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## LEXICAL SIGNALS OF VERBAL IRONY<sup>27</sup>

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### 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

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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*”. Utsumi (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<sup>28</sup> 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.

### A) 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

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<sup>28</sup>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).

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.

<b>Lexical signals of VI</b>	<b>MPDD</b>	<b>EPDD</b>	<b>MTS</b>	<b>ETS</b>
adjectives	61	86	71	84
verbs	15	19	22	75
phrasal verbs	/	8		
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:				
English	4	/	11	/
Serbian	12	/	51	/
<b>total:</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>394</b>

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 is 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? Никогаши нема да ја сменам екипата.“ (from MTS)

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

**Guest:** “With 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 *никогаши* (*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 спинираа 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? Што 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: *спинираа* (to spin, i.e. to deceive) from English, *лепотани* (extremely good-looking people) from Serbian, instead of the corresponding Macedonian terms *изманулираа 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 елабораацијава, 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 discussed. 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:** „*Ej* 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 дпмневиците 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)* and in 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 *ноткачуја*, 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 моа 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 *моа (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 друго 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.

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## Appendix

Macedonian talk shows				
	TV program and link	guests	topic	min.
1.	PM Magazin <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_9zhfpFvm8">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_9zhfpFvm8</a>	Zoran Vasilevski Helena Roza Joce Panov	Hypocrisy	10.00-25.00
2.	PM Magazin <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpORhCIxZJw">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpORhCIxZJw</a>	Vasko Todorov Mia Kostova	Marriage	05.00-15.00
3.	PM Magazin <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PzTTuPwG_jg">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PzTTuPwG_jg</a>	Marjana Stonojkovska Dimitar Atanasovski Elena Petkovska Igor Milutinovich	What do boys expect from girls and vice versa?	20.00-30.00
4.	PM Magazin <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH2X8VpgGJU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH2X8VpgGJU</a>	Silvi Muchik-Plevnesh Novica Vasilevski Suzana Turundzueva	Marriage	10.00-25.00
5.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ekilng8CFXQ">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ekilng8CFXQ</a>	Naumche Mojsovski Filip Mirkulovski	Private life and career	04.00-16.00
6.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwXjR2i6ZDk">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwXjR2i6ZDk</a>	Igor Dzambazov Trendo	Private life and career	00.00-15.00
7.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ad_f9l4Bvlw">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ad_f9l4Bvlw</a>	Karolina Gocheva	Private life and career	3.00-13.00
8.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qyKfr eUoP0k">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qyKfr eUoP0k</a>	Elena Ristevska	Private life and career	5.00-15.00
9.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1jIoOvIejc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1jIoOvIejc</a>	Dragan Vuchik	Private life and career	13.00-28.00
10.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stvLYdQ-VT0">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stvLYdQ-VT0</a>	Darko Panchev	Private life and career	15.00-25.00
11.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlkOaMWsASk">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlkOaMWsASk</a>	Kire Lazarov	Private life and career	02.00-11.00
12.	Eden na Eden <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLSJRtTvN5Q">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLSJRtTvN5Q</a>	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 <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eaelzfAZ488">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eaelzfAZ488</a>	Smith Family	Private life and career	15.00
3.	The Oprah Winfrey Show	Michelle	Private life and career	10.0

		Obama Barack Obama		5
4.	The Oprah Winfrey Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NpARnvAmis">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NpARnvAmis</a> <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrMI_eW9P6w">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrMI_eW9P6w</a>	Beyoncé	Private life and career	15.0 0
5.	The Oprah Winfrey Show	Jane Fonda	Private life and career	2.00- 9.00 12.0 0- 23.0 0
6.	The Ellen Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tb74HJXcAAs">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tb74HJXcAAs</a>	Johnny Depp, Michelle Fiefer Cloeh Grace Moretz	Private life and career	10.3 0
7.	The Ellen Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B2nvWvdWrYU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B2nvWvdWrYU</a>	Jennifer Aniston Portia de Rossi	Private life and career	10.0 0
8.	The Ellen Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCGFeFiUS6s">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCGFeFiUS6s</a>	Taylor Swift Zac Efron	Private life and career	11.0 0
9.	The Ellen Show	John Stamos	Private life and career	10.0 0
10.	The Ellen Show	Megan Fox	Private life and career	10.0 0
11.	The Ellen Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF_e1QSibMU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF_e1QSibMU</a>	Jennifer Lopez	Private life and career	11.0 0
12.	The Ellen Show <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iha5BoKWQ4I">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iha5BoKWQ4I</a>	Justin Bieber	Private life and career	6.00
13.	The Oprah Winfrey Show	Celine Dion	Private life and career	10.0 0
total:		19 guests + 2 hosts		140 min.

