

**Research Article**

## Discourse Markers in Magahi

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### ABSTRACT

The article describes discourse markers (DMs) in Magahi, an Indo-Aryan language. The focus is on semantic, syntactic, phonetic aspects as well as how the DMs are rooted in socio-cultural space in Magahi. DMs contribute significant meaning to an utterance interpretation in Magahi. Their meanings vary from being additive, agreement, contrast. They are indicator of cause and effect, surprise. They may contribute to the property of interrogation, act as politeness or inspiring particle. They may be exclamatory in nature or act as exemplifiers. They act as fillers. Their function changes with change in intonation. Syntactically, they are multicategorical in nature. Socio-linguistically, they are pervasive over whole Magahi-speaking community. Since Hindi is the language next to Magahi, spoken by the natives, so, some of them are affected by Hindi and easily percolate to the Hindi spoken by natives resulting into code-mixing.

**Keywords:** Socio-cultural space, Agreement, Intonation, Multicategorical, Code-mixing

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### INTRODUCTION

Discourse Markers are an omnipresent phenomenon in Language. Diachronically, their origin can be traced back to origin of language itself. They are intertwined in most of the utterance of a speaker. Their existence is optional in nature, still their presence contributes a lot to the syntactic and semantic aspect of an utterance. Their existence also depends on the context of an utterance, that is, their existence is pragmatically influenced. They form a part of both oral and written discourse as well as they can be a part of both formal and informal discourse. This article focuses on the semantic aspect and syntactic category of Discourse Markers (henceforth DMs) and how these

are rooted in socio-cultural space in an Indo-Aryan language, Magahi. Magahi is an Indo-Aryan language genealogically developed from Magadhi Apabhramsa or Eastern Apabhramsa branch of Magadhi Prakrit (Grierson, 1905). The language is mainly spoken in Bihar and Jharkhand and Marginally in Orissa and West Bengal. Magahi has free word order in the sense that it allows scrambling. The canonical word order of Magahi is Subject–Indirect Object–Direct Object–Verb (S-IO-DO-V). Magahi exhibits postpositions. Verb and subject in Magahi exhibit agreement only for Person feature and not for Number or Gender feature. In Magahi there is agreement between subject or object and verb for honorificity. The language exhibits agreement for Number and Gender features between noun and adjective (Atreya, 2016).

As a linguistic phenomenon, DMs did not receive much attention before the 1970s. It was after the 1970s that DMs were given appropriate position in the study of Language or a language. Since the 1970s the worldwide interest in the study of DMs has undeniably been on the rise and has constantly expanded throughout the 1980s, 1990s till present. It was in 1953 that Randolph Quirk published his lecture ‘Careless Talk’, which drew attention to the importance of *you know*, *you see* and *well* in spoken English. Serious research starts with Robin Lakoff article ‘Questionable Answers and Answerable Questions’ in the 1970s (Guo, 2015).

At present, we can say that DMs play a prominent role ‘not only in pragmatic and discourse analytic research, but also in the studies of language acquisition and language pedagogy’ (Zarei, 2013). Interest in the studies of DMs has increased and we are coming up with vast literature focusing on ‘what they are, what they mean and what functions they have?’ (Zarei, 2013). Still, we are having a continuous debate over the terminology and classification of DMs. Various terminologies are used for DMs. For example, Schiffrin (1987) uses the term DM. Fraser (1996) and Brinton (1996) use the term pragmatic marker. Blakemore (1992) uses the term discourse connectives. Redeker (1991) uses the term discourse operators. Knott (1993) uses the term cue phrases. There are linguists like Abraham (1991), Kroon (1995) and Schourp (1985) who agreed for the term discourse particles, whereas Ostman (1983) terms them as pragmatic particles and Erman (1987) terms them pragmatic expressions. Zarei (2013) observes DM is the most popular of all the terms used. I too prefer the term DMs for the present article.

