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A contrastive study of English and Hungarian discourse markers in mediatised interviews and natural conversations*

Abstract

In the present case study we will take a discourse-pragmatic as well as contrastive approach to some of the most frequently used discourse markers in spoken interaction: English *I mean, of course, oh, well, I think* and *you know*, and Hungarian *hát (~'well'), mondjuk (~'let's say'), ugye (~'is that so?')* and *amúgy (~'otherwise', ~'by the way')*. We will examine their use in three corpora: (1) a corpus of political interviews broadcast by the BBC and CNN between 2003 and 2011, (2) a corpus of different types of media discourse (including political interviews and panel discussions) broadcast between 2009 and 2012 by the Hungarian TV channels Duna TV, ATV, Hír TV, MTV and TV2, and (3) the HuComTech corpus, an annotated collection of informal Hungarian dialogues. The major question we would like to answer is whether or not the uses of the selected discourse markers differ across the various discourse types/genres (natural conversations, different types of political interviews and panel discussions). After a short introduction to the characteristics of the political interview as institutional, political and media discourse, we will briefly outline the state of research into the functional class of non-conceptual items that we refer to as discourse

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markers (henceforth DMs). We will argue that DM research can contribute a great deal to the study of media discourse, since several DMs are used strategically (at times manipulatively) in political interviews, thus, our secondary aim is to uncover the underlying strategies behind such DM uses in the empirical sections of the study.

Keywords: discourse markers, pragmatic markers, media discourse, political discourse, genre analysis

1   Introduction – the political interview as a genre

A mediated political interview can be defined as a dyadic encounter between an interviewer (henceforth IR) and an interviewee (henceforth IE), directed at a public audience (Fetzer 2008). The nature of the political interview is best understood in terms of its formal-functional characteristics as institutional talk, (cf. Heritage & Greatbatch 1991) political discourse and mediated as well as mediatised discourse. The participants' roles, functions and underlying motivations are determined by the institutional setting in which political interviews are produced. As a result, the IR's role is to represent a media organization (in our corpora, the BBC, CNN and Duna TV, ATV, etc.) in accordance with the specific guidelines set forth (such as guidelines for impartiality, accuracy, integrity, etc.), whereas the IE represents a political organization (political party, government, civil society, etc.) with a clear purpose to spread and propagate the organization's concepts, views, activities and slogans. Regarding the mediatisation of political interviews, it is commonly observed that in political interviews there are two different frames of interaction that occur simultaneously: a first-frame interaction between the IR(s) and the IE(s), as well as a second-frame interaction between the first-frame participants and the audience, either present in the studio or in front of their television sets (cf. Fetzer 2000). Thus, the political interview can be best described as a dialogue-within-dialogue scenario (cf. Fetzer 2008). Ideally, the IR voices the whole spectrum of public opinion, or at least, that of the target audience of the TV channel, while the IEs' aim is to gain favour with the audience, influence their views, beliefs, decisions, actions, etc. in a way that is beneficial to the organization represented.

From a structural-organizational perspective, political interviews can be described as dyadic with a very specific turn-taking mechanism and set of constraints: there is an asymmetrical relationship between the IR and the IE in that the former invariably produces the

first-pair part of adjacency pairs[1] (usually a question prefaced or followed by a comment), selects the IE as the next speaker, who produces the second-pair part (a response / reaction to the IR's preceding question or comment), while the two roles are almost never reversed. Due to the genre-specific norms of interviews as well as a set of expectations on the part of the audience, the content of the IE's turns always have to, at least, appear relevant to the IR's first-pair part. If, however, the IE's second-pair part is dispreferred (e.g. it expresses disagreement) or appears irrelevant, it is duly noted by the IR, a feature that is clearly different from the mechanisms of other genres such as naturally-occurring conversations. Moreover, the avoidance of direct/straight answers – usually introduced/marked by DMs, such as *well* – is also typical of political interviews. While political interviews are expected to proceed in a series of Q-A pairs, informal conversations are more likely to proceed in a less predictable manner and are intertwined with lengthy elaborations, narratives and side sequences as the speakers jump from one topic to another in a sometimes unmotivated way. Due to the different scenarios followed in these different discourse types, the functional spectra of DMs are also likely to differ in the discourse genres under scrutiny (natural conversation, political interview, panel discussion). Typical participants of everyday, casual conversations usually aim at gaining favour with their interlocutors. In other words, their goal is to save their own and their partner's face, i.e. to avoid or reduce the force of face-threatening acts. In contrast, most types of political interviews typically include face-threatening acts such as impolite, direct questions.

The above features of political interviews result in a set of pragma-linguistic realizations that are specific to this genre, the use of DMs being one of them. Before we discuss the genre-specific use of DMs in mediatised discourses, however, let us briefly sum up the features of this class of linguistic items.

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[1] We use the terms adjacency pair, first- and second-pair part as in Schegloff (1972).

2   The study of discourse markers and their significance in genre analysis

Discourse markers (DMs)[2] are generally seen as a subclass of pragmatic markers (Fraser 1996, 2009) and can be defined as sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk (Schiffrin 1987), or metalinguistic items that provide information about the segmentation and operation of a discourse (Fraser 1999: 931). In other words, they signal the functional organization of discourse, the kinds of relations a speaker perceives between different parts of the discourse. Fraser (1999) suggests that such metalinguistic items link two sentences or clauses together. Redeker (1991, 2006) proposes that DMs connect not only adjacent clauses and sentences, but utterances and their contexts as well. Moreover, coherence relations expressed by DMs can even hold between utterances or topical units further apart from each other. Accordingly, Lenk (1998) distinguishes between local DMs (marking utterance-level relations) and global DMs (marking topic relations). Global discourse markers (GDMs) may establish connections between different types of topic: they may refer back to a prior topic (retrospective GDM) or they might signal to the hearer that the speaker wants to insert something and they indicate what kind of contribution is likely to follow (prospective GDM). Following yet another terminology, Redeker (2006) talks about coherence-oriented marker uses, referred to as discourse operators, the definition of which is similar to discourse connectives in Relevance Theory (Blakemore 1992). Over the past few decades DMs have been researched from a variety of perspectives and theoretical frameworks such as Relevance Theory, Rhetorical Structure Theory, Construction Grammar, coherence-based studies, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Conversation Analysis, Speech Act Theory, Grammaticalization theories, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Computational Pragmatics, etc. To highlight only one of the most significant of these approaches, Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995) draws attention to the role of DMs in facilitating the hearer's task of decoding the message. In this respect, DMs contribute to "relevance understanding by reducing the processing effort needed by the hearer to reach the in-

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[2]   Discourse markers have been called by a host of different names such as discourse connective, discourse operator, discourse particle, cue phrase, pragmatic marker, pragmatic force modifier, pragmatic expression depending on the approach taken to the linguistic items under discussion.

tended interpretation" (Aijmer & Simon-Vanderbergen 2009: 16). In the framework of hearer-oriented models (focusing on interpretation), the role of markers is to provide instructions to the hearer on how to integrate the DMs' host utterances into a developing mental model of an optimally coherent discourse. From a cognitive perspective, DMs play an important role with regard to the processes of pragmatic inferences, in other words, in guiding hearers in their efforts to find out what is not explicitly stated but is implied by a given utterance. Because of DMs' potential to restrain the number of possible interpretations, a piece of discourse without discourse markers is often more ambiguous than intended. In Schiffrin's view of multilayered interaction, DMs create contextual coordinates that indicate for the hearer how an utterance is to be interpreted (1987). On the other hand, in the framework of speaker-oriented models of communication, DMs – which Östman calls pragmatic particles – implicitly convey the speaker's attitudes and emotions (Östman 1995). Similarly, in Schourup's view, these items are involved with a disclosure of covert thinking (1985).

