



Discourse variation analysis of the Hungarian interjections/discourse markers *no~na* 'now, so, well' and their combinations with other markers and insubordinate clauses

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Interjection (INT) as discourse marker (DM)?

- ▶ the use of interjections as discourse markers (DMs): **well researched area** in many languages (e.g. Schiffrin 1987, Montes 1999, Norrick 2009, Roggia 2012)
- ▶ the number of **diachronic case studies** is smaller (e.g. Onodera 2004), exp. true for **interjections as DMs in Hungarian**
- ▶ Main aim: to clarify the **functional and formal variations** of na~no from the beginning until now
- ▶ **change of category? INT > DMs**

Onodera (2004), Crible (2018), Schiffrin (1987): INTs can work as DMs

INTs: no semantic/referential meaning, no contribution to grammatical system, only expressive (Onodera 2004: 123)

1. Express the speaker's inner sentiments, exclamation
2. **Express the speaker's communicative attention to draw sy's attention or responding to sy. (e. g. Japanese ne, na, Onodera 2004: 124)**

TESz. [Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language, 1967]

Dictionary entry: no

1430k. SchlGl. 2235: e᷑ja nomar

[gloss]: no már 'come on'

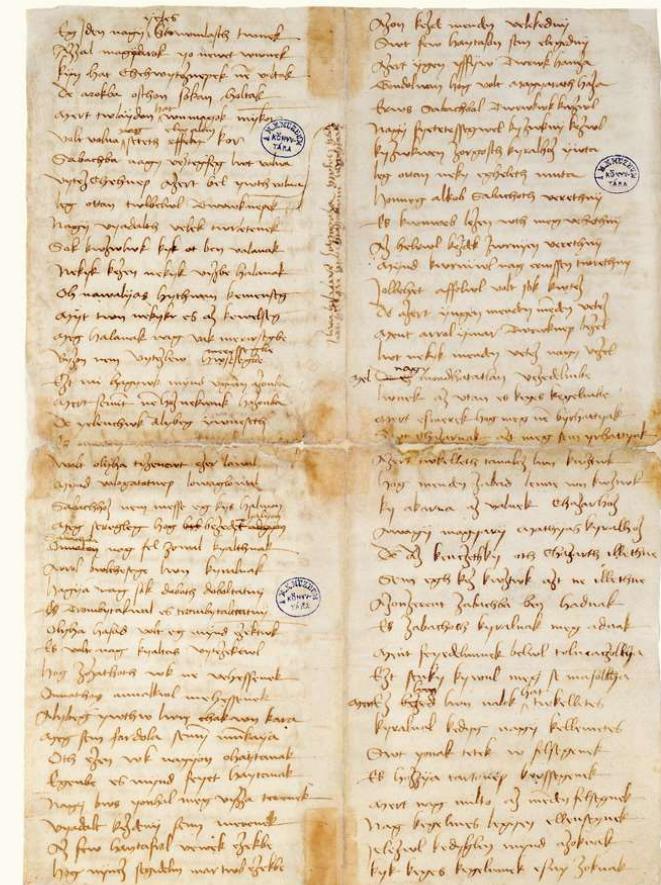
1476k. SzabV. Nwazert

[narrative poem]:

nu(~no) azért ostromoltak kíméletlenül
'well they besieged mercilessly'

no > na

nu~no~noh





Dictionaries: main differences between no and na

Czuczor & Fogarasi (1861): A magyar nyelv szótára [Dictionary of Hungarian Language]

- ▶ na is a **regional dialectal variant** of no

Pusztai (2003): A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára [Descriptive Dictionary of Hungarian Language]

- ▶ **Intonational:** na „**often** merges into the next sentence” (cf. usage of comma in written Hungarian (no doesn't?))
- ▶ **Functional:** both have the same functions, except: **na**
 - ▶ also has deictic (gestural&symbolic) usage: introducing close person, object:
Na, hát itt van a kaszárnya. 'Well/Now, here is the baracks'
 - ▶ can **introduce a new train of thought or summary** (e.g. namármost 'well then')