DMs are lexical item or a group of lexemes (forming a unit/phrase) that indicates the relation between propositions or speech events. On their existence, Chen (2019) opines that the existence of DMs is at the level of discourse rather than at the level of utterances and sentences. I opine that they exist at the level of utterance, which forms the part of a larger discourse. Utterances do not exist independently. They are always a part of larger discourse. So, we can always say that DMs have their existence at utterance

level, which is a part of a wider discourse. DMs contribute to the structure of discourse and beautify the utterances pragmatically, that is, they help speaker and listener deliver and receive a message by overcoming hesitation, adding fluency and relevance to the message. They fulfil various roles such as topic initiators, topic developers, summarizers, closures. These contribute to the structure of the discourse. For making a discourse more interactional, they act as confirmation, checks, rephrases and elicitors (Chen, 2019). DMs are connective expressions. They add to the pragmatic and contextual aspects of utterance interpretation (Schourup, 1999). They also add to the research and socio-linguistic topics ranging from gender variation to code-switching (Schourup, 1999). These are also rooted in socio-cultural space. Socio-cultural perspective considers mind to be located in the individual-in-social action. Language constitutes the cultural component, whereas social components consist of wealth, power, prestige and class (Susanto, n.d.).

I collected data for this article using my intuitive knowledge of the language as I am a native speaker of the language. I also collected data by being a passive participator or by being a listener to a conversation that was being going around me by the native speakers. I have also referred to a literary text authored by Singh (1997) ‘Magadh ki Lok-Kathayen: Sanchayan’.

The article is divided into six parts. It starts with an introduction. ‘DMs—literature review’ section presents a literature review on the concerned topic ‘DM’. ‘Discourse markers with their semantic properties in Magahi’ section elaborates on or describes DMs with their semantic properties in Magahi. ‘Functions of DMs and intonation in Magahi’ section presents how the meaning of a DM changes with the change in intonation with illustrations from Magahi. ‘Discourse markers in Magahi and their syntactic class’ section, tries classifying DMs as per the basis of syntactic class. ‘Language and socio-cultural space associated with Magahi’ section, the final section, demonstrate how those DMs are rooted in socio-cultural space associated with Magahi. Conclusion follows this section.

## **DMS—LITERATURE REVIEW**

We come across different approaches as far as definitions, meanings or functions of DMs are concerned. The different approaches are:

- Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday and Hasan, 1985)
- The Coherence Model by Schiffrin (1987)
- Grammatical Pragmatic Perspective by Fraser (1988)
- Relevance Theory by Blakemore (2002)

Kohlani (2010) compares coherence model (Sciffrin, 1987) with relevance theory (Blakemore, 2002). In coherence-based studies, DMs are seen as connecting textual units; whereas within relevance theory they do not connect one segment to another but underlie the interpretation of the segment they introduce. Blakemore (1987, 2002) explains: the object of study in the relevance theory is not discourse itself, but the cognitive process underlying successful linguistic communication ... how are discourse segments relevant to another. In other words, the relevance relations are not necessarily between linguistic units, it could be of cognitive nature—relevance of certain thoughts or proposition to an individual. Blakemore exemplifies it with the following:

‘A speaker looks in his wallet and finds a £5 note and says: so, I did not spend all the money.’ The use of ‘so’ clearly indicates that discourse is cognitive rather than textual.

DMs may not be necessarily linking the discourse segment but facilitates the hearer’s processing by indicating the direction in which the relevance is to be sought by virtue of the inferential connectors rather than cohesive connectors (Chen, 2019).

DMs help assessing boundaries in any discourse. They are communicative tools which organize and evaluate the ideas in the discourse. They assist in turn taking in spoken discourse, are indicative of speaker’s attitude, also help keep intimacy between the participants (Elena, 2015).