Due to DMs' extreme multifunctionality and context-dependence, their study is especially relevant to genre-based analyses. Therefore, it is surprising that, in spite of the widespread interest in DMs in a variety of research fields including genre analysis, very few studies have investigated the role of DMs in mediatised political discourse. In the following section we will provide a brief overview of some of the most relevant case studies pertaining to English and Hungarian political interviews. After the description of our research corpus in section 4, we will try to narrow down the above mentioned empirical gap in section 5 by describing some of the most frequent English DMs' genre-specific use in BBC news interviews along with some Hungarian DMs' use in natural conversations as well as in several types of media discourse.

3   Previous studies

3.1   *Previous research on mediatised political discourse*

Political interviews have been studied from several semantic, pragmatic and discourse-organizational perspectives, such as information structure, overlapping speech, discursive modes and manipulative language strategies, to mention but a few. However, as mentioned

above, very few studies have focussed specifically on the role of DMs.
A notable exception is Zovko (2012), who compared the use of DMs in
interviews with presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the func-
tions of DMs in interviews with US presidents. There are a number of
additional case studies, which, however, concentrate on particular
DMs, such as *of course* or *really*, rather than the functional distribu-
tion of a set of DMs, cf. e.g. Simon-Vandenbergen et al. (2007) or Si-
mon-Vandenbergen (1988).

The functional distribution of a set of DMs has not been studied in
Hungarian political interviews, either. Zimányi (2008: 116-8), for ex-
ample, analyzes manipulative language use in general, using Hungar-
ian parliamentary speeches as data, and points out that politicians do
not aim at providing factual information, instead, for the most part,
they try to manipulate the emotions of the audience by asking face-
threatening questions and giving face-threatening replies with a view
to painting an unfavourable picture of the political opponent. In addi-
tion, Schirm (2010) analysed the use of the Hungarian *vajon* (~*I won-
der*) in parliamentary speeches and followed it up with an analysis of
multi-party talk shows (2011), as well.

3.2 *Previous accounts of the selected DMs in non-politicized discourse*

DMs have been predominantly studied in terms of their role in the
organization of discourse structure in argumentative dialogues, socio-
linguistic interviews (Schiffrin 1987), phone conversations, dialogues
of highly interactive nature, and conversations at various (mostly
business) meetings. Most studies focus on the analysis of a single DM,
such as *I mean* or *well*. In what follows we will briefly sum up the rel-
evant findings of some of the most prominent DM researchers on the
English and Hungarian DMs we are going to analyse in the empirical
part of our paper.

I mean, along with *well* and *you know*, is probably one of the most
widely researched DMs. Crystal and Davy (1975) demonstrate that *I
mean* can be glossed as 'in other words', 'what I have been saying
amounts to the following', or 'my specific meaning is that'. Its major
role is to clarify the meaning of the speaker's immediately preceding
stretch of speech or an expression that the speaker is reformulating.
The inserted DM (*I mean*) is typically preceded by an interruption
point, which disrupts the intonational contour of the utterance. Fur-

ther functions include signalling a paraphrase or assessment of the previous utterance, performing an act of explanation or elaboration and/or providing a fresh angle about a previous topic as well as expressing a second thought/change of mind. Schiffrin defines *I mean* as a marker of the "speaker's upcoming modification of the meaning of his / her own prior talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 296). Its two main functions are "expansions of ideas" and "explanations of intention" (Schiffrin 1987: 296). Similarly, Swan argues that *I mean* introduces explanations, additional detail, opinion statements and corrections, while it can also serve as "a general-purpose connector or 'filler' with little real meaning" (Swan 1997: 159). Other functions include "softening" and "gaining time" (Swan 1997: 159).

Of course, similarly to *I mean*, has been described from a variety of perspectives: Holmes (1988) looks at the distribution of *of course* with respect to gender differences, Lewis (2006) takes a diachronic perspective and discusses rhetorical motivations for the development of a variety of its discourse-pragmatic functions. While Simon-Vandenbergen (1992) highlights the utility of *of course* in conversation management, Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2002/03) analyze *of course* from a cross-linguistic perspective as well as in the framework of Bakhtin's (1987) notion of heteroglossia.[3]

As for previous studies on Hungarian DMs, both formal analyses (e.g. Gyuris 2008) and functional analyses have been carried out, including the synchronic (e.g. Kiefer 1988, Németh T. 1998) and sometimes even diachronic description of individual DMs. Mention has to be made of, for example, Dér (2005) on *mellesleg (~'by the way')* and *más szóval (~'in other words')*, Dömötör (2008) on *úgymond (~'so to speak')* and *hogy úgy mondjam (~'so to speak')*, and Shirm (2011) on *hát (~'well'),* and the rogative particles *-e,* and *vajon.*

For the purposes of the present case study of contrasting English and Hungarian DMs, we have selected Hungarian DMs which are frequent in spoken interaction but are, nevertheless, less widely researched. What is more, none of the three DMs under scrutiny (*mondjuk ~ 'let's say', ugye ~ 'is that so?', amúgy ~ 'otherwise'*) have been described in corpus-based case studies. In what follows we describe the meanings and functions of the selected Hungarian DMs as they are described in dictionaries and other reference books with a view to contrasting such descriptions with the individual DMs' actual

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3   Bakhtin (1987) quoted in Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer (2002/03).

roles and functions in corpora based on casual conversations and different types of media discourse.

We have used three sources to map their meanings, two Hungarian monolingual dictionaries (Ittzés 2006, Pusztai 2003) and a historical linguistic volume on the development of Hungarian grammar (Benkő 1992).

In addition to its conceptual use as an inflected form of the verb 'mond' (~ 'we say', 'we are saying', 'we call', 'let's say'), *mondjuk (~'let's say')* is much more frequently used in spoken interaction as a verbal particle with procedural meaning. Two meanings are given in the entry of this verbal particle in Pusztai's monolingual dictionary (2003): it can be glossed either as 'for example' or 'let's suppose/assume/say' (assumption/presumption). However, Pusztai does not mention its commonly observed function of marking concession or contrast that we have managed to identify in our corpora.

As far as *ugye (~'is that so?')* is concerned, it is classified into various syntactic categories in different dictionaries, such as adverb, modifier, question word/tag question and (rogative) particle. Based on the meanings listed in Pusztai (2003), (1) it marks the expectation of co-operation and agreement (positive answer), (2) it expresses politeness / makes a question sound more polite, (3) it introduces explanations and excuses, (4) it can be used to emphasize (the validity of) facts (5) it is also often used as a simple filler without any specific meaning. In the course of our corpus analysis we will point out the significance of *ugye (~'is that so?')* in marking evidentiality, a function that is completely missing from dictionary entries. Secondly, its role in connection with narratives/story structure as well as lists identified in the empirical part of our study is also absent from reference books.

As for the last Hungarian item under scrutiny, *amúgy (~otherwise)* has several related meanings listed as an adverbial in Pusztai (2003), including (1) 'in a different way' ('in another way'), (2) 'in a typical way' ('typical of somebody or an activity'), and (3) 'in an unusual way'. Besides these adverbial meanings, Ittzés (2006, volume II) also lists its non-conceptual/DM uses that can be glossed as 'otherwise' and 'besides this'. It is important to point out that its role in the thematic control of conversations is not mentioned in either dictionaries although *amúgy* is frequently used to introduce topic shifts and to mark comments, opinions and side sequences.