Main (overlapping) functions of no and na

Dictionaries **mix the functions of INTs and DMs.**

Pusztai (2003): only na is „folksy”

1. Expression of will, request (with or without urge): **Na**, gyerünk! 'Now, let's go!' **No** igyál! 'Well, drink!'
2. Related to a question as an urge, or to urge the answer: **Na**, mi lesz már? 'Oh, come on!'; **No**, gyere hát! 'Come on!'
3. **As expressive** and coloring **words of emotional sentences** (sedation, encouragement, praise, threat, frustration, worry, amazement, doubt, etc.): **Na**, mi jól megjártuk. 'Oh, we came off very badly.'; **No** persze! 'Of course!'
4. As an evocative word for the neutral (more) **bridging details of a continuous narrative**: **Na** de aztán egyszer csak... 'But then suddenly...'; **No**, ahogy mennek... 'Well, as they go...'
5. When saying goodbye, after the end of the conversation, to **introduce the farewell formula**: **Na**, szervusz. **No**, Isten veled. 'Well, good bye!'
6. (Folksy) As a response to an address: Na! Na. No. a) 'I hear you'; b) 'say what you want'.

Main (overlapping) functions of no and na

Pusztai (2003): combinations, collocations: **he lists DM-functions!**

- (Folksy) **Na meg** 'and of course': **to introduce a part connected to the sentence as an addition:** Az ó passiója az alchimia volt, **na meg** ... az udvar szobacicusai. 'His passion was alchemy, and... the yard cats'
- **Na mármost** 'Well, now': introductory formula for a new thought of line or as introduction to a summary: **Na mármost** képzeljük el, hogy... 'Now imagine that...'
- **No meg** 'and of course': after detailing, to introduce the addition of the missing detail, often in the sense that it is less important: Vettetem húst, káposztát, tejfölt, **no meg** kaprot. 'I bought meat, cabbage, sour cream, and dill.'
- **No és?** 'So what?' – introducing a mock question

'Oh, no (come on)!!
You are my father?'





Erdős Virág: Na most akkor 'Now then'

'now then/right then

tell me you wiseguys
what to do
who shouldn't be among us
nowadays
and who should be'

Call attention+topic-starting

spoken language
na persze 'oh sure'

Source: <https://cultura.hu/kultura/vers-a-hetre-erdos-virag-na-most-akkor/>

<https://litera.hu/irodalom/elszo-kozles/az-ev-verse-erdos-virag-na-most-akkor.html>

Erdős Virág: Na most akkor...

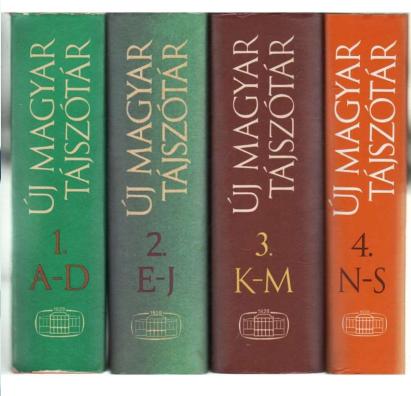
..mondjátok meg nagyokosok, mi legyen, ki ne legyen miközüünk maholnap és ki legyen, ki legeljen penneágyon rozmarinos mellfilét, ki pecázza kukából a halolajos kiflijét, kinek legyen friss levegőn tartózkodni ideje, kinek teljen karcinogén cuccokkal a tüdeje, ki rágja a Cafe Picard mascarponés pitéjét, ki mossa a Szentiványi nagyságosék bidéjét, kinek kelljen éjjel-nappal folyton-folyvást igyekezni, kit lehessen kapásból és szemtől szembe letegezni, ki ne jusson ötről hatra, kinek fussa futópadra, Pulára meg Balira, kit vegyenek palira, kinek legyen hobbija a népi magyar hagyomány, kinek jusson másfél bála angolpólya-adomány, kinek bocskor, rámás csizma, cifra mente, kacagány, kinek jusson, mér' is jutna, szar se jusson, ha cigány, na most akkor mondjátok meg nagyokosok, mi legyen, ki ne legyen miközüünk maholnap és ki legyen, ki rakja ki carrarai márvánnyal a klótyóját, kinek pakoltassák ki a pénztárnál a motyóját, ki zúzzon ki Rómába, hogy láthassa a piétát, ki nyomassa ezerrel a déligyümölcs-diétát, ki merengjen el egy régi, feudális szokáson, kit érjenek állítólag kisebb bolti lopáson, kinek legyen ad absurdum reklamálni mersze, ki merjen a jogaiért kiállni, na persze, kinek legyen dilije a kuszkusz meg a falafel, ki próbálja nem feladni, végül mégis adja fel, na most akkor mondjátok meg nagyokosok, mi legyen, ki ne legyen miközüünk maholnap és ki legyen, ki költözzön proli szagtól fuldokolva Budára, ki költse egy komplett pesti panel árát dudára, ki ápolja klinikán az egészséges körmét, ki

ÚMTSz. [New Dictionary of Hungarian Regional Variants, 1950–2010]

No: northeastern dialectal region (Órhalom, Debrecen, Tiszacsege, etc.) – source of Standard Hungarian Language

Na: in different regions (Mezőség, Közép-Dunántúl, Tisza-Körös vidéke, Dél-Alföld)

1. **Na akkor~nakkó!** 'well then' [DM-function: starting a new sequence/topic+call attention]
2. Expression of will and different emotions (surprise, approval): Na! Na-na!
3. Animal herding and calling expression: Na! Na, na! Na-ne! Na, gyí! (starting and driving horse, cattle)

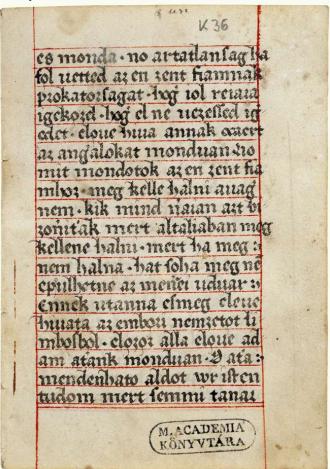


Corpora, method

- ▶ ÓMK = Ómagyar Korpusz [Old Hungarian Concordance]. 1192–1526. Genres. Size: 3.2 million word tokens. <http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/en-search.html>
- ▶ TMK = Történeti Magánéleti Korpusz [Historical Corpus of Personal Life,]. End of the 15th c.–1772. Genres: witness testimonies of witch trials and private letters. Size: 1 million word tokens. <http://tmk.nytud.hu/3/> (Dömötör et al. 2017)
- ▶ MTSz = Magyar Történeti Korpusz [Hungarian Historical Corpus]. 1772–2010. Genres/registers: fiction and press language, legal, professional, personal texts, Size: 30 million word tokens. http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz/run.cgi/first_form
- ▶ BEA = Magyar Spontán Beszéd Adatbázis [Hungarian Database of Spontaneous Speech]. Subcorpora of 30 conversations with 3 speakers (Budapest). Size: ~8 hours long. <http://www.nytud.hu/adatb/bea/index.html> [gender, age]
- ▶ MNSz2 = Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár 2. változat [Hungarian National Corpus 2.0.5]. Size: 1.04 billion tokens. <http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/> [subcorpora by regions (Hungary, Slovakia, Subcarpathia, Transylvania, Vojvodina), by registers (spoken press language –news&reports, written press language, fiction, academic, political, private) (Oravecz et al. 2014, <http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/stat.html>)

Method: Discourse variation analysis (Pichler 2010, 2013)

Old and Middle Hungarian Period (ÓMK & TMK: 12–18. cent)



No: data from the 15th century

► ÓMK: 39 valid hits (mostly in **no azért** 'well, ...though' combination), first data:

(1) Piry Hártya (end of the 15th c.) - 1 - 1/82798: es monda. **no artatlanlag** ha fol uetted az en zent fiamnak prokatorstagat... 'and he said. **well, innocence** if you took up my son's defense'

► 351 valid hits in TMK: frequent in witchcraft trial texts: as threats (**no várrá** 'just wait')

(2) **no te kutyá var reá**, mert eszt megh emlegeted, verrel fogsz ezért okadni

'well, you dog, **wait**, you'll regret this, you'll womit blood for it' (Bosz. 306, 1726)

No + name/swearing + threat

Position: only on the left periphery, first position

Na: data from the end of the 17th c., no valid hit in ÓMK, only 5 valid hits in TMK (**Heves, Zala, Zemplén, Komárom, Bihar county**): predicates in indicative, no combinations/collocations

(3) halotta az biro hazanal hogi **na ianos nezol** mondota heuesi andrasnenak hogi te celeketed enne... az niavaliat miuel hogi köztekben nem altam.

'He heard at the judge's house that, **now, János**, you look, she said to András Hevesi, that your actions would eat... the illness, since I was not among you' (Bosz. 163. Komárom county, Ekecs, 1631)

Position: left p.

New Hungarian Period (MTSz, 18–20. cent.): no

6933 hits, frequent in letters, autobiographies, fiction

Typical position: left periphery, first element

But: on the right periphery after **imperatives**: very rare

(4) *Erzsike.: Julcsa te! – megállj no!* 'Liz: Julcsa, you! – just stop!' (MTSz, Szigligeti Ede: A lélenc, 1863: 37)

Typical collocations (based on logDice):

1847: no **Iám** 'well, well' (9.057) – pers.

1777: no **hát** 'well then' (8.209) – pers., press, fiction

1847: no **persze** 'sure' (7.449) – fiction, terminology

(5) AKARÓ. **No hát** jere édes úti-társ és ballagiunk ekképpen ketten együtt '

Well, come, my dear fellow-traveller, and let's go together like this' (Szigligeti Gyula Sámuel – Tordai Sámuel: Keresztyén utazás a boldog örökké-valóságra, 1777: 7)

New Hungarian Period (MTSz, 18–20. cent.): na

4241 hits, its use increases from the 1910s (mostly in fiction, in dialogs)

Typical collocations (logDice): most of them are DMs:

na+hát (logDice: 6.558): from 1793, total 62 hits, % from the 20th century

(6) VILHELM.: **Na hát** tsak rajta; folytaffad te szomoru, bé zárt fülemile! énekléledet.

'Well then, go on with your sad singing, caged nightingale' (MTSz, Boér Sándor: Ki légyen o? 1793.2: 170)

Na hát > nahát (frequent from the 20th c.)

(7) – Ugy-e kincsem, azt akarja mondani, hogy magának nincs? – Ejnye beh eltalálta;.. bizony ördöge van. – **Nahát** van nekem. 'Are you saying, my treasure, you don't have any? – How could you figure it out, you're right. – **Well**, I have it.' (Bernát Gáspár: Kávé cuvpájz, 1857: 40)

From 1865: na+jó 'well, okay'

From the end of the 19th century: na+ja 'well, yeah', na+persze 'of course, sure'

from the 20th century: na+látod 'now you see'; na ugye 'oh right'

Today's Hungarian: MNSz2: variation across genres/registers: **no**

Genre/register	Absolute frequency of <i>no</i> (hits)	Relative frequency of <i>no</i>	Size of subcorpus (million tokens)	Occurence of <i>no</i> (per token)
Written press (journalism)	7263	12.96%	364.8	0.0000199095
(Transcribed) spoken press	644	1.15%	76.2	0.0000084514
Private (internet forums)	8297	14.80%	57.9	0.0001432988
Private (social media) but: duplicates!	28907	51.56%	243.2	0.000118861
(Popular) science	5311	9.47%	117.9	0.0000450466
Political/Official	1649	2.94%	99.0	0.0000166566
Fiction/Literature	3990	7.12%	80.6	0.0000495037
Total	56061	100,00%	1039.7	0.0000539204