Fraser (2009, 1996) has worked on meanings associated with DMs. The meaning associated with DMs are procedural ... their more specific interpretation is negotiated by the context, both linguistic and conceptual. Fraser defines DMs as a pragmatic class. They are lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials and prepositional phrases. Writing further on the meaning associated with the DMs, Fraser elucidates that they have a core meaning, which is procedural, not conceptual; and their more specific interpretation is ‘negotiated’ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual (Fraser, 1999). Fraser labels DMs as pragmatic markers. Elaborating them he writes that meaning of sentences depend upon both propositional and non-propositional part of a sentence. It is non-propositional content of a sentence which are called pragmatic markers. They signal a relationship between the segment they introduce S2 to the prior segment S1 (Fraser, 1999).

Fraser relating the meaning of DMs, classifies them into four classes, which are illustrated as below with examples from English.

- i. Topic change marker (e.g. *back to my original point, by the way, on a different note*)
- ii. Contrastive marker (e.g. *in contrast, nevertheless, though*)

- iii. Elaborative marker (e.g. *above all, what is more, in particular*)
- iv. Inferential marker (e.g. *all things considered, consequently, therefore*)

Brinton (1996) opines that DMs fulfil a variety of pragmatic functions on the textual and interpersonal level of discourse. Functions of DMs get constrained by procedural hints such as intonation and voice tone.

Kerstin Fischer (2006), while talking on what are DMs writes that reformulations, hesitation, false start and pauses though have functional similarity with DMs, they are not considered to be so. She further writes that DMs play role in management of conversation. Writing on the functions fulfilled by them, she says that it is done by sequential structure of the dialogue, the turn taking system, speech management, interpersonal management, the topic structure and participation framework.

Schiffrin (1987) talking about the functions of DMs elaborates that they may play a role in local coherence or global coherence. In local coherence, DMs act as a link between adjacent units of talk, whereas in global coherence, they need not link two adjacent units of talk. They can relate the segment (S2) they introduce to any other previous segment in discourse.

Croucher (2004), as quoted by Alami (2015), while talking about functions of DMs presents that they fulfil both formal and informal functions. The formal functions are:

- To indicate a turn in conversation
- To identify a digression from topic under discussion
- To share speaker's attitude and sentiment
- To frame general conversation

The informal functions of DMs are:

- To fill pauses in conversation
- To act as nervous glitches in speech
- To act as part of our collective lexicon

Elena (2015) says that DMs are semantically empty and grammatically optional. They are optional in the sense that removal of DMs does not alter the grammaticality of its host sentence. However, optionality does not render them useless or redundant. They guide the hearer towards a particular interpretation, simultaneously ruling out unintended interpretation. They reinforce or clue the interpretation intended by the speaker. Elena talking further on the characteristics of DMs explains that they are multicategorical in

nature and supports non-truth conditionality. Multicategoriality of DMs leads us to see them as a functional category that is heterogenous w.r.t. a syntactic class. For example, they may be adverbs, conjunction, interjection, verbs or clauses. Adverbs consist of lexemes as *now, actually, anyway*. Conjunctions consist of lexemes *like* and *but, because*. Interjections acting as DMs can be *oh!, gosh!*. Verbs acting as DMs are *say, look, see*. Clauses consist of DMs as *you see, I mean, you know, etc*.

Schourup (1999) explaining non-truth conditionality claims that DMs are generally thought to contribute nothing to the truth conditions of the propositions expressed by an utterance. Kohlani (2010) explaining this characteristic says that it distinguishes DMs from other identical counterparts in that they are not used as markers which contribute to propositional content. As per non-truth conditionality their function is to guide pragmatic inference, rather than to form part of the communicated message.

Zwicky (1985), while classifying DMs, writes that DMs can be seem to form a class. DMs must be separated from other function words; that they frequently occurred at the beginning of sentences to continue the conversation and that they were prosodically separated from their surrounding context by pause, intonation brakes or both. They are syntactically insulated from rest of the sentence...and form a sort of unit with adjacent words.

In rest of the article, there is a description of semantic and syntactic aspect of DMs in Magahi. There is also a glance over how the meaning of a DM is changed with a change in intonation with examples from Magahi and how do they contribute to socio-cultural space.