4   The research corpus

The corpus we compiled for the analysis of English DMs consists of 37 political interviews broadcast on BBC. The individual interviews are between 30 minutes to 60 minutes long, thus, this corpus comprises a total of 79,225 words ± 2%, allowing for technical / transcript-specific information such as the indication of participants' names. In our BBC corpus, IEs talk, on average, 71% of the time, while IRs' turns take up 29% of the interview time.

The analyses of Hungarian DMs have been carried out on two different types of spoken corpora which are comparable in terms of their size: one involving natural, informal conversations and one comprising different types of mediatised political discourse. The natural speech subcorpus comprises 20 informal/casual dialogues on everyday topics (approximately 20-25 minutes each) extracted from the multimodal HuComTech corpus (altogether approximately 450 minutes (7.5 hours), with a constant participant talking 44% of the interview time, and 20 other participants talking 66% of the interview time). This subcorpus of the HuComTech corpus contains 195 tokens of *mondjuk (~'let's say')*, 60 tokens of *ugye (~'is that so?')* and 33 tokens of *amúgy (~'otherwise')*. The second Hungarian subcorpus involves a variety of media discourses:

- a collection of seven formal/confrontational evening political interviews broadcast on ATV (each of them last for approximately 60 minutes and feature one constant IR and seven different IEs,),
- two more casual "breakfast" political interviews (broadcast on TV2),
- two interviews from news reports (one broadcast on MTV, the other on Hír TV)
- two panel discussions (broadcast on Duna TV).

This media subcorpus also comprises altogether approximately 450 minutes (7.5 hours), collected from mindroom.hu, an automatic media observer website. It includes 135 tokens of *mondjuk (~'let's say')*, 98 tokens of *ugye (~'is that so?')* and 25 tokens of *amúgy (~'otherwise')*. The majority of the Hungarian media interviews that we analysed were taken from two programmes that can be contrasted in terms of their different scenarios and the different strategies employed: one is *Egyenes beszéd* ('Straight talk') broadcast on Hungarian ATV and the other is *Törzsasztal* ('Customary table') aired on Duna TV. On the one hand, the typical scenario that unfolds in *Egyenes beszéd* is a series of

questions posed by the IR and the corresponding answers produced by the IE. Here we can observe an asymmetry in power relations in that the IR directs the flow and the topics of the conversation. *Törzsasztal*, on the other hand, is a panel discussion featuring acknowledged experts with symmetrical power relations. Even though these panel discussions also feature a host who tends to allocate speaker turns, all panel members have the opportunity to take the floor at any time, and defend their views against those of other panel members. The topics of the show centre on various controversial social, political and cultural issues that usually trigger interesting discussions and clashing viewpoints.

5   Comparison of the use of DMs in naturally-occurring conversations and political interviews

In the present section we discuss the results of a series of corpus-based analyses and provide the classification of DMs according to different contexts of use. The subsections describe the various textual relations/contextual factors DMs may mark in discourse. The relations and functions in question include elaboration/expansion, modification/specification, response-marking vs. marking questions, evidentiality, heteroglossia, ventriloquizing as well as a variety of minor strategic uses. Our assumption is that independently of the language of interaction, the functional spectrum of a DM varies in different contexts and genres. Particular discourse functions are performed/expressed in different proportions in media discourse as opposed to casual talk. One of the reasons for this functional variation may be the norm that an interviewer reacts/interacts not only on his own behalf in the conversation, but also animates the potential questions and reactions of the audience.

5.1   DMs marking frames and contrasting roles

The IR's and the IE's respective roles in political interviews can be contrasted from the perspective of information management as well as conversational mechanisms. As for the former, we can approach the function of *I mean* from the perspective of processing information along the lines of Jucker and Smith (1998), who distinguish between *reception markers* (e.g. *oh, okay*), which mark reactions to first-pair

parts in adjacency pairs (e.g. statements, questions), and *presentation markers*, which elaborate on and/or alter the information provided by the previous speaker. Information-centered presentation markers, such as *like* modify the unit of information itself, while addressee-centered presentation markers, such as *I mean* relate the information to the assumed knowledge state of the addressee.

On the basis of tagging 143 tokens of the lexical item *mean* in our BBC corpus, the following patterns can be observed:

1. *mean* is a content word in 29 cases, but is a part of the DM *I mean* in the remaining 114 tokens;
2. *I mean* is primarily used by IEs (101 times), there are only 13 examples where an IR utters *I mean*, which is low, even considering the fact that IRs' talking time is shorter than that of IEs (cf. section 4 above);
3. *I mean* functions as a filler in only 2 tokens, it marks false starts 17 times and cancels the content or the implicature of the previous utterance 9 times;
4. in the majority of cases (54 times in the case of IEs and 13 out of 13 times when uttered by an IR) *I mean* functions as a marker of explanation and / or elaboration.

Finding 1 above underscores the conversationalization of the genre under scrutiny: the high D-value[4] of *mean* clearly indicates that present-day British political interviews bear the mark of conversational style. This tendency has been noticed by several researchers. Fetzer and Weizman (2006), for example, state that "politics has undergone dramatic changes [in that] the primarily monologue-oriented mode of discourse, which prevailed in the fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties, is no longer considered to be appropriate in the western and Anglo-American contexts" (Fetzer & Weizman 2006, 146).

Findings 2 and 3 are related to yet another aspect of the asymmetrical role between IRs and IEs: the higher incidence of *I mean* used by IEs can be explained, on the one hand, by the fact that the more comfortable one feels in a particular institutional setting, the less likely

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4   The categorial multifunctionality of DMs is described in terms of their "D-function ratio" or D-value (a term proposed by Stenström 1990), i.e. in terms of their discourse function in relation to their function as grammatical or content words. The D-value of *oh*, for example, is 100% in the London-Lund Corpus, since it is used exclusively as a DM, whereas *well* showed a D-value of 86%.

s/he needs to resort to discourse-monitoring uses of DMs,[5] such as stalling or lexical search. On the other hand, it is also related to the degree of planning that is involved on the part of IRs and IEs. Unplanned discourse is characterised by an increased number of discourse-monitoring DMs, this is why IEs are likely to use more tokens of *I mean* in general and more reformulative (rather than explanative) and opaque (i.e. semantically bleached) tokens of *I mean* in particular.

With regard to finding 4, two distinct structures can be observed as the most typical genre-specific uses of *I mean*: IRs most often use it in a [question preface + *I mean* + question] format (cf. example 1), while IEs tend to use it in an [answer preface / short answer + *I mean* + elaboration / example / explanation] structure (cf. example 2):

> *example 1*
> IR: She's asked you about deaths of innocent people, **I mean** as a Christian how do you feel about innocent people dying? (BBC *Newsnight* 2003-02-06)

> *example 2*
> IR: You said this year, the concept of profit can and should play an increasing role in improving the quality of public services - how do you justify that?
> IE: Well there are two things I'd say about that, **I mean** if you take the National Health Service for example 90 per cent of … (BBC *Politics Show* 2005-11-13)

Among Hungarian DMs, *ugye (~'is that so?')* also marks the contrastive roles of IRs' and IEs'. On the one hand, IRs often insert it into yes-no questions to signal that they expect to receive a preferred response/agreement. In this position, its function is similar to that of an English tag question and its meaning can be glossed as 'right?', 'do you agree?'. On the other hand, IEs tend to use *ugye (~'is that so?')* in their explanations in order to emphasize the validity/importance of their arguments. With respect to these two functions, *ugye (~'is that so?')* can be considered as the functional equivalent of *I mean* in English. Concerning its use in questions, two distinct ways of use can be described in our corpus of Hungarian political interviews and panel discussion in terms of whether or not the speaker actually expects a

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5   Cf. e.g. O'Barr & Atkins's (1980) study of the use of DMs in courtroom settings.

reply. If s/he does not, that is, if the question is not directly addressed to the other speaker, *ugye (~'is that so?')* marks a rhetorical question aimed at manipulating the audience's perception of the validity of an argument.

Similarly, *mondjuk (~'let's say', 'or say')* also operates on the level of participation framework, most of the time anchoring the speaker's productive role, therefore, it can also be seen as a *presentation marker* (Jucker & Smith 1998), a *marker of expansion* or a *marker of modification* (cf. Saz Rubio 2007: 97-98). It commonly functions as a presentation marker modifying a unit of information, rather than a reception marker signalling a reaction to the other speaker's utterance(s) (for more on the distinction between presentation markers and reception markers cf. Jucker & Smith 1998). As a reception marker, it may stand alone ('*Mondjuk.*') in the second pair part of an adjacency pair (with only 3 occurrences in our corpus) marking a reaction of partial agreement with the statement, opinion or yes-no question of the other speaker. Alternatively, *mondjuk (~'let's say')* may introduce a second-pair part marking the speaker's attitude and framing the entire subsequent utterance as its host unit as in the following example:

> *example 3*
> IE: Ha jól gondoljuk és a kutatásoknak hiszünk, akkor nem valószínű, nem biztos, vagy csak ötven százalékban tekerik át a reklámblokkokat. (*If we are right and if we can believe the opinion polls, it's not likely… we can't be sure that people fast forward commercials only 50% of the time*)
> IR: Ez **mondjuk** meglepő számomra, ez a szám! *(This is **DM**^mondjuk a surprise for me, this data) (*TV2 *Mokka 2013-03-26)*

5.2   DMs marking coherence relations

This subsection analyses the various subtypes of elaboration and expansion, namely, modification, specification and explanation. In general terms, the elaboration of a previous aspect or aspects of the preceding discourse segment can take the form of clarification, specification or definition in terms of the notion or the idea conveyed in the previous discourse segment. We will, first of all, see if all these functions are expressed by *I mean* in English and *mondjuk (~'let's say')* in Hungarian in our respective corpora.

González (2004) describes the functions of DMs, including *I mean*, with reference to story structure. Her research shows that the two

most common functions of *I mean* in narratives are to mark (1) reformulation of previous information and (2) internal evaluation of the events presented in the narrative.

Similarly, applying Shiffrin's (1987) framework (involving various planes of talk) to describe the functional spectrum of *mondjuk (~'let's say')*, one of its primary functions is to mark information state transitions. It is often inserted when the speaker replaces a unit of information with another one. *Mondjuk (~'let's say')* can also be analysed on the action structure plane of talk (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 315-317) since it usually prefaces actions such as clarification/specification/approximation (example 4), correction/self-repair (example 5), modification (example 6), compression (example 7), as subtypes of reformulation (c.f. Saz Rubio 2007: 84-98), or disagreement.

> *example 4*
> gyorsan megy a motorom **mondjuk** 120-140-nel *(my bike is really fast, it can do DM^{mondjuk} 120-140 kmphs)* (HuComTech, 017)

> *example 5*
> ez egy éve lehetett vagy **mondjuk mondjuk** 10 hónapja (*this happened about a year ago or DM^{mondjuk} DM^{mondjuk} ten months ago)* (HuComTech, 002)

Based on our corpus, the use of *mondjuk (~'let's say')* as a DM is common in political interviews (see examples 6-7.), although somewhat less frequent (18 tokens/hour) than in naturally-occuring conversations (26 tokens/hour).

> *example 6*
> IE: Nagyon sokan nem fogják fel és elhiszik ezt a fajta, **mondjuk** úgy hogy finoman szólva is butítást (*a lot of people won't understand and they will fall for this, DM^{mondjuk} to put it mildly,stupification*) (Gazdasági Rádió *A nap vendége – Dióslaki Gábor* 2010-08-26)

> *example 7*
> IR: Jó, de nyilvánvalóan jelentős hatása lesz egyébként ez a médiapiacra is, mármint a médiapiacnak az offline-részére, tehát **mondjuk** az írottra, igen. (*Let's say you're right, this will still have an enourmous effect on the media market, I mean the off-line*

segment of the media market, so **DM**[mondjuk] *the written segment*)
(TV2 *Mokka* 2013-03-26)

The strategies of elaboration and explanation also frequently involve the expression of assumption, in these cases *mondjuk (~'let's say')* preserves some of its original, conceptual meaning, which can be glossed as 'let's suppose', as in the next example:

> *example 8*
> *Úgy történik ez, hogy mondjuk tudjuk, hogy lesz egy sajtótájékoztató, nyilvánvaló az nem titok. (This is how it works:* **DM**[mondjuk] *we know that there will be a press conference, it is obviously not a secret) (ATV Egyenes Beszéd 2010-12-02)*

The functions of reformulation, correction, specification, approximation, giving example and lexical search are more frequent in informal conversations than in political interviews due to the unplanned nature of casual talk. Natural conversation is a type of spontaneous, informal, unplanned discourse, without any specific scenario to be followed, in contrast, political interviews are pre-planned events where the IR follows a pre-determined set of questions and has a pre-allocated sequence of turns and topical units in mind. Similarly to the IRs, most IEs also prepare for the interview since their goal is to gain favour with the audience. Therefore, it is not surprising that media discourses generally contain fewer instances of reformulation and lexical search.

5.3 Markers of evidentiality: of course vs. ugye (~'is that so?')

As described above, there are two different layers of interaction present in political interviews: a first-frame interaction between the IR(s) and the IE(s) and the second-frame interaction between the first-frame participants and the audience. For the most part, there is a mismatch between the background information available to the IR and the (public) knowledge available to the audience whose voice the IR represents. The use of evidential markers makes this knowledge gap between the first-frame and second-frame participants explicit. The most common DM of evidentiality is *of course* in English and *ugye (~'is that so?')* in Hungarian, therefore, they will be described in the present section.

Of course has been variously classified as an expectation marker / marker of expectation (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer 2002/03), expectation evidential (Chafe 1986), marker of speaker commitment (Lewis 2006) and marker of shared knowledge (Holmes 1988). Holmes (1988) proposes that *of course* acts "as an overt signal that the speaker is assuming that the hearer accepts or is already familiar with the propositional content of her or his utterance" (Holmes 1988: 53), while Wichmann et all. state that "*of course* has three broad levels of meaning: (1) epistemic / evidential – glossed as 'naturally', (2) interpersonal – glossed as 'shared knowledge', and (3) indeterminate" (Wichmann et al. 2010: 118).

Markers of evidentiality are much more common in political interviews than in natural conversations. Our Hungarian corpus of naturally-occuring talk contains 36 tokens of *ugye (~'is that so?')* expressing evidentiality, while the Hungarian political corpus contains 61 tokens of *ugye (~'is that so?')* serving the same purpose, making it the most common function of this DM. The most probable explanation is that the speakers (both IR and IE) assume that the piece of information introduced by *ugye (~'is that so?')* is an obvious/evident fact (known to both interlocutors in the first frame of the interaction), however, they still find it necessary to explicitly point it out to the audience. In the panel discussion programme, *Törzsasztal,* broadcast by Duna TV, participants use an especially large number of evidential markers since their use implies that the subject matter of the discussions in general as well as the arguments and examples that are provided in particular are well-known to the first-frame interactants, who are all highly educated, widely acknowledged experts from similar fields. At the same time, the use of evidential markers is also justified by the fact that the first-frame participants feel a need to mention certain details for the sake of the audience who have a more limited knowledge on the subject:

> *example 9*
> IE: Valószínű, hogy az irodalom is ugyanilyen problémákkal küzd, tehát **ugye** egy nagyon jó fordító kell hozzá, egy nagyon jól kiépített marketing kell hozzá, tehát nem elegendő lefordítani valamit. (*The book market probably faces the same problems, so DM^{ugye} you need a well-built marketing strategy as well as an excellent translator, it is not enough to provide a good translation*) (Duna TV *Törzsasztal* 2010-11-28)

example 10
IE: … a reálisabb makrogazdasági pálya, tehát a fél százalék körüli, vagy stagnáláshoz közeli gazdasági növekedés, illetve hát most **ugye** a 299 ft os euro árfolyamra átszámított költségvetés. (*we need a more realistic macroeconomic projection, that is, a projected growth of about 0.5%, or stagnation, I mean, right now* ***DM**^ugye the budget is calculated on an exchange rate of HUF 299 to the Euro*) (ATV *Egyenes Beszéd* 2011-12-27**)**

example 11
IE: **Ugye**, set-top-boxnak hívják, amit ők beépítenek a rendszerbe, vagy olyan televízió, amibe már be van építve. (*This is called* ***DM**^ugye a set-top box, which is built into the system, or there are TV sets that already include them*) (TV2 *Mokka* 2013-03-16)

A further function of *ugye (~'is that so?')* which is salient in political interviews is emphasis. This function is more frequently expressed in the corpus of political interviews than in the corpus of natural conversations since the use of *ugye (~'is that so?')* strategically signals the validity of facts and the importance/force of the content of the utterance, thus its primary function is to convince the audience that the speaker's arguments are valid:

example 12
IE: …az összes hiba, mindaz ami **ugye** recesszióba sodorja a gazdaságot (*all the mistakes they've made, all the things that have* ***DM**^ugye lead the economy into recession*) (ATV *Egyenes Beszéd* 2011-12-27)

example 13
IE: Ezenkívül, hogy együttműködünk, ahogy a beszélgetés elején is elhangzott, együttműködünk fogyasztói tudatosságot elősegítő kampányokban is, **ugye** nagyon fontos, hogy a hatóságok munkáját közvetítsük a fogyasztók felé. (*In addition, we cooperate, as was said at the beginning of the interview, we cooperate in campaigns that are aimed at raising consumer awareness,* ***DM**^ugye it is very important that we inform the consumers about the authorities' activities*) (MTV *Ma reggel* 2013-03-07)

5.4   CA perspectives in the analysis of the functional spectrum of DMs

Discourse markers are often used to regulate verbal interaction. It has been shown in a number of studies (cf. e.g. Petukhova & Bunt 2009) that discourse structure and coherence are maintained and expressed by various verbal markers. Coherence relations establish various links between discourse segments, and these relations are frequently expressed by DMs, such as *well, you know, I mean* or *by the way*. Besides marking boundaries, transitions and transition relevance places between discourse segments, DMs also signal the communicative function(s) of their host units. On the one hand, *I mean, well, mondjuk (~'let's say')* and *amúgy (~'otherwise')* signal that the speaker has not finished his or her turn, but needs some time in the production process. On the other hand, hearers also use it to interrupt the current speaker's turn, signalling that the participant uttering the DM wishes to take the floor. Marked interactional behaviors such as taking the floor (grabbing a turn) by uttering a dispreferred second pair part or shifting the discourse topic have to be announced before they occur. Marked behaviors are labelled as dispreferred because the speakers are required to give an account of their acts in order to inform the listeners about the circumstances of / reasons for the unexpected response. Dispreferred answers such as disagreements are usually of 'No-plus' form (cf. Sacks 1992: 414) since they elaborate on the reasons for the negative reply (e.g. *Actually*, …; *Well*, … or *Igazából* …, *Hát* …). The following three examples illustrate dispreferred seconds introduced by the DM *hát (~'well')* which acts as a response marker as well as a disagreement minimizer in these examples:

example 14
IR: Dehát mindjárt lejár a mandátuma. (*His mandate will expire soon*)
IE: **Hát** az még több mint egy év, 2013. február. (***DM^hát** that'll be in more than a year, in February 2013*)

example 15
IR: …MOL részvények vásárlásán… (*… such as buying MOL shares*)
IE: Amin sokat nyertünk. (*We can make a lot of profit that way*)

IR: **Hát** eddig veszítettünk rajta, kb. olyan 600 milliárdot. (***DM^hát** so far we've made losses, about HUF 600 billion*) (ATV *Egyenes Beszéd* 2011-12-27)

example 16
IE: Azokat a média kollégákat szeretem, akik váratlan dolgokat kérdeznek. (*I like colleagues in the media who ask unexpected questions*)
IR: Frappíroznak? (*Those who like to startle people?*)
IE: **Hát**, **mondjuk** egy bizonyos adrenalin szint kell ahhoz, hogy ne legyen unalmas. (***DM^hát DM^mondjuk** you need a certain level of adrenaline not to be boring*)
(ATV *Egyenes Beszéd* 2012-01-23)

We can observe the same pattern in English as well, as illustrated by the following example:

example 17
IR: You think the public expects her to…
IE: ***Well***, not the public. The jury. (CNN *Larry King Live* 2004-02-27)

The high incidence (401 tokens in an approximately 80,000 word corpus) and high D-value (82%) of *well*, once again, underscores the conversationalization of political discourse. We find turn-initial *well* most frequently prefacing IEs' answers to IRs' (often overly direct) questions.

As the above examples from political interviews also suggest conversational turn openers can set up a frame for the entire turn, thus allowing interlocutors to predict what is going to come next in the conversation. In addition, turns that consist of a single DM can express a terse reaction to the previous turn. Heritage (2002), for instance, claims that turn-initial *oh* can indicate 'epistemic independence', in other words, the suggestion that the idea following *oh* was formulated by the speaker independently of the current conversation. Moreover, *oh* typically introduces an agreement rather than a disagreement with the previous turn. In contrast, as the examples demonstrate, *well* in turn-initial position usually signals disagreement.

Before we move on to the analysis of topic orientation markers, let us define the concept of discourse topic. Fraser (2009) provides a general definition of discourse topic as "what the discourse is currently about, what the participants recognize they are talking about from what has been contributed to this point". Chafe (1994)

defines *discourse topic* in terms of the notion of semiactive information*,* and adds that the fact that speakers use DMs (e.g. *you know, well* or *amúgy ~'by the way'*) before introducing a new topic suggests their awareness of a need to raise consciousness about their next move. In the following example *well* marks the speaker's intention to change the topic:

> *example 18*
> IR: Back to the big question. **Well**, could there be a president with MS? (CNN *Larry King Live* 2004-03-06)

Topic changes marked by DMs in our Hungarian corpus are more frequent in informal conversations than in our corpus of Hungarian political interviews. The main reason for this is that while political interviews mostly centre on a focal topic, speakers in informal conversation tend to move from one topic to another and often completely change the topic of talk in an unmotivated way, which is usually made explicit by the use of DMs. On the other hand, the introduction of unsolicited opinion statements, additional information and side sequences is more common in political interviews than in informal conversation due to the high significance of expressing personal opinion, giving background information, listing arguments and opposing viewpoints in political interviews:

> *example 19*
> IE: Úgy gondoltam, hogy erről érdemes könyvet írni. **Amúgy** is ma Magyarországon rengeteg hasonló vállalkozás van. (*I thought this was worth writing a book about. DM^{amúgy} there are a lot of similar attempts in Hungary at present.*) (*A nap vendége* 2011-08-22)

> *example 20*
> Ezért nem is azt mondtuk, hogy ez a törvény, ami **amúgy** a Lázár-féle benyújtott javaslatban ne lett volna tárgyalható, hanem attól, hogy … (*This is why we don't say that this act of Parliament, which DM^{amúgy} could've been discussed together with Lázár's motion, but because [sic]*) (ATV Egyenes Beszéd 2011.05.09)

Furkó (2007) found that in the Larry King Show *of course* appears in contexts where its primary function is conversation management, for example, it serves as a response marker, feedback signal or topic change signal. In other contexts *of course* plays a role in information management: it marks, for example, lists / sequences, new infor-

mation or shared background knowledge. *Of course*, similarly to *I mean*, occurs in narratives, where it can mark side sequences or new developments in the narrative. The interpersonal functions that were salient in the corpus based on *Larry King Live* corresponded to and co-occurred with personal-centre switches, persuasion and solidarity, while in a few instances *of course* marked self correction, lexical search, or simply functioned as a filler.

The differences in the functional spectrum of *of course* in *Larry King Live* and the other mediatized interviews in our corpus can be traced back to the differences between two types/subgenres of political interviews. TV broadcasts such as *Larry King Live*[6] are of a less confrontational type, while several political interviews (especially *Newsnight, Hard Talk* and *Question Time*) take a more confrontational approach. From a discourse-pragmatic perspective, both subgenres of political interviews are characterized by a repetitive sequence of adjacency pairs (Q-A-[comment]-Q-A-[comment], etc.) and a specific, asymmetrical role-distribution between IRs and IEs. However, as Lauerbach notes, in the case of *Larry King Live* the IR and the IE "collaboratively produce a consensual point of view" (Lauerbach 2007, 1388), while in more confrontational political interviews the IR "in asking the questions, takes into account what a sceptical audience would like to know" (Lauerbach 2007, 1394), exposing vagueness, evasiveness, and argumentative fallacies.

The confrontational quality of most of interviews in the corpus is underlined by the fact that it is not only in terms of heteroglossia (i.e. anticipating objections and counterpoints) that *of course* is used differently in the two sub-genres, but we can observe differences in terms of the interactional uses of *of course*, as well. While *of course* mostly marks strong agreement and/or feedback in the Larry King Corpus, it is, for the most part, used to express token agreement in the BBC subcorpus, as is illustrated by examples 21 and 22, respectively:

example 21
IR: Give it any thought, because that was a big rumor …
IE: ***Of course***.
IR: Rumors always come around. (CNN *Larry King Live* 2004-03-17)

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6   According to Lauerbach, Larry *King Live* belongs to the "soft and feel-good genre" of "celebrity interviews" (Lauerbach 2007: 1388).

example 22
IR: The party was born from the unions wasn't it?
IE: … **of course, but** we govern for the whole country. (BBC *Politics Show* 2004-09-12)

5.5   *Miscellaneous strategic uses: marking changes in cognitive states and ventriloquizing*

Voicing the discourse of others is a device by which speakers can distance themselves from what is being said, and position themselves in voices of others rather than their own (White 2000). Goffman (1981) speaks of "say-foring" or ventriloquizing when one's own words are put into the mouths of others. According to Goffman's (1981) definition, through the process of "say-foring", a figure other than the speaker is being animated without the speaker being understood to be either the author of the words or to be responsible for them.

Tannen (2010) investigated the phenomenon of ventriloquizing as a device of indirectness in family interaction. She argues that ventriloquizing "creates meaning by abduction, as speakers borrow others' identities and thereby temporarily assign to themselves characteristics associated with those whose voices they borrow" (Tannen 2010: 307). She also argues that ventriloquizing can be understood as a type of indirectness, one that is very frequent in everyday interaction (Tannen 2010: 311).

Lauerbach (2006: 150) analyzed the practices of voicing and ventriloquizing and concluded that they have the effect of personalizing and dramatizing political discourse and implicitly construct identities and relations in the interplay between IR and IE. She describes ventriloquizing as "a particularly vivid way of enacting one's own discourse through another", which, in addition, "greatly increases the strategic potential of communicators" (Lauerbach 2006: 199).

Based on our corpus, the ventriloquizing use of *oh* in political interviews is more salient than in the discourse genres[7] that are traditionally studied in DM research. Examples 23 and 24 illustrate such uses:

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[7]   The ventriloquizing pattern of use of oh in political interviews is different from typical discourse functions in other discourse genres e.g. naturally-occurring conversation (Stenström 1994), or sociolinguistic interviews (Schiffrin 1987).

example 23

IE: Yes, to some extent. It's rather an odd situation we have here where the, the government are trying to legislate, or the House of Commons is trying to legislate very very quickly, that this is a bill that passed all its stages in the House of Commons, minimum of debate in one day, and then they say, ***oh*** it doesn't need to come in to effect for eighteen months or two years. (BBC *Politics Show* 2004-10-10)

example 24

IE: When you talked about disenchantment with politics John, there's an awful lot of disenchantment with political coverage and Margaret talked about 'trial by ordeal', which is basically the media thinking, if we keep this story going long enough, eventually Tony Blair is going to say, ***Oh*** my god, I can't be doing with this, let's get rid of them. (BBC *Politics Show* 2006-03-12)

In these examples *oh* introduces statements and opinions that are attributed to people other than the IE (usually political opponents) in an effort to mock such opinions and/or make them sound ill-founded.[8]

In yet another strategic use of *oh*, we can find it in the phrase *Oh come on*, which plays down the import of the previous speaker's (in this case the IR's) or an opponent's statement:

example 25

IR: The polls … (overlaps)

IE: As I say, we're actually – ***oh*** come on Jeremy, you're talking about one poll that happens to have been taken recently. (BBC Politics Show 2004-07-11)

Naturally, there are a range of additional DMs that are used strategically in political interviews and whose description would deserve separate sections. Because of space considerations, however, in this section we will briefly illustrate the strategic use of *well, hát (~'well'), mondjuk (~'let's say')* and *you know* in our corpus of political interviews, focussing on the patterns that have not emerged in studies based on other types of discourse.

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[8]   At the same time, it might be argued that *oh* is a component of the fixed expression *oh my god* rather than a ventriloquizer. In either case, *oh* in this example simultaneously introduces the statement of someone other than the speaker and expresses surprise and frustration.

Turn-internal uses of *well* show an interesting genre-specific pattern: we find a large number of utterances where *well* introduces ventriloqizing, once again, making the IEs' discourse more vivid and increasing its strategic potential (cf. Lauerbach 2006: 199 quoted above). However, unlike in the case of *oh*, the ventriloquizing uses of *well* introduce statements, positions or internal thoughts that are attributed to people (at times the speakers themselves) whose opinions are actually favourable to the IE (and the audience), thus there is no negative stance towards the ventriloquized utterance:

> *example 26*
> IE: over the past 18 months, the eurozone governments have rather let us down, given us, you know, wonderful hope on the basis of the thrust of what they've been saying and then we've seen the fine print we've thought, "***well, actually***, there's rather less to all of this than we hoped." (BBC Radio 4 *Today Programme* 2011-09-06)

> *example 27*
> IR: But what happens if an employer says, ***well*** all well and good, but we don't really want to see these union leaders, we've got better things to do. (BBC *Politics Show* 2004-09-12)

Practices of ventriloquizing are also found in Hungarian political interviews and are used strategically mostly by IEs. Ventriloquizing in Hungarian is invariably introduced by *hát (~well)*, rather than *ó (~oh)* as the following two examples illustrate:

> *example 28*
> IE: …beterjesztett fejezeti előirányzatoknak egy ilyen automatikus fűnyíró szerű csökkentése, erre is azt lehet mondani, jó, **hát** éljék túl a megszorításokat. (*when you see such a drastic reduction in the statement of costs, you might as well say, **DM**^jó, **DM**^hát let them survive the austerity measures*)

> *example 29*
> IE: És akkor jött egy vándor edző, Turay nevű, valamikor válogatott volt, és ő említette meg, hogy ***hát***, belőled még lehet válogatott játékos is, így mondta. (*Along came a wandering coach, by the name of Turay, who used to be a representative player, and he said, **DM**^hát you might become a representative player, that's what he said*) (Hír TV *Sziluett* 2011-04-30)

Somewhat similarly, the non-conceptual and turn-internal use of *mondjuk (~'let's say')* generally indicates that the speaker has undergone some kind of a change concerning either his local knowledge state on the level of information management or her/his views and attitudes in the interpersonal domain of interaction. It may express the speaker's (subjective) orientation towards the topic or the other speaker's utterance (e.g. in the case of partial agreement, disagreement/contrast, modification). We can find several examples for subjective reorientation in naturally-occuring dialogues, exemplified by 30 below:

> *example 30*
> … nem volt kellemes bár **mondjuk** ilyenekből is tanul az ember
> (*it wasn't very pleasant, but **DM^mondjuk** you can learn from such experiences*) (HuComTech, 017)

Finally, as for the various strategic uses of *you know*, let us concentrate on two specific uses that, on the basis of our corpus, occurs as salient in confrontational types of political interviews. The first (example 31), once again, involves ventriloquizing:

> *example 31*
> IE: I understand that and I know there's a lot of concern because people say ***well look, you know*** … get rid of all the targets for waiting lists and our life would be easier. (BBC *Newsnight* 2003-02-07)

The second salient function of *you know* is a strategic use subsequent to which speakers (usually IEs) let their voice trail off, without finishing a point they were making before, or without drawing a (usually embarrassing) conclusion:

> *example 32*
> IE: it's not true to say that there's nothing getting better, and all I can talk about in terms of personal experience is my own constituency where I would say undoubtedly, ***you know…*** but if you look at the new North Durham Hospital, I mean that is a better hospital than what was there. (BBC *Newsnight* 2003-02-07)

5.6 Markers of concession

Concession is a discourse-pragmatic relation whereby the speaker signals or foregrounds (among other things) that a new proposition needs to be reconsidered in terms of a previously mentioned or pre-supposed proposition. This relationship is often marked with a DM such as *mondjuk (~'let's say')* in Hungarian or *of course* in English.

We must also consider the influence of situational parameters that affect the frequency of the realization of concessive relations. It might seem logical that concession prevails in written modes of discourse due to the availability of a lot of time for planning and editing. In spite of this assumption, we have identified a large number of concessive relations in the speech corpora, as well.

It is a common monologic argumentation strategy to introduce one's own concessions, thus, minimizing their salience and emphasizing one's own preferred course of argument, but we can observe it in dialogues, as well, especially in shorter narrative or argumentative parts of the IEs' speech in political interviews as well as in naturally-occuring conversation. Both dialogic (example 33) and monologic (example 34) concession are frequent in both types of discourse (political interviews and casual conversations, respectively):

example 33
IE: az igazi kérdés, hogy ez hogyan megy tovább, ***mondjuk*** éppen a klímaváltozás témájában is 2010-ben lesz egy következő nagyon fontos találkozó (*The real question is how we can go on, **DM**[mondjuk] there will be a major conference on climate change in 2010*) (Duna TV *Törzsasztal* 2010-01-17)

example 34
szeretek a belvárosban élni **mondjuk** elég nagy a szmog (*I like living in the city centre **DM**[mondjuk] the air is polluted*) (HuComTech, 017)

Markers of contrast and concession have been found to be slightly more frequent in political interviews than in natural conversations. Two explanations can be offered for this difference. On the one hand, speakers are more cooperative (and less confrontational) in informal conversations on the other hand, the relation of concession might be more explicitly marked by DMs in political interviews due to Bakhtin's (1987) notion of heteroglossia (cf. also section 5.7 below).

Mondjuk (~'let's say') can also be considered as a marker of emphasis, used to point out/accent the personal perspective and opinion of the speaker as in the following example:

> *example 35*
> speaker 1: persze rengeteg nemzetiséggel lehetett találkozni (***DM**persze you can meet a lot of minorities around here*)
> speaker 2: én **mondjuk** ha kimennénk biztos azt várnám hogy na találkozzak ilyen tipikus angolokkal (*as for me, **DM**mondjuk if I travelled to England, I would expect to **DM**na meet typical British people*) (HuComTech, 023)

As the examples suggest, the markers of concession listed above are multifunctional, occurring in various different rhetorical contexts, often combining concessive function with backgrounding, opposition, topic change, and so on. Rare uses of *of course* and *mondjuk (~'let's say')* involve distancing the speaker from the proposition, expressing irony or disapproval; however, these functions are more frequent in naturally-occuring casual talk than in media discourse. In such contexts, the DM reinforces the implicature that the ideas are presented ironically.

5.7 *Heteroglossia / alternative viewpoints*

Simon-Vandenbergen et al. argue that the use of presupposition in general and its marking by *of course* in particular is a tactic employed by IEs in political interviews, because "by using *of course* the speaker recognizes that the context is heteroglossic, s/he is presented as responding to prior utterances, anticipating a response / alternative viewpoints" (Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2007: 35ff). They reach the conclusion that (1) *of course* confirms solidarity with the like-minded, (2) construes solidarity with those who need to be persuaded; (3) conversely, *of course* can serve an oppositional function; and, finally, (4) *of course* contributes to the image of the speaker being 'in the know', its use gives the speaker "a temporary advantage in the battle for scoring with the audience." (Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2007: 66)

The findings based on the corpus of political interviews used in the present study underscore Simon-Vandenbergen et al's conclusions: only 16 out of 85 tokens of *of course* are interactional, the remaining 69 tokens are used in anticipation of a contrasting viewpoint, and / or the IR's objections. We found it useful to categorize heteroglossic uses

of *of course* into different degrees of anticipation and contrast: there are utterances where *of course* simply backgrounds the statement in its host unit, while in other cases it can be glossed as 'that's not the point' or 'that's totally irrelevant' as in examples 36, 37 and 38, respectively:

example 36
IE: No I actually am more interested in not having a whole lot of time wasted for police and courts, as well as victims, with people uselessly maintaining their innocence. Some of them ***of course*** will get away with it 'cos they'll find a jury that believes what they say. I'm more interested if people are guilty that they show a bit of contrition, stop making things worse and admit straight away. (BBC5 Live 2011-05-18)

example 37
IE: Undoubtedly it does. Look, T. B. is right to say, as he did recently, that what happens in the Gaza Strip should not be an excuse for anyone to be radicalised. And ***of course*** that's right, but we have to deal with the world as it is. (BBC *The Andrew Marr Show* 2009-01-11)

example 38
IR: Do you… If you were in No. 10 at the moment and Nissan came to you, the other carmakers came to you and said, "We've done a very, very good job for this country. We've created a lot of employment. We need some help in the short-term", what would you tell them?
IE: ***Of course*** I want to help. But let's take Nissan because what…
(BBC *The Andrew Marr Show* 2009-01-11)

6   Functional correspondences among English and Hungarian DMs

Table 1 provides an overview of the functional (rather than semantic) correspondances that have been described in terms of the English and Hungarian DMs under scrutiny. The individual functions are classified into four larger functional categories: (1) discourse-level, coherence marking functions; (2) interpersonal/interactional functions; (3) refer-

ential functions where the referentiality of the content of the utterances is the distinguishing factor; and (4) attitude marking functions.