Today's Hungarian: MNSz2: variation across genres/registers: *na*

Genre/register	Absolute frequency of <i>na</i> (hits)	Relative frequency of <i>na</i>	Size of subcorpus (million tokens)	Occurence of <i>na</i> (per tokens)
Written press (journalism)	5358	7.05%	364.8	0.0000146875
(Transcribed) spoken press	5793	7.63%	76.2	0.0000760236
Private (internet discussion forums)	13482	17.76%	57.9	0.0002328497
Private (social media) – but: duplicates!	40725	53.65%	243.2	0.0001674548
(Popular) science	3228	4.25%	117.9	0.0000273791
Political/Official	2950	3.89%	99.0	0.000029798
Fiction/Literature	4373	5.77%	80.6	0.0000542556
Total	75909	100,00%	1039.7	0.0000730105



Today's Hungarian: MNSz2: variation across regions: no

Region	Absolute frequency of no (hits)	Relative frequency of no	Size of subcorpus (million tokens)	Occurence of no (per token)
Hungary	53945	96.25%	1013.9	0.0000532054
Slovakia	1005	1.79%	17.3	0.0000580925
Subcarpathia	265	0.47%	2.5	0.000106
Transylvania	585	1.05%	3.9	<u>0.00015</u>
Vojvodina	261	0.46%	2.0	0.0001305
Total	56061	100,00%	1039.7	



Today's Hungarian: MNSz2: variation across regions: *na*

Region	Absolute frequency of <i>na</i> (hits)	Relative frequency of <i>na</i>	Size of subcorpus (million tokens)	Occurence of <i>na</i> (per token)
Hungary	73131	96.35%	1013.9	0.0000721284
Slovakia	1415	1.86%	17.3	0.0000817919
Subcarpathia	555	0.73%	2.5	<u>0.000222</u>
Transylvania	599	0.79%	3.9	0.0001535897
Vojvodina	209	0.27%	2.0	0.0001045
Total	75909	100,00%	1039.7	

Regions x registers

Outstanding regions outside Hungary: **Subcarpathia, Vojvodina, Transylvania**

Na and no is also frequent, but in what registers?

Subcarpathia:

- ▶ no: **pers.forum (75,08%)**, written press (13,16%)
- ▶ na: **pers.forum (93,89%)**

Vojvodina:

- ▶ no: **written press (daily/weekly newspaper) (61,88%)**, science (27,15%)
- ▶ na: **written press (61,20%)**, pers.forum (19,34%)

Transylvania:

- ▶ no: **pers.forum (58,47%)**, science (21,28%, but: most of them are not valid hits), fiction (11,05%)
- ▶ na: **pers.forum (90,24%)**

Insubordinate clauses starting with no~na + HOGY 'that' in MNSz2

„When a clause follows an interjection, such a clause conveys the verbal version of the speaker's sentiment expressed by the interjection.” (Onodera 2004: 53, cf. Gallasy 1991, 1992)

Insubordinate clauses often carry emotional emphasis, express negative emotions – no, na fits into this because of their emotional charge (as do swear words)

- **No + hogy: 8 valid hits** (all from Hungary, **personal subcorpus**), 3 types (evaluation, deontic, elaborative insubordination, D'Hertefelt 2018)

(8) **No hogy mik vannak!** 'You don't say!' (lit. well that what [kind of things] are) (MNSz2, #958829717, doc#2668, Hungary, pers.soc)

(9) 2: ismeretségi spektrum: **no hogy ez honnan jutott eszembe:** Ütem a trolin és hallgattam a sulis gyerkőcököt amint az öket érdeklő eseményeket analizálták ... '2: acquaintance spectrum: **how did I come up with this:** I sat on the trolley and listened to the school children analyzing the events that interested them'(MNSz2, #93366988, doc#989, Hungary, pers.forum)



Insubordinate clauses starting with no~na + HOGY 'that' in MNSz2)

- **Na + hogy: 40 valid hits** (all from Hungary, 1 from Subcarpathia, personal subcorpus, except 6 hits: 2 from lit, 1 from written press, 3 from spoken press language, 70% **elaborative**, 25% deontic/curses):

(10) 2013-11-23 Szénási Szabina **na hogy venné el azokat az embereket akik velem vanak elfoglalva'** 2013-11-23 Szabina Szenási, that you could take away those people who are busy with me' (MNSz2, #1187282345, doc#2889, Hungary, pers.soc)

(11) 10/14/99 16:25:20 **Na hogy legyen egy temaba vago hozzaszolas is...** 'To add something to the topic...' (MNSz2, #120376680, doc#1013, Hungary, pers.forum)

Collocations in MNSz2 (logDice)

collocations with <i>na</i>	meaning	Typical genre, region	collocations with <i>no</i>	meaning	typical genre, region
<i>na ja</i> (8.013)	'well, yeah'	pers Hungary	<i>no lám</i> (6.955)	'well, well'	pers.forum, lit Hungary, <u>Vojvodina</u>
<i>na mindegy</i> (8.006)	'whatever'	Hungary Pers	<i>no persze</i> (5.507)	'sure'	pers.forum, Hungary, <u>Vojvodina</u>
<i>na jo</i> (6.902)	'well, okay'	Hungary pers.forum	<i>no hiába</i> (4.271)	'well, for nothing'	pers.forum
<i>na jó</i> (6.558)	'okay, all right'	Hungary, pers			
<i>na tessék</i> (6.502)	'here we go/there you go'	Hungary, pers	<i>no jo</i> (3.964)	'oh well'	pers.forum
<i>na most</i> (6.326)	'well, now/then'	Hungary, <u>spoken press</u>	<i>no hát</i> (2.765)	'well then'	<u>spoken press</u> , pers.forum
<i>na hát</i> (6.248)	'well (then)'	Hungary, <u>Subcarpathia</u> , <u>spoken press</u> , pers.soc	<i>no ja</i> (2.325)	'well yeah'	pers
			<i>no most</i> (1.866)	'well, now'	pers.forum, lit

BEA: spontaneous conversations, only speakers from Budapest

30 conversations with 3 participants (everyday topics), 7'44" = 37129 words

- ▶ A (main speaker, 15 women & 15 men, 20–71 ys, 3 age groups: 20–35 ys /youngsters/, 36 – 50 ys /middle-aged/, 51–71 ys /older speakers/ - in each groups: half are male, half female)
- ▶ T1 (experiment leader, mostly the same woman, 29 ys)
- ▶ T2 (conversational partner, 2 men, 2 women in their 20s)

No occurrence of no!!!

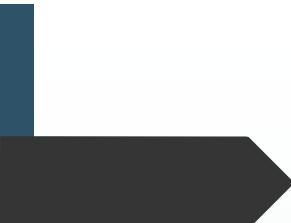
Na: 166 total hits

A: 73 hits, 38,35% (men) vs. 61,65% (women)

Ratio per word number (nr of hits / nr of words)

There was no significant gender (Mann-Whitney test: $p>0.05$, $U = 94000$) and **age difference** (ANOVA: $p>0.05$, $F= 2.077$, $df=2$)

MEN					WOMEN				
speaker	agegroup	nr of words	NA	NA/nr of words	speaker	agegroup	nr of words	NA	NA/nr of words
bea032	<= 35	1303	1	0.000767	bea037	<= 35	1171	0	0
bea031	<= 35	1729	5	0.002891	bea010	<= 35	1435	2	0.001393
bea040	<= 35	921	1	0.001085	bea017	<= 35	575	0	0
bea018	<= 35	1319	0	0	bea044	<= 35	1266	1	0.000789
bea029	<= 35	429	0	0	bea019	<= 35	2318	11	0.004745
bea039	<= 35	1603	5	0.003119	bea062	<= 35	1847	2	0.001082
bea002	<= 35	1374	0	0	bea003	36 - 50	732	3	0.004098
bea013	36 - 50	2438	10	0.004027	bea035	36 - 50	1550	3	0.001935
bea012	36 - 50	854	2	0.002341	bea041	36 - 50	613	1	0.001631
bea026	36 - 50	420	2	0.004761	bea020	51+	1500	4	0.002666
bea025	51+	350	0	0	bea046	51+	1941	0	0
bea021	51+	1580	0	0	bea015	51+	2003	3	0.001498
bea038	51+	533	1	0.001876	bea011	51+	1484	5	0.003369
bea014	51+	1050	1	0.009523	bea009	51+	730	3	0.004109
bea070	51+	1251	0	0	bea023	51+	810	6	0.007407
		mean		0,00206	<		mean		0002315



BEA: spontaneous conversations

Single *na*: only 15 hits!

Na likes to combine (79.45%)

- ▶ ***Na most (hát/akkor)*:** 12 hits
- ▶ *Na jó (de/hát/mondjuk/szóval)*: 8 hits
- ▶ *Na hát (akkor/aztán)*: 8 hits

BEA: examples of DM-combinations

(12) back to main topic + highlighting

A: én speciel minden vagyok csak egy olyan futó alkat nem **na most** anyukám
meg főleg nem

'I'm anything but a running figure, **well**, my mom especially not' (bea019, female, 32)

(13) reformulation

A: mer én szoktam mondani

'because I used to say'

T1: ühüm

'uhm'

A: hogy jó hát fél óra alatt

'it's okay in half an hour'

T1: ühüm

'uhm'

A: elolvassod **na jó** egy óra (bea062, female, 35)

'you can read it, **okay**, in an hour'



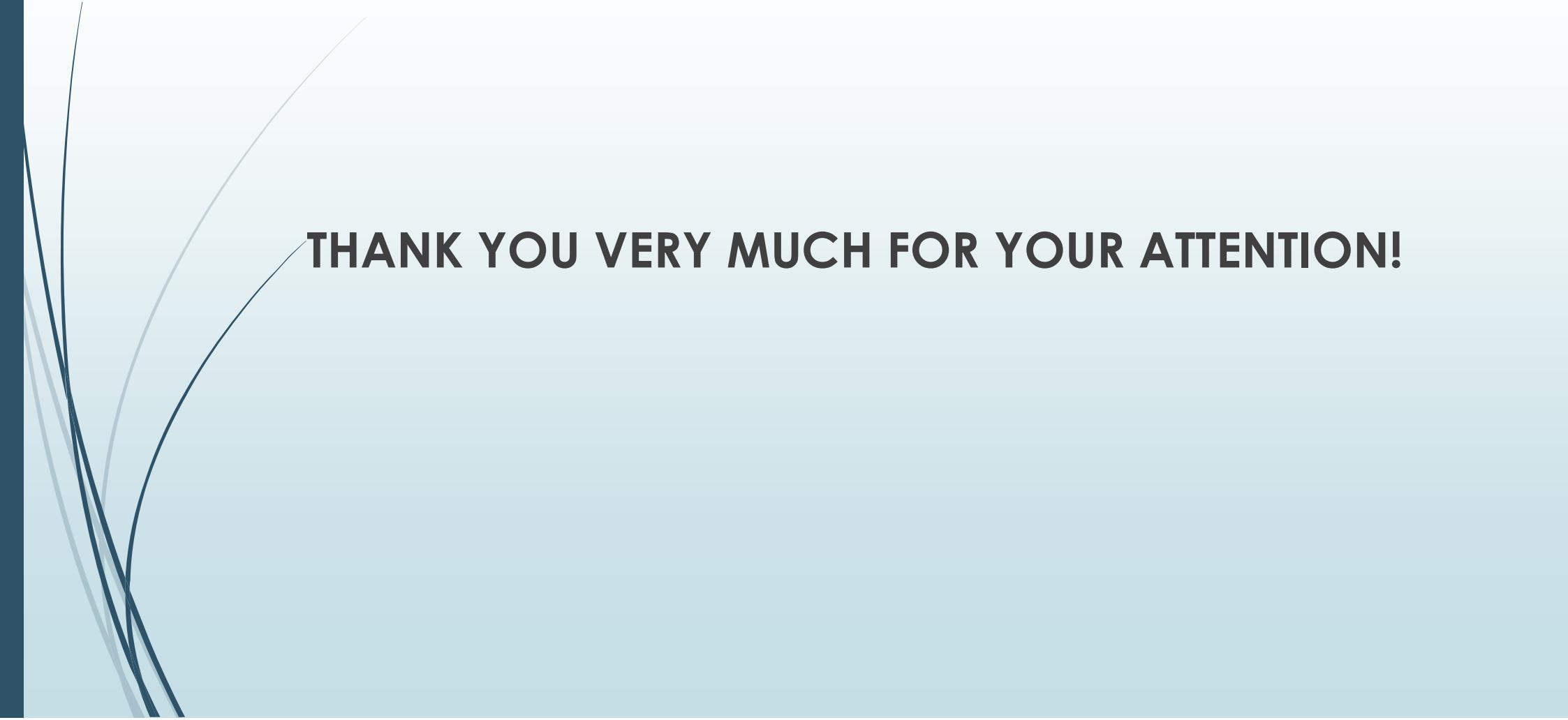
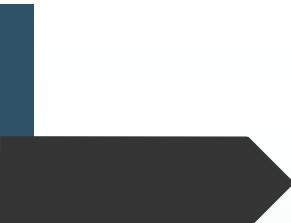
Conclusions