## **DMS WITH THEIR SEMANTIC PROPERTIES IN MAGAHI**

DMs contribute significant meaning to an utterance interpretation in Magahi. Their meanings vary from being additive, agreement, contrast. They are indicator of cause and effect, surprise. They may contribute to the property of interrogation, act as politeness or inspiring particle. They may be exclamatory in nature or act as exemplifiers. They act as fillers. This section deals with these semantic properties of DMs in Magahi.

### **DMs as Additive in Nature in Magahi**

DMs which are additive in nature in Magahi are: *au/aua, kii, phino, etnaa kah ke, tab jaa ke, kaahe se kii, etc...*

*au, aua, (co-ordinates two clauses)\** the semantic properties of DMs are indicated in brackets

1. uu din bhar anaaaj jamaa kara halan **au** ber dubla ke baad  
 he day whole grains collects do AUX and twilight after  
 ohi banaa ke khaa le halan  
 that prepare eat take AUX  
 (Quoted from Singh, 1997)  
 ‘He used to collect edibles for the whole day and eat those by twilight.’
2. uu padhai badi man laga ke kara hai **au** khel kuud me bhi  
 he studies lot devotion do AUX and sports in also  
 badiaa hai  
 good is  
 ‘He is devoted towards his studies as well as good in sports.’

***kii (co-ordinates subordinate clause to main)***

3. sitaa kahalkhin raam se **kii** hamhun tora  
 Sita told Ram to that myself you  
 sange ban jibo  
 with forest will go  
 ‘Sita said to Ram that she will accompany her for jungle.’
4. raajaa tin baar puchalkhin **kii** baabaa maanga se  
 king three times asked that baba ask INST  
 dem ta/ to saadhu kahalkhin **kii** maang  
 give that saint said that ask  
 (Quoted from Singh, 1997)  
 ‘The king asked the saint thrice about his wish fulfillment and the saint replied approvingly’.

***phino/phinu (adds members belonging to the same grammatical class)***

5. raam ailai, **phino** baithlai, **phino** khaikai, **phino** cal gelai  
 Ram came then sat then ate then went away  
 ‘Ram came, then sat, then ate, then went away.’

***etnaa kah ke (adding two predicates)*** (the following proposition is an outcome or result or association of earlier predicates)

6. uu chori nai kailkai, okra phNsaawal jaa rahle ha,  
 He theft not did he-ACC trapped go CONT AUX  
**etnaa kah ke** uu subak suubak ke robe lagalai  
 saying this much he sobbing weeping started  
 ‘He started sobbing by saying that he is not a thief and he has been wrongly accused.’

***tab jaa ke (adding final proposition with previous one)***

7. ham sonu ke itna thandaa men ice cream khaaye se  
I Sonu to this cold in ice cream eat to  
manaa kailiai. Uu naraaj ho galai. Ham okra khub  
refuse did he upset AUX went I him a lot  
manailiai, samjhailiai, pher bhi uu nai maanlai.  
Pleased pleaded then also he not agreed  
pher ham okra kahaani ke kitaab laa ke deliai.  
Then I him story of book bring gave  
**tab jaake** uu maanlai  
finally he agreed  
'I refused Sonu to eat ice cream in such a cold, instead he became angry. I  
apologized and gifted him a book, finally he agreed.'

***kahe se kii (Reason out)***

8. saas bahu se: utha bihaan ho gelo.  
Mother in law daughter in law to : wake up morning happen  
nahaaya dhoyaay laa, sunnar sari pahin laa.  
Bath redup take beautiful sari wrap take  
solah sringaar kar laa. **Kaahe se ki** nayaki kanyaa ke  
beautify do take its because newly wed ACC  
solaho sringaar kare ke chaahi.  
All beautification do should  
'Mother in law urges her daughter in law to wake up and get ready for the day.'

**DMs as Indicator of Cause and Effect in Magahi**

Such DMs in Magahi are to, ta, tab

***to, ta (What follows)***

9. raam uhaaN se challan **to** raah men ego maral  
Ram there from started then way on one dead  
Haathi dekhlan (Quoted from Singh, 1997)  
elephant saw  
'Ram met a dead elephant on his way.'

***(Opens a new sequence which resets the narrative flow and breaks the linearity)***

10. **to** apne kii kah rahalkhing hal Patnaa jai ke bare meN  
So you what say CONT AUX Patna go to about  
'What were you saying about your journey for Patna?'

*(Back to prior proposition)*

11. **to** ham kah rahaliai hal ki hamnahi ke jangal  
 So I say CONT that AUX we ACC forest  
 jai meN bahut dikkat jhele paDlai  
 go in a lot difficulties faced did  
 ‘Then I was saying that in forest we suffered a lot many difficulties.’

*tab (Continuation)*

12. **tab** dilli kahinaa aibaa  
 then Delhi when come  
 So, when are you coming to Delhi?
13. ham puchaliai **tab** uu bolalkhin  
 I asked then he said  
 ‘He spoke after being asked.’

**DMs Having Property of Agreement in Magahi**

Such DMs are: O ho, hmm, thik kahalaa/ thik hako, aisan kii, sahi baat hai  
**o ho**

14. A: ham jangle se gujar rahalio hal to hamraa piche  
 I forest from across CONT AUX then my behind  
 ek bhaaluu padgelai,  
 one bear did went  
  
 B: **o ho!** to tuu ki kailaa  
 O ho! Then you what did  
 ‘A: A bear followed me while I was crossing a jungle.  
 B: o ho! What did you do?’

**hmm**

15. A: ham je samjhaa rahalio ha se dhyaan se suna  
 I REL understand CONT AUX CORR attention hear  
 ‘Kindly listen to me.’  
 B: **hmm**

*thik hako/ thik ho*

16. A: pahile raajgir se patna ke train pakaD liha, tab  
 First rajgir from patna to train catch take then  
 kaib book kara ke ghaaraa aa jiha.

Cab book do home come

...**thik hako**

Is it alright

'A: First catch a train from Rajgir to Patna, afterwards book a cab for our home. All right?'

B: **thik ho.**

'B: Yes, it's alright.'

***aisan kii (Interrogative in nature, seeking confirmation)***

17. A: laikii ke laikaa pasand hai, thik ausi jaise gauri ke  
Bride ACC groom like AUX just as like Gauri ACC  
shiv pasand halkhin  
Shiva like AUX-PST

B: **aisan kii**, to baat aaage ba Dhaval jai

Is it so, should we proceed

A: Bride likes the groom as Gauri liked Shiva B: Is it so, then should we proceed?

***sahi baat hai***

18. A: sitaa lakshman rekha nai paar karthin hal to raavan unkhaha  
Sita Lakshman Rekha not cross do was then Ravan her  
agvaah nai karte hal.

kidnap not do was

B: **sahi baat hai**

A: If Sita could not have crossed the Lakshman rekha, ravanaa could not have kidnapped her.

B: It's true

**DMs Having Property of Contrast in Magahi**

DMs in Magahi displaying property of contrast are: **taio**, **baaki**, **main to hai kii**,

***taio (contrast the previous predication)***

19. ham okra jai le kahaliai

I him go to said

**taio** uu nai gelai

then also not went

'In spite of me telling him to go, he didn't go.'

***baaki (the result contrast the earlier predication)***

20. ham raajuuu ke sab jagah khoj ailiai **baaki**

I raju ACC all place searched came but

uu kanhuN na milalai  
he nowhere not found

'I searched Raju everywhere but he was not found anywhere.'

