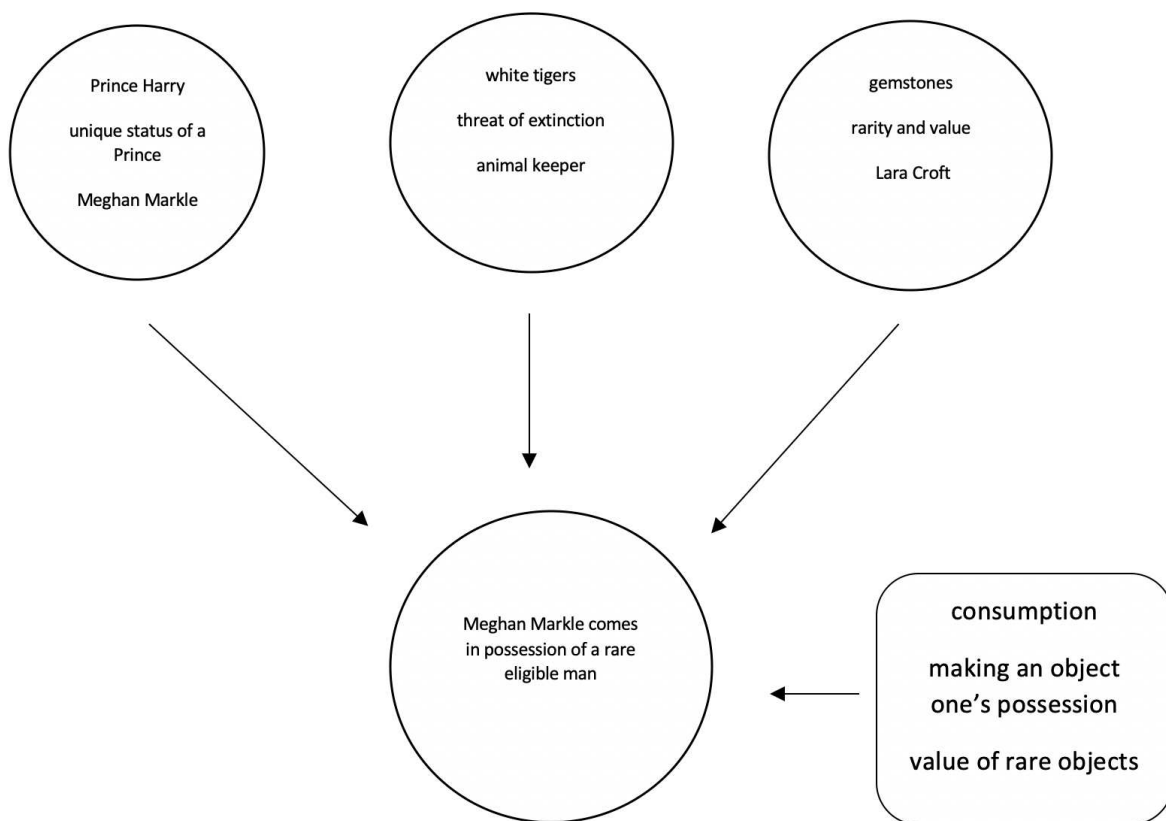


Figure 1. Integration network for Example (4)

The input space of the market establishes the structure for the other input spaces by providing the narrative of consumption and possession, which involves the freedom of selection, an object coming into one's possession and the idea of one object being of higher value than another. In another input space Prince Harry is metaphorically referred to as a white tiger, whose

value is rooted in its status of extinction. Meghan Markle in this scenario becomes an animal keeper, who takes custody of the tiger. Input space 3 contains the scenario of tomb raiding, where Meghan is depicted as Lara Croft, a fictional character who robbed ancient tombs. Prince Harry is again metonymically referred to as a valuable and rare object – a gemstone. The input space which contains the real scenario comes to have a similar structure: the uniqueness of the status of a Prince makes Harry a particularly eligible man, who Meghan Markle gets married to. The four mental spaces result in a blended space, in which Meghan Markle comes in possession of a rare eligible man.

Similarly to the other examples, example (4) leads us to the idea of autonomy of women's choice, which contradicts the social stereotype of women's passive position in a relationship - the role of chasers and pursuers has been a traditionally male prerogative. Such depiction, intensified by the four scenarios fused together, elicits a humorous reaction thanks to its unexpectedness and controversy. It's also worth noting the comparison of men to animals and inanimate objects, which are both recurring in the corpus.

Another example of this conceptualization goes as follows:

(5) ... when me and Jew-boo [her boyfriend] are out in these streets, no one ever thinks we're together. Okay? They do not fathom a connection between us two. Jew-boo thinks it's because he's a bit shorter than me, and I'm like... "You're optimistic." But yes, for the record, I do saty in a travel-size king. Okay? You need to get your boo that is TSA compliant. Listen to me. Pack him in your bag and go.

Lastly, there is one more example of the MEN ARE POSSESSIONS metaphor:

(6) I met my boyfriend online, that's where I do all my shopping. I have Amazon Prime too, so it was like two days, so fast. (Emily Heller, *Ice Thickeners*, 2019)

The idea behind this joke and its humorous effect is probably most effectively explained as a blend. The integration is illustrated in Figure 2. As the two input spaces we have the source

domain of shopping and the target domain of dating. In the generic space there is a person looking for something online. The blended space, therefore, contains a person buying a boyfriend from an online shopping website, which creates an incongruity and thus a humorous effect. The metaphor elicits the following mappings:

men	→	possessions
women	→	owners
dating	→	shopping

The conceptualization of dating as shopping will appear again in the chapter.

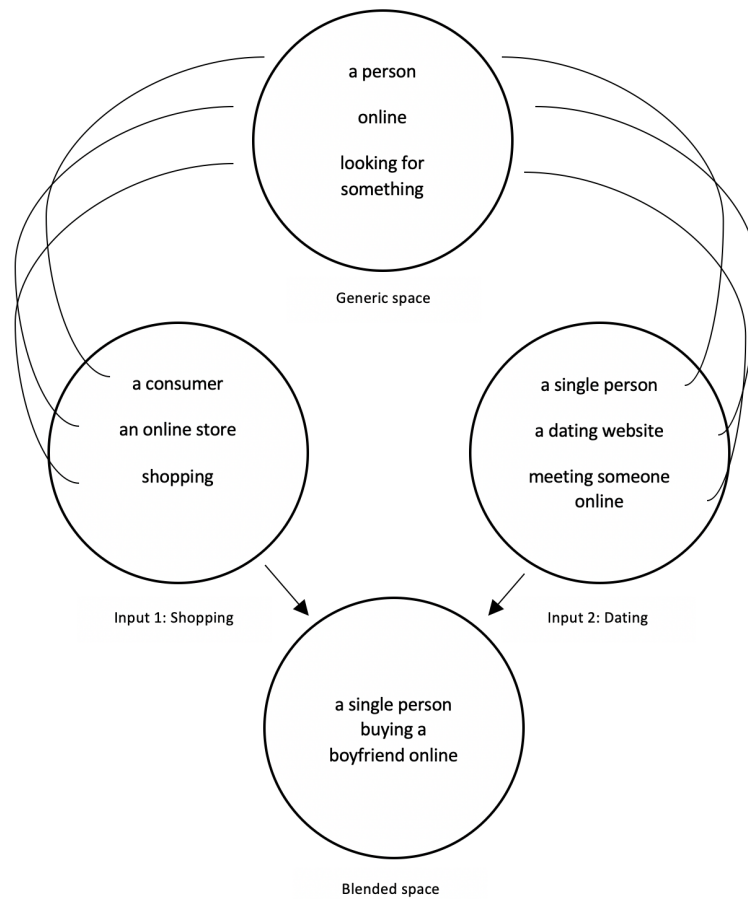


Figure 2. Integration network for Example (5)

Another conceptual metaphor found in the corpus is that of MEN ARE FOOD:

(7) I'm a grown-up woman. When you grown, you don't make mistakes. You make choices. That's why I'm lookin' at every dick like the side of a cereal box. I wanna know your nutritional value, nigga. Are you exceeding my daily recommended dose of fuck boy? (Amanda Seales, *I Be Knowin'*, 2019)

Here men are referred to with the use of metonymy by the word 'dick', which is a slang word for male genitals. If we conceptualize men as food, women must be the ones who consume it, which leads us to the mapping WOMEN ARE CONSUMERS. This conceptualization is very close to some of the metaphors previously described in this section in that it emphasizes women's self-rule when it comes to relationships with men, the same way as a consumer makes their own food choices. Another two examples convey the same idea:

(8) So no, I didn't win the lottery, that doesn't describe my experience. What happened was I ate at a restaurant that gave me food poisoning every day for years. And then one day I tried the pasta and it was fine. And I was like, 'Oh, I guess this is what I'm ordering now.' I might get bored of this eventually, but I cannot risk it on another menu item... At this point in my life. (Emily Heller, *Ice Thickeners*, 2019)

(9) Don't get me wrong, I love my husband but I also love Weetabix. And if someone told me that Weetabix was the only cereal I was allowed to eat for the rest of my life... pretty sure in a few years... I'd want to fuck another man. (Ellie Taylor, *Ellie Taylor Live at the Apollo*, 2016)

Examples (8) and (9) again reinforce the idea of women nowadays having more agency over their choice of romantic partners and being in charge of their lives. Interestingly, they also both use the feeling of being sick of a certain food to describe the feeling of routine in a long-term relationship.

In example (9), the humorous effect is additionally achieved by a defeat of expectations: the two jab lines underlined lead the hearer to believe that the joke will end in a reference to the input space of food. This expectation, however, is broken by the punchline "I'd want to fuck

another man”, which brings forward the input space of men, which was supposed to be only implied.

The following three examples could be classified under one category - MEN ARE INFERIORS. Examples (10) and (11) compare men to children, and example (12) - to employees:

(10) I love men and I look at them the way I look at children, which is like, “Oh my God, for people who don’t know what you’re doing, you have so much energy about it, you know.” (Jen Kirkman, *Just Keep Livin’?*, 2017)

(11) And I don't know if you guys have tried getting a 20-something dude from a dating app to wear a condom lately but it's sort of like trying to convince a 5 year old to put a jacket on over his Halloween costume. “Here, put this on for me”. “Nooo! You're gonna ruin it! You can't even see it!” (Taylor Tomlinson, *Taylor Tomlinson at Comedy Central*, 2018)

In the scenario where men are children, women are then perceived as adults, who are more responsible and knowledgeable.

(12) Until last year I lived in a flat with one toilet and this is how I knew I was in no position to take on a full-time husband. (Katherine Ryan, *Katherine Ryan at Jonathan Ross’ Comedy Club*, 2020)

The words ‘take on’ and ‘full-time’ help us reveal the following mappings in this conceptual metaphor:

women	→	employers
men	→	employees

The narrative of men being inferiors conceptualizes women as superior, which is contrary to the patriarchal system of the past. The idea of women being employers also reinforces the idea

of agency women have over choosing their romantic partners, which we have encountered before in the previous sections.

One last conceptualization of men found in the corpus is that of MEN ARE GUNS:

(13) I feel that men are nature's gun. You know, you're statistically most likely to be killed by the one in your house. (Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

In this example Ryan again makes use of the unavailability of ground technique by first making the comparison of men to guns and then providing the ground on which they should be compared. Certainly, this comparison is a vivid example of creative usage of metaphor, which is typical of various art forms, such as stand-up comedy itself.

Let us now move on to the conceptualizations of relationships found in the corpus. The first one is RELATIONSHIP IS WAR:

(14) You know, we come in and have each other's back when it really counts... like when we go to the bathroom together. You want to know what's going on in there? There's one girl having a bad night, a bunch of bitches who have never met each other in their lives are like soldiers at war, nursing each other's wounds. One girl is on the floor... I'm like, all right, pull those Spanx up. Somebody get a Band-Aid for that blister. Someone... her eyebrow just melted off... gotta get a Sharpie to draw that shit back on. All right, someone get some Super Glue for those eye lashes. Her hair extensions just fell out... someone get a stapler to staple that horsehair back on her head. Now, bitch, you wipe the tears off your tits and you listen to me right now. You're going to go back out there, put a smile on your face and pretend he's interesting. Go! (Whitney Cummings, *I Love You*, 2014)

In this metaphor Cummings describes the process of dating as a battle, in which women are described as soldiers. The comedian uses the element of gradation: different features of 'battle' follow one another thus intensifying the narrative of war action.

(15) Your marriage is very vulnerable and easy for an outsider to invade and colonize.
(Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

(16) If you are hiring a 25-year-old pretty young thing to be your nanny, you a dumb-ass. Do you not read People magazine? You don't know what's up? That's inviting a marriage grenade into your home. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

The comedian's choice of words in examples (15) and (16) leads us to the same conceptualization of a relationship as war as example (14): 'invade', 'colonize', 'grenade'. The three examples thus describe relationships as something rather dangerous and troubling, at least from the point of view of a woman.

Moving on from the war analogy, the corpus contains two examples of the RELATIONSHIP IS A GAME metaphor. Both examples compare relationships to a computer game, in which life events or stages are turned in computer game levels:

(17) First off, I didn't know what a basic bitch I was, who was gonna love being engaged that much, but something happened when that ring went on my finger. Something in my stupid lady lizard brain went... "bloop!" "Level completed." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

(18) I'm kidding of course, it took forever and I met a million monsters, it was the worst. It was like trying to meet Super Mario, it was just like monster after monster after monster. Just like, turtle, mushroom, lizard, just like over and over and over again, until I eventually found the princess. I call him princess now, he's fine with it. (Emily Heller, *Ice Thickeners*, 2019)

While quite different in nature, the corpus contains two instances of the RELATIONSHIP IS A PLANE RIDE metaphor:

(19) He'd go out of his way to be like, "Babe, I just want to let you know, girl at Starbucks tried to give me her number, so..." And I'm like, "Cool. What do you want me to say? [...] I'm so lucky. This is like a fairy tale. I never understood Taylor Swift songs before, and now I do. Like... I thank you so much. I know you have a lot of options...". I turned into Southwest Airlines. "I know you have a lot of options when you fly. Thank you for choosing us. Can we get you anything else?" (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

(20) My boyfriend and I, we did move in together. We're also not planning on ever getting married or having kids, so this is it, we did it. It's very anticlimactic. Like, have you ever fallen asleep on an airplane and then woken up as it's landing? Like, oh, are we here? That's how I feel in my relationship everyday. (Emily Heller, *Ice Thickeners*, 2019)

In example (19) Tomlinson ironically compares herself to an airline and the way they typically thank their passengers for choosing to fly with them. The mappings look as follows:

dating	→	a plane ride
dating partners	→	airlines

Example (20), on the other hand, could be considered a specification of the well-known LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, in which the partners are compared to passengers and the stages in relationships - to travel destinations.

Along with the recurring concepts presented above, the corpus contains a few examples of metaphorical creativity and inventive comparisons. For example, the conceptualization of RELATIONSHIP IS A BOOK CLUB produced by Heller, which describes how many messages and personal information people have to read when online dating:

(21) Before the date there's the profiles and the messages. When you are a straight woman online dating, you just have to read a bunch of personal essays by

unaccomplished men. It's the worst book club you've ever joined. (Emily Heller, *Ice Thickeners*, 2019)

The appearance of a bad book club scenario can be explained in terms of an emergent structure as a result of blending (see Figure 3). We are presented with two input spaces – that of a book club and online dating. The book club space contains members who read books by various authors as an assignment to later discuss them together. The online dating space contains female dating apps users who have to read lengthy messages from male users. Blended together the spaces result in a book club that reads lengthy messages from male dating apps users, which gives rise to the idea of a bad book club. Such comparison helps the comedian describe her frustration and annoyance at the process of online dating and the initial “talking stage” with men.