#### Macedonian political discussions

	TV program and link	guests	topic	min.
1.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3AVbyAKvKw">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3AVbyAKvKw</a>	Ljubomir Frchkovski	Lustration	00.00-08.00
2.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D699lxPjcaY">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D699lxPjcaY</a>	Ljubcho Georgievski	The current political situation in the R. Macedonia	00.00-15.00
3.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRS9NGYi4vI">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRS9NGYi4vI</a>	Blaze Ristovski	The name dispute with Greece	0.00-13.00
4.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqYe6KDCmow">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqYe6KDCmow</a>	Andrej Zernovski	The protests against the demolishing of the church in the Center municipality	03.30-16.30
5.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELLQwRT9H28">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELLQwRT9H28</a>	Stojanche Angelov	The Law on the defenders	5.00-13.00
6.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dxd0r4-C6M0">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dxd0r4-C6M0</a>	Radmila Sheherinska	The visit of the European Commissionaire, Stefan Fule	09.00-21.00
7.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...</a>	Blagoja Markovski Zijadin Ziberi	The festivities organized for welcoming Johan Tarchulovski	4.00-19.00

	<a href="#">ch?v=SHeZYUrYMCI</a>	Pavle Trajanov	from the Hague	
8.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U09_OCRBSW0">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U09_OCRBSW0</a>	Petre Sarachin Roberto Belichanec Toni Naumovski	The downturn in democracy in R. Macedonia (Freedom House Report)	4.00-14.00
9.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uysXAUIbVzc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uysXAUIbVzc</a>	Goran Trpenovski Zoran Trajanovski Marijan Nikolovski	The newly elected president of SDSM, Zoran Zaev	18.30-32.30
10.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzH4O7BUBE">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzH4O7BUBE</a>	Nikola Todorov Marija Hadzilega Bojan Jovanovski Neda Korunovska	Amendments to the law on abortion	15.00-30.00
11.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnlkAGcZW0g">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnlkAGcZW0g</a>	Gjuner Ismail Jove Kekenovski	The Prime Minister's commentary on Macedonia being completely ignored at the last EU Summit	00.00-12.00
12.	24 Analiza <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbSPmLXMXDw">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbSPmLXMXDw</a>	Andrej Petrov Stevche 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 <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fftgggYcOE">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fftgggYcOE</a>	Pete Hegseth Col. Martha McSally	Women in military	10.26
2.	America Live with Megyn Kelly <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNEfMcI189Y">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNEfMcI189Y</a>	Адвокатот на Kermit Gosnell'	The Gosnell case	9.00
3.	America Live with Megyn Kells <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufacEg6Yi2A">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufacEg6Yi2A</a>	Erick Erickson Lou Dobbs	The role of women in modern society 11.25	
4.	America Live with Megyn Kelly <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_u1Qf8elFcg">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_u1Qf8elFcg</a>	Simon Rosenberg Mark Thiessen	The bombing of the American embassy in Benghazi	6.37
5.	America Live with Megyn Kelly <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ceKQMF09rN4">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ceKQMF09rN4</a>	John Bolton Ralph Peters	The Snowden case	8.00
7.	America Live with Megyn Kelly <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RpcCkC4OZP0">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RpcCkC4OZP0</a>	Faith Jenkins Jonna Spilbor	The testimony of Rachel Jeantel's in the Zimmerman case	7.30
8.	Piers Morgan Tonight <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5GYyHpgW0A">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5GYyHpgW0A</a>	Ben Ferguson	The rights of the terrorist in Boston	7.47
9.	Piers Morgan Tonight <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y40We-O7qAc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y40We-O7qAc</a>	Jesse Ventura	Anti-American violence in the Middle East	15.00
10.	Piers Morgan Tonight <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RC4JJWUtzkc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RC4JJWUtzkc</a>	Larry Pratt	Armament control	12.27
11.	Piers Morgan Tonight <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwnJX12wSWQ">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwnJX12wSWQ</a>	Condoleezza Rice	The 2012 presidential elections in the USA	10.00
12.	Piers Morgan Tonight	Greg Ball	The terrorist attack in	5.48

	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06AAAMQEUAQ">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06AAAMQEUAQ</a>		Boston	
13.	Piers Morgan Live <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzLXCXrCoZA">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzLXCXrCoZA</a>	Stacey Campfield	The failure of the armament control campaign in the USA	5.23
14.	Piers Morgan Live <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38xuxniyr6Q">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38xuxniyr6Q</a>	James Woolsey Ron Paul	The Snowden case	14.00
15.	Piers Morgan Live <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOYhkXrRAdc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOYhkXrRAdc</a>	Christine O'Donnell	Same-sex marriages	3.18
16.	Piers Morgan Live <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dB0IJzNloyA">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dB0IJzNloyA</a>	Sheriff David Clarke	The proposal of the sheriff for mass armament	11.12
total:		22 guests + 2 hosts		140 min.