- ▶ Na appeared a 100 years later than no as a dialectal variant of it
- ▶ Na is clearly not a regional variant anymore, it's more frequent than no in many genres
- ▶ Both form is very common in Transylvania, Vojvodina and Subcarpathia, esp. in press language and internet forum texts
- ▶ No was missing from **spontaneous conversations** (speakers of Budapest) and was very rare in **spoken press language** (journalism, MNSz2) → **written press language, written spoken (internet) language**
- ▶ Na collocates more, is more pragmatalized than no
- ▶ Both have DM-functions, they can collocate or build a complex construction (e.g. nahát, nohiszen) with DMs
- ▶ Na and no prefer different collocate words, speakers typically use one construction over another (na jó, na most, na hát, na de, but: no lám)
- ▶ Na showed no gender or age differences in conversations (speakers of Budapest)
- ▶ INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS: **sequential** (speech-segmenting: opening boundary, topic-management) & **interpersonal** (/dis/agreeing) **functions** (cf. Crible 2018: English, French)

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MNSz2 (v 2.0.5) – sizes of subcorpora (million words)

	Hungary	Slovakia	Subcarpathia	Transylvania	Vojvodina	total
Written press	350.5	11.6	0.7	0.6	1.5	364.8
Fiction	77.0	2.3	0.4	0.8	0.2	80.6
Science	112.0	3.3	0.7	1.6	0.3	117.9
Official/ Political	98.0	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.1>	99.0
Personal	300.3	–	0.4	0.4	0.1>	301.1
Spoken press	76.2	–	–	–	–	76.2
Total	1013.9	17.3	2.5	3.9	2.0	1039.7

Crible (2018: 47)

Table 3.2 Present taxonomy of DM functions

Ideational	Rhetorical	Sequential	Interpersonal
cause	motivation	punctuation	monitoring
consequence	conclusion	opening boundary	face-saving
concession	opposition	closing boundary	disagreeing
contrast	specification	topic-resuming	agreeing
alternative	reformulation	topic-shifting	elliptical
condition	relevance	quoting	
temporal	emphasis	addition	
exception	comment	enumeration	
	approximation		