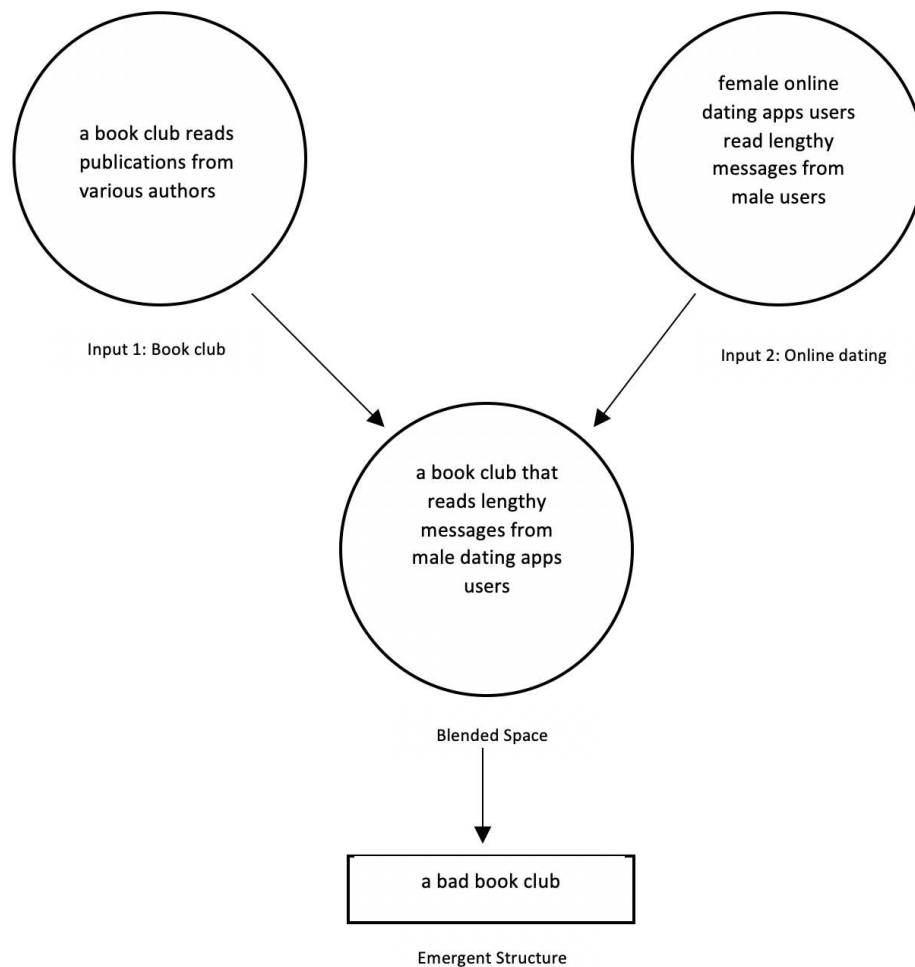


Figure 3. Integration network for Example (21)

Another example of metaphorical creativity is the conceptualization of RELATIONSHIP IS A SURGERY:

(22) Why? Why do I have to be like you? If I were this bad at anything else... If I were a surgeon who managed to kill every patient... and burn down the palliative care unit... pretty sure my friends and family would not be like, "Katherine, when are you gonna get back in the emergency room, girl? Just one more try." (Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

Here the comedian speaks about her experience in dating and how her friends and family continue to encourage her to look for a partner even after all the failed relationships she has had. A relationship is therefore described as something that is demanding and requiring a great deal of responsibility.

The corpus also contain one example of the conceptualization of relationships as A PRISON:

(23) Like you single people, I, too, was once free, okay? And then like an idiot, I asked this dude to ask me to go to prison. And now I'm in monogamy jail, and I don't know how to get out. (Ali Wong, *Don Wong*, 2022)

A monogamous relationship here is conceptualized as a prison sentence, which elicits a very negative viewpoint.

Another conceptualization of relationships found in the corpus is RELATIONSHIP IS SHOPPING:

(24) "Being in love is sort of like... Okay. Do you remember when you got lost at the grocery store? That was scary, right? But then do you remember how you felt when you finally found your mom? How safe and happy and relieved you were, and how

you ran up to her and you grabbed her leg and then you looked up and it wasn't your mom? That's kind of what it's like out here, yeah. You think you know somebody. Turns out it's just some stranger with your mom's knees. Trust no one. Swipe left." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

In this scenario looking for a partner is compared to looking for one's mother in a grocery store as a child. Therefore, we arrive at the following mappings:

dating scene	→	grocery store
looking for a partner	→	looking for one's mother in a store

The comedian, therefore, appeals to a childhood experience that is familiar to many of us in order to convey the feeling of frustration she feels about dating.

Next, the corpus contains a RELATIONSHIP IS AN ADDICTION conceptualization:

(25) I quit dating losers. That took a minute. Yeah. Thank you. Thank you. There's no rehab for that, only sponsors. [...] Losers are hard to quit. Losers are a lot like cigarettes. You have one in your mouth, you feel pretty cool, but everyone is like, "Ew! We're sad for you. Don't do that around my kids." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

And, along similar lines, there's a RELATIONSHIP IS A DISEASE metaphor:

(26) So you don't want that to happen with the wrong person. Okay? Because when the dick touch the hort [heart], you can get a nasty case of STS. Not STDs. STS. Some call it "dick-whipped." Some call it "dick-matized." I call it "sexually transmitted stupidity." Mm-hmm. Yeeees. Because when the dick touch the hort, it can infect your intellect. Have you just doing dumb shit. (Amanda Seales, *I be knowin'*, 2019)

And one of RELATIONSHIP IS SCHOOL:

(27) I was the girl you couldn't bring home for holidays 'cause what are you going to say at that point? Like, "Mom, Dad, this is my lesson that I can't seem to learn. Don't get attached." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

The comedian here metonymically refers to herself as a lesson, which conceptualizes her partner as a student and the whole relationship as school.

Another conceptualization of relationships is that of RELATIONSHIP IS BUSINESS:

(28) I really don't understand why married women always want you to get married. Isn't that weird? It's like they don't want to be alone. But they are not alone.. They are fucking married. It's just.. It feels like a pyramid scheme is what I'm trying to say. I feel like married women are like 'well if I get three of my friends and then she can get three of her friends and then three of those friends can get three of their friends.. then we can all get divorced together'. (Sarah Tiana, *Sarah Tiana at Just for Laughs Festival*, 2015)

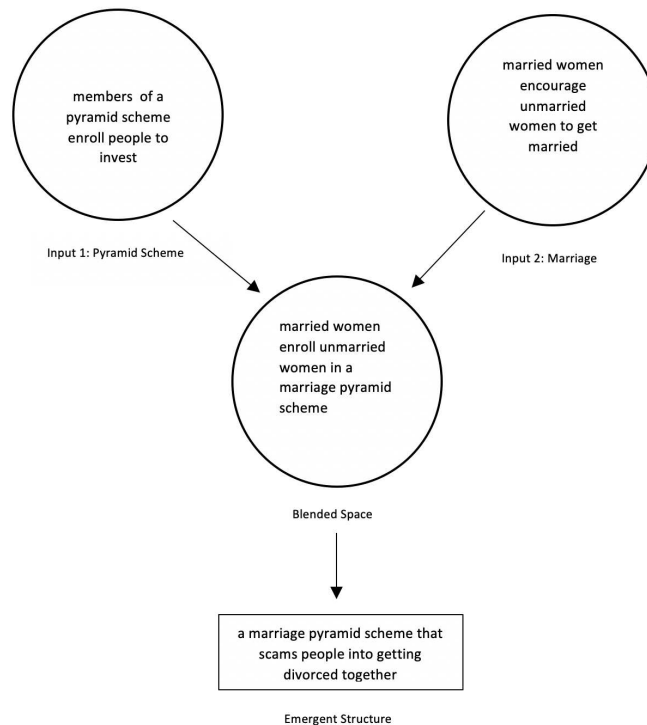


Figure 4. Integration network for Example (27)

In this example the two input spaces of a pyramid scheme and that of marriage are blended together to give rise to the blended space of married women enrolling unmarried women in some kind of a marriage pyramid scheme. This emerging idea of a marriage pyramid scheme, which the comedian also describes as scamming people into getting divorced together, can be characterized as an emergent structure of the blend (see Figure 4). The comedian, therefore, makes a controversial statement by comparing marriage to a scam, which goes against the stereotype of marriage being very desirable to women and instead portrays it as something fraudulent and futile. This strong idea paired with the unexpected comparison result in a humorous effect from the audience.

The corpus also contains one example of the RELATIONSHIP IS POLITICS metaphor:

(29) Because I think inviting a divorced woman to a married persons' dinner, it's kind of like inviting a political radical to show up. You know what I mean? I might just bust down the door with some pamphlets and start telling the truth about some things, man. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

Interestingly, this scenario leads us to the following mappings:

relationships	→	politics
marriage	→	conformity
divorce	→	non-conformity

To finish up this chapter, the corpus contains an example of RELATIONSHIP IS INTERIOR DESIGN, in which Kirkman speaks about the way married people tend to want to find a partner for their single friends. A similar idea was expressed in example (28):

(30) Your married friends invite you over and they put you on the couch, and they stare at you like you're a pillow that doesn't make sense to them. Like, "What do we do with that? We have to match that somehow. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

Conclusions to Chapter 6.1.

Let us now consider what has been discussed in Chapter 6.1. in terms of quantification and see if we can trace any tendencies in the use of conceptual metaphor. Table 3 shows the source domains concerned with the topics of men and women and the number of their occurrences:

Men		Women	
POSSESSIONS	6	OWNERS	6
FOOD	3	CONSUMERS	3
INFERIORS	3	ADULTS	2
		EMPLOYERS	1
GUNS	1	VICTIMS	1
Total:			13

Table 3. Source domains used with the target domains of men and women and their frequency

As we can see, the most commonly used source domain used with the target domain of MEN is POSSESSIONS, which is something very tangible and concrete. Another common source domain is FOOD, which is also tangible and was mentioned in Chapter 1.1. in the list of common source domains by Kövecses. The source domain of INFERIORS, which has many examples as the source domain of FOOD, stands out as more abstract than the others. Lastly, the source domain of GUNS, while being a concrete thing, is an example of metaphor creativity.

The source domains used with the target domain of women, which have been derived from the conceptual mappings, evoke some interesting narratives. As it has been mentioned in the chapter above, the conceptualization of women as owners, consumers, adults and employers seems to have an implication of them being in a superior position to men, who are conceptualized as inanimate objects, food, children, or employees. Such comparisons highlight the ability of women to be in charge and make their own decisions, which deflate social stereotypes and often mock them. What is more, comparisons of such sort inevitably result in humorous reactions due

to their controversy, which in part can be attributed to the superiority function of humor. With the usage of humorous metaphors female comedians seek to ridicule social stereotypes and beliefs that limit them and instead produce narratives that empower them.

Let us now have a look at the breakdown of source domains used with the target domains of relationships:

Source Domain	Number of Occurrences
WAR	3
GAME	2
PLANE RIDE	2
SURGERY	1
BOOKCLUB	1
SHOPPING	1
ADDICTION	1
DISEASE	1
SCHOOL	1
BUSINESS	1
POLITICS	1
INTERIOR DESIGN	1
PRISON	1
Total:	17

Table 4. Source domains used with the target domain of relationships

When it comes to the source domain of RELATIONSHIPS, we can see that it attracts a lot more metaphorical creativity than the target domain of MEN - most of the metaphors are used only once. Some of them, however, belong to the list of the most common source domains (see Chapter 1.1.): GAME, BUSINESS, ADDICTION and SURGERY (Health and Illness). Others are unusual and creative, which makes sense considering the nature of the discourse: BOOKCLUB, SHOPPING, INTERIOR DESIGN. Interestingly, the domain of POLITICS has

been listed as one of the most common target domains by Kövecses, which here is used as a source domain. That being said, though at times unusual, most of the conceptualizations in Chapter 6.1. are built around familiar experiences and situations, which the audience can easily relate to. Another thing that appears to unite almost all of the source domains used to describe the domain of relationships are their slightly negative connotations: the domains of SURGERY and SHOPPING talk about the stress and despair connected with the experience; the BOOK CLUB scenario characterizes dating as something boring and mundane; WAR, ADDICTION and DISEASE are inherently negative notions that cannot be taken in a positive light. This leads us to the idea that relationships do not seem as pleasant and beneficial as one might think. Historically, it has been of high importance for women to be married as it provided them with the financial and social security that could not afford being unattached. The circumstances are very different nowadays; however, the stereotype is still present, and it seems that the comedians try to bring to light the negative side that women face in relationships.

6.2. Female Body

Another very prolific topic that was discovered in female stand-up is the topic of the female body. This section combines many different angles, e.g. body image, bodily autonomy, pregnancy and motherhood.

The most common source domain in this section is that of CONTAINER and its many different forms, e.g.:

(31) Now it's like, every day I wake up and my brain goes, "You have goals." My body's like, "I'm empty." All the time. <...> I do still get annoyed with other people's kids, which I think will keep me empty a little bit longer. (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

An unpregnant woman in this example is described as 'empty', which leads us to the conceptualization of a female body as some kind of a container, and a baby as some kind of a substance that fills that container.

The same conceptualization of a baby filling up an empty space is conveyed through the comparison of the female body to a greenhouse, which can be considered a specification of the CONTAINER schema:

(32) Not to mention you can grow a penis inside a vagina, like the world's most terrifying greenhouse! (Michelle Wolf, *Nice Lady*, 2017)

The emergent idea of a 'terrifying' greenhouse can be explained through blending. As two input spaces we have a pregnant woman and a greenhouse, and as a generic space - a container with something growing inside. The blended space, therefore, results in a greenhouse with human babies growing inside of it, which is what makes it terrifying. The integration network can be seen in Figure 5.

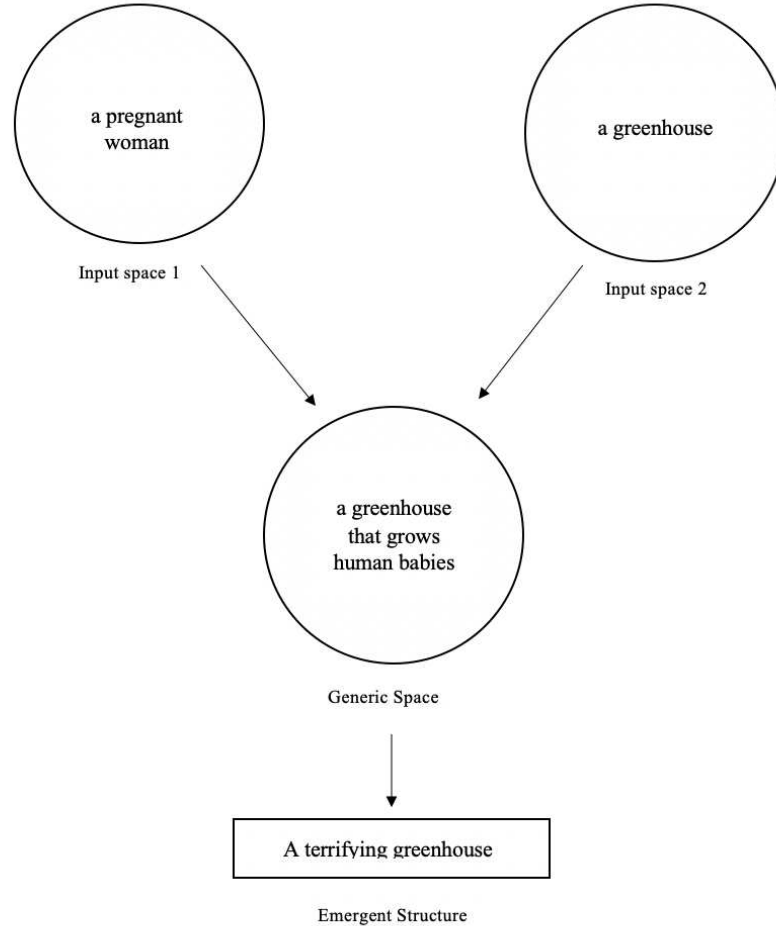


Figure 5. Integration network for Example (32)

The CONTAINER metaphor is also represented by the comparison of the female body to a building:

(33) And we're the ones that have the babies, and she [nature] made the hole too small, way too small. It's a design flaw. If every time an elevator went down a building it broke the building ...you'd be like, "We should fix that." (Michelle Wolf, *Nice Lady*, 2017)

(34) I was like, "What the fuck did I do all that pushing for when there was this perfectly good emergency exit?" (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Life*, 2018)

Both of these examples conceptualize the birthing canal as parts of a building (an elevator shaft in example (33) and an exit in example (34)), and describe it as inadequately narrow, which results in accidents. In example (34) the comedian refers to Caesarean section as an emergency exit, which leads us to the following mappings:

female body	→	a building
birthing canal	→	an exit
Caesarean section	→	an emergency exit

To sum up, examples (31) - (34) conceptualize the female body as a container intended for carrying a child. It is worth noting how this is a rather utilitarian outlook, and it will be explored further in the chapter.

