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On politicians in big women's sunglasses driving buses with their feet in mouths: Late-night political humour and conceptual integration theory

The paper focuses on political jokes from late-night shows, which contain modified idiomatic expressions. The aim of the present paper is to show that conceptual integration theory, proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2002), can explain the construction of meaning in political jokes on these types of shows. In conceptual integration, the meaning of a joke involves the construction of a blended space in which two worlds, usually opposing, 'clash', which results in an incongruity. The incongruity in the blended space produces humorous effects. Apart from the fact that conceptual integration theory can explain the creation of humor and its meaning, it can also reveal why humor is an effective means of criticizing political reality.

Key words: conceptual integration theory; humor; late-night political jokes; incongruity.

1. Introduction

Humor has been a perennial topic for centuries among sociologists, literary critics, psychologists, philosophers, and linguists. However, although the discussion of humor has commonly been embedded into the study of irony, in recent years humor has become a primary topic for linguists, especially those written within the framework of cognitive linguistics (cf. Barcelona 2003, Bergen 2004, Brône i Feyaerts 2003, Coulson 2002, Coulson 2005, Veale 2003, and Veale et al.

2006). Cognitive linguists (Brône i Feyaerts 2003, Ritchie 2005) claim that there are two linguistic theories of humor that can be included in the classical cognitive theory of incongruity, and that are compatible with cognitive linguistics. These two theories are Attardo's (1991) *the General Theory of Verbal Humor*, developed from Raskin's (1985) *Semantic Script Theory of Humor*, and Giora's (2003) *Graded Salience Hypothesis*.[1] However, cognitive linguists also point out that these theories leave some unanswered questions and offer a number of arguments emphasizing the advantages of the analysis of humor within the framework of cognitive linguistics (cf. Brône and Feyaerts 2003 and Veale and et al. 2006). Therefore, as many cognitive linguists claim, the linguistic theory of humor together with the theory of metaphor and metonymy and conceptual integration theory can provide answers to the questions that other linguistic theories have failed to answer.

In that sense, this paper applies conceptual integration theory to the creation of meaning as well as the understanding of humorous examples from late-night comedy shows. Cognitive linguistics literature claims that conceptual integration theory can reveal how humor is created. In addition, conceptual integration shows why humor is an effective means of criticizing political reality. Specifically, this paper focuses on political jokes from late-night shows which contain modified idiomatic expressions that are successfully used to criticize the absurdities in serious political issues.

In the first part of the paper we briefly introduce conceptual integration theory and provide a brief overview of its application to the study of humor. The second part of the paper focuses on late-night political humor and applies conceptual integration theory to the analysis of three political jokes that contain idiomatic expressions either as the punch line or as a basis on which the joke is built. The fourth part discusses the creation of humor and its appreciation in light of conceptual integration theory. Finally, the paper presents general conclusions drawn from the analysis.

2. Conceptual integration theory in humor

Conceptual integration theory, introduced by Fauconnier and Turner in 1993, has found its application in accounting for a wide range of phenomena of human thought and action. Conceptual blending is a powerful process which provides

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[1] For an overview of these theories cf. Raskin (1985, 1998), Attardo (2001), and Giora (2003), and for a detailed discussion of these theories and their compatibility with cognitive linguistics cf. Brône and Feyaerts (2003).

"global insight, human-scale understanding and, the new meaning" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 92). Fauconnier and Turner built blending theory on the foundations of Fauconnier's mental space theory.[2] The central idea behind blending as a basic cognitive operation is that it operates over a conceptual integration network, which comprises mental spaces and relations holding between them. "Building an integration network involves setting up mental spaces, matching across spaces, projecting selectively to a blend, locating shared structures, projecting backward to inputs, recruiting new structure to the inputs or the blend, and running various operations in the blend itself" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 44).

As the diagram below shows, a conceptual integration network is composed of at least two input spaces, a generic space, and a blended space, although a single network can be composed of several inputs as well as blended spaces. The generic space captures the shared elements of both inputs and these elements from the generic space are in turn mapped onto the counterpart elements in the input spaces. The structure from the input spaces is projected into the blend, a new mental space. "Blends contain generic structure captured in the generic space but also contain more specific structure, and they can contain structure that is impossible for the inputs, […]" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 47).
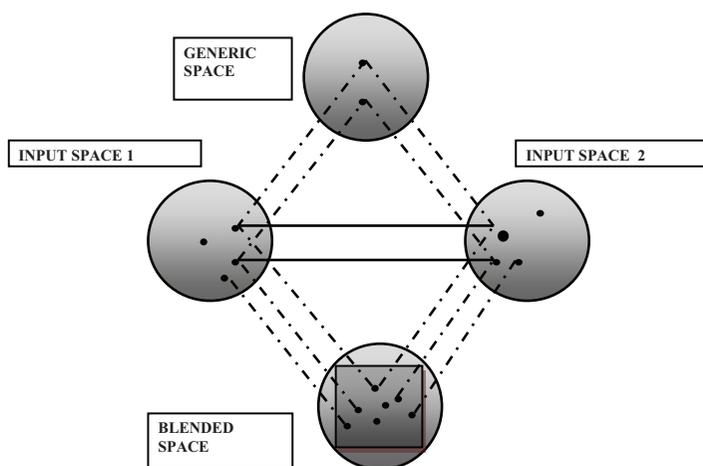

Figure 1. The basic diagram presenting a conceptual integration network
(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 46).

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[2] Fauconnier (2007: 351) defines mental spaces as "very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk for purposes of local understanding and action".

However, not all elements from the inputs are projected into the blend, which means that projections from the input spaces to the blend are partial. The emergent structure in the blended space is not copied from either input. Rather, the new structure within the blend is generated in three ways, namely through the processes of composition, completion, and elaboration, all of which operate unconsciously.

As Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 18) word it, "blending is an invisible, unconscious activity involved in every aspect of human life". In that sense, conceptual integration theory has emerged as a powerful theory that can account for a wide variety of linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena. Therefore, it is not surprising that conceptual integration theory has found its application in the study of humor. Coulson (2002) claims that "[t]hough not all blends are humorous, blending does seem to be an inherent feature of humor".

The view that humor is generated through the combination of different frames or input spaces can be traced back to Koestler's (1964: 51, quoted in Coulson 2002) quotation presented below.

> The sudden bisociation of an idea or event with two habitually incompatible matrices will produce a comic effect, provided that the narrative, the semantic pipeline, carries the right kind of emotional tension. When the pipe is punctured, and our expectations are fooled, the now redundant tension gushes out in laughter, or is spilled in the gentler form of the sou-rire.

Commenting on this hypothesis, Coulson (2002) emphasizes that, in Koestler's view, humor includes "the unlikely combination of related structures". In addition, Brône and Feyaerts (2003) regard Hofstadter and Gabora (1989) as the predecessors of conceptual integration theory in humor because their use of the term *frame blend* implies combining different frames.[3]

In order to illustrate how conceptual integration theory explains the creation of humor, Coulson analyses the following joke.

(1) Why did the chicken cross the road? To get to the other side.

The conceptual integration network consists of two input spaces, one generic and one blended space.

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[3] The term *frame blend* is used for "… a frame whose elements and relations are constructed from a combination of two frames that share some abstract structure" (Coulson 2002).
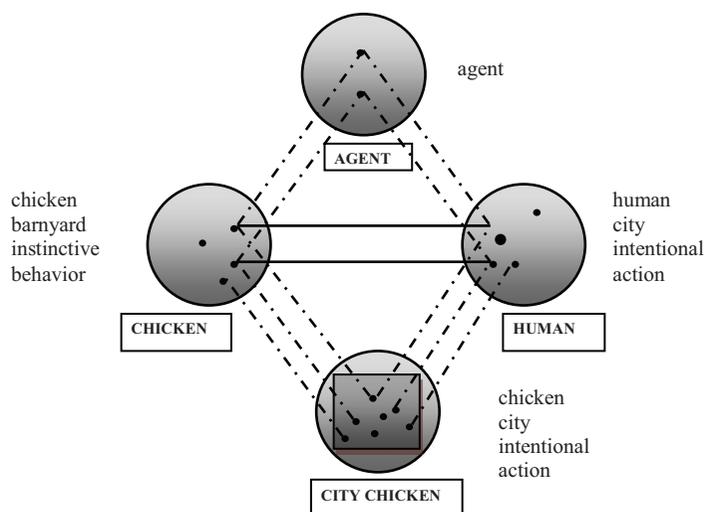
Figure 2. The conceptual integration network for the chicken joke
(adapted from Coulson 2002).

Input space one contains chickens, which usually live in barnyards and have instinctive behavior. Input space two includes humans, who usually live in cities and act intentionally. Projections from input spaces to the blend result in the creation of a chicken that lives in the city and makes intentional decisions, behaving as a human being who intentionally crosses the road. The humor is created in the blended space, as the combination of a human being and chicken results in incongruity. Cognitive linguists (Coulson 2002, Marín-Arrese 2003) claim that incongruity created in the blended space is the key element in the creation and appreciation of humor. The fact that chickens do not freely wander the streets and do not intentionally cross roads yields the incongruity in this joke. It is important to point out that the emergent structure within the blend does not involve the creation of a creature that is a cross between a human and a chicken, but it actually contains a chicken with human-like intentions that lives in the world created in the joke.

Conceptual integration theory has been successfully applied to humor in several papers written in recent years. Especially noteworthy is that different types of humorous texts, ranging from puns to political cartoons, have been studied within the framework of conceptual integration theory. Bergen (2004), Coulson (2002), Marín-Arrese (2003), and Delibegović Džanić and Omazić (forthcoming) apply conceptual integration theory to the analysis of political cartoons. Furthermore, applying this theory, Lundmark (2003) studies puns in advertising, Kyratzis (2003) discusses humor in discourse among friends, while Coulson (2005) examines humor in discourse from talk radio. The fact that these papers

successfully apply conceptual integration theory to different types of humorous texts is a confirmation of our hypothesis that the theory can explain the construction of meaning and its appreciation in late-night political jokes.[4]

3. Conceptual integration theory applied to late-night political humor

The fact that humor is a very effective means of any sort of criticism of reality is captured by Orwell's statement "Every joke is a tiny revolution". It is widely acknowledged that late night comedy shows have, for a long time, been an important part of American political discourse. In that sense, on the contemporary political scene in the United States of America more attention has been paid to the influence of late night comedy shows in shaping political opinions in this country. It can be argued that the main purpose of such shows is to provide a critical view of a political situation through humor and, especially, verbal humor.

As presented in the previous section of the paper, conceptual integration theory can reveal how humor is created and appreciated. In addition, this theory can, to a certain extent, explain why humor successfully criticizes the absurdities of the real world. In order to show what conceptual integration theory can reveal regarding the creation of humor in late-night political humor, we will analyze three such jokes. All three jokes contain modified idiomatic expressions that serve either as the punch line or as a basis on which the joke is built.[5]

The first joke we have chosen to analyze is taken from *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno* and focuses on Joe Biden, the gaffe-prone American vice-president. This joke ridicules Joe Biden's statement concerning a new outbreak of swine flu in the US.

(2) Oh, man, Biden did it again. God may have taken away Bush, but by golly, he gave us Joe Biden. You see this today? Joe Biden was on the *Today* show, and he said he would tell his family members not to take any commercial flights and don't ride in any subway cars because of this swine flu.

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[4] For a similar discussion cf. Berberović and Delibegović Džanić (2009), who discuss the creation of humor in late-night political jokes poking fun at statements of politicians and political pundits.

[5] Modification of idiomatic expressions is another linguistic phenomenon that can be successfully explained within the framework of conceptual integration theory. Several papers addressing idiom modification and its different aspects in view of conceptual integration theory have been published in recent years (cf. Buljan 2004, Omazić 2005, Delibegović Džanić 2007, Delibegović Džanić and Berberović 2010).

> You know, I don't think Joe Biden's going to catch swine flu, but it's pretty obvious he has a case of foot-in-mouth disease. [*the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, April, 30, 2009]

The integration network is composed of five spaces, three input spaces, a generic space and a blended space. Input space one comprises Joe Biden, the vice-president of the United States and his long political career. Joe Biden is probably best known to the wider public for his gaffes and long tedious speeches. Like former President of the United States, George Bush, the current vice-president, Joe Biden is very often ridiculed in late night comedy shows whose writers find his gaffes to be a rich source of inspiration for their jokes.
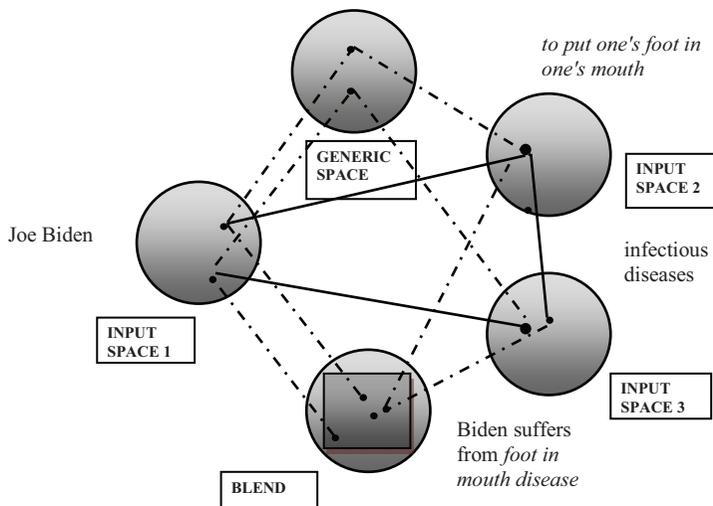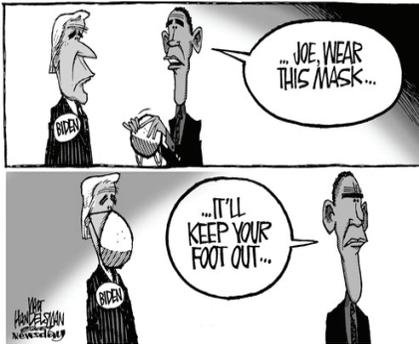
Figure 3. The conceptual integration network for the Joe Biden joke.

As the examples in (3) show, many Joe Biden jokes focus on his personality quirks.

(3) a. President Obama said that since becoming president, he's gone from praying before bed to praying all the time. And it's always the same prayer: "God, please don't let Joe Biden say something stupid today. Please." [*Late Night with Jimmy Fallon*, July 24, 2009]

b. After withdrawing his name for commerce secretary, Sen. Judd Gregg said he hoped he was just embarrassing himself and not President Obama, to which Joe Biden said, "Don't worry about it. I do it all the time." [*the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, February, 16, 2009]

Input space two contains the idiomatic expression *to put one's foot in one's mouth*. The idiom is used to describe a person who said something inappropriate, embarrassing, stupid, or wrong. Considering that Biden is gaffe-prone, the idiom is often used in connection with his blunders as a common punch line topic. As the examples in (4) and (5) illustrate, the use of this idiom in political cartoons and the punch lines of late-night jokes related to Joe Biden is quite common.

(4) a. People are sick and tired of the cold weather. Here's how cold it was today in Washington, D.C. Vice President Joe Biden put *his foot in his mouth just to keep it warm.* [*Late Show with David Letterman*, February 7, 2009]

  b. Apparently, Joe Biden was upset that Obama had put *his foot in the mouth* by saying that the Cambridge police acted stupidly, because that's normally his thing. [*Jimmy Kimmel Live*, July 31, 2009]

(5) a.   b.

source: http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/politicalcartoons/ig/Political-Cartoons/

The meaning of the idiom from input space two and Joe Biden from input space one are connected by cross-space mappings.

Input space three contains infectious diseases that have developed into epidemics and pandemics affecting people and animals in the last decades. Therefore, this input space includes the recent outbreak of the swine flu which was posing a serious threat to millions of people around the world. In addition, this input space contains foot and mouth disease, outbreaks that were recorded in different countries several times during the last decade. Joe Biden, commenting on swine flu and advising public how to avoid catching it, is connected with input space three. Furthermore, the idiom *to put one's foot in one's mouth* from

input space two and foot and mouth disease from input space three are connected by cross-space mappings as they are lexically similar.

The blended space contains selective projections from all three inputs. Projected to the blend from input space one is Joe Biden, from input space two the idiom *to put one's foot in one's mouth,* and from input space three foot and mouth disease. In the blend, Joe Biden, considering his numerous gaffes, suffers from the foot in mouth disease, which, in his case, is not necessarily lethal but is definitely incurable.

The next joke, taken from *the Tonight Show with Conan O'Brien*, pokes fun at Kim Jong Il, the North Korean dictator. As in the previous example, the punch line contains a modified idiomatic expression.

(6) North Korean dictator, Kim Jong-Il, is in the process of deciding who is going to be his successor and the most likely person is his youngest son, Kim Jong-Un. Yeah. Kim Jong-Un says he's excited but realizes he's got some awfully big women's sunglasses to fill. [*the Tonight Show with Conan O'Brien*, June 4, 2009]

The integration network is composed of four spaces, namely a generic space, two input spaces and a blended space.
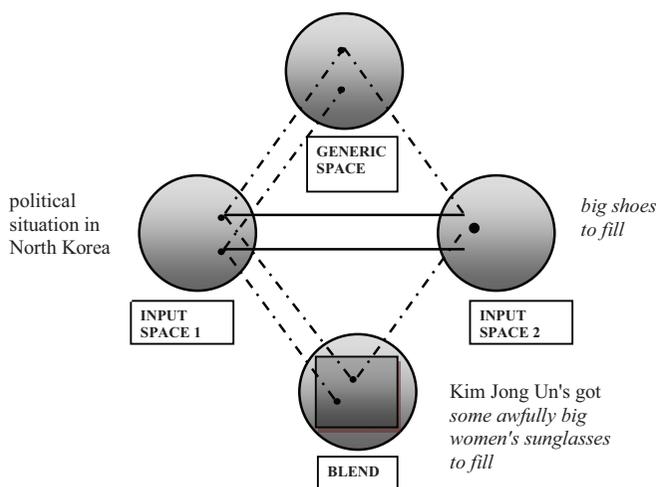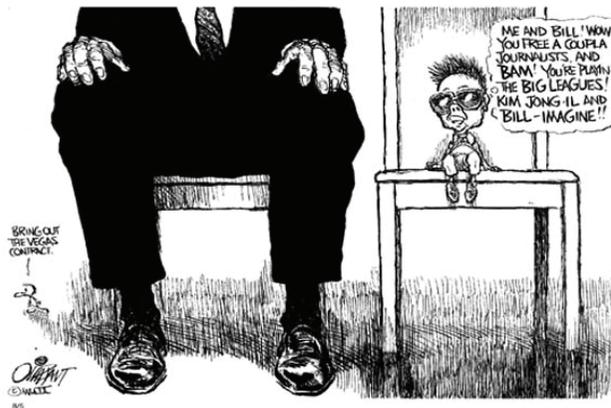

Figure 4. The conceptual integration network for the Kim Jong Il joke.

Input space one contains North Korea with its leader, Kim Jong Il and his possible successor, his son, Kim Jong-Un. Considering his opposition to the USA and noncompliance with international nuclear agreements, Kim Jong Il is perceived

as a dictator posing a threat to world peace. In addition, he is commonly perceived as a lunatic who has the deadliest weapons at his disposal and who has bullied the world for years by testing these weapons. Therefore, it is not surprising that Kim Jong Il, considering his behavior which is frowned upon, is often ridiculed in late-night comedy shows. In addition to his irrational behavior, Kim Jong Il's physical appearance, namely being incredibly short, wearing big glasses and military-like jumpsuits, is another of Kim Jong Il's characteristics that are particularly inspiring for late-night comedians. In that sense, many Kim Jong Il jokes and political cartoons poke fun at his physical appearance, as exemplified in (7) and (8).

(7)   a. And here's some optimistic news. Kim Jong-Il now says he wants to hold face-to-face talks with the United States. Now all North Korea needs is a big enough stepladder. [*Late Night with Jimmy Fallon*, August 10, 2009]

     b. Meanwhile, former President Bill Clinton is on his way home from North Korea right now. He made a surprise visit to attempt to secure the release of two female American journalists ... The rumor is they made a deal. Kim Jong-Il gave the women a special pardon and in return he got 20 pairs of Hillary's pantsuits. So, a little something to spruce up his wardrobe. [*Jimmy Kimmel Live*, August 4, 2009]

(8)

source: http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/politicalcartoons/ig/Political-Cartoons/.

Input space two contains the idiom *big shoes to fill*. This widely used expression is a common modification of the idiom *to fill someone's shoes (or boots)*, which is used in situations when a person is to take over someone's function or duties

and has to fulfill them satisfactorily. In its modified form, namely *big shoes to fill,* the meaning carrying positive connotations is even more intensified, namely the person whose big figurative shoes are to be filled has accomplished many great achievements so that his successor will face an even greater challenge and will have to invest extra effort in order to live up to the expectations.

Projected from input space one are Kim Jong Il, having a peculiar physical appearance, and his possible successor, Kim Jong Un, and from input space two, the idiom *big shoes to fill*. In the blend, Kim Jong Un succeeding his father will face a difficult challenge as he will have to fill *awfully big women's sunglasses* to live up to the expectations of his father and his supporters. Kim Jong Il's literal shoes, considering his physical appearance, are not too big to be filled and neither is his legacy. Therefore, in the blend, Kim Jong Il's peculiar fashion accessories, a pair of awfully big women's sunglasses are seen as his legacy.

The next joke, taken from *the Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, is rooted in a modified idiom. At the core of the joke are comments from journalists and political pundits about Barack Obama's statement where he renounces Reverend Jeremiah Wright and his preaching.

(9) But even his unequivocal repudiation could be seen as negative. [On screen pundits saying: Obama finally throws Wright under the bus. He threw him under the bus today. Do what it takes, throw him under the bus. Throwing this man, who was such an important part of his life, under the bus. It wasn't just throwing him under the bus. There was Barack Obama driving the bus, rolling over him over and over.] Well, even that's racial progress… I mean, not too long ago black people had to sit in the back of the bus, now they're not only driving it, they're throwing one another under it. But the important thing is we continue to measure the progress of African-Americans in purely bus-related terms. [*the Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, April, 30, 2008]

The integration network is composed of two separate networks, which together, in terms of Fauconnier and Turner (2002), create a mega blend. Each network is composed of two or more input spaces, a generic and a blended space. These networks will be marked as N1 and N2.
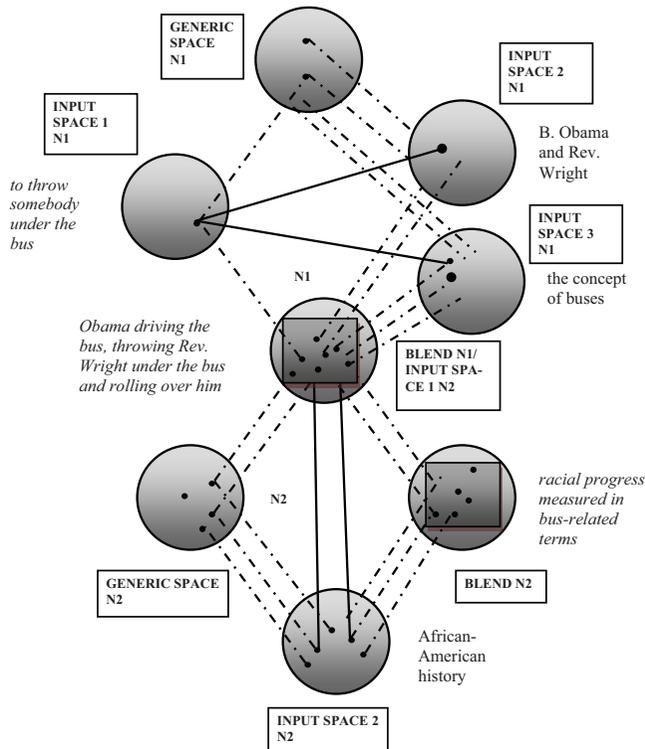
Figure 5. The conceptual integration network for the Obama-Wright joke.

In N1, input space one contains the idiomatic expression *to throw somebody under the bus*. The idiom is used to describe a situation in which a person sacrifices another person, who is usually undeserving or at least vulnerable, to make personal gain. In this joke, the idiom is used in relation to Barack Obama and his former pastor, Reverend Wright. Therefore, input space one is connected by cross-space mappings to input space two which contains Obama's relationship with his former pastor Jeremiah Wright, the issue in the spotlight during the 2008 presidential campaign. When some of his racially charged sermons surfaced in the media, reverend Wright became a serious threat to Obama's presidential bid. Over the course of the following months, during which this issue was scrutinized by the media, Obama first renounced Wright's preaching and, eventually, succumbing to pressure he renounced Wright. Input space three contains our encyclopedic knowledge about buses as road vehicles devised for passenger transportation. Cross-space mappings connect the idiom from input space one to the concepts of driving buses, riding on buses, and the knowledge about possible dangers of being run over by a bus from input space three.

The blended space in N1 contains the modified idiomatic expression, *driving the bus, throwing somebody under the bus and rolling over him* used in reference to Obama's statements. The meaning of the idiom is intensified in its modified form since a person achieving personal gain does not simply throw another person under the bus, but is doing it consciously and repeatedly making sure that the aim will be accomplished. Therefore, in the blend, Obama's strong repudiation of his long relationship with Revered Wright is seen as a cruel act of throwing him under the bus and making sure that the relationship is 'dead' by rolling over him repeatedly.

The blended space in N1 in turn serves as input space one in N2 connecting these two networks into a mega blend. Therefore, input space one in N2 contains Barack Obama as a bus driver rolling over Reverend Wright repeatedly. Input space two contains the aspect of African-American history related to segregation and the struggle against it. A well-known historical figure, Rosa Parks, initiated protests against segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama when she refused to surrender her seat to a white person. After her arrest Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders of the black community in Montgomery organized a boycott of public transportation as a form of peaceful resistance to racial segregation, which after more than a year brought them victory and ended segregation on buses.

The two prominent figures in the African American community, Rev. Wright and Barack Obama are projected from input space one into the blend. The blended space also receives projections from this input space containing Barack Obama driving a bus and rolling over Reverend Wright repeatedly. The aspect of African American history related to struggle against segregation and peaceful boycott of public transportation is projected into the blend from input space two. Therefore, in the blend, African Americans not only achieved the progress in terms of having free access to public transportation but they can also drive buses and even throw one another under them, all of which implies racial progress. Therefore, in the blend, racial progress is measured in purely bus-related terms, Barack Obama's statements concerning his relationship with Rev. Wright illustrate this type of racial progress.

4. The creation of humor in conceptual blending

As the examples above show, humor is produced in a series of mental gymnastics over a conceptual integration network. The key element in the creation of humor in conceptual blending is the incongruity produced in the blended space. What all of these jokes have in common is the incongruity of the two

worlds–one real and one absurd produced in the blended space. The outcome of this cognitive clash of two worlds in the blend is a new structure which produces "unexpected inferential and emotional effects which contribute to the humor appreciation" (Marín-Arrese 2003). In that respect, the examples we have discussed are no exceptions. In that sense, in the blend in example (2), there is a cognitive clash of the real world where the danger of Swine Flu looms large and Biden's careless statement, which could raise panic among citizens and the absurd world in which Foot in Mouth disease exists, damages Biden's reputation. Furthermore, the incongruity of the two worlds in the joke in (6) also leads to humorous effects. The cognitive clash of the two worlds, one absurd in which Kim Jong Il's legacy is completely diminished and represented in the form of big women's sunglasses and the real world in which this dictator presents a serious threat to world peace and security has comedic effect. Furthermore, in the absurd world created in the blend in the joke in (9), serious racial issues, which have for centuries been a major concern in the American society, are represented as the centuries-long struggle of African Americans to ride on buses and drive them. As already mentioned, it is believed (Coulson 2002, Marín-Arrese 2003) that the incongruity produced in the blend is the key element in the creation of humor. In addition, it can also be claimed that this is a characteristic of humorous blends only. However, what all blends have in common are backward projections from the blend into input spaces (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). It is believed that this cognitive operation is a decisive element in the resolution of humor. In that sense, Marín-Arrese (2003) claims that "[t]he problem solving or resolution of the incongruity is realised by projecting backward to these input spaces ..."

Furthermore, the incongruity and humor created in the blend also successfully criticize the absurdities of the real world. In that sense, Coulson (2002) finds that the emergent structure in the blend can promote the construals in the input spaces. Backward projections from the blended space to input spaces reinforce construals in input spaces in accordance with the new structure created in the blend. In that sense, in the joke in (2), backward projections to the Joe Biden input space help us conceptualize Joe Biden as a ridiculous man whose statements should not be taken seriously. Simply, Joe Biden suffers from foot-in-mouth disease, causing him to make gaffes uncontrollably. Similarly, backward projections to the North Korea input cast a new light on the dictator posing a serious threat to world peace. North Korean dictator and his successors are seen as evil cartoon characters, who are threatening the world with their peculiar fashion styles. Kim Jong Il's political achievements are considered insignificant. Instead, his successor has only one expectation to fulfill, which is his physical appearance and style have to be appealing to the writers of late-night comedy shows. In the joke in (9), comments of political pundits and journalists on Ob-

ama's statements and his relationship with Rev. Wright are criticized and presented as absurd. Therefore, the seriousness with which the issue was discussed and the negative view on Obama's statements concerning Rev. Wright are ridiculed and criticized. In addition, the debate on the Obama-Rev. Wright issue carried racial connotations; therefore, the backward projections further reinforce the racial connotations of the 2008 presidential campaign and dismiss them as being absurd, especially once the focus is on African American history. Therefore, one can argue that the emergent structure in the blend not only helps us conceptualize a certain scenario but it also reinforces a certain construal in the input spaces. In that sense, Coulson (2002) concludes that "[c]onceptual integration processes allow us to construct bizarre, disposable concepts which in turn promote particular construals of their input domains."

5. Conclusion

By applying conceptual integration theory to late-night political jokes, we tried to show how humor is created as well as how it is understood. In addition, using the same theory, we also addressed the question of why humor seems to be an effective means of criticizing political reality. As luck would have it, conceptual integration theory seems to have the answers to all of these challenging and interesting questions.

In that sense, humor is created in a complex mental operation of conceptual blending. In conceptual blending, humor is produced in the blended space as a result of the cognitive clash of the two worlds, usually one real and one absurd. The incongruity produced in the blended space creates humorous effects and it is characteristic of humorous blends. In addition, conceptual integration theory applied to late-night political humor successfully explains the success this type of humor has regarding the criticism of political reality as well as the shaping of the wider public's political opinions. Projecting back from the blended space to the input spaces, the scenarios related to the real world residing in input spaces are highlighted and seen in a new light and in accordance with the new scenario created in the blended space.

Although this paper presents preliminary research of humor in light of conceptual integration theory, it has shown that conceptual integration theory can be successfully applied to verbal humor of late-night comedy shows and provide some valuable insights. To a certain extent, conceptual integration theory can explain why human beings laugh.

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**O POLITIČARIMA S VELIKIM SUNČANIM NAOČALAMA
KOJI VOZE AUTOBUSE S NOGAMA U USTIMA:
KASNOVEČERNJI POLITIČKI HUMOR I TEORIJA KONCEPTUALNE INTEGRACIJE**

Rad je usmjeren na političke šale preuzete iz kasnovečernjih programa koje sadrže modificirane idiomatske izraze. Cilj je ovog rada pokazati da teorija konceptualne integracije koju su razvili Fauconnier i Turner (1998, 2002) u okviru kognitivne lingvistike može objasniti nastajanje značenja političkih šala koje se koriste u toj vrsti programa. U okviru teorije konceptualne integracije značenje šale nastaje u integriranom prostoru u kojem se dva svijeta, koji su

obično oprečni, 'sudaraju', a što dovodi do nesklada. Upravo nesklad koji se javlja u integriranom prostoru dovodi do javljanja humora. Pored činjenice da teorija konceptualne integracije može objasniti nastajanje humora, ta nam teorija također može objasniti zašto je humor učinkovit način kritiziranja političke stvarnosti.

Ključne riječi: teorija konceptualne integracije; humor; šale u kasnovečernjim TV-programima; nesklad.