Based on our corpus analyses, we have found that *I mean* and *ugye (~'is that so?')* perform several parallel functions at coherence marking and interactional levels, including prefacing questions and marking explanations. *I mean* also shares functions with *mondjuk (~'let's say')*, especially in terms of different types of reformulation, such as modification, specification, correction and cancellation. Furthermore, *of course* and *ugye (~'is that so?')* have been found to share the salient functions of marking evidentiality and shared knowledge. *Of course* and *mondjuk (~'let's say')* are similar in their concessive meaning, while *mondjuk* is similar to both *well* and *of course* both in terms of its turn-initial position and its functional spectrum.

Functional category	Function	English	Hungarian
COHERENCE MARKING (AND ILLOCUTIONARY) FUNCTIONS	reformulation, correction, clarification, specification, explanation	*I mean*	*mondjuk (~'let's say'), mondjuk inkább (~'rather say'), ugye (~'is that so?')*
	concession	*of course, well*	*mondjuk persze (~'say of course'),*
	topic shift	*of course, well*	*amúgy (~'otherwise, by the way')*
	referring back to a piece of information mentioned earlier	*oh*	*ugye (~'is that so?')*
INTERACTIONAL/ INTERPERSONAL FUNCTIONS	question preface	*I mean*	*ugye (~'is that so?')*
	reception marker	*oh, well, of course*	*"Mondjuk." (~'we can say so')*
	alternative viewpoint	*of course*	*mondjuk (~'let's say')*
REFERENTIAL FUNCTIONS	marker of evidentiality	*of course*	*ugye (~'is that so?')*
	marker of shared knowledge	*of course*	*ugye (~'is that so?')*

ATTITUDE MARKER FUNCTIONS	marker of both certainty and uncertainty	*I think*	*mondjuk (~'let's say')*
	attitude towards the other speaker and towards the content of the utterance of the other speaker	*oh, well, of course*	*"Mondjuk." (~'we can say so')* (partial agreement) *"Ugye-ugye?" (~'is that so?')*

Table 1: Functional correspondances between English and Hungarian DMs

7   Conclusions

Regarding the comparison of the frequency of the Hungarian DMs in the two different discourse genres, we have found *mondjuk (~'let's say')* to be more common in informal conversations (with 195 occurrences) than in political interviews (with 135 occurrences). Since the number of tokens in each corpus varied, we normalized the frequency to tokens per hour of interaction. Figure 1 presents the comparison of the frequency of the selected DMs. The reason for the difference most probably has to do with the conversational, colloquial nature of this DM. Its counterparts in a more formal register could be either *tegyük fel* ('let's suppose'), *például* ('for instance') or *ellenben* ('however', 'although').
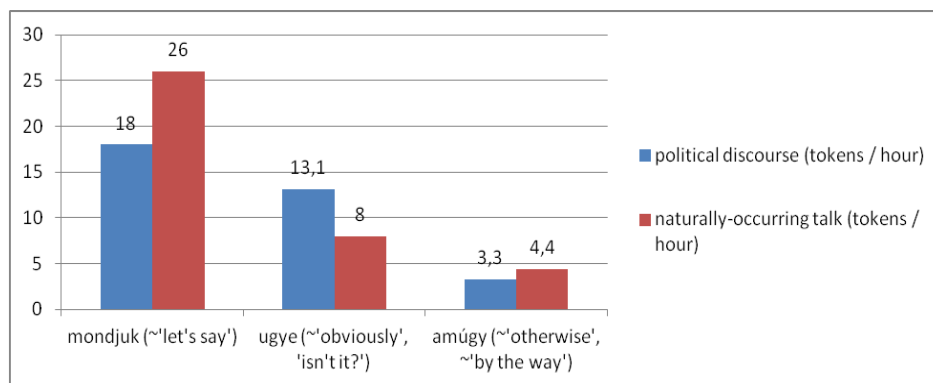

Figure 1: Frequency of Hungarian DMs in two discourse genres

Concerning the frequency of *ugye (~'is that so?')*, we have found a different tendency as it is significantly more frequent in our corpus of political interviews than in informal conversations. This finding is most probably related to a salient feature of political interviews discussed in section 1, that is, the fact that there are two different frames of interaction: one between the IR and the IE and one between the first-frame participants and the audience. As we outlined earlier, the difference in the available background information and the degree of shared knowledge between the IR and the audience is explicitly expressed by *ugye (~'is that so?')* in order to let the first-frame participants know that the speaker is aware that they are familiar with the facts under discussion.

It is also important to point out that we have not found significant cross-genre differences in the frequency of *amúgy (~'otherwise')*, although it is somewhat more commonly used as a DM in informal conversations than in political interviews. The reason for this might be the conversational, colloquial nature of this DM. Further research might prove that political interviews are characterized by more formal counterparts of *amúgy (~'otherwise, by the way')*, such as *egyébként ('otherwise', 'furthermore')* or *mellesleg ('besides')*.

It can be concluded that both types of corpora display recurrent coherence sequences. Some of these, such as question and answer sequences, are more often associated with interviews, while others, such as explanation, specification, approximation or example, are more likely to be associated with naturally-occurring talk. The analysis of DMs reflect on the fact that in mediatised discourse, especially in news interviews, the turn-taking mechanism can be characterized as more mechanistic and predetermined than in natural conversations. We have also seen that the higher frequency of evidential markers such as *of course* and *ugye (~'is that so?')* in news interviews with non-interactional functions might be explained by the fact that by using evidential markers the speaker recognizes that the context is heteroglossic, s/he is presented as responding to prior utterances, anticipating a response expressing alternative viewpoints. Therefore, genre seems to be a powerful variable in the production of discourse relations as well as the resulting patterns in the functional spectra of DMs.

We are fully aware that we have not even started to scratch the surface of what the cross-fertilization between genre analysis and DM research has to offer to both disciplines. What we hope to have illustrated is that DMs make an important contribution to the interpretation of various discourse segments, and that a primarily discourse-

pragmatic, corpus-driven perspective on the functional spectra of individual DMs is a more fruitful approach than either semantic-taxonomic or systemic-functional methods, often adopted in the pertinent DM literature.[9] Naturally, further research is needed (cross-cultural as well as cross-linguistic, quantitative as well as qualitative) in order to substantiate our findings about, for example, DMs' contribution to heteroglossia, stance-taking and ventriloquizing, so that we can gain new and deeper insights about the functional spectrum of DMs as a heuristic tool for genre (or literary) analysis.

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[9] For the primarily discourse-pragmatic, corpus-driven perspective, cf. e.g. Fraser (1996), as for the semantic-taxonomic or systemic-functional methods, cf. Halliday & Hasan (1976) and subsequent analyses.

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