The female body is conceptualized as a container not only in connection to pregnancy, but also to sexual intercourse:

(35) Nobody told me to expect sexual rejection as a woman. Nobody prepares you. From the time you start walking as a little girl, they're like, "Hey, everybody wants in there. You gotta build a perimeter and keep everyone out." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

(36) I pretend I'm not ready to have sex with someone new yet, just to make sure they're a good person first. I call it the gobstopper test. I go, "Ooh, I'm not ready. Is that okay?" He's like, "Totally fine. No worries at all." I'm like, "Charlie, you won! You did it. I knew you could, my boy! Now, come inside my chocolate factory. It's all for you." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

In example (35) the comedian talks about the way women are taught to protect themselves from male predators from a young age. The phrases 'everybody wants *in* there', 'build a perimeter' and "keep everyone *out*" lead us to believe that the female body in this example is conceptualized as a building (or more generally, CONTAINER), and men appear to be intruders in this scenario.

The comparison of the female body to a container is represented also in connection to the process of aging:

(37) Right before I turned 40, I got some gray pubic hairs. And that's confronting. And I'm not stupid. I got rid of them. There was a few. I got rid of them. I do all the things to this that women do. Pluck, mow, whatever. I do it all. What I'm trying to explain to you is, I'm not gonna treat them the way I did cockroaches that I saw in my apartment in my 30s, right? "Oh, I'm sure they just came in from the outside. "There's no more where that came from." That is not true with this. These came from the inside and there's a lot more where that came from. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(38) This means that the factory inside my body is starting to shut down, right? And it's laying off all non-essential employees. So... The little elves that paint the hairs black, they have been given a pension. Thank you for your 40 years of service. She doesn't need you anymore. Now there's two guys in there. Just keep the kidneys going, keep the bladder going, keep her alive, she's on the last 40. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(39) Gray is the color of barbed wire. It sends a message, doesn't it? "Get outta here!" Get out, you young people! Stop trying to climb up on this. I'll cut you! "No one's allowed in here anymore! Don't you see?" (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(40) It's an upsetting thing because I feel like, um, I feel like this is a house. Go with me here. It's the house on your street that the old lady lives in and is no longer being kept up. Right? I feel like what it used to be was the young house. You go trick-or-treating to it and it has a warm glow and there's candy in there. And you're happy to ring the bell. Then you go to the next house and you're like, "Oh, my God," and it's dark and there's no more grass, just dirt and one weird weed that doesn't make sense. Not indigenous to the area at all. "That house was not like that last year." What happened to that house? Did that house turn 40? I am not going near that house. That

house doesn't even make candy anymore. "If I put my hand in that house, I'm gonna get dry pennies." (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

Examples (37)-(40) are similar in the way they all describe the body of a woman in her 40s and in their negative implications. Example (37) conceptualizes an aging female body as an apartment infested with cockroaches, which represent gray hairs in the scenario. Example (38) compares it to a factory which is being shut down. The comparison of gray hair to barbed wire in example (39) suggests a comparison to a prison or some other building where visitors are not welcome. Lastly, example (40) describes a house that was once appealing and welcoming but then 'turned 40' and became scary and off-putting. Due to the nature of such comparisons we are led to see the age 40 as a breaking point in women's lives, at which their bodies begin to misperform and lose their former appeal.

What is more, examples (35)-(40), while belonging to the same conceptualization of a CONTAINER as examples (31)-(34), convey a different relation between the body and the self. In examples (31)-(34) the female self is the container itself, which is where the idea of emptiness comes from, and also an idea that the woman serves a purpose (childbirth). In fact, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29) consider the human body to be the ultimate container as we are bound by it and "set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skin". On the other hand, examples (35) -(40) the female self is inside the container: it belongs to her and serves her a purpose.

Moving on from the CONTAINER metaphor, another common conceptualization regarding the female body is FEMALE BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS, e.g.:

(41) We don't wanna think about the fact we have a body every five minutes, and you make us think about it all the time, and we don't want to. You know that feeling when you just have keys and your phone and you feel so free? We'd love to feel that way at the bank, but can't take our tits and vagina and leave them on the table. So, we've got to take these things even at 8:30 in the morning. (Jen Kirkman, *Just Keep Livin'?*, 2017)

Kirkman here comments on the feeling of discomfort that women feel in terms of their body and the way it sometimes attracts unwanted attention. She conceptualizes female body parts as objects to describe how she wishes she did not have to bring them everywhere or how she could put them away, just like a phone or a set of keys. A similar feeling of discomfort is conveyed in another example:

(42) You know what the hardest thing of my day is? Lining up my nipples. I wake up every morning and when I put a bra on, it's like doing two really complex Rubik's cubes. (Urzila Carlson, *Overqualified Loser*, 2020)

The OBJECTS metaphor is also used in connection to the topic of aging:

(43) I know, when you're in your 40s and you're some guy, having age-appropriate sex and age-inappropriate sex is sort of like two different kinds of plates. You're some 40-year-old guy and you've got nice china. 'Cause you have your shit together. But every once in a while, you just want to eat off a paper plate, in front of the TV. "Yeah. I can get grease on this and it doesn't complain." I can flip it around. I can throw it in the trash and someone else gets it tomorrow. "I don't care." I'm an old piece of china at this point. It's effort to sleep with me. You've got to take me out. Dust me off. Be polite, ignore any cracks you might see. Wash me off and put me back when I'm done. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(44) I'm 40. My ovaries are like sweaters in those collapsible bags. They're under my bed. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

In example (43) the comedian compares female bodies to plates. In this scenario, the body of a young woman is compared to a paper plate which is easy to use and does not require any special treatment, while the body of a middle-aged woman is compared to 'an old piece of china' which is not as usable and has some defects on it. This comparison, similarly to the ones we have seen above, describes women after 40 as less desirable and attractive. Example (44) talks about the female reproductive system and how its functionality typically declines in women after the

age of 40. The comedian compares her ovaries to sweaters that she stores under her bed, which describes them as something she does not have as much use for anymore.

Next, the corpus contains several examples of the FEMALE BODY IS A LOCATION metaphor. For example, a park:

(45) But I did it on purpose, because I knew that he was a catch. So I was like, “All right, Ali, you gotta make this dude believe that your body is a secret garden.” When, really, it’s a public park... that has hosted many reggae fests... and has even accidentally let... two homeless people inside. (Ali Wong, *Baby Cobra*, 2016)

In this conceptualization the female body is described as a location which men can either be let into or not. The nature of this location is also defined by the number of people who have visited it, which implies the number of intimate partners a woman has had – the lower the number the more exclusive it is. This comparison provides commentary on the stereotype of women losing their appeal based on the number of intimate partners they choose to have, and by presenting it in such a humorous and forward manner, the comedian regains control of the narrative and instead brings forward the idea of female body autonomy.

Similar narrative is presented by Katherine Ryan (2015):

(46) The British are sneaking into their own country through my body. Why? Why would they do that? You think you have immigration problems? It has been suggested I reexamine my open door policy. Don't tell me how to run my government! (Katherine Ryan, *Katherine Ryan at Just for Laughs Festival*, 2015)

To add some context to this excerpt, the comedian talks about how while being a Canadian in Britain she gave birth to her daughter who now has a British citizenship and exhibits a strong affinity to that culture. The conceptualization of the female body as a government once again brings forward the idea of sole autonomy of women over their bodies and their bodily integrity. In line with the previous example, the ‘open door policy’ is a commentary on the

stereotypical expectation of women to have fewer sexual partners, which the comedian rejects. The mappings can be formulated as follows:

female body	→	a government
men	→	immigrants

There is one more example of the source domain of LOCATION in the corpus:

(47) I need you to save it. I want your sperm to be as pent-up, and as angry and rapey as possible. So that, when they come out, it's like, 'Release the Kraken!'" And they just come out like a bunch of angry refugees escaping a dictatorship, you know? (Ali Wong, *Baby Cobra*, 2016)

By the way the comedian describes sperm as refugees escaping a dictatorship, we are able to understand that the female (as well as male) body here is conceptualized as a country the 'refugees' are fleeing to.

The last example of the LOCATION conceptualization goes as follows:

(48) Having a baby is not a miracle, it's a natural disaster. And we need to describe it like one so we get the health care that we deserve. Like, when Florida gets hit with a hurricane, they send help because they show you how bad it is. They're not like, "And then Florida was kissed with wind by God." No, they send reporters, they show pictures, they get testimonials. That's what we have to do after birth. Get a reporter in there, put 'em in one of those weird raincoats. Like, "I'm here in Martha's vagina, and things are bleak. Roads and bridges are out. Man cannot survive. Debris is everywhere. I have Martha's husband here, let's see what he has to say." "I mean, you try to prepare, and, uh..." "Well, it's just... my home is gone." (Michelle Wolf, *Joke Show*, 2019)

Another recurring source domain used with the domain of the female body is A CAR, e.g.:

(49) And I don't care how many times you try to trick me with those adorable pictures of your new baby up against your chest. I know underneath that sheet is a car accident. Like, if an insurance guy came by, he'd be like, "No, it's totaled." (Michelle Wolf, *Joke Show*, 2019)

(50) It's like, "Oh, congratulations, you're having a baby? Great. Couple things... We're gonna need you to get that car accident of a body back to work as soon as possible, because this is America and we don't think you need time to recover. (Michelle Wolf, *Nice Lady*, 2017)

A postpartum body in these two examples is described as a wrecked car after an accident. Such comparison is clearly meant to emphasize how damaging the process of childbirth can be to a woman's body and how difficult it is to recover after it. This side of pregnancy and delivery is often considered shameful or even vulgar to talk about, with the media pushing forward stories of quick postpartum recoveries. The narrative of a car wreck serves to illustrate how preposterous such a mindset is: car accidents are dangerous and can even be fatal, a wrecked car requires time and financial investments to be restored back to its initial state, thus it cannot be operated right after, etc. The comedian invites us to use the same attitude towards pregnancy, which helps us realize how consequential the process really is.

Another example of the FEMALE BODY IS A CAR conceptualization goes as follows:

(51) Oh, wait, actually, gay dudes can be platinum stars. They are ones that have never slept with anyone from the opposite sex and they were born via Cesarean. So, even on the day they came out, they had a look and went, "Fuck no! Take me out through the sunroof!" (Urzila Carlson, *Overqualified Loser*, 2020)

This narrative is very similar to example (34) as in both of them conceptualize a Cesarean section as an alternative exit out of a building or a car. We arrive at the following mappings:

female body → a car

birthing canal	→	an exit
Cesarean section	→	a sunroof

One more example of the usage of the source domain of cars comes from Wong (2018) in her piece about breastfeeding:

(52) And every time I would do it, it was like parallel parking. I don't know how I did it! It's a mystery. I was never properly trained, but I just did it. I just went back and forth, and back and forth, and back and forth, until all these very concerned strangers start gathering outside of my car. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

The example is interesting in the way the comedian elicits its humorous effect: the border between the concepts of breastfeeding and parking completely vanishes and by the end of it the hearer cannot say for sure which of the two the comedian is talking about – parking a car or breastfeeding a baby.

In connection to breastfeeding the corpus contains three examples of the FEMALE BODY IS A FOOD SOURCE conceptualization:

(53) I thought it was supposed to be this beautiful bonding ceremony, where I would feel like I was sitting on a lily pad in a meadow and bunnies would gather at my feet while the fat Hawaiian man version of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow” would play. No! It's not like that at all! Breastfeeding is this savage ritual that just reminds you that your body is a cafeteria now! (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

female body	→	a restaurant
children	→	consumers

(54) It was squirting out of like 15 holes in each titty, like the Bellagio fountain, just, “Woo. Woo, woo, woo. Woo, woo, woo.” For free! My body was a food factory. I wasn't about to let that all go to waste. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

female body	→	a factory
children	→	consumers

(55) I had to stop breastfeeding after eight and a half months. I could not take it anymore. By the end, I felt like *The Giving Tree*. I used to not-understand what that depressing-ass book was about. And now I know it's about breastfeeding! It's about a mom who used to have all of these beautiful branches and apples, and then this little freeloader comes into her life, takes all of her shit, and then she just becomes a sad-ass tree stump with deflated titties! (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

female body	→	a giving tree
children	→	consumers

As we can see, all three examples describe the female body as a food source and children - as consumers. Such concepts portray the process of breastfeeding as some sort of a transaction devoid of any human emotion, which goes against the stereotype of it being a time of a strong emotional connection between a mother and her child. It seems that Wong's invalidation of this connection serves to bring to light another, more prosaic side of breastfeeding, which is the physical toll it imposes. Also, this conceptualization is another instance of the female body being regarded as something functional - we've seen a similar motive in examples (31)-(34) in reference to pregnancy, and now to breastfeeding.

The corpus also contains examples of the source domain of A DEVICE:

(56) We got a shitty hand that we were dealt, right? Is it a design flaw? What the fuck? Okay, so let me get this straight. This is our plight, right? Okay, so when you're young, you're fertile, you're producing eggs, you're bringing life into the world, right? You're bringing life into the world. And then you get older, no more eggs. You can't bring any more life into the world... so they just set you on fire. (Wanda Sykes, *Not Normal*, 2019)

This example conceptualizes the female body as a device, the main purpose of which appears to be childbirth. According to this scenario, the device has a design flaw – it sets on fire when it can no longer get pregnant, which is a metaphor for hot flashes that are typical for

women going through menopause. This scenario serves to clearly demonstrate the discomfort that women have to experience as their bodies change with age.

Another conceptualization of the female body as A DEVICE also mentions a design flaw, but in a sexual area:

(57) Very difficult to make a woman, especially a new woman, cum. It's so annoying. It's a design flaw. There's too many factors. (Ali Wong, *Don Wong*, 2022)

Another example of the usage of the source domain of A DEVICE creates a different narrative:

(58) His [her father's] biggest fear was that one of us would become sexually active before we got married, and, uh, some of us have been activated, so that's... Can't take this back to Best Buy. Can't take this back to Best Buy. "I've spilled some stuff on it." On it. In it. The keys don't work. It's over. So... (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

In this example we can see a play on the words 'sexually active' and 'activate (a device)'. The female body as a device in this scenario becomes worthless once the woman becomes sexually active.