**main to hai kii (negates the prior expressed proposition)**

21. laDkaa valaa ladki me sab guun khojaa hai;  
Groom's side girl in all qualities search for  
sunnar hove ke chaahi, padhal likhal hove ke chaahi  
beautiful should be well educated should be  
ghar grihasti me tej ho. ladvii men ii sab milio jaya  
smart in household chores. Girl in these find went  
to **main hai kii** laDkii ke bhi laDkaa  
but main is that girl (bride) ACC also boy (groom)  
pasand hove ke chaahi  
like should be want  
'Groom's side wants all qualities in bride, but what matters is that bride should  
also like the groom.'

**DMs as Indicator of Time in Magahi**

Such DMs are: tab tak, talgun, taisi, ek ba ek

**tab tak (simultaneous ending of two consecutive action)**

22. tuu nahaa laa **tab tak** ham roti bana debao  
You bath take mean while I chapatti make give  
'You bathe mean time I cook chapatti for you.'

**talgun (intersection of two activities by a third activity)**

23. thakal piyaasal raja raanii ego ped tar baithlan to unkaa  
Thirst and hunger king and queen one tree below sat then they  
nind aa gelai. sleep came went  
**talgun** ped se ego saaNp nikal ke raani ke kaaNT lelak  
in between tree from one snake came queen ACC bit took  
(Quoted from Singh, 1997)  
'Because of thirst and hunger both the king and queen fell asleep, mean time a  
snake came out and bit the queen.'

**taisi**

24. ham maan lelia hal kii ii sawal ke jawaab koi  
I supposed that this question answer nobody

nai detai, **taisi** pichee walaa benchwaa par baithal  
not give then itself last bench on sat  
ek laikaa haath uthaikai  
one boy hand raise  
'I supposed that nobody will answer this question, then itself a boy from a boy  
from the last bench raised hand.'

**ek-ba-ek /ekaa-ek (suddenness)**

25. ek din raajaa ke darbaar lagalh alai, kii **ek-ba-ek**  
One day king GEN court held was that suddenly  
chat phaad ke ego bhuut biche darbar meN aa gelai.  
Roof break after one ghost between court in came went  
'One day king was in his court with his courtiers, suddenly, a ghost appeared  
in between the court, by breaking the roof of the court.' (Quoted from Singh,  
1997)

**DMs and Exemplification in Magahi**

In Magahi, there are DMs that are used to exemplify. For example: jaise kii, jaana hau, thik ausi

**jaise kii**

26. bazaar jaa ke kuch sabji kin lau,  
Market go to some vegies purchase bring  
**jaise ki**, bhindi kaddu baingan  
for example ladies finger bottle guard brinjle  
'Kindly bring some veggies from the market ladies finger, bottlegaurd, brinjle.'

**jaana hau (indicating upcoming events, activities, unknown information by exemplifying them)**

27. raaju tu **jaana hau** kii kal se pushkar mela  
Raaju you do know that tomorrow from Pushkar mela  
suru ho rahile hai  
begin is CONT AUX  
Raju do you know about Pushkar mela starting tomorrow onwards.

**thik ausi (exemplify using simile)**

28. A: laikii ke laikaa pasand hai, **thik ausi** jaise Gauri  
Girl ACC boy likes is same as Gauri  
ke shiv pasand halkhin

ACC Shiva was liked

A: Bride likes the groom, same way Gauri liked Siva

B: **aisan kii**, to baat aaage baDhaval jai

Is it so, then talk proceed towards go-FUT

‘Is it so? Should we proceed with the marriage ceremony?’

### Particles as DMs in Magahi

In Magahi, there are particles that act as a DMs. I am illustrating two of such particles:

**tani, baD bes,**

**tani (politeness particle)**

29. **tani** suunthin ene

Kindly, listen

‘Kindly, listen !’

**baD bes (inspiring)**

30. raadhaa appan beta ke race meN aage daudte dekh

Radhaa own son ACC race in front running saw

kah rahle hal: **bad bes, bad bes**

say CONT AUX : well done, well done

‘Radhaa inspiring her son competing race: well done! Well done!’

### DMs and Property of Interrogation in Magahi

In Magahi, we have DMs which are associated with semantics of interrogation, such as jaana hau, aaNya, aisan kii

*jaana hau (asking about knowledge of something happening)*

31. **jaana hau**, ram ke virah meN dashrath

Do you know, Ram DAT separation in Dashrath

jaan de delkhin

life give gave-HON

‘Do you know, Dashrath died in separation from Ram?’

**aaNya (interrogates already expressed proposition)**

32. maamaa uuth ke baith jo, kucha khaa le

Granny wake up sit down something eat take

B: **aaNya** kii kahlaa baith jio khaa lio

... what said, sit down, eat something

‘Granny, sit and eat something, Granny: What? What said? Should sit? Should eat?’

***aisan kii (interrogative phrase/ asking confirmation)***

The use of the phrase is illustrated in Sentence 28.

**DMs as Exclamation in Magahi**

There are DMs in Magahi that have exclamatory function. Two of them are illustrated in this article.

**baap re baap**

33. **baap re baap**, ham abhi ego saaNp dekhaliyai  
..... I now one snake saw  
'Oh my God! I saw a snake just now.'

**mai ge**

34. **mai ge** baD maathaa piraah rahlo ha  
.... Very much headaching CONT AUX  
'Oh Mother! I have a serious head ache.'

**DMs as Expressing Surprise in Magahi**

O ho , dekho bhalaa are some of the DMs in Magahi that express surprise.

***o ho (Connecting Sentence 1 and Sentence 2)***

35. (Sentence 1): A: ham jungle se gujar rahalio hal to hamraa piche ek  
I forest from cross CONT AUX then behind one  
bhaaluu pad gelai,  
bear fell went  
B: **o ho!** (Sentence 2) to tuu ki kailaa  
then you what did  
'A: A bear followed me while I was crossing a jungle. B: O ho! What did you do?'

**dekho bhalaa**

36. maiyaa appan bachwaa ke maati se khelte dekalkai,  
Mother her child soil play saw  
au bol paDlai **Dekho bhalaa**, bauaa matiaa gaNjale hai  
and spoke up see-see child is dirtying him/herself  
'Mother saw her child playing with soil and exclaims, Look! baabu is dirtying him/her self.'

### **DMs as Explanatory in Magahi**

There are DMs that are explanatory in nature. One such example from, Magahi is ‘matlab’, which is illustrated below.

#### **matlab**

(B inviting A for a party)

37. A: korona ke samay hau, social distancing bhi mane ke hai  
Corona DAT time is social distancing also follow is  
B: **matlab** tuu parti men nai aimih  
Means you party in not come  
A: it’s corona time, social distancing has to be followed.  
B: means, you would not be attending my party.

### **DMs Acting as Filler in Magahi**

DMs acting as filler are a universal property associated with an aspect of a language. In other words, DMs is an aspect of a language, and they acting as filler are a universal property of that aspect. I am listing here two of such DMs from Magahi: Athii, hmm

#### **athii**

38. A: maa paiswaa kaNhaa rakhni hai,  
Mother money where kept AUX  
B: beTaa a **Thiye** par rakhai ho.  
Son there itself on kept is  
A: Mother, where have you kept the money.  
B: son, It is kept there itself
39. A: ham patnaa aa rahalio ha.  
I Patna come CONT AUX  
B: **athii** kahnaa aa rahlaa hai  
.... where come CONT AUX  
A: I am going to Patna.  
B: ...where are you going?

#### **hmm**

40. A: raam bic jaNgal meN paNhuch gelkhin  
Ram middle forest in reach went  
‘Ram reached in the middle of the forest.’  
B: **hmm**  
A: unkhaha ek raakchas millai

He one monster met  
'He met a monster.'

B: **hmm**

### Abuses as DMs in Magahi

Abuses constitute the informal part of a speech. There is a whole range of abuses in Magahi. I am not going into details of those abuses. Abuses are generally slang. Slang are used in a frank atmosphere also when there is an informal or kith and kin relation between the speakers. One cannot use slang in a formal situation. So, is the case with abuses. Use of abuses make the conversation run fluent and smooth

Saala (wife's brother), bahinchod (sister fucker)

(Mohan meeting his friend Ram after a long time. They use the abusive lexeme saala and bahinchod, which make the conversation smooth and more frank.)

41. Mohan: **saalaa** kaisan ha tu, nai aaba haN,

... how are you, not come AUX

nai phon kara haN

no phone do is

'Mohan: ...how are you? Neither you visit nor do you communicate.'

Ram: **bahinchod** toraa ketnaa phon kailio,

...to you so many phone did

phonme unreachable bataaba hau

phone-EMPH unreachable informed is

'Ram: ...I tried calling you so many times, but your number was unreachable.'

### FUNCTIONS OF DMS AND INTONATION IN MAGAHI

I am quoting (Prasad, 1934), for relating function of DMs with change in intonation in Magahi. Linguistic meaning gets changed with change in intonation. Magahi intonation is described in terms of four pitch levels and two terminal contours. Pitch levels are indicated by /1234/. The pitch /1/ is low, /3/ is high, /2/ is in mid of low and high and /4/ is extra high. The two terminal contours are /↓↑/. /↑/ indicates falling intonation. /↑/ indicates rising intonation. (Prasad, 1934). The semantics associated with change in intonation includes acceptance, understanding, challenge, interrogation, surprise, repentance, agreement, etc. Prasad explains this with lexemes 'achachaa' and 'o ho'. The explanation is as follows.

**Achachaa (Ok)**

- a. They indicate *acceptance* with following pitch levels and terminal contours.  
 Ram : / ab tuu ghar jo/  
 (Now you go home)  
 Shyam: /<sup>2</sup>**achchaa**<sup>2</sup> ↓/
- b. They indicate *understanding* with following pitch levels and terminal contours.  
 Ram: mohan ke bhed khule par sab bhanda phut gelai  
 (after disclosing the secret of Mohan all things appeared evidently.)  
 Shyam: / <sup>2</sup>**achchaa**<sup>3</sup> ↓/
- c. They indicate *challenge* with following pitch levels and terminal contours.  
 Ram : ek din ham tor huliala tight kar debau  
 (one day I shall beat you)  
 Shyam: / <sup>1</sup>**achchaa**<sup>2</sup>↑/
- d. They indicate *interrogation* with following pitch levels and terminal contours.  
 Ram: uu ki bolalau, <sup>3</sup>**achchaa**<sup>1</sup>↑  
 (what did he say. Well?)
- e. They indicate *surprise* with following contour  
 Ram : uu saNp chaar man ke halai  
 (the weight of the snake was four mond)  
 Shyam / <sup>3</sup>**achchaa**<sup>4</sup>↑/

**O ho**

- a. *the indication of repentance*  
 Mohan: aaj bhore raam ke dehand ho gelai  
 Mohan: Ram died today morning.  
 Sohan: <sup>2</sup>**o ho**<sup>3</sup>↓
- b. *the indication of surprise*  
 Mohan: raam to inspector ban gelai  
 Mohan: Ram became an inspector.  
 Sohan: <sup>2</sup>**o ho**<sup>4</sup> ↑
- c. *the indication of agreement*  
 Mohan: apne bad achchaa insane hakhin  
 Mohan: you are a very good person.  
 Sohan: <sup>1</sup>**o oh**<sup>2</sup>↑

## DMS IN MAGAHI AND THEIR SYNTACTIC CLASS

Multicategoriality of DMs leads us to see them as a functional category that is heterogeneous w.r.t. a syntactic class. For example, they may be adverbs, conjunction, interjection, verbs or clauses. Adverbs consist of lexemes as *now*, *actually*, *anyway*. Conjunction consist of lexemes like *and but*, *because*. Interjections acting as DMs can be *oh!*, *gosh!*. Verbs acting as DMