**LEXICAL SIGNALS OF VERBAL IRONY**

**Silvana Neshkovska**

**“St. Kliment Ohridski” University, Faculty of Education – Bitola**

silvanakolevska@yahoo.com

**Abstract**

Research on verbal irony reveals that the array of verbal and non-verbal signals used to 'season' expressions with ironicalness is quite impressive. Provided the context ensures the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for expressing irony, these signals significantly alleviate the job of both the ironist and his/her interlocutor.

This study focuses on investigating lexical signals of verbal irony (e.g. adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs, etc.). It compares the frequency with which they occur in formal and informal speech, in Macedonian and English.

The results point to the existence of many similarities in Macedonian and English. The most predominant type of lexical markers, in both formal and informal speech, is the adjectives. In terms of the differences, certain signals were typical only of one of these two languages. This was the case with the archaisms and the borrowings from other languages which were detected only in the Macedonian ironic expressions.

**Key words:**  *lexical signals, irony, Macedonian, English*

**Introduction**

The trend of doing research on verbal irony is still in full swing as there are so many different aspects of verbal irony which are in need of being illuminated. Some researchers focus on the conditions ironic utterances need to fulfill in order to be considered ironic. Some accentuate the functions of verbal irony in various contexts, whereas some aspire towards disclosing the distinct types of verbal and nonverbal signals whose presence in the ironic utterances greatly alleviates the recognition and correct interpretation of ironic utterances.

Irrespective of the fact that the spectrum of the signals of verbal irony (VI) is quite broad, the aim of the present research is to tackle only one category of signals – *lexical signals* of VI. In most cases, this, in fact, is a cover term for various parts of speech – nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, etc. which in given contexts simply caution interlocutors against interpreting a particular utterance literally.

The lexical signals of verbal irony have been analyzed by many researchers so far. Thus, Haiman (1989: 19) discusses how the real meta-message hidden behind the literal message is signaled in the ironic utterances. In his study he singles out some words and phrases which transform literal messages into ironic ones. One of them is the word *like* used in expressions such as *“Like I care!”* (“*I don't care”*)*; “Like there is a difference!”* (“*There is no difference!”*). Similarly, the negative word *not* used at the very end of an expression has the same function (“*I guess I will hit the books in time for the quiz… not!”*). According to Haiman, the double phrase “*not that … or anything*” can also be used as a clue for ironicalness (“*Not that I care about the money or anything*!” uttered by a person who actually cares about money*)*.

Willer and Groeben (1980: 290) draw attention to a very interesting lexical signal of irony – using adjectives instead of nouns as in *“Mr. Smart”*. Uttsumi (2000: 1787) in his classification of the verbal signals enlists adjectives (e.g. *great, excellent, superb*), adverbs (e.g. *certainly, absolutely, really*), exclamations (*Oh!, Wow!*). Attardo (2001) pinpoints expressions such as “*So to speak*...”, “*As everybody believes* …”, “*As one would say* ...” as lexical signals of irony. Evidently, research on VI so far reveals that the category of lexical signals is truly versatile and plentiful and that ironists can make use of various lexical categories to smoothly convey the ironic overtone of their utterances.

The primary aim of this study is to look deeper into the usage of the lexical signals of verbal irony in both formal and informal oral discourse within two completely unrelated languages – Macedonian and English. More to the point, the principle aim of this study is to ascertain the frequency with which lexical signals are used in ironic expressions in formal and informal contexts; and, secondly, the focus is put on detecting similarities and differences with respect to the different types of lexical signals of verbal irony used in the two target languages.

**Research methodology**

For the purposes of the analysis, we primarily compiled a linguistic corpus of authentic Macedonian and English conversations. The corpus comprised recorded television programs which include authentic conversations between two, or, sometimes among three or more interlocutors.

In order to cater for the formality aspect of the study, one half of the recorded TV conversations were political discussions and debates, in which, formal speech is normally preferred; whereas, the second half were popular TV talk shows which are principally characterized by the usage of informal speech. Hence, the corpus in fact consisted of four separate segments: a) Macedonian political discussions and debates (MPDD); b) Macedonian talk shows (MTS); c) English political discussions and debates (EPDD), and d) English talk shows (ETS) (see Appendix).

The first part of the corpus, the political discussions and debates, comprised 12 Macedonian (*24 Analiza*) and 15 English (*Piers Morgan Tonight* and *America Live with Megyn Kelly*) excerpts of political discussions and debates. All the analyzed conversations tackled numerous important political, economic and social issues, and, the participants in these conversations were politicians, journalists and political analysts.

The second part of the corpus, the talk shows, was made of excerpts from 12 Macedonian (*Eden na Eden* and *PM Magazin*) and 13 English television interviews (*The Oprah Winfrey Show* and *The Ellen Show*). The hosts of these talk shows, understandably, converse with famous musicians, actors, sports stars, etc., and their topics of discussion usually centered around the professional achievements of the guests and their private life.

Approximately 9 hours, i.e. 560 minutes of recorded speech were subjected to analysis (280 minutes in Macedonian, and 280 minutes in English). In total, 94 people took part in these conversations (49 Macedonian and 45 English native speakers). The equal duration of the analyzed conversations in both languages, and the almost equal number of participants, was to ensure obtaining maximally objective results.

After compiling the corpus, the analysis was initially directed at identifying[[1]](#footnote-1) and singling out all of the ironic utterances (IU) used in the analyzed conversations; and, subsequently, identifying the different types of lexical signals used in those ironic expressions. Ultimately, the research was directed at shedding some light on the frequency with which these signals were used in both formal and informal speech in Macedonian and English.

**Results**

The analysis of the recorded conversations has yielded results which manifestly point to the existence of many similarities in both analyzed languages, Macedonian and English. Thus, for instance, the total number of ironic utterances (IU) in both languages was greater in informal speech (total 660 IU; Mac. ; Eng. ) than in formal speech (467 IU; Mac. ; Eng. ). This means that in both languages VI was more frequently used in informal speech which in this context is solely intended to entertain wider audiences. But what was also quite surprising was that VI was not completely avoided in formal speech where serious topics of state importance were discussed by high ranking political officials. In the political debates and discussions the pragmatic function of the ironic expressions is normally to publically criticize and disparage political opponents so that their political positions are undermined and marred in the eyes of the electorate.

1. Types of lexical markers

As expected, the presence of ironic utterances and various lexical signals in the analyzed corpora was quite visible. In fact, the analysis of the ironic utterances from the formal and informal corpora further revealed that the total number of lexical signals (LS) used in the ironic utterances was considerably larger in informal speech (total 777 LS; 383 LS in Mac.; 394 LS in Eng.) than in formal speech (400 LS; 172 LS in Mac.; 228 LS in Eng.) in both languages. This result indicates that in both English and Macedonian, when ironists were involved in informal conversations they were much more inclined towards embellishing their ironic utterances with a greater number of lexical signals in order to make sure that their interlocutors do not miss out the ironic intention they try to convey.

What is also worth noticing at this stage of the analysis is that the English native speakers showed a more pronounced tendency towards using more lexical signals in their ironic utterances (total 662 LS; 228 LS in formal speech; 394 in informal speech) than the Macedonian ones (total 562 LS; 172 in formal speech; 383 in informal speech) in both formal and informal context. The inference which can be drawn in this context is, perhaps, that the English speakers were more determined and decisive to impart their ironic intent regardless of the consequences, whereas the Macedonian speakers were intuitively slightly more cautious and reluctant to do that.

As to the types of lexical signals employed in the analyzed ironic utterances, the corpora under inspection abounded with a wide range of different lexical signals. Thus, in the formal political TV debates and discussions, as shown in Table 1 below, the ironist employed *adjectives, nouns, verbs, adverbs, pronouns, phrases, exclamations* and *idioms* as lexical signals of verbal irony. In addition to these, in order to signal their ironical intent, the ironists also used *neologisms*, i.e. newly created words on the basis of already existing words; *archaic words*, i.e. old words which have been replaced by newer ones; *colloquialisms*, i.e. words which are commonly used in informal everyday conversation; and *borrowings*, i.e. words borrowed from other languages whose usage in the ironic utterances signalizes breaking of the established norms of language usage.

In the informal speech, i.e. the two corpora of television talk shows subjected to analysis for the purposes of this study, more or less, the same types of lexical signals were detected. The only exception was the absence of *archaic words* in both Macedonian and English, and the usage of *colloquialisms* which was not taken into consideration here at all as colloquialisms are normally treated as a common feature of informal register.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Lexical signals of VI** | **MPDD** | **EPDD** | **MTS** | **ETS** |
| adjectives | 61 | 86 | 71 | 84 |
| verbsphrasal verbs | 15/ | 198 | 22 | 75 |
| nouns | 13 | 38 | 54 | 56 |
| pronouns | 8 | / | 18 | 24 |
| adverbs | 24 | 29 | 46 | 102 |
| neologisms | 4 | 4 | 4 | / |
| archaic words | 4 | / | 5 | / |
| colloquialisms | 5 | 6 | / | / |
| Idioms | 3 | 7 | 21 | 5 |
| exclamations | 4 | 3 | 38 | 8 |
| phrases | 15 | 28 | 42 | 40 |
| borrowings from:EnglishSerbian | 412 | // | 1151 | / / |
| total: | **172** | **228** | **383** | **394** |

Table 1 Lexical signals of VI in formal and informal discourse in Macedonian and English

B) Frequency of lexical signals in ironic utterances

When it comes to the similarities and differences in terms of the frequency with which lexical signals are used in ironic expressions in Macedonian and English, in both formal and informal speech, this research mainly brings some similar tendencies up to the surface. Thus, on the basis of their incidence in the ironic expressions, lexical signals analyzed in this study could be classified into three major categories: a) *most frequently used* LS of VI; b) *moderately used* LS of VI and c) *very rarely used* LS of VI.

The **adjectives** were the most frequently used lexical signals of VI, both in Macedonian and English, formal and informal speech (35.11% in MPDD; 36.59% in EPDD; 18.44% in MTS; and 19.95% in ETS). In both languages and in both registers, the adjectives were used attributively, i.e. in front of a noun (1) as well as predicatively, i.e. as part of the predicate, after a linking verb (2).

(1)

**Guest**:*„Денес дури сите да кажевме во хор дека Македонија е* ***прекрасно место****, без никаков проблем, правна држава којашто одлично функционира, мислите дека некој ќе го излажеше Комесарот да поверува во таа слика?”*

(Guest: “*Even if we have all stated today that Macedonia is a* ***wonderful place*** *with no problems whatsoever, a legal state which functions perfectly, do you honestly think that the Commissary would have believed that?*”) (from the MPDD)

In (1) the guest, an MP from the opposition, overtly criticizes the government for their attempts to conceal the actual situation of the country from the influential international factors.

(2)

**Host**: “*I know, I know it’****s strange*** *how I would be moved by just 2 or 3 baby’s feet being chopped off and kept as souvenirs. I understand that.*“ (from the EPDD)

In (2) the host alludes to the irrational viewpoint of her guest, a lawyer defending a doctor who has been accused of performing dangerous late pregnancy abortions, by ironically highlighting that there was nothing *strange* in the fact that the defendant kept chopped off baby body parts in his private practice. The adjective *strange*, which in this context is the key lexical signal of VI, is used predicatively, i.e. as a part of the predicate alongside with the suitable form of the auxiliary verb *to be*.

Irrespective of whether the adjectives were used attributively or predicatively as lexical signals of VI, very frequently they were intensified by adverbials. Example (3), which is clearly ironic, is uttered by a politician who overtly attacks the financial policies of the current Macedonian government. In order to explicitly impart his ironic message, the guest intensifies the utterance by using the key lexical signal of irony here – the adjective *убави* (*nice*) – which us further intensified by the adverb *многу* (*very*).

(3)

**Guest**: „Извештаите од ММФ и Светска банка оставете ги настрана. *Такви извештаи се наслушавме* ***многу убави*** *и за Грција и за Кипар и за Португалија и за многу држави. Едноставно некои институции се одговорни да кажуваат до последниот момент дека се е супер во државата.*

(Guest: *Let's put these reports of the IMF and World Bank aside. We have heard plenty of such* ***very nice*** *reports for Greece, Cyprus, Portugal and for many other states. Simply, some institutions' task is to claim that everything is perfect in the state up to the very last moment.*).

The **adverbs** as lexical signals of VI were used with moderate frequency in Macedonian formal (13.69% in MPDD) and informal speech (11.94% in MTS) (4). In English formal speech they were also used with moderate frequency (12.34% in EPDD), but in the informal speech they were used almost as frequently as the adjectives (24.22% in ETS), i.e. they belonged to the category of the most frequently used signals (5).

(4)

**Host**:*„Би сакал да ме купи Опра сосе екипа сосе се.”*

**Guest**: *„Сосе екипа? А ако сака да ти ја смени екипата?”*

**Host**: *„Опра?* ***Никогаш*** *нема да ја сменам екипата.”* (from MTS)

(**Host**: “*I wish Oprah would buy my show along with my crew and everything else.”*

**Guest**: “W*ith the crew? What if she wants to change your crew?”*

**Host:** “*Oprah?* ***Never*** *would I change my crew*.”)

(5)

**Host**: “So what’s the bigger vision for your marriage?”

**Guest 1**: “We had to figure that out because we were two big beings that got together and I had my vision and he had his, so we had to join in and we decided…”

**Guest 2**: “*We could do what she says.”*

**Guest 1**: “***Basically****, that’s the vision.*” (from ETS)

In both (4) and (5) the adverbs *никогаш* (*never*) and *basically* are used to intensify the ironic nature of the ironic expressions by accentuating how frequently something happens or does not happen as well as how it happens.

The **verbs** used out of their usual context in both Macedonian and English formal speech were used with moderate frequency (8.92% in MPDD; 11.48% in EPDD; 18.7% ETS) (6). Only in Macedonian informal speech, the verbs as lexical signals of verbal irony were very rarely used. In the English corpus of formal discourse, some of the verbs used as lexical signals were, in fact, phrasal verbs. Phrasal verbs are commonly used in informal speech, but, obviously, sometimes they are used in formal speech too to signal the breaking of an already established norm (7).

(6)

 **Guest**: „... *ние сме сведоци како пратениците се многу креативни, па сами им* ***текнува*** *да предлагаат закони.”* (from the MPDD)

(**Guest**: “ … *we have all witnessed how the MPs are very creative, and how they* ***come up with*** *ideas to propose laws on their own*”)

(7)

**Host**: “… the condition of the clinic, it reeked with animal urine, cats had defecated all over it, furniture and blankets stained with blood, instruments not sterilized, the difference in which he treated women of colour versus white women…“

**Guest**: “Not true!”

**Host**: *“OK. All of this is not true. The jury* ***made it all up****!”*

The verb *текнува* (*come up with*) in (6) which alludes to the fact that someone accidentally devises an idea is not suitable in the context of laws whose creation normally requires a lot of serious deliberation. Understandably, the aim of the ironist in (6) is to harshly rebuke certain MPs for their very arbitrary approach to tackling extremely serious issues. In (7) the host responds ironically to the lawyer of the accused doctor by using the phrasal verb *to make something up,* instead of its more neutral equivalent *to* *invent something,* which is quite unexpected in the context of a very serious courtroom trial.

Some **phrases,** just like the verbs and the nouns, when used out of their usual context, can be used to reinforce the ironic force of an ironic utterance. The phrases in both Macedonian and English, in both formal and informal discourse were used with moderate frequency (7.73% in MPDD; 11.91% in EPDD) (8) and (9).

(8)

**Guest**: „*... видиме дека наеднаш 13000 луѓе што од Пустец, што од Косово, што* ***од којзнај каде,*** *се уфрлени во списокот.*

(**Guest**: “... *we all saw how 13000 people, some from Pustec, some from Kosovo, some* ***from God knows where,*** *were injected in the voters' register*”) (from the MPDD)

(9)

**Guest**: *“****How on Earth*** *does that kind of rhetoric to the American people serve any kind of sensible, rational purpose?”* (from the EPDD)

Thus, the phrases *од којзнај каде* (*from God know where*) and *How on Earth* are phrases which are definitely not normally expected in formal contexts where burning political issues are put at the forefront*.*

The **borrowings** or borrowed words from other languages were detected only in the Macedonian corpora (10.74% in MPDD and 17.14% in MTS) and they were either of English (10) or of Serbian origin (11). The borrowed words as lexical signals were used with moderate frequency.

(10)

**Guest**:„*Иако тие со влегувањето на собраниската комисија ја* ***спинуваа*** *јавноста дека еве ние добрите дечки од ВМРО ДПМНЕ предлагаме закон ама овие лошите учки од ДУИ не дозволија законот да помине...“*(from the MPDD)

(**Guest**: *“Although by entering in the Assembly commission they have* ***spinned*** *the public, look we – the good guys from VMRO-DPMNE – are proposing a law but these bad guys from DUI prevent us from passing it ...”*)

(11)

**Guest**: *„Гледајте да ви кажам, Македонија да е толку многу важна, па цел свет се заверил токму нас душата да ни ја земе. Што нешто сме* ***лепотани****? Шо е работата?“* (from the MPDD)

(**Guest:** “*Listen, do you really believe that Macedonia is so important, and now the entire world is plotting against us. What are we –*  ***extremely good-looking*** *people or what? What's wrong with you?”*)

In both examples, the ironists in their ironic utterances were representing the opposition and were directing strong criticism to the current government. They both chose to enhance their ironic intent by using the following borrowings: *спинуваа* (*to spin,* i.e. *to deceive*) from English, *лепотани (extremely good-looking people*)from Serbian, instead of the corresponding Macedonian terms *изmanипулираа јавноста* and *убави луѓе,* respectively.

The **nouns** used out of their normal or usual contexts, were used with moderate frequency in informal and formal speech in both languages (14 % in MTS; 14.2% in ETS; 7.14% in MPDD and 15.74% EPDD) (12) and (13).

(12)

**Guest**: *„..Меѓутоа, мене ми е интересен Тони Наумовски со* ***елаборацијава****, зашто одма оди на дискредитација на извештајот...“* (from MPDD)

(**Guest**: “… Nevertheless, I find Tony Naumovski's ***elaboration*** very amusing, as he immediately discards the report ...”)

(13)

**Host**: *“It would appear that the interview has just been ended, because I have the audacity to ask questions based on stuff that's in this book. Anyway, it's a good book. It's called "Troublemaker". I think we now know why it's called "****Troublemaker****.* ***Troublemaker****, indeed.“* (from EPDD)

The noun *elaboration* in (12) is used out of its normal context, since in this case one of the interviewed guests whose name is Tony does not provide an elaboration (“a long elaborative description of something”) on the issues disscussed. On the contrary, his statement is very brief and to the point. However, the guest who qualifies Tony’s response as an elaboration clearly disagrees with Tony and responds ironically to Tony's brief comment. Similarly, in (13) the host of the political interview, who is completely taken aback by his guest's abrupt termination of the interview on the grounds of being too upset by the host's provocative questions, calls the guest a *troublemaker*. This noun is decidedly not expected to be used to refer to a politician whose job is to work devotedly for the well-being of his/her people and behave in a wise and rational manner at all times.

Although the **exclamations** are primarily used to attract somebody's attention, in the ironic utterances they were employed to provide the recipient of the ironic statement with a clue that he/she should not take the utterance literally. In general, the exclamations were very rarely used in the ironic utterances (1.27% in EPDD; 1.90% in ETS; 2.38% in MPDD), except in Macedonian informal speech where they were used with moderate frequency (9.87% in MTS) (14).

(14)

**Guest**: „Е па таа мислам дека со мајка ѝ креира. Не сум толку информирана*“*

**Host**: „***Еј*** *ги прати, си седи и си чита...“*

**Guest**: *„Па морам да пратам и ти ги пратиш сигурно Џеј Лено, Опра...“* (from the MTS)

(**Guest:** “I think her mother creates her designs. I am not that well informed.”

 **Host:** “***Wow****, she is following them closely, sitting and reading about them* ...”)

In (14) the host is poking fun of the guest, a young but famous Macedonian pop singer, for her attempts to keep pace with the world-class celebrities in terms of fashion. He uses the exclamation *Ej* (*Wow*) to intensify the ironicalness of his remark.

The least frequently used lexical signals were: the **idioms** (1.74% in MPDD; 3.07% in EPDD; 5.48% in MTS; 1.26% in ETS) (15); **neologisms** (2.38% in MPDD; 1.7% in EPDD; 1.03% in MTS, 0% in ETS) (16), **colloquialisms** (2.38% in MPDD; 2.55% in EPDD) (17).

(15)

**Guest 1**: *“I got a lot of crying lately* which is sweet, which is… I don’t know…Which is very nice, yeah.“

**Guest 2**: “***She brings tears to my eyes.***“ (from the ETS)

(16)

**Host**:“*I understand all the* ***gung-ho*** *language you're using.* Here's the point I'm making to you. *Do you realize that if you torture this man, what you're basically endorsing is the torture of American citizens for committing domestic crimes inside America?* (from the EPDD)

(17)

**Guest**: *„Меѓутоа, тоа не беше цел кога го* ***поткачија*** *и го земаа во свои раце дпмневците тој процес* (лустрацијата)*. Тој потоа престана да биде било каква морална основа и одбрана на демократијата.*“ (from the MPDD)

(Guest: *“However, that was not the point when the politicians from the ruling party* ***took control over*** *this process (lustration).* It simply stopped being a moral basis and defense of democracy*.* )

The idiomatic expression *bring tears to somebody’s eyes* (*to touch somebody's soul deeply*) in (15) is used by the ironist who just makes fun of his colleague who has just bragged about causing her fans to cry every time they see her in person. In (16) the adjective *gung-ho* has been derived from the noun *gung (criminal band)* andin this context is used by the host in an attempt to criticize his guest's aggressive language and attitude since he is a politician and should be much more reasonable and careful with words. In (17) the guest uses a colloquialism, the verb *поткачија,* which means *to take control of something,* which is completely out of place in the formal interview in which it is used.

**Personal pronouns**,when used out of their normal positions in an utterance, can also be treated as lexical signals of verbal irony but they were among the most rarely used signals (4.76% in MPDD; 4.67% in MTS, 5.7% in ETS) (18) and (19).

(18)

**Host**: *„Стварно го искршивте* ***тоа*** *ајфонот?“* (from the MTS)

(**Host**: “*Did you really break* ***it*** *smartphone*?” – literal translation)

(19)

**Host:** *“****He*** *was at your venue? Really? And* ***he*** *brings up flags with* ***him****?“* (from the ETS)

In (18) the host expresses surprise at the fact that for the purposes of shooting a music spot his guest, a famous pop singer, has smashed a brand new smart phone to pieces. The ironic overtone of his questions is clearly signaled by the use of the personal pronoun *тоа* (*it*) which is completely misplaced, i.e. it is used in front of a noun. In (19) the pronouns *he* and *him* are used by the host and in reference to the Canadian Prime Minister when in fact one would normally expect the host to use his title (Prime Minister) or at least the general mode of address - Mister in addition to his surname (e.g. Mister Brown).

Finally, the category of the least frequently used lexical signals also subsumes **archaic words** which were in fact very rare and were noted only in Macedonian formal discourse (2.3% in MPDD and 1.3% in MTS) (20).

(20)

**Guest**: „*Ова другово како што гледате ништо не можат да направат* ***саглам****. Значи со било што да се зафатат се претвора во одмазда кон политичките противници.“* (from the MPDD)

(**Guest**: *All of these other things, as you can see, they can not do them* ***properly****. Whatever they do, they turn it into revenge on their political opponents*.)

Most of the archaic words in Macedonian were of Turkish origin. Their peculiarity stems from the fact that they are no longer used in informal speech, let alone in formal speech. That is very nicely illustrated in (20) with the word *саглам* which in English means *properly.*

**Discussion and conclusion**

The present study was intended to make a small but meaningful contribution to the research dedicated to verbal irony as a very complex pragmatic phenomenon. It dealt with the lexical signals of verbal irony as a specific type of signals used in ironic expressions to enhance their ironic effect. The research was of a comparative nature as it involved drawing comparisons between two types of discourse, formal and informal, within two distinct and unrelated languages, Macedonian and English.

In view of the present findings, evidently, when it comes to the usage of LS of VI, the similarities in Macedonian and English prevail over the differences primarily in terms of the predominance of LS in informal speech in both language, as well as regarding the presence of different types of LS in the analyzed ironic utterances (adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs used out of their normal context, phrases, colloquialisms, archaisms, neologisms, borrowings, idioms, etc.). Furthermore, the findings suggest that there are more similarities also in terms of the frequency with which LS of VI are used in the ironic utterances. Namely, in both languages, adjectives were the most frequently used signals of irony; nouns, adverbs, verbs and phrases were used with a moderate frequency; whereas exclamations, idioms, neologisms and colloquialisms were the least frequently used signals of ironicalness.

However, one should not lose sight of the differences which surfaced in this research and which can be succinctly summed up as follows. Thus, for instance, in Macedonian formal and informal speech, *nouns* were used with moderate frequency, whereas in English in both formal and informal discourse they were used *very rarely* as LS of VI. Unlike in English, in Macedonian, *borrowings* from other languages were used as LS of VI and they were more frequent in formal than in informal speech. In addition, in Macedonian, *archaic words* were used to signal irony (only in formal speech), while in English no archaic words were used to that aim at all. Another noticeable difference was the usage of *phrasal verbs* as LS of VI in English formal speech, since phrasal verbs as a lexical category are practically non-existent in Macedonian.

Taking all these insights into consideration, it can be safely inferred that, generally speaking, in Macedonian the range of LS of VI is only slightly wider than in English (with the presence of borrowing and archaisms in the Macedonian corpus). However, in English the incidence of the LS of VI is noticeably greater than in Macedonian as English native speakers seem to be more comfortable and resolute when it comes to embellishing their ironic utterances with more lexical signals, thus manifestly aiming to ensure the correct interpretation of the ironic utterances on the part of their interlocutors.

Further research on this issue will undoubtedly yield additional valuable results which will uphold the efforts to shed more light on this extremely intricate linguistic phenomenon known as verbal irony. Raising awareness of all the various aspects of verbal irony, especially the ones related to the signals of VI whose primary task is to “safely” transmit the ironic nature of an utterance from the ironist to the interlocutor, can be especially salient in the context of avoiding cross-cultural misunderstandings. The present study, hopefully, can make a contribution in that respect when Macedonian and English native speakers engage in interaction in which verbal irony is an inextricable part.

**References**

Anolli, L., Ciceri, R., & Infantino, M. G. (2002). Behind Dark Glasses: Irony as a Strategy for Indirect Communication. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 128(1), 76–95.

Attardo, S. (2001). Irony as relevant inappropriateness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 793-826.

Barbe, K. (1995). *Irony in context*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Bryant, G. A., & Fox Tree, E. J. (2002). Recognizing Verbal Irony in Spontaneous Speech. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 17(2), 99–117.

Burgers, C., Mulken, M., & Schellens, J. P. (2013). The use of co-textual irony markers in written discourse. *Humor*, 26(1), 45 – 68.

Clark, H. H., & Gerrig, J. R. (1984). “On the pretense theory of irony”. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 113, 121-126.

Colston, H. (2000). On necessary conditions for verbal irony comprehension. *Pragmatics and Cognition,* 8, 277-324.

Clyne, M. (1974). Einige Uberlegungen zu einer Linguistik der Ironie. ¨*Zeitschrift fur¨Deutsche Philologie,* 93, 343–355.

Cutler, A. (1974). On saying what you mean without meaning what you say. Paper presented at 10th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, 117-127.

Colston, L. H., & O’Brien, J. (2000). Contrast of Kind Versus Contrast of Magnitude: The Pragmatic Accomplishments of Irony and Hyperbole. *Discourse Processes*, 30(2), 179–199.

Haiman J. (1989). *Talk is cheap: Sarcasm, alienation, and the evolution of language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hutcheon, L. (1994*). Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony.* Routledge.

Gibbs, W. R. Jr. (2000). Irony in Talk Among Friends. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 15(1&2), 5-27.

Grice, P. H. (1975). Logic and conversation. New York: Academic Press.

Grice, P. H. (1978). Further notes on logic and conversation. In P. Cole (Eds.), *Pragmatics: Syntax and semantics,* 9, 113–127.

Kreuz, R. (1996). The use of verbal irony: Cues and constraints. *In J. Mio & A. Katz (Eds.), Metaphor: Implications and applications,* 23–38.

Kumon-Nakamura, S., Glucksberg, S., & Brown, M. (1995). How About Another Piece of Pie: The Allusional Pretense Theory of Discourse Irony. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General,* 124 (1), 3-21.

Loffler, H. (1975). On Irony as a Problem for Pragmatic Text Analysis. *Deutsche Sprache,* 2(7), 120-130.

Muecke, D. C. (1978). Irony markers. *Poetics,* 7(4), 363–375.

Neshkovska S. (2014). *Expressing Verbal irony in Formal and Informal Speech in Macedonian and English: A Contrastive Analysis.* A Doctoral Dissertation defended at “Blaze Koneski” Faculty of Philology, “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” University – Skopje, R. Macedonia.

Stanel, T. (2006). Linguistic Approaches to Irony-an Analysis of British Newspaper Comments. *Magisterarbeit, Technische Universitat Chemnitz ¨Philosophische Fakultat¨ Professur Englische Sprachwissenschaft.* https://www.tu chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/linguist/documents/stanel\_lingapproachesirony.pdf.

Partington, A. (2007). Irony and reversal of evaluation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39 (9), 1547–1569.

Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1981). Irony and the use–mention distinction. In Cole, P. (Eds.), *Radical pragmatics*, 295–318.

Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance: communication and cognition*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Utsumi, A. (2000). Verbal irony as implicit display of ironic environment: Distinguishing ironic utterances from nonirony. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(12), 1777–1806.

Willer, B. & Groeben, N. (1980). “Sprachliche Hinweise auf ironische Kooperation: Das Konzept der Ironiesignale unter sprechakttheoretischer Perspektive rekonstruiert”. *Zeitschrift fur germanistische Linguistik*, 8.3, 290–313.

**Appendix**

|  |
| --- |
|  **Macedonian talk shows** |
|  | **TV program and link** | **guests** | **topic** | **min.** |
| 1. | PM Magazin<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_9zhfpFvm8> | Zoran VasilevskiHelena RozaJoce Panov | Hypocrisy | 10.00-25.00 |
| 2. | PM Magazin<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpORhCIxZJw> | Vasko TodorovMia Kostova | Marriage | 05.00-15.00 |
| 3. | PM Magazin<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PzTTuPwG_jg> | Marjana StonojkovskaDimitar AtanasovskiЕlena PetkovskaIgor Milutinovich | What do boys expect from girls and vice versa? | 20.00-30.00 |
| 4. | PM Magazin<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH2X8VpgGJU> | Silvi Muchik- PlevneshNovica VasilevskiSuzana Turundzueva | Marriage | 10.00-25.00 |
| 5. | Eden na Eden<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ekilng8CFXQ> | Naumche MojsovskiFilip Mirkulovski | Private life and career | 04.00-16.00 |
| 6. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwXjR2i6ZDk> | Igor DzambazovTrendo | Private life and career | 00.00-15.00 |
| 7. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ad_f9l4Bvlw> | Karolina Gocheva | Private life and career | 3.00-13.00 |
| 8. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qyKfreUoP0k> | Elena Ristevska | Private life and career | 5.00-15.00 |
| 9. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1jIoOvIejc> | Dragan Vuchik | Private life and career | 13.00-28.00 |
| 10. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stvLYdQ-VT0> | Darko Panchev | Private life and career | 15.00-25.00 |
| 11. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlkOaMWsASk> | Kire Lazarov | Private life and career | 02.00-11.00 |
| 12. | Eden na Eden <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLSJRtTvN5Q> | Kaliopi | Private life and career | 00.00-15.00 |
| total: | 22 guests + 2 hosts |  | 140 min. |

|  |
| --- |
| **English talk shows** |
|  | **TV program and link** | **guests** | **Topics** | **min.** |
| 1. | The Oprah Winfrey Show | Carrie Fisher,Debbie Reynolds | Private life and career | 7.00 |
| 2. | The Oprah Winfrey Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eaelzfAZ488> | Smith Family | Private life and career | 15.00 |
| 3. | The Oprah Winfrey Show | Michelle ObamaBarack Obama | Private life and career | 10.05 |
| 4. | The Oprah Winfrey Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NpARnvAmis><http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrMl_eW9P6w> | Beyoncé | Private life and career | 15.00 |
| 5. | The Oprah Winfrey Show | Jane Fonda | Private life and career | 2.00- 9.00 12.00-23.00 |
| 6. | The Ellen Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tb74HJXcAAs> | Johnny Depp,Michelle FieferCloeh Grace Moretz | Private life and career | 10.30 |
| 7. | The Ellen Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B2nvWvdWrYU> | Jennifer AnistonPortia de Rossi | Private life and career | 10.00 |
| 8. | The Ellen Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCGFeFiUS6s> | Taylor SwiftZac Efron | Private life and career | 11.00 |
| 9. | The Ellen Show | John Stamos | Private life and career | 10.00 |
| 10. | The Ellen Show | Megan Fox | Private life and career | 10.00 |
| 11. | The Ellen Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF_e1QSibMU> | Jennifer Lopez | Private life and career | 11.00 |
| 12. | The Ellen Show<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iha5BoKWQ4I> | Justin Bieber | Private life and career | 6.00 |
| 13. | The Oprah Winfrey Show | Celine Dion | Private life and career | 10.00 |
| total: | 19 guests + 2 hosts |  | 140 min. |

|  |
| --- |
|  **Macedonian political discussions** |
|  | **TV program and link** | **guests** | **topic** | **min.** |
| 1. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3AVbyAKvKw> | Ljubomir Frchkovski | Lustration | 00.00-08.00 |
| 2. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D699lxPjcaY> | Ljubcho Georgievski | The current political situation in the R. Macedonia | 00.00-15.00 |
| 3. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRS9NGYi4vI> | Blaze Ristovski | The name dispute with Greece | 0.00-13.00 |
| 4. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqYe6KDCmow> | Andrej Zernovski | The protests against the demolishing of the church in the Center municipality  | 03.30-16.30 |
| 5. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELLQwRT9H28> | Stojanche Angelov | The Law on the defenders | 5.00-13.00 |
| 6. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dxd0r4-C6M0> | Radmila Sheherinska | The visit of the European Commissionaire, Stefan Fule | 09.00-21.00 |
| 7. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SHeZYUrYMCI> | Blagoja MarkovskiZijadin ZiberiPavle Trajanov | The festivities organized for welcoming Johan Tarchulovski from the Hague | 4.00-19.00 |
| 8. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U09_OCRBSW0> | Petre SarachinRoberto Belichanec Toni Naumovski | The downturn in democracy in R. Macedonia (Freedom House Report) | 4.00-14.00 |
| 9. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uysXAUlbVzc> | Goran TrpenovskiZoran TrajanovskiMarijan Nikolovski | The newly elected president of SDSM, Zoran Zaev | 18.30-32.30 |
| 10. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzH4O7BUBE> | Nikola TodorovMarija HadzilegaBojan JovanovskiNeda Korunovska  | Amendments to the law on abortion | 15.00-30.00 |
| 11. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnlkAGcZW0g> | Gjuner IsmailJove Kekenovski | The Prime Minister’s commentary on Macedonia being completely ignored at the last EU Summit | 00.00-12.00 |
| 12. | 24 Analiza<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbSPmLXMXDw> | Andrej PetrovStevche Jakimovski | The 2013 local elections | 00.00-10.00 (second part) |
| total: | 23 guests +2 hosts |  | 140 min. |

|  |
| --- |
| **English political discussions** |
|  | **TV program and link** | **guests** | **topic** | **min.** |
| 1. | America Live with Megyn Kelly<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fftggggYcOE> | Pete HegsethCol. Martha McSally  | Women in military | 10.26 |
| 2. | America Live with Megyn Kelly<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNEfMcI189Y> | Адвокатот на Kermit Gosnell'  | The Gosnell case | 9.00 |
| 3. | America Live with Megyn Kellѕ<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufacEg6Yi2A> | Erick Erickson Lou Dobbs | The role of women in modern society11.25 |  |
| 4. | America Live with Megyn Kelly<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_u1Qf8elFcg> | Simon RosenbergMark Thiessen | The bombing of the American embassy in Benghazi | 6.37 |
| 5. | America Live with Megyn Kelly<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ceKQMF09rN4> | John BoltonRalph Peters | The Snowden case | 8.00 |
| 7. | America Live with Megyn Kelly<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RpccKc4OZP0> | Faith Jenkins  Jonna Spilbor | The testimony of Rachel Jeantel's in the Zimmerman case | 7.30 |
| 8. | Piers Morgan Tonight<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5GYyHpqW0A> | Ben Ferguson | The rights of the terrorist in Boston | 7.47 |
| 9. | Piers Morgan Tonight<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y40We-O7qAc> | Jesse Ventura | Anti-American violence in the Middle East | 15.00 |
| 10. | Piers Morgan Tonight<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RC4JJWUtzkc> | Larry Pratt | Armament control | 12.27 |
| 11. | Piers Morgan Tonight<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwnJX12wSWQ> | Condoleezza Rice | The 2012 presidential elections in the USA | 10.00 |
| 12. | Piers Morgan Tonight<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06AAAMQEUAQ> | Greg Ball | The terrorist attack in Boston | 5.48 |
| 13. | Piers Morgan Live<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzLXCXrCoZA> | Stacey Campfield | The failure of the armament control campaign in the USA | 5.23 |
| 14. | Piers Morgan Live<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38xuxniyr6Q> | James WoolseyRon Paul | The Snowden case | 14.00 |
| 15. | Piers Morgan Live<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOYhkXrRAdc> | Christine O'Donnell | Same-sex marriages | 3.18 |
| 16. | Piers Morgan Live<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dB0lJzNloyA> |  Sheriff David Clarke | The proposal of the sheriff for mass armament  | 11.12 |
| total: | 22 guests + 2 hosts |  | 140 min. |

1. The process of identifying the ironic utterances and separating them from the non-ironic ones, was conducted by applying the conditions for ironicalness which are elaborated in great detail in the major theories on VI (Cutler, 1974; Grice, 1975, 1978; Sperber & Wilson, 1981, 1986; Clark & Gerrig, 1984; Kumon-Nakamura et al., 1995; Colston, 2000; Anolli et al., 2002; Partington, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)