One last recurring source domain used with the target domain of the body is that of A LIVING BEING:

(59) I think divorce helps, too. Your weight doesn't want anything to do with you either. It's just like, "Oh, God, get away from her." It just... it just runs away. (Jen Kirkman, *I'm Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(60) Divorced horniness needs to be taken care of right away. Because your body starts going into heat, like an animal. The minute that door shuts, you're not in control anymore. Your body's just like... Like, my body was... I was just following it. It was trying to sit

on fire hydrants and stuff. I was like, “Body, stop it.” It was like, “Help!” (Jen Kirkman, *I’m Gonna Die Alone*, 2015)

(61) Titties. Okay? It don’t matter what size your titties is. At the end of the day, when you take your bra off, they audibly sigh. You goin’ back to the motherland in your living room. Okay? There’s a crowd outside chanting, “Free the titties! Free the titties!” There’s a reporter in your room, interviewing your nipples, like, “How does it feel to be free from that padded cell?” “My God, it feels so good to feel the wind in my hair.” (Amanda Seales, *I Be Knowin’*, 2019)

(62) So I’ve got this fun thing. I’ve got polycystic ovaries or PCOS and that’s very, very common and lots of women have it. What it means is that your ovaries make an egg and then rather than going anywhere, just forms a cyst to decorate you beautifully. (Sara Pascoe, *LadsLadsLads*, 2019)

(63) Yes, I call her Esther. When I was in my forties, I got this little fat roll. I just named it. That was Esther. And now Esther is spreading. Esther is roaming around my body. Esther’s all creeping around my back, like, “Mm, what’s back here? Let’s see what’s back here. Hey.” And she wants to eat everything. (Wanda Sykes, *Not Normal*, 2019)

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 33), personification is defined as an ontological metaphor, which serves to facilitate the comprehension of abstract entities through shared human experiences. Thus, by attributing the body with human feelings and emotions the comedians intend to concretize what they were going through at those moments.

This section also contains a conceptualization which were used only once, e.g. FEMALE BODY IS A WEAPON, in which the comedian ironically describes her acquaintance who had several children within a short period of time:

(64) And now Jane stays home to look after seven tiny children. And that, ladies, is also fine. Apart from I did not know you could have that many that fast. I genuinely did not. Her eldest daughter is the same age as my only daughter, and then I blinked and she shot

out six more, just like... rrrrrrrrr! Jane's having a baby every four months, somehow. Jane, she keeps it together. Jane has an ass like a peach, cervix like a Hula-Hoop. Just... Boom! Boom! Shooting them out, back on the school run. (Katherine Ryan, *Glitter Room*, 2019)

Conclusion to Chapter 6.2.

Chapter 6.2. approached the topic of the female body from several different perspectives: body image, ageing, pregnancy and childbirth. Table 6 recapitulates the source domains used to describe the target domain of female body:

Source Domain	No. of Occurrences
CONTAINER	10
LIVING BEING	5
OBJECTS (BODY PARTS)	4
CAR	4
LOCATION	4
FOOD SOURCE	3
DEVICE	3
WEAPON	1
Total:	34

Table 5. Source domains used with the target domain of the female body and their frequency

As we can see, the female body is most frequently compared to a container, which has been defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as an ontological metaphor. That being said, in the chapter we have seen how the comedians go beyond the fundamental characteristics of a container (boundness, the in-and-out orientation) in order to create narratives that would convey their attitudes toward the subject. For instance, prohibited entrances (example (35) and (39)), emergency exits (example (34)) and elevators (33) in the metaphors related to buildings. Such unique and particular references not only elicit a humorous reaction due to their unpredictability, but also illustrate very clearly the particular feelings the comedians try to convey to the audience,

the same way we have seen in the previous chapter. The other two most common source domains (car and objects) are also very concrete and experiential.

One idea that seems to unite the conceptual metaphors of FOOD SOURCE, DEVICE and several examples of the CONTAINER metaphor (examples (31) - (34)) is the idea of the functionality of the female body in terms of child bearing and motherhood. The female body in these examples is viewed from a very utilitarian viewpoint and the mother-child relationship is devoid of emotions. This narrative is very different from what we see in our culture and in most media, which tend to show only a glamorized version of it, and serve to show the other, more realistic side of it. On the same note, the process of childbirth has also been portrayed in a negative light throughout the chapter: examples (49) and (50) compare it to a car accident, example (33) - to a malfunctioning elevator shaft, example (34) - to an emergency, with a Caesarian section being a convenient and desirable “way out” (example (34) and (51)). In fact, with the exception of a few “neutral” examples, all the excerpts create somewhat negative narratives with the purpose of bringing awareness to the physical issues women experience.

6.3. Motherhood and Children

The final part of the thesis is dedicated to the topic of motherhood. Let us start with the following example:

(65) I joined a moms' group in Los Angeles. Yeah, I don't find any of these bitches particularly interesting or fun, but when you're a new mom on maternity leave, it's like *The Walking Dead*, you just gotta hook up with a crew to survive. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

In this example Wong makes a reference to the American horror series about a zombie apocalypse called the *Walking Dead*. This comparison brings us to the conceptualization of MOTHERHOOD IS AN APOCALYPSE, in which women on maternity leave are regarded as zombies. Another example from Wong paints a similarly pessimistic picture of motherhood:

(66) For three months, I was walking around my house with a top knot, giant diaper, nipples bleeding. Like a defeated sumo wrestler. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

Here the comedian compares herself post-partum to a sumo wrestler, which leads us to the conceptualization of motherhood as A BATTLE. Wong also compares motherhood to A PRISON:

(67) You're just in solitary confinement all day long with this human Tamagotchi... That don't got no reset button, so the stakes are extremely high. (Ali Wong, *Hard Knock Wife*, 2018)

In this example the comedian, in fact, brings together three input spaces in order to achieve the desired humorous effect and add to the effect of the narrative: that of motherhood, prison and Tamagotchi pets. The blending of the three gives rise to the narrative of an imprisoned mother playing Tamagotchi without a reset button. The integration can be seen in Figure 6.

Examples (65) - (67) are very revealing of the comedian's attitude to motherhood. She does not describe it as a joyful or blissful stage in their life, which it is commonly portrayed as, but as a very trying experience. Example 64 highlights the solitariness many women go through

in the early stages of their motherhood, when they feel isolated from their social circle or need support from other women going through the same experience. The feeling of solitude is also manifested in example (67), in which Wong compares maternity leave to solitary confinement. Lastly, example (66) creates a visual narrative of an exhausted mother as a sumo wrestler, which highlights the physical struggle women have to endure in the early stages of their motherhood.

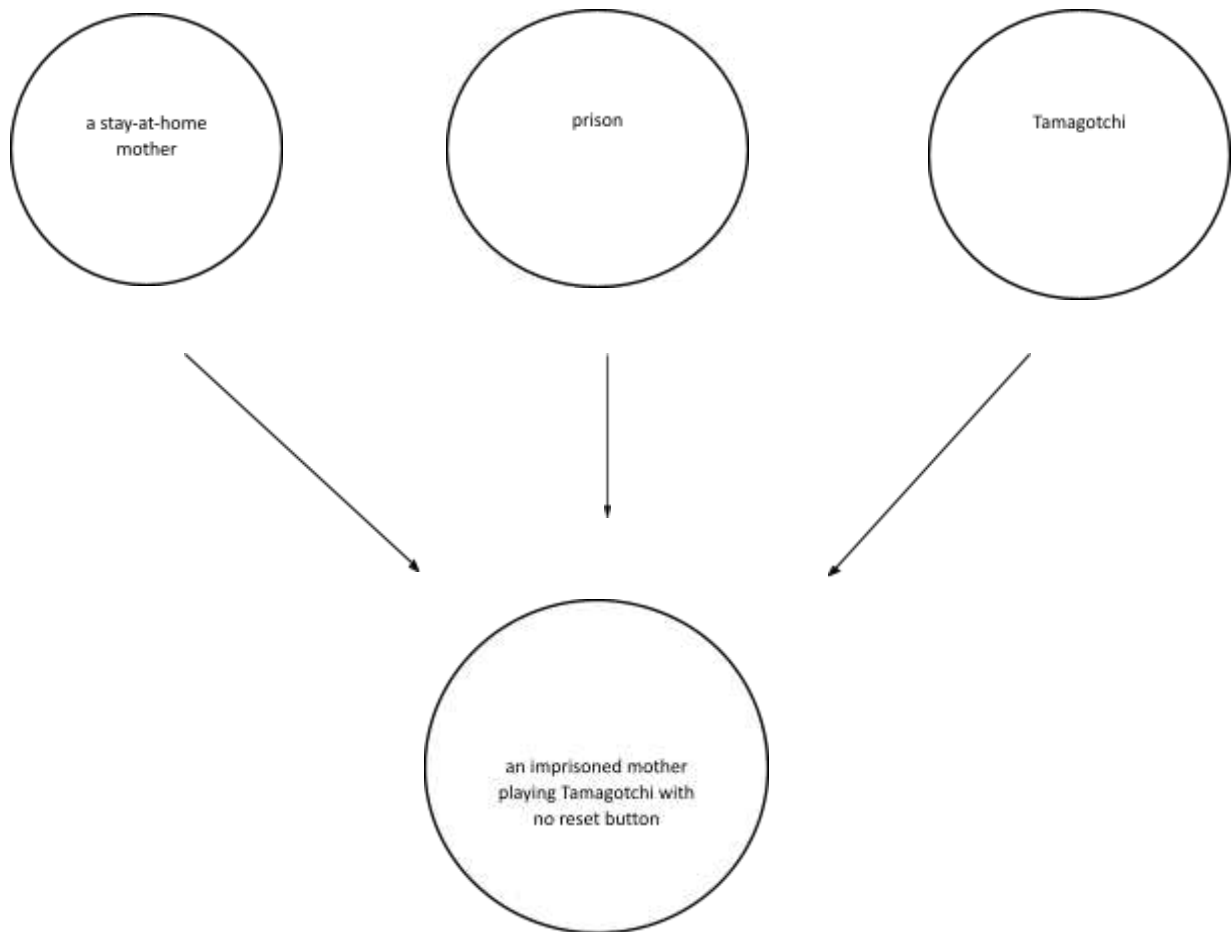


Figure 6. Integration network for Example (59)

This sense of emotional invalidation is present in another example from Wolf, where she compares breastfeeding to a circus:

(68) Like, I would want to breastfeed, but only because I want to use breast milk the way a clown uses a flower with water in it. Like, always going up to people, like, “Hey, how are you? Pew, pew!” (Michelle Wolf, *Joke Show*, 2019)

The last few examples in this chapter are devoted to the conceptualizations of children. Let us start with that of CHILDREN ARE TATTOOS:

(69) I think the whole tattoo thing is a lot like kids. Like, first of all, some people want one, some people want none, some people want a bunch, like... And it’s all over their arms and it looks like a lot of work. But... But you go to a place, you lay down, there’s a lot of pain and you’re like: “God, I hope I love it. It is permanent.” So... So, I’m having a tattoo instead of a child. (Jen Kirkman, *Just Keep Livin’?*, 2017)

This example possesses a similar tone of invalidation of the concept of motherhood as we have seen before. Children here are characterized as kind of a nuisance, something requiring primarily a lot of work, physical endurance and commitment, rather than something that brings you joy and satisfaction, which is how Kirkman explains her preference for tattoos.

Similar feelings are conveyed in the next two examples of the CHILDREN ARE OBJECTS metaphor:

(70) It is insane to me how easy it is to have and keep a baby. Like, if you get your appendix removed, they won't let you take it home, but if you have a baby, they're like, "Here, you dropped this." (Taylor Tomlinson, *Quarter-Life Crisis*, 2020)

(71) At this point, if you wanna have a baby, you should have to take a test or two. Something simple, like, “Let me see your iPhone screen. Oh, it’s cracked? Then no!” You can’t carry a phone, you can’t carry a baby. They’re wigglier. (Michelle Wolf, *Nice Lady*, 2017)

While Tomlinson explicitly compares babies to appendixes (on the ground of both being extracted from the body via a medical procedure), the verbs that are used to talk about both (keep,

take, drop) lead us to a more general conceptualization, that of inanimate objects. Here we again encounter the same lack of affection towards the subject of children and motherhood, which are also characterized as requiring a lot of commitment. Wolf uses the comparison to another inanimate object, a phone, to communicate the idea of responsibility towards children.

Conclusions to Chapter 6.3.

In chapter 6.3. we looked into the conceptualizations of motherhood and children. Let us first recapitulate the target domain of motherhood:

Source Domain	No. of Occurrences
APOCALYPSE	1
BATTLE	1
PRISON	1
Total:	3

Table 6. Source domains used with the target domain of motherhood and their frequency

As has been discussed in the chapter, while the source domains describing the domain of motherhood are different, they share very strong similarities: all three are highly unfavorable in their nature and imply some physical struggle. We can also remember here the topic of breastfeeding that was discussed in the previous chapter with a similarly negative connotation around it, devoid of such emotions as love and affection. This is yet another example of women addressing the topics that tend to be avoided by the public as shameful.

The target domain of children offers a few conceptualizations as well:

Source Domain	No. of Occurrences
CONSUMERS	3
OBJECTS	2
TATTOOS	1

Total:	6
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Table 7. Source domains used with the target domain of children and their frequency

Table 7 also includes the three instances of the CHILDREN ARE CONSUMERS conceptualization that were discussed in the previous chapter in examples (53)-(55). While the source domains describing the target domain of children is rather difficult to sum up due to their variety, one common trait was put forward by the domains of OBJECTS and TATTOOS – that of responsibility and commitment, and also an overall pessimistic tone around the subject matter.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the usage of conceptual metaphor in female stand-up comedy. Being the genre of media which requires a great deal of both relatability and creativity, stand-up comedy has proven to be the ideal ground on which to base the research on conceptual metaphor.

The theoretical part of the thesis accounted for the place of conceptual metaphor within the framework of cognitive linguistics, its features, functions, and classification. Apart from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson, the thesis presented and made use of the Blending Theory, in order to analyze more complex metaphoric expressions. Then, given the nature of the research material, the theoretical part focused on the theories of humor and the place of metaphor within them. Lastly, the theoretical part introduced the genre of stand-up comedy, its history and characteristics, and the place female stand-up comedians have within this discourse.

The analytical part contained 71 examples of the usage of conceptual metaphor by female comedians, which were split into three chapters according to the most recurring topics in the corpus: Men and Relationships, Female Body, and Motherhood and Children. Each metaphoric expression was analyzed in terms of their target and source domain, as well as the mappings it produced, if any. Metaphoric expressions which incorporated more input spaces or created an emergent structure were analyzed with the use of the Blending Theory and their integrational networks were presented for better insight. All this helped to identify the narratives and concepts that are implied by the usage of conceptual metaphor, and then make generalizations about the attitudes towards the subjects discussed.

Chapter 6.1. revealed some strong implications regarding female comedian's attitudes towards the dynamic of romantic relationships with men. The three most common conceptualizations of men were POSSESSIONS, FOOD and INFERIORS, while women were most commonly conceptualized as OWNERS, CONSUMERS and ADULTS. Such

conceptualizations put men into a dependent and subordinate position to women, which causes us to re-evaluate the stereotypes of women being the dependent ones. The majority of source domains used to conceptualize relationships, such as WAR ADDICTION, or SURGERY, proved to highlight negative aspects of relationships and women's experiences associated with them.

Chapter 6.2. looked into the attitudes of women towards their own bodies. The most common conceptual metaphor in this category was that of A CONTAINER, which is an ontological metaphor defined by Lakoff and Johnson before. These examples highlighted the functionality of the female body in terms of child bearing, while putting the woman herself, her personality. To the background. Another two most common conceptualizations were OBJECTS and CAR, which are also rather established. This chapter was not much different from the previous one in the way it created a rather gloomy picture of the experiences women go through in terms of their bodily integrity, aging, and childbearing process.

Lastly, Chapter 6.3. presented several conceptualizations of motherhood and children. Even though the quantitative results were not as consistent as in the preceding chapters, the underlying attitudes were again uniform in their negative connotations: APOCALYPSE, BATTLE, PRISON. The conceptualizations of children highlighted the idea of responsibility and dependence around them.

Overall, the stand-up comedians included in the corpus used a wide variety of source domains to convey their ideas to the audience. A number of them were ontological and established (e.g. OBJECTS, CONTAINER, FOOD, WAR), but even through them the comedians highlighted parts of the experiences that were not always obvious. Apart from these, majority of the source domains were experiential, meaning that they assumed objects or situations that are relatable to most people: PLANE RIDE, SHOPPING, DEVICE, TATTOO, etc.

As one could notice, all the three chapters of the empirical part share a negative or pessimistic tone. Contrary to the stereotypes and public opinions, the comedians express reluctance and hesitation towards personal relationships, and emphasize their independence. Similar feelings are expressed towards motherhood and children, where the pressures of

responsibility overturn the feelings of love toward a child. When talking about their bodies the comedians seem to convey their frustration with the way their childbearing ability often takes primacy over their actual personhood.

My hope is that the thesis has illustrated the extent of the potential that the study of conceptual metaphor holds in understanding the concepts and narratives we create with mere words.

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10. Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá využitím konceptuálních metafor v rámci ženské stand-up komedie. Z tradičního hlediska je na metafory pohlíženo jako na literární nástroj sloužící primárně k poetickému využití a okrášlení doslovného, „běžného“ jazyka. V rámci tohoto rétorického využití se nejčastěji setkáváme s formou „A je B“, např. *Achiles je lev* (Evans & Green, 2006: 293). Tato implicitní srovnání byla vnímána (na rozdíl od přirovnání) jako jediná funkce metafor, až do doby, než na ně bylo nahlédnuto v rámci kognitivní lingvistiky, zejména v průlomových pracích od Lakoffa a Johnsona (1980). Stěžejní koncept který představují je, že metafora není pouze lingvistický úkaz, nýbrž základní aspekt lidského přemýšlení, který hraje důležitou roli ve vytváření narativ našich každodenních životů (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3).

Teoretická část této práce na úvod představuje rámcové vymezení teorie Konceptuální metafor (Conceptual Metaphor Theory, dále také CMT), která vychází z premisy, že metafora je mentální proces, díky kterému přenášíme interpretace z jedné konceptuální sféry do druhé. Sféra která je popisována se nazývá cílová sféra, a sféra, jejíž struktura je přejímána se označuje jako zdrojová sféra. V běžném využití nese cílová sféra známky vyšší abstrakce, kdežto zdrojová sféra více pracuje s konkrétními prvky. Dichotomie abstrakce a konkretizace je stavebním kamenem konceptuální metafor: pro uživatele jazyka je snazší pochopit konkrétní, případně i hmatatelný objekt nebo skutečnost, která může následně být využita pro úplné pochopení a komunikování abstraktních konceptů, jako jsou city a emoce.

Práce dále představuje dva důležité prvky CMT: mapování a akcentaci v podobě zvýrazňování a potlačování. Metaforická mapování jsou korelace mezi odlišnými elementy dvou sfér. Např. metafora *Láska je cesta* obsahuje následující mapování:

cestující → milenci

vozidlo → vztah

Jedním z primárních cílů Lakoffa bylo odhalit tato mapování a pozorovat „jaký mají vliv na lidské uvažování a chování“ (Croft & Cruse, 2010: 194). Další stěžejní charakteristika CMT je

využití akcentací, které **zvýrazňují** nebo **potlačují** určité aspekty našich pocitů a zážitků. Tyto prvky spolu jdou ruku v ruce: metafora se zaměřuje (zvýrazňuje) na jeden aspekt konceptu a pokud jsou v rámci konceptu přítomny aspekty jiné, jsou implicitně potlačeny (Kövecses, 2010). Například v rámci konceptuálních metafor zaměřujících se na lásku mohou různé metafory zvýraznit nebo potlačit různé pocity, zážitky a postoje vůči ní: metafora *Láska je cesta* zvýrazňuje rozvoj vztahu, metafora *Láska je šílenství* naopak zvýrazňuje ztrátu sebeovládání, které sebou pocit může nést a metafora *Láska je válka* pobízí k interpretaci lásky jako konfliktu, případně něčeho, za co stojí bojovat.

Teorie Konceptuální metafory ale nemůže vždy plně pokrýt komplexnější metaforický výrazy, které tvoří převážný obsah korpusu využitého v empirické sekci práce. Proto teoretická část také představuje teorii Konceptuální integrace (*Blending Theory*), která vychází z přítomnosti minimálně čtyř prostorů: dva nebo více zdrojové prostory, obecný prostor a integrovaný prostor. Tento čtyřdimenzionální model doplňuje dvojsférový model CMT a pomáhá v kategorizaci nuancí, pro které je CMT nedostačující. Stěžejním prvkem Konceptuální integrace je připravenost pojmout vznikající struktury, které se objevují pouze po integraci zdrojových prostorů, ale individuálně se neobjevují v žádném z nich.

Druhá kapitola diplomové práce se věnuje teoriím humoru. Nejprve představuje tři základní teorie humoru: **teorii nesouladu**, která vychází z přítomnosti něčeho rozporuplného, podivného, nebo nečekaného; **teorii nadřazenosti**, která využívá humor jako způsob vyjádření nadřazenosti nad někým jiným nebo jako reakci na neštěstí druhého; a **teorii represe**, která označuje popis úlevy nebo osvobození, jenž přináší smích. Práce dále představuje Sémanticko-skriptovu teorii humoru (*The Semantic Script-Based Theory of Humor*) představenou Viktorem Raskinem v roce 1985. Striktně řečeno byla teorie vytvořena pro určení sémantických prvků, které by měl text obsahovat, aby byl vnímán jako vtipný. Dle této teorie by vtip měl splňovat dva základní požadavky: měl by být kompatibilní s dvěma různými skripty, a tyto skripty by měly být v opozici. Sémantická teorie humoru byla ve své době průlomová, nicméně po publikaci sám autor doznal, že vyžaduje zevrubnější výzkum pro odstranění jejich limitací. Tohoto výzkumu se teorie dočkala v podobě Obecné teorie verbálního humoru (*The General Theory of Verbal Humor*), jenž představil Victor Raskin ve spolupráci se Salvatore Attardem v

roce 1991. Teorie se skládala z šesti pilířů, neboli znalostních zdrojů: opozice skriptů, logické mechanismy, cíl, narativní strategie, jazyk a situace. Tyto zdroje vysvětlují proč kombinace odlišných faktorů (sémantické, fonologické, morfologické a jiné) dělají vtip vtipný.

Po samostatném představení teorií metafory a humoru se třetí kapitola práce věnuje jejich průsečíku. Bylo zmíněno, že metafory a humor nesou řadu podobných rysů: implikace duality a nesouladu, element novosti nebo překvapení a jejich všeobecná „hravost“. Navzdory tomu jsou ne všechny metafory vtipy a ne všechny vtipy jsou metafory. Kapitola 3.2 představuje několik teorií metafory ve vtipěch. Nejvíce nosná se jeví být teorie nerovnováhy výraznosti (*salience imbalance*), jež vysvětluje metafory ve vtipěch jako kombinované srovnání výrazných a nevýrazných prvků (*salient a non-salient properties*).

Teoretická část práce je zakončena krátkým představením žánrů stand-up komedie, jejich charakteristiky, historii a umístění žen v jejím rámci. Stand-up je považován za unikátní formu komedie, během které komik prezentuje nacvičený monolog živému publiku a úmyslem publikum rozesmát. Důležitým prvkem, a částečně také vysvětlením popularity tohoto žánru, je vžití se do kůže komika – ti většinou představují zážitky a poznatky z jejich vlastních životů a obohacují je o vtipné komentáře a observace, díky nimž budují mezi nimi a publikem intimnější vztah, který následně může v publiku vyvolat intenzivnější reakce. Od svého počátku až do nedávna byl stand-up považován za striktně muži dominovanou disciplínu. V posledních letech toto ale přestává být pravdou a pravidlem, jelikož se v žánru pohybuje čím dál tím více žen, které se svými představeními jezdí celosvětová turné.

Empirická část této práce využívala korpus 154 metafor, které se objevovaly napříč 35 různými vystoupeními od 23 různých komiček. Tyto výrazy byly kategorizovány dle nejčastěji se vyskytujících témat v této práci: muži a vztahy, ženské tělo a mateřství.

Kapitola 6.1 ukázala, že nejčastěji se vyskytující zdrojová sféra použitá v cílové sféře MUŽI je MAJETEK, v zástupu se sférami JÍDLO a PODŘÍZENÍ. Z mapování bylo také odvozeno, že zdrojové sféry popisující ženy (MAJITELÉ, KONZUMENTI, DOSPĚLÍ a ZAMĚSTNAVATELÉ) v sobě obsahují netradiční narativy: tyto konceptualizace staví ženy do

nadřazených pozic vůči mužům, kteří jsou často popisováni jako neživotné objekty, jídlo, děti, nebo zaměstnanci. Tato srovnání zvýrazňují schopnost žen ujmout se vedení a dělat vlastní rozhodnutí, která jdou proti společenským stereotypům a často je zlehčují. Tato srovnání dále často vedou k humorným reakcím z podstaty implicitní kontroverznosti, kterou lze přiřadit k výše zmíněné teorii nadřazenosti humoru. Díky metaforám tedy mohou komičky snadno zlehčovat zažitá stereotypy, které je často omezují, a místo toho vytvářet narativy, které je posazují do schopných pozic.

V případě konceptualizací vztahů jsou téměř všechny příklady v korpusu konzistentně negativní nebo tonálně pesimistické. Například sféry OPERACE a NAKUPOVÁNÍ odkazují na stres a zoufalost spojenou s těmito zážitky; sféra KNIŽNÍ KLUB popisuje randění jako nudné a fádní; VÁLKA, ZÁVISLOST a CHOROBA sebou nesou inherentně záporné konotace, které nelze vnímat v pozitivním světle. Toto nás přivádí k myšlence, že vztahy nejsou tak kladné a prospěšné jak by se mohlo zdát. Historicky byl na ženy kladen velký důraz se provdat z důvodu finančního a společenského zajištění, kterého by za svobodna nemohly dosáhnout. Okolnosti nynější doby jsou však diametrálně odlišné, ačkoliv stereotyp přetrvává a dle dat se komičky snaží poukázat na negativní aspekt vztahů, se kterými se ženy setkávají.

Kapitola 6.1 poukázala na velké množství kreativity při užití metafor, jelikož se často vyskytovali pouze v ojedinělých instancích. Některé z nich však patří na seznam často užívaných zdrojových domén (viz kapitola 1.1): HRA, OBCHOD, ZÁVISLOST a OPERACE (Zdraví a nemoci). Jiné jsou více neobvyklé a kreativní, což je koherentní s kontextem diskurzu: KNIŽNÍ KLUB, NAKUPOVÁNÍ, INTERIÉROVÝ DESIGN. Ačkoliv se mohou místy zdát podivné, většina konceptualizací představených v kapitole 6 mají základ ve všedních zážitcích a situacích, se kterými se publikum může snadno ztotožnit.

Následující kapitola 6.2., která se věnovala konceptualizaci ženského těla, ukázala, že nejčastější zdrojová sféra byla s výskytem 10 příkladů SCHRÁNKA. Mezi další z opakujících se zdrojových sfér patří např. ŽIVÁ BYTOST, OBJEKTY a LOKACE. Spojujícím prvkem pro mnoho metafor z této kapitoly je vnímání funkcí ženského těla v kontextu schopnosti rodit děti a mateřství obecně. V mnoha případech je na ženské tělo nahlíženo z čistě utilitární perspektivy a

vztah mezi matkou a dítětem je často ochuzen o emoce. Tato narativa poskytuje více realistický pohled na toto téma, což poskytuje alternativní úhel pohledu vůči tradiční narativě mateřství v západní kultuře a většině médií, které mají tendence vyobrazovat pouze jeho pozitivně vysaturované prvky. V podobném duchu je vyobrazen také proces porodu, který je často popisován v negativním světle, které např. porod císařským řezem popisuje jako „únikovou cestu“. Krom hrstky „neutrálních“ případů, obsahují téměř všechny narativy v korpusu tyto negativní konotace s cílem upozornit na negativní prvky fyzické sféry ženské existence.

Závěrečná část práce se plně věnuje tématu mateřství a dětí. Analýza odhalila, že mnoho příkladů v cílové sféře zobrazuje mateřství jako velmi negativní a ve své podstatě obsahující prvky fyzického vzdoru: BITVA, APOKALYPSA a VĚZENÍ. Téma dětí bylo z kvantifikačního hlediska méně konzistentní, ale i navzdory tomu jím byly protkané společná témata zodpovědnosti a závazku, znovu v negativním pojetí.

V konečném důsledku data v korpusu ukázala, že komičky využívají široké spektrum zdrojových sfér pro komunikování jejich myšlenek publiku. Řada z nich jsou ontologické a zavedené (např. OBJEKTY, KRABICE, JÍDLO, VÁLKA), ale i navzdory tomu byly komičky schopné poukázat na části zážitků, které nebyly na první pohled zřejmé. Mimo ty se valná část zdrojových sfér věnovala zážitkové podstatě věci, tj. pracování s objekty a situacemi, do kterých se může vžít široké spektrum populace: LET, NAKUPOVÁNÍ, ZAŘÍZENÍ, TETOVÁNÍ apod.

Je zřejmé, že všechny tři kapitoly empirické části se nesou v duchu pesimismu a negativity. Ve srovnání s běžnými stereotypy a veřejným míněním, komičky často zmiňují odtažitost a pochybnosti ohledně mezilidských vztahů a kladou důraz na vlastní nezávislost. Obdobný přístup mají také k tématu mateřství a dětí, kde nátlak zodpovědnosti převažuje pocity lásky vůči dítěti. Při vnímání vlastního těla komičky poukazují na frustraci nad tím, jak na sebe jejich fyzická schopnost porodu bere větší důraz, než na jejich vlastní osobnosti.

11. Appendix

No	Name of the comedian	Name of the show	The text	Topic	Conceptual metaphor
1	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	You're just in solitary confinement all day long with this human Tamagotchi... That don't got no reset button, so the stakes are extremely high. A toy Tamagotchi is more communicative than a human baby. Okay? Because the toy will at least tell you when it poos. With a human baby, you just have to guess and check your intuition by sniffing its ass... Twenty-six times a day.	Motherhood and Children	MOTHERHOOD IS PRISON
2	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	I joined a moms' group in Los Angeles. Yeah, I don't find any of these bitches particularly interesting or fun, but when you're a new mom on maternity leave, it's like The Walking Dead, you just gotta hook up with a crew to survive.	Motherhood and Children	MOTHERHOOD IS APOCALYPSE
3	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	I thought it was supposed to be this beautiful bonding ceremony, where I would feel like I was sitting on a lily pad in a meadow and bunnies would gather at my feet while the fat Hawaiian man version of "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" would play. No! It's not like that at all! Breastfeeding is this savage ritual that just reminds you that your body is a cafeteria now!	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A FOOD SOURCE

4	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	And every time I would do it, it was like parallel parking. I don't know how I did it! It's a mystery. I was never properly trained, but I just did it. I just went back and forth, and back and forth, and back and forth, until all these very concerned strangers start gathering outside of my car.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CAR
5	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	It was squirting out of like 15 holes in each titty, like the Bellagio fountain, just, "Woo. Woo, woo, woo. Woo, woo, woo." For free! My body was a food factory. I wasn't about to let that all go to waste.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A FOOD SOURCE
6	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	I had to stop breastfeeding after eight and a half months. I could not take it anymore. By the end, I felt like The Giving Tree. I used to not-understand what that depressing-ass book was about. And now I know it's about breastfeeding! It's about a mom who used to have all of these beautiful branches and apples, and then this little freeloader comes into her life, takes all of her shit, and then she just becomes a sad-ass tree stump with deflated titties!	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A FOOD SOURCE
7	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	As it turns out, breastfeeding is not free because you have to buy all of these pillows and pumps to support your breastfeeding, and then you might get a clogged duct. That's when you get like a traffic jam kidney stone in your titty, and then you have to call a lactation consultant.	Miscellaneous	BODILY FLUIDS ARE TRAFFIC
8	Ali Wong	Hard Knock	For three months, I was walking around my house with a top knot, giant diaper, nipples bleeding. Like a defeated sumo wrestler.	Motherhood and Children	MOTHERHOOD IS A BATTLE

		Wife (2018)			
9	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	I was like, “What the fuck did I do all that pushing for when there was this perfectly good emergency exit?”	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
10	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	If you are hiring a 25-year-old pretty young thing to be your nanny, you a dumb-ass. Do you not read People magazine? You don’t know what’s up? That’s inviting a marriage grenade into your home.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS WAR
11	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife (2018)	Your marriage is very vulnerable and easy for an outsider to invade and colonize.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS WAR
12	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	A lot of men don’t know that they have HPV, because it’s undetectable in men. It’s really fucked up. HPV is a ghost that lives inside men’s bodies and says, “Boo!” in women’s bodies.	Miscellaneous	DISEASES ARE PEOPLE

13	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	But I did it on purpose, because I knew that he was a catch. So I was like, “All right, Ali, you gotta make this dude believe that your body is a secret garden.” When, really, it’s a public park... ..that has hosted many reggae fests... ..and has even accidentally let... two homeless people inside.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LOCATION
14	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	We got engaged on a Saturday. I bought my wedding dress the following Tuesday... because I had tried it on in 2012. I was ready. I was ripe. I was rotten. I need to be made into banana bread. That’s how rotten I was.	Self	SELF IS FOOD
15	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	You pee on these ovulation strips that tell you when the eggs are droppin’. It tells you when it’s Easter time.	Female Body	OVULATION IS A HOLYDAY
16	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	I need you to save it. I want your sperm to be as pent-up, and as angry and rapey as possible. So that, when they come out, it’s like, ‘Release the Kraken!’” And they just come out like a bunch of angry refugees escaping a dictatorship, you know?	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LOCATION
17	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra (2016)	“Oh, my God. I can’t believe he comes to all your doctor’s appointments. He is so supportive.” Guess who else has to go to those doctor appointments. Me! I’m the star of the show. There’s nothing for the camera to see if I’m not there.	Pregnancy	PREGNANCY IS SHOW BUSINESS
18	Ali Wong	Don Wong (2022)	Like you single people, I, too, was once free, okay? And then like an idiot, I asked this dude to ask me to go to prison. And now I’m in monogamy jail, and I don’t know how to get out.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A PRISON

19	Ali Wong	Don Wong (2022)	Very difficult to make a woman, especially a new woman, cum. It's so annoying. It's a design flaw. There's too many factors.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A DEVICE
20	Amanda Seales	I Be Knowin' (2019)	Titties. Okay? It don't matter what size your titties is. At the end of the day, when you take your bra off, they audibly sigh. You goin' back to the motherland in your living room. Okay? There's a crowd outside chanting, "Free the titties! Free the titties!" There's a reporter in your room, interviewing your nipples, like, "How does it feel to be free from that padded cell?" "My God, it feels so good to feel the wind in my hair."	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING
21	Amanda Seales	I Be Knowin' (2019)	Like, the entire world has been taught to protect white women and women who happen to be white, at the threat of death. And so, what has happened is similar to like when kids aren't exposed to germs and so their immune system doesn't develop. White women and women who happen to be white ain't been exposed to criticism. So now they all fragile and they be cryin' all the goddamned time.	Race	WHITE WOMEN ARE CHILDREN
22	Amanda Seales	I Be Knowin' (2019)	I'm a grown-up woman. When you grown, you don't make mistakes. You make choices. That's why I'm lookin' at every dick like the side of a cereal box. I wanna know your nutritional value, n i g g a. Are you exceeding my daily recommended dose of fuck boy?	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE FOOD
23	Amanda Seales	I Be Knowin' (2019)	So you don't want that to happen with the wrong person. Okay? Because when the dick touch the hort, you can get a nasty case of STS. Not STDs. STS. Some call it "dick-whipped." Some call it "dick-matized." I call it "sexually transmitted stupidity." Mm-hmm. Yeeees. Because when the dick touch the hort, it can infect your	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A DISEASE

			intellect. Have you just doing dumb shit.		
24	Anjelah Johnson	Not Fancy (2015)	We get on the train, and in the first cabin there's a Chinese family, then there's a Haitian family, then there's us Americans, and then there's, like, an Italian family, then a French family. Like, there's just all kind of different people, right? Like, it's kind of like a buffet. Go with me for a second. Like, you know how sometimes you go to a buffet and they got the seafood and the Italian food, and then they got the Chinese food right next to the barbecue? And you're like, "Wait, that's too many smells. I can't figure it out." It was kind of like that, except it was like a two-week-old buffet.	People	PEOPLE ARE FOOD
25	Catherine Cohen	The Twist...? She's Gorgeous (2022)	Breakups are cool because it's like you have a best friend and then they die.	Miscellaneous	BREAK-UP IS DEATH
26	Chelsea Peretti	One of the Greats (2014)	And I know I seem like a rule breaker and a rebel, but the little "fasten seatbelt" light was on, so I was like, "I can't get up. Teacher will be mad."	Miscellaneous	PLANES ARE SCHOOL
27	Chelsea Peretti	One of the Greats (2014)	My dad's Italian and my mom's Jewish, then he was married to a black woman from when I was one until I left home. Now he's married to an Indian woman for his golden years, so it's really been just a whirlwind of scents, and spices, and silks, and colors. It's been like some sort of a strange foreign exchange program that just kind of revolves around my father's penis.	Miscellaneous	MARRIAGE IS EDUCATION

28	Chelsea Peretti	One of the Greats (2014)	Sometimes I feel like if these walls could talk, they'd be like, "Bitch, you're back in bed again?" I'd be like, "Shut up, walls! You're boring, too."	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS
29	Ellie Taylor	Ellie Taylor Live at the Apollo (2016)	Don't get me wrong, I love my husband but I also love Weetabix. And if someone told me that Weetabix was the only cereal I was allowed to eat for the rest of my life... pretty sure in a few years.. I'd want to fuck another man.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE FOOD
30	Ellie Taylor	Ellie Taylor Live at the Apollo (2016)	[about her husband] Honestly, he's probably the best accessory I've ever had, and I own a Taser.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS
31	Ellie Taylor	Ellie Taylor on Stand up Central (2019)	Ladies on the other hand, we have absolutely no sense of humor about this area, do we? We never get this out and have a bit of a laugh. [...] Like no! Do not mock her. She is sleeping, respect her.	Genitals	FEMALE GENITALS ARE LIVING BEINGS
32	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	I kind of think Donald Trump is like the Air Bud of American politics. But I also think Air Bud was the villain of that movie. (audience laughing) Right, because imagine for a moment that you are one of the kids on the other basketball team. You're one of the kids who has to play basketball against a golden retriever in front of your parents. (audience laughing) You're just a kid who loves	Politics	POLITICS IS A CARTOON

			<p>basketball, right? You've been practicing basketball. You know the rules of basketball. You showed up to the gym that day expecting to play another child at basketball. (audience laughing) That was Hillary Clinton, right? (audience laughing) (audience applauding) She was just like, Put me in coach, for the last 20 years, and we finally did, and as soon as we did, this fuckin' fluffy dog who has not business on the court comes running out, distracting everybody. He doesn't know the rules, he can't know the rules. (audience laughing) He is a dog. He's traveling like crazy, where's the ref? And everyone's just fine with it because there's nothing in the rule book that says a pumpkin headed racist can't be president.</p>		
33	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	<p>This doesn't feel exactly like that, right? This doesn't feel like we're just stopped momentarily but we're definitely getting to the station eventually. This feels more like we all got on a train that we thought was going uptown. And instead of stopping, it very suddenly started going 800 miles an hour. (audience laughing) We're not even in Manhattan anymore, we are off roading it. We are just plowing through a SeaWorld in New Jersey. Kids are diving out of the way. We've impaled an orca whale that was about to be released into the wild after 17 years in captivity. Because we all saw Blackfish and we're makin' some changes. But not soon enough, because she is dead now and we are just dragging this whale carcass behind this runaway subway car. And me and all my friends on the train are horrified, and we're looking around at the other passengers like, Can you guys believe this shit? And they have their backs to us, but then their heads spin around like they're in The Exorcist. (audience laughing) And they're like, oh, we actually like the new train conductor, he says what he thinks. (audience</p>	Politics	POLITICS IS A TRAIN RIDE

			<p>laughing) And I'm like, Okay, but he's not a train conductor, he's a human toilet, he's a toilet that a witch put a spell on and now it can talk. I'd rather have an engineer in charge or something. And they're like, No, no, no, it's better with a human toilet, it's about time this train ran more like a haunted bathroom. (audience laughing) I'm like, what's going on, where are we? Are they're like, Oh, you're in real America now, bitch. I hope you like staying pregnant. (audience laughing) I know, and then before I can even say anything to that, there's a horrible screeching noise because the runaway subway car that we're all on has found its way onto the tracks of the rollercoaster at SeaWorld. And it has ground to a halt, upside down, at the top of the loppty loop, and that's where we are right now. (audience laughing) We're not stopped underground at in midtown headed to the Upper West Side, we are dangling from a fucking rollercoaster in Hoboken and we don't know if we're gonna stop off and drop to our deaths or finish the loop and slam into a children's hospital. (audience laughing) We don't know. It doesn't end good either way. And no one can see what's about to happen because the outside of the train car is still coated in orca blood, so everyone is real quiet. 'Cause they're just listening to see if they can hear what's about to happen, and it just doesn't feel appropriate for me to break the silence to be like, they call it SeaWorld, but I can't see anything, can you guys?</p>		
34	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	<p>I'm a happy person in therapy, which I recommend. Because I walk in there confident. I walk in there with the confidence that I imagine people who floss have when they go to the dentist. (audience laughing) I'm speculating. Just like, we're probably not gonna find anything, but let's take a look, huh?</p>	Mental Health	MENTAL TRAUMA IS A PHYSICAL SYMPTOM

35	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	My boyfriend and I, we did move in together. We're also not planning on ever getting married or having kids, so this is it, we did it. (audience cheering) (audience applauding) It's very anticlimactic. Like, have you ever fallen asleep on an airplane and then woken up as it's landing? Like, oh, are we here? That's how I feel in my relationship everyday. (audience laughing) It's great, but it is literally unceremonious. There will not be a ceremony. And it's weird that I'm gonna be calling him my boyfriend forever.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP S ARE PLANE RIDES
36	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	I met my boyfriend online, that's where I do all my shopping. (audience laughing) I have Amazon Prime too, so it was like two days, so fast.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS
37	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	I'm kidding of course, it took forever and I met a million monsters, it was the worst. It was like trying to meet Super Mario, it was just like monster after monster after monster. Just like, turtle, mushroom, lizard, just like over and over and over again, until I eventually found the princess. I call him princess now, he's fine with it.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A GAME
38	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	Before the date there's the profiles and the messages. When you are a straight woman online dating, you just have to read a bunch of personal essay by unaccomplished men. (audience laughing) It's the worst book club you've ever joined.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A BOOK CLUB
39	Emily Heller	Ice Thickeners (2019)	So no, I didn't win the lottery, that doesn't describe my experience. What happened was I ate at a restaurant that gave me food poisoning everyday for years. And then one day I tried the pasta and it was fine. (audience laughing) And I was like, Oh, I guess this is what I'm ordering now. I	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE FOOD

			might get bored of this eventually, but I cannot risk it on another menu item... (audience laughing) At this point in my life.		
40	Gracie Canaan	Gracie Canaan at New York Comedy Club (2019)	I'm in therapy and it's the only thing that I ask my parents for financial help with just coz I feel like you break it you buy it.	Mental Health	MENTAL HEALTH IS AN OBJECT
41	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	What the fuck are you expecting from this show? Because I'm sorry, if it's more trauma, I... I am fresh out. Had I known just how wildly popular trauma was going to be in the context of comedy, I might have budgeted my shit a bit better.	Mental Health	TRAUMA IS A SUBSTANCE
42	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	Now, after... After that... That's just the needle. If that hurts, get out while you can still walk.	Miscellaneous	JOKES ARE NEEDLES
43	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	So, naturally, the way that we deal with online hate is going to differ. Personally, I like to snack on it. Yep. Nom, nom, nom. This body doesn't just happen. I am a real hate patootie.	Emotions	EMOTIONS ARE FOOD
44	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	Now, I am aware that my neutral face is not particularly chipper. Like, I do look like someone stabbed a potato with a spoon upside down.	Self	SELF IS FOOD
45	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	I think I was still in Frown Land.	Emotions	EMOTIONS ARE

					LOCATIONS
46	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	You've used the funny zip, which does go all the way around the suitcase, but it doesn't fucking open. It just mocks you.	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS
47	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	Because I like the way that I think. If the world is right and I'm right in it, I can find my funny zip and my thinking expands.	Mind	MIND IS AN OBJECT
48	Hannah Gadsby	Douglas (2020)	Now, I also know that there's nothing I can say that can change an anti-vaxxer's mind. I know that, because that's not how closed minds work. They don't work. They're closed for business. Right? So... like, to open a closed mind, it has to be an inside job.	Mind	MIND IS AN ORGANIZATION
49	Holly Walsh	Holly Walsh Live at the Apollo (2016)	And strip-joints, they are designed to be alluring. I challenge anyone in this room, even if you agree with them or not, to walk past a strip-joint and a bit of you is not like, 'Oh my God, what's happening?'. Because they've got, like, the blacked-out windows and the bouncers on the door. There's always a bit of you that's like, 'Oh my God, what are they doing in there?' And it's exactly the same feeling as when I was a kid and I used to walk past the school staffroom. You'd walk past it and you'd be like, 'Oh, man, what's happening in there?' I mean, it turns out, both are full of adults whose lives didn't work out as planned.	Miscellaneous	STRIPCLUBS ARE SCHOOL
50	Jaye McBride	Amy Schumer's Parental Advisory (2022)	And when I first came out to her as trans, it sort of took her a while. She said she had to pray to God after I told her. Which makes sense, because if you're a middle-aged white woman and you don't like something, you talk to the manager.	Religion	RELIGION IS BUSINESS

51	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	Right before I turned 40, I got some gray pubic hairs. And that's confronting. And I'm not stupid. I got rid of them. There was a few. I got rid of them. I do all the things to this that women do. Pluck, mow, whatever. I do it all. What I'm trying to explain to you is, I'm not gonna treat them the way I did cockroaches that I saw in my apartment in my 30s, right? "Oh, I'm sure they just came in from the outside. "There's no more where that came from." That is not true with this. These came from the inside and there's a lot more where that came from.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
52	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	This means that the factory inside my body is starting to shut down, right? And it's laying off all non-essential employees. So... The little elves that paint the hairs black, they have been given a pension. Thank you for your 40 years of service. She doesn't need you anymore. Now there's two guys in there. Just keep the kidneys going, keep the bladder going, keep her alive, she's on the last 40.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
53	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	Gray is the color of barbed wire. It sends a message, doesn't it? "Get outta here!" Get out, you young people! Stop trying to climb up on this. I'll cut you! "No one's allowed in here anymore! Don't you see?"	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
54	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	It's an upsetting thing because I feel like, um, I feel like this is a house. Go with me here. It's the house on your street that the old lady lives in and is no longer being kept up. Right? I feel like what it used to be was the young house. You go trick-or-treating to it and it has a warm glow and there's candy in there. And you're happy to ring the bell. Then you go to the next house and you're like, "Oh, my God," and it's dark and there's no more grass, just dirt and one weird weed that doesn't make sense. Not indigenous to	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER

			the area at all. “That house was not like that last year.” What happened to that house? Did that house turn 40? I am not going near that house. That house doesn’t even make candy anymore. “If I put my hand in that house, I’m gonna get dry pennies.” I might just turn this into condos or a golf course.		
55	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	Your married friends invite you over and they put you on the couch, and they stare at you like you’re a pillow that doesn’t make sense to them. Like, “What do we do with that? We have to match that somehow.”	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS INTERIOR DESIGN
56	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	Because I think inviting a divorced woman to a married persons’ dinner, it’s kind of like inviting a political radical to show up. You know what I mean? I might just bust down the door with some pamphlets and start telling the truth about some things, man.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS POLITICS
57	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	I think divorce helps, too. Your weight doesn’t want anything to do with you either. It’s just like, “Oh, God, get away from her.” It just... it just runs away.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING
58	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	Divorced horniness needs to be taken care of right away. Because your body starts going into heat, like an animal. The minute that door shuts, you’re not in control anymore. Your body’s just like... Like, my body was... I was just following it. It was trying to sit on fire hydrants and stuff. I was like, “Body, stop it.” It was like, “Help!”	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING
59	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	I know, when you’re in your 40s and you’re some guy, having age-appropriate sex and age-inappropriate sex is sort of like two different kinds of plates. You’re some 40-year-old guy and you’ve got nice china. ‘Cause you have your shit together. But every once in a while, you just want	Female Body	FEMALE BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS

			to eat off a paper plate, in front of the TV. “Yeah. I can get grease on this and it doesn’t complain.” I can flip it around. I can throw it in the trash and someone else gets it tomorrow. “I don’t care.” I’m an old piece of china at this point. It’s effort to sleep with me. You’ve got to take me out. Dust me off. Be polite, ignore any cracks you might see. Wash me off and put me back when I’m done.		
60	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	I’m 40. My ovaries are like sweaters in those collapsible bags. They’re under my bed.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS
61	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	My friends say things to me like, “Don’t you just want to come home to something after a long weekend working?” I’m like, “No. That sounds awful.” I don’t even want to come home to my mail. If it’s piled up, I’m like, “Stop looking at me! I’ll get to you.”	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS
62	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	And I cannot relax enough... to masturbate. If you’re uncomfortable with the word... I’m uncomfortable with the word a bit. It’s gross. You start picturing things. I start picturing, like, a guy doing it. Which is gross. It’s like a garden hose out of control, like... When women masturbate, it’s cute. It’s like ringing a doorbell. Like, ding-dong, ding-dong.	Body	BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS
63	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	“Just think about Johnny Depp.” You think he’s cute.” I go, “Do you listen to me at all? I can’t think about Johnny Depp.” I do think he’s cute, and I know that’s kind of sad. At this point, he does look like a cigarette with a scarf on.	People	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS
64	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (2015)	If you’re not an old-school Catholic, purgatory is where God puts you if he can’t decide if you’re good or bad. And after that, it’s like American Idol. You get voted out by	Religion	RELIGION IS A TV SHOW

			prayers. People on Earth go, “God, please, let him up to heaven.” God’s like, “All right, I heard you.” The voices.		
65	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	I think the whole tattoo thing is a lot like kids. Like, first of all, some people want one, some people want none, some people want a bunch, like... And it’s all over their arms and it looks like a lot of work. But... But you go to a place, you lay down, there’s a lot of pain and you’re like: “God, I hope I love it. It is permanent.” So... So, I’m having a tattoo instead of a child.	Motherhood and Children	CHILDREN ARE TATTOOS
66	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	It was just like... And there was just a vagina right there with an egg right here. Looked like a ball in a catcher’s mitt. It looked like the egg is always there, like, “Let’s play ball. Impregnate me. Come on, we’ll go around the bases.”	Genitals	GENITALS ARE LIVING BEINGS
67	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	I love fingering. I am bringing back fingering. It’s amazing. Do it to everybody. It’s not just for... It’s not just for kids. It’s like sugar cereal. Adults can enjoy it, too.	Sex	SEX IS FOOD
68	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	I love men and I look at them the way I look at children, which is like, “Oh, my God, for people who don’t know what you’re doing, you have so much energy about it, you know.”	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE CHILDREN
69	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin? (2017)	We don’t wanna think about the fact we have a body every five minutes, and you make us think about it all the time, and we don’t want to. You know that feeling when you just have keys and your phone and you feel so free? We’d love to feel that way at the bank, but can’t take our tits and vagina and leave them on the table. So, we’ve got to take	Female Body	FEMALE BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS

			these things even at 8:30 in the morning.		
70	Jenny Slate	Stage Fright (2019)	It's actually crazy how the government acts just like your worst boyfriend. Where you're just like, 'You did that.' And it's like, 'No, I fucking didn't! You're fucking crazy!'	Politics	POLITICS ARE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
71	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	I love men, but I feel that men are like dolphins, in that they should be enjoyed on holiday. And they're very intelligent, almost as smart as people. It's... But that doesn't mean you should have one in your house. Why would you... What a disaster that would be. What do they even eat? And a large number of them turn out be sexual predators as well.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS
72	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	I feel that men are nature's gun. You know, you're statistically most likely to be killed by the one in your house.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE GUNS
73	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	Why? Why do I have to be like you? If I were this bad at anything else... If I were a surgeon who managed to kill every patient... and burn down the palliative care unit... pretty sure my friends and family would not be like, "Katherine, when are you gonna get back in the emergency room, girl? Just one more try."	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS SURGERY
74	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	And now Jane stays home to look after seven tiny children. And that, ladies, is also fine. Apart from I did not know you could have that many that fast. I genuinely did not. Her eldest daughter is the same age as my only daughter, and then I blinked and she shot out six more, just like... rrrrrrrrr! Jane's having a baby every four months, somehow. Jane, she keeps it together. Jane has an ass like a peach, cervix like a Hula-Hoop. Just... Boom! Boom!	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A WEAPON

			Shooting them out, back on the school run.		
75	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	We're not like a mom and a nine-year-old. We are like two nine-year-olds, but one of us has cellulite and a credit card.	Parenting	PARENT IS A CHILD
75	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	And I could handle bullying. I mean, I was the only child in the world who believed my mother when she said, "They're just jealous, Katherine." I was like, "Girl, I know. They could have victimized any girl in the school, but they chose me." And one other girl with a cleft palate and one leg. But we were the Kim and Kanye of the fourth grade.	Miscellaneous	FRIENDSHIP IS SHOW BUSINESS
77	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	My mom's kind of like Frank Sinatra, but really sexy. She's just always smoking near, like, Scotch and a piano, just doing a few kick ball changes. "How's England, doll?" "It's fine."	Family	FAMILY IS SHOW BUSINESS
78	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	"Well, I guess if you won't follow me, that just goes to show that you don't need me." I said, "You're just learning that? No. No, I don't need you, I liked you. I chose to have you around because you're a laugh. I enjoy your company, but you are a luxury item."	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS
79	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	Can you imagine, if I followed, just me, the biggest, whitest woman in Japan. Just like... "Raaar! Give me back my boyfriend or I shall destroy Tokyo! Where is he?"	Self	SELF IS A MONSTER
80	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	Meghan Markle, I'm supposed to like her, even though she took the only viable ginger cock off the market, and that... that cut me very deep. That is the white tiger of the dick world. She saw his rare gemstone penis and captured it like a horny Lara Croft.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS

81	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	Sometimes I feel like a foreign nanny who's given birth to my mean British boss.	Parenting	PARENT IS AN EMPLOYEE
82	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	Because women get trapped in our clothes. That is how society is designed to make sure we land a man. And she stood there in a gown, making eggs at nine a.m., and said, "Sometimes I do wish I had a husband." Women's fashions are a beautiful prison. If Houdini wore Vivienne Westwood, he would have drowned every time.	Fashion	WOMEN'S CLOTHES ARE A PRISON
83	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	I have been told, "Oh, Katherine, what are you wearing? This elaborate fashion will be very confusing to a man." Is it? I did not come dressed as the laws of cricket.	Fashion	FASHION IS A SCIENCE
84	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room (2019)	I mean, I do know what went wrong. I'd been drinking day wine in the night. That's what went wrong. You don't drink day wine in the night. It's for the day. That's why they call it day wine. It's like feeding a gremlin after 12 o'clock.	Self	SELF IS A MONSTER
85	Katherine Ryan	Katherine Ryan at Late Night Show with James Corden (2018)	Lies! It's very cold in the studio. Just looks like a police line up of five guilty snails suspended in fields of moss.	Male Body	MEN'S GENITALS ARE ANIMALS

86	Katherine Ryan	Katherine Ryan at Just for Laughs Festival (2015)	The British are sneaking into their own country through my body. Why? Why would they do that? You think you have immigration problems? It has been suggested I reexamine my open door policy. Don't tell me how to run my government!	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LOCATION
87	Katherine Ryan	Katherine Ryan at Jonathan Ross' Comedy Club (2020)	Until last year I lived in a flat with one toilet and this is how I knew I was in no position to take on a full-time husband.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE INFERIORS
88	Liza Treyger	Liza Treyger in the Degenerates (2019)	[about porn actresses] They're basically slutty athletes. Like, if you go to sporting event games, you should... If you buy jerseys, you gotta support them. They're physically fit, they're just slutty athletes. I'm telling you. They do more more than any pro baseball player ever has in their fucking life.	Miscellaneous	PORNOGRAPHY IS A SPORT
89	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Blogs are a conversation no one wanted to have with you. Even when you were typing it, your computer was like, "I hope I die, I hate this."	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS

90	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Having a baby is not a miracle, it's a natural disaster. And we need to describe it like one so we get the health care that we deserve. Like, when Florida gets hit with a hurricane, they send help because they show you how bad it is. They're not like, "And then Florida was kissed with wind by God." No, they send reporters, they show pictures, they get testimonials. That's what we have to do after birth. Get a reporter in there, put 'em in one of those weird raincoats. Like, "I'm here in Martha's vagina, and things are bleak. Roads and bridges are out. Man cannot survive. Debris is everywhere. I have Martha's husband here, let's see what he has to say." "I mean, you try to prepare, and, uh..." "Well, it's just... my home is gone."	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LOCATION
91	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	I know, I talk about periods a lot, and I know, men, I know they're gross. Women know they're gross. We- We get it. There's never a time we wake up and we're like, "Oh, I'm so excited to clean up a crime scene." It does make you wonder, though. Are there more women who murder? We've just been so good at getting out blood. A skill we learned at age 11. Like, "No one must know." Yeah, I clean out my vagina once a month, I think I can clean up a body twice a year.	Menstruation	MENSTRUATION IS A CRIME
92	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Like, I would want to breastfeed, but only because I want to use breast milk the way a clown uses a flower with water in it. Like, always going up to people, like, "Hey, how are you? Pew, pew!"	Motherhood and Children	MOTHERHOOD IS A CIRCUS
93	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	And I'm not saying white women weren't oppressed. You know, for the longest time we couldn't vote or have bank accounts, but for the most part, we had nicer houses. So it was a very different oppression. It was a very	Miscellaneous	OPPRESSION IS A BUILDING

			air-conditioned oppression.		
94	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Men are the ones most likely to get sleep apnea. Your own body forgets to breathe! Your own body's like, "Whoa, sorry, man. I almost lost us there. You know what could really help, if we wore a Darth Vader mask the rest of our lives."	Male Body	MALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING
95	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Like, men couldn't wrap their heads around lesbians, 'cause it didn't involve a penis. That's how important they think their penis is. They were like, "A puzzle piece is missing."	Sex	SEX IS A GAME
96	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	Gay guys talk about dick the way kids talk about Christmas. They're like, "Is it here yet? Can I open it?" Women, we talk about dick the way Jews talk about Christmas. We're like, "The music is nice, but I don't think it needs to start in October. Also, holiday's over, let's wrap it up, it's wintertime."	Genitals	MALE GENITALS ARE PRESENTS
97	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	And, look, I've had sex with guys with big dicks. Sometimes I'll sort of move away, they'll be like, "Where are you going?" And I'm like, "To safety." You know, in boxing, if you punch someone in the liver, it's illegal.	Sex	SEX IS A BATTLE
98	Michele Wolf	Joke Show (2019)	I know, I talk about periods a lot, and I know, men, I know they're gross. Women know they're gross. We- We get it. There's never a time we wake up and we're like, "Oh, I'm so excited to clean up a crime scene."	Menstruation	MENSTRUATION IS A CRIME
99	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	I do think as feminists we're fighting for too many things right now. Like, there's some feminists that are like, "We wanna be in charge of stuff and we wanna get paid the same." And then there's other feminists that are like, "We wanna free the nipple on Instagram." It's like, "Hey, can we	Miscellaneous	FEMINISM IS WAR

			focus? I know she's more fun, but can we focus?" It's like if during the Revolutionary War, if some soldiers were like, "We wanna be independent!" and then other soldiers were like, "We wanna free the nipple on Instagram!" You'd be like, "Yeah, maybe England should stay in charge of you. You sound like you'd be fairly irresponsible."		
100	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	Oh, come on, I think the least we can do at this point is make fun of Bill Cosby's eye. [applause] For years, for years people were like, "Don't, he's a legend." His eye is, like, the only part of his body that was like, "I can't do this anymore. I gotta look away."	Body	BODY IS A LIVING BEING
101	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	But climate change, it is a real big deal, and everyone says, "Mother Nature." And I do believe nature is a woman, because she's trying to kill us in the most passive-aggressive way possible. It's not some sort of immediate fire or flood or a cool explosion. She's just like, "What? I raised the temperature a little." [laughter and applause] "Oh, are you uncomfortable? Well, maybe I wouldn't have if you'd taken out the recycling like I asked! I'm fine."	Miscellaneous	NATURE IS A WOMAN
102	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	And we're the ones that have the babies, and she made the hole too small, way too small. That's a real square-peg, round-hole situation. It's a design flaw. If every time an elevator went down a building it broke the building... [laughter] ...you'd be like, "We should fix that."	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
103	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	But you make it hard for women to get birth control, and that's not fair. That's like saying, "Let's have a duel, but only one of us gets a gun, and on average that gun shoots 20 million bullets." And we're just asking for a shield, and	Miscellaneous	CONTRACEPTION IS A SHIELD

			you're like, "No." We don't even want another gun. We just want a shield. We're saying you can have all the players on both hockey teams. We just want one goalie. It doesn't even have to be your best goalie! We'll take your third-string goalie! You can give the Zamboni guy a stick. We just need someone to hit a couple pucks away!		
104	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	At this point, if you wanna have a baby, you should have to take a test or two. Something simple, like, "Let me see your iPhone screen. Oh, it's cracked? Then no!" [laughter and applause] You can't carry a phone, you can't carry a baby. They're wigglier.	Motherhood and Children	CHILDREN ARE OBJECTS
105	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	And even if we do try to have it all, even if a woman out there definitely wants it all, we've put up too many obstacles in your way to make it possible. It's like, "Oh, congratulations, you're having a baby? Great. Couple things... We're gonna need you to get that car accident of a body back to work as soon as possible, because this is America and we don't think you need time to recover.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CAR
106	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	Not to mention you can grow a penis inside a vagina, like the world's most terrifying greenhouse!	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
107	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	Me not wanting to have a baby is like a bird being like, "No, I'll walk." "Okay, but you're built to fly." "I know. I'm gonna walk. And believe me, these wings work. We've had to cancel a couple flights." That was the abortion joke.	Pregnancy	PREGNANCY IS FLYING
106	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	A period's like an outdoor cat. You know it's coming back, but you have no idea when. And it's probably gonna have a mouse. I don't know what mouse is in that analogy, but it's gross.	Menstruation	MENSTRUATION IS AN ANIMAL

109	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	Cause we're okay that our best solution is a rolled-up piece of cotton. We're okay that our best solution is a craft project from a special kid, one who was like, "I made you a Christmas ornament."	Menstruation	MENSTRUATION IS A HOLYDAY
110	Michele Wolf	Nice Lady (2017)	Women trade tampons stealthier than drug dealers trade heroin.	Menstruation	MENSTRUATION IS A CRIME
111	Naomi Ekperigin	Naomi Ekperigin in The Standups (2021)	Every morning I am still awakened by that one strip of sun. Okay? That one strip of sun between the curtain and the window pane, every morning, hits my eyeball, and is like, "Why aren't you hiking?"	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS
112	Naomi Ekperigin	Naomi Ekperigin in The Standups (2021)	I just kept refreshing the web page like I'm trying to get BTS tickets. I'm like, "When's it my time? When's it my time?" And the Los Angeles County website is like, "Bitch, it's not about you"	Objects	OBJECTS ARE LIVING BEINGS
113	Naomi Ekperigin	Naomi Ekperigin in The Standups (2021)	I couldn't get it [a vaccine]. What Karen the orangutan need the vax for? Okay? I'm out here with pre-existing conditions, honey. Asthma, blackness. Okay?	Race	RACE IS A CONDITION

114	Naomi Ekperigin	Naomi Ekperigin in The Standups (2021)	... when me and Jew-boo [her boyfriend] are out in these streets, no one ever thinks we're together. Okay? They do not fathom a connection between us two. Jew-boo thinks it's because he's a bit shorter than me, and I'm like... "You're optimistic." But yes, for the record, I do saty in a travel-size king. Okay? You need to get your boo that is TSA compliant. Listen to me. Pack him in your bag and go.	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE POSSESSIONS
115	Sara Pascoe	LadsLadsLads (2019)	I'm 35, which is the oldest I've ever been, and, look, I'm enjoying ageing. We're supposed to hate ourselves, but I don't. I'm really enjoying it. I feel more confident and I know myself better, but what's been happening is I've started remembering things – memories from adolescence, things I've completely forgotten – they're dropping back into my brain fully formed and I remember something about a year and a half ago.	Memories	MEMORIES ARE SUBSTANCES
116	Sara Pascoe	LadsLadsLads (2019)	Everyone I know from comedy's really intelligent and they know their own minds and half of my friends, they're all talking about how the EU are creating our laws and we hadn't elected them and that's undemocratic and then the other half are saying, "But if we actually leave, "our economy is going to get even weaker, "the vulnerable in society will become even more vulnerable," and I'm thinking, "How can you be making a decision "between the economy and democracy?" It's like they said to us all, "Guys, your house is on fire, "but if you put it out, gravity will stop working." Good luck! What?! The whole thing feels like a game of Would You Rather. You know when you were little, you would go to sleepovers and play this game called Would You Rather, but it was always two things you didn't want.	Life	LIFE IS A GAME

117	Sara Pascoe	LadsLadsLads (2019)	It turns out that getting pregnant is a lot like learning a language in that it is much easier when you are a child.	Pregnancy	PREGNANCY IS LEARNING A LANGUAGE
118	Sara Pascoe	LadsLadsLads (2019)	So I've got this fun thing. I've got polycystic ovaries or PCOS and that's very, very common and lots of women have it. What it means is that your ovaries make an egg and then rather than going anywhere, just forms a cyst to decorate you beautifully.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING
119	Sarah Tiana	Sarah Tiana at Just for Laughs Festival (2015)	I really don't understand why married women always want you to get married. Isn't that weird? It's like they don't want to be alone. But they are not alone.. They are fucking married. It's just.. I feel like a pyramid scheme is what I'm trying to say. I feel like married women are like 'well if I get three of my friends and then she can get three of her friends and then three of those friends can get three of their friends.. then we can all get divorced together'.	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A BUSINESS
120	Sarah Tiana	Sarah Tiana at Comedy Central Stand-Up (2018)	People tell me all the time, 'Well, Sarah, chivalry is dead'. Well, it was murdered, I think, actually. And we need to launch an investigation 'cause I don't know who did it. I think it was the Dutch, but I can't prove it.	Miscellaneous	CHIVALRY IS A PERSON
121	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter -	You have to work on yourself in your 20s 'cause if you don't, then you'll turn 30, and all the shitty parts of your	Miscellaneous	PERSONALITY IS A BODY OF

		Life Crisis (2020)	personality will solidify, and that'll just be who you are now. Your 20s are an opportunity to fish trash out of the lake before it freezes over. It's like, ooh, what's that? Codependency? Daddy issues? All right. Better get all that out of there 'cause winter is coming.		WATER
122	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I quit dating losers. That took a minute. Yeah. Thank you. Thank you. There's no rehab for that, only sponsors. Losers are hard to quit. Losers are a lot like cigarettes. You have one in your mouth, you feel pretty cool, but everyone is like, "Ew! We're sad for you. Don't do that around my kids."	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS AN ADDICTION
123	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I was the girl you couldn't bring home for holidays 'cause what are you going to say at that point? Like, "Mom, Dad, this is my lesson that I can't seem to learn. Don't get attached."	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS SCHOOL
124	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	He'd go out of his way to be like, "Babe, I just want to let you know, girl at Starbucks tried to give me her number, so..." And I'm like, "Cool. What do you want me to say? You want me to fist-bump you? Like, 'Nice, bro. Get it.' Like... You want me to get jealous? Turn into Batman? Like, 'Where is she?' Like, what?" He's like, "No, I'm trying to be honest with you 'cause I love you. That's what I'm doing. I'm being honest with you." I'm like, "No, you're not. You want me to know that you turned down the option of other people today. You want points for not cheating on me." Like I'm supposed to swoon or something, like, "Oh, my God, babe. You honored the most basic term of our agreement?" "I'm so lucky. This is like a fairy tale. I never understood Taylor Swift songs before, and now I do. Like... I thank you so much. I know you have a lot of options..." I turned into Southwest Airlines. "I know you have a lot of	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A PLANE RIDE

			options when you fly. Thank you for choosing us. Can we get you anything else?"		
125	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	Nobody told me to expect sexual rejection as a woman. Nobody prepares you. From the time you start walking as a little girl, they're like, "Hey, everybody wants in there. You gotta build a perimeter and keep everyone out."	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
126	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I was very sheltered growing up. I was terrified of sex. I thought I would be bad at it. Now that I'm older, it's so easy to be good at sex, isn't it? All you have to do is approach it with the enthusiasm of a child. Just put everything in your mouth. Like... If you can reach it and it fits, that's where it goes. Uh... Pretend you're four and your partner's made of LEGOs. It's not...	Sex	SEX IS A GAME
127	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	First time I tried to lose my virginity, I missed. That happen to anybody else in here? Not physically. I wasn't stupid. I wasn't like, "It's like trying to put a straw in a Capri Sun." It wasn't like that.	Genitals	GENITALS ARE OBJECTS
128	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I pretend I'm not ready to have sex with someone new yet, just to make sure they're a good person first. I call it the gobstopper test. I go, "Ooh, I'm not ready. Is that okay?" He's like, "Totally fine. No worries at all." I'm like, "Charlie, you won! You did it. I knew you could, my boy! Now, come inside my chocolate factory. It's all for you."	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER
129	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	First off, I didn't know what a basic bitch I was, who was gonna love being engaged that much, but something happened when that ring went on my finger. Something in my stupid lady lizard brain went... "bloop!" "Level completed."	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS A GAME

130	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I just don't like dating apps because I feel like people curate these really fake opening lines that they'll copy and paste and use on everybody. I talked to a guy who told me on Tinder, his opening line, no matter who it was, was, "So, do you like sunrises or sunsets?" That's me choking on his dick 'cause that's a great line. I mean, that's... That's poetry. It's like... That's a haiku, I think. Check my math, but... That line's a Trader Joe's bag. You should reuse it.	Miscellaneous	TEXTING IS RECYCLING
131	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I'm not like a fun person. You can probably tell that by now. For example, this is my impression of a fun person. This is what I think fun looks like. Your creepy uncle trying to corner you at Christmas. "You're so big now. Let's dance." I look like something outside a car sale, but it's just very depressed. It's like, "Yeah, we got Subarus in there. I don't know. I took a bunch of pills."	Self	SELF IS AN OBJECT
132	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I swear, when I get married, I'm gonna jog a little bit down the aisle, like I've been in a crosswalk too long, just like, "I see the numbers going down. I'mma have you out of here in nine seconds."	Miscellaneous	WEDDING IS CROSSING A STREET
133	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	"Yeah, I'll get to kids." Now it's like, every day I wake up and my brain goes, "You have goals." My body's like, "I'm empty." All the time. I saw a baby in a fedora last week, and I was like, "I need to make something and put a hat on it right now." It came from somewhere inside me I didn't know existed. I felt like a young boy who'd just seen porn for the first time. Just like, "What's happening to my body? I have to go home forever." I do still get annoyed with other people's kids, which I think will keep me empty a little bit longer.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CONTAINER

134	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	"Being in love is sort of like... Okay. Do you remember when you got lost at the grocery store? That was scary, right? But then do you remember how you felt when you finally found your mom? How safe and happy and relieved you were, and how you ran up to her and you grabbed her leg and then you looked up and it wasn't your mom? That's kind of what it's like out here, yeah. You think you know somebody. Turns out it's just some stranger with your mom's knees. Trust no one. Swipe left."	Men and Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS SHOPPING
135	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	It is insane to me how easy it is to have and keep a baby. Like, if you get your appendix removed, they won't let you take it home, but if you have a baby, they're like, "Here, you dropped this."	Motherhood and Children	CHILDREN ARE OBJECTS
136	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	Have you guys realized your parents messed you up yet? Have you found that stray dent in your head? "What happened there?"	Mental Health	EMOTIONAL TRAUMA IS A PHYSICAL INJURY
137	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	I mean, parents apologize to their children. Did you know apologies went that direction? Did you know you could drive backwards on the freeway? It's crazy town out there.	Family	APOLOGIZING IS DRIVING
138	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	His biggest fear was that one of us would become sexually active before we got married, and, uh, some of us have been activated, so that's... Can't take this back to Best Buy. Can't take this back to Best Buy. "I've spilled some stuff on it." On it. In it. The keys don't work. It's over. So...	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A DEVICE

139	Taylor Tomlinson	The Quarter - Life Crisis (2020)	My dad was very overprotective. He had four daughters, which means he was just like playing dick goalie and...	Sex	SEX IS A GAME
140	Taylor Tomlinson	Taylor Tomlinson at Comedy Central (2018)	And I don't know if you guys have tried getting a 20-something dude from a dating app to wear a condom lately but it's sort of like trying to convince a 5 year old to put a jacket on over his Halloween costume. 'Here, put this on for me.' 'Nooooooooooooo! You're gonna ruin it! You can't even see it!	Men and Relationships	MEN ARE INFERIORS
141	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	When I was in high school, I was like, "Dad, I think I'm depressed." And he was, like, "You just need some protein. Get a scoop of peanut butter." [audience laughs] Yeah, there's a lot of dads out there just white-knuckling it through life right now, clinging to a jar of chunky Jif like it's the answer, just a buoy in the storm. "It'll pass!"	Mental Health	DEPRESSION IS A STORM
142	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	[about a medicine] And I do feel like myself. I just feel like now someone's sitting on me going, "Shh! [audience laughs] Stop talking. You will ruin everything. We are... We are trying to help you.	Miscellaneous	MEDICINE IS A LIVING BEINGS

143	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	Being bipolar, there's nothing wrong with it. Being bipolar is like not knowing how to swim. It might be embarrassing to tell people and it might be hard to take you certain places. But they have arm floaties. [audience laughs] And if you just take your arm floaties, you can go wherever the hell you want.	Life	LIFE IS A BODY OF WATER
144	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	She's completely fine, you guys. She's happy, healthy, great lady. We actually call my stepmom Mom because when my dad married her, nobody was using it. So we were like, "Yeah, be Mom, who cares." [audience laughs] Oh, I'm sorry, if your principal quit and you got a new principal, they wouldn't be like, "This is Lisa." Like... [audience laughs] Let her be principal, there is an opening.	Family	FAMILY IS SCHOOL
145	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	Everyone knows one couple like that where like one person in the couple is way hotter and cooler than the other person in the couple. I like to call those couples chocolate-covered raisins. [audience laughs] Because you're like sure, you could put those two together, if you want. [audience laughs] But every time you see them, you're like, "Chocolate, what are you doing?"	People	PEOPLE ARE FOOD

146	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	Why can't I focus on a career and a relationship? Have you ever been on the freeway in traffic and your lane stops but the one next to you keeps moving, so you get in the one that's moving, and as soon as you get in the one that's moving, that one stops and the one next to you starts moving again. So you get back in that first one 'cause that one's moving now and as soon as you get back in that first one, that one stops again and the one next to you starts moving. And after you go back and forth a few more times, at a certain point, you're like, "Okay. Is it fucking me?"	Life	LIVING IS DRIVING
147	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	If you grew up religious and you're not anymore and your adult friends find religion, it feels like God is your shitty ex-boyfriend who's now getting it together for your friend and you just have to watch it happen on Facebook.	Religion	RELIGION IS DATING
148	Taylor Tomlinson	Look at You (2022)	You ever tell someone you like dirty talk and then they hit you with something in bed and you're like, "Nah, that was not approved by corporate, no."	Body	BODY IS A COMPANY
149	Urzila Carlson	Overqualified Loser (2020)	You know what the hardest thing of my day is? Lining up my nipples. I wake up every morning and when I put a bra on, it's like doing two really complex Rubik's cubes.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY PARTS ARE OBJECTS

150	Urzila Carlson	Overqualified Loser (2020)	Oh, wait, actually, gay dudes can be platinum stars. They are ones that have never slept with anyone from the opposite sex and they were born via cesarean. [audience laughs] So, even on the day they came out, they had a look and went, “Fuck no! [audience laughing] Take me out through the sunroof!”	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A CAR
151	Wanda Sykes	Not Normal (2019)	We got a shitty hand that we were dealt, right? Is it a design flaw? What the fuck? Okay, so let me get this straight. This is our plight, right? Okay, so when you’re young, you’re fertile, you’re producing eggs, you’re bringing life into the world, right? You’re bringing life into the world. And then you get older, no more eggs. You can’t bring any more life into the world... so they just set you on fire.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A DEVICE
152	Wanda Sykes	Not Normal (2019)	Yeah, Esther is out of control. Woo! Yes, I call her Esther. When I was in my forties, I got this little fat roll. I just named it. That was Esther. And now Esther is spreading. Esther is roaming around my body. Esther’s all creeping around my back, like, “Mm, what’s back here? Let’s see what’s back here. Hey.” And she wants to eat everything. You know? And, you know, when you get older, your digestive system changes. I can’t eat a bunch of junk, like greasy food and shit like that. That’d tear me up. But Esther’s... We sitting there watching TV, commercials come on, and Esther’s like, “Mmm. Let’s live a little. Let’s go get some of them Taco Bell Nacho Fries.” I was like, “Ain’t no way in the world I can eat some Nacho Fries.” If I got some Taco Bell Nacho Fries, I would have to eat them in the parking lot of the urgent care. I caught my wife eyeballing Esther the other day. That didn’t feel good at all.	Female Body	FEMALE BODY IS A LIVING BEING

153	Whitney Cummings	Can I Touch It? (2019)	I relate to your frustration, because sometimes I will see a service dog at the airport. And it's wearing a little vest. It says, "Dog working, do not pet." Now I'm in a pickle. Because I'm going to pet that fucking dog. This is going down the easy way or the hard way. I mean, it's a dog. It obviously wants it. I get your logic. And it is asking for it with that adorable little butt. I can see its butthole. If that's not asking for it, I don't know what is. But I don't. I never pet a service dog. It's that vest. You're like, "Oh, God, that dog's in the middle of something." You respect that vest. I think that's what we need to start doing at work. Women need to start wearing little vests to work. "Lady working. Do not hug. Shit to do."	Women	WOMEN ARE ANIMALS
154	Whitney Cummings	I Love You (2014)	You know, we come in and have each other's back when it really counts... like when we go to the bathroom together. You want to know what's going on in there? There's one girl having a bad night, a bunch of bitches who have never met each other in their lives are like soldiers at war, nursing each other's wounds. One girl is on the floor... I'm like, all right, pull those Spanx up. Somebody get a Band-Aid for that blister. Someone... her eyebrow just melted off... gotta get a Sharpie to draw that shit back on. All right, someone get some Super Glue for those eye lashes. Her hair extensions just fell out... someone get a stapler to staple that horsehair back on her head. Now, bitch, you wipe the tears off your tits and you listen to me right now. You're going to go back out there, put a smile on your face and pretend he's interesting. Go!	Relationships	RELATIONSHIP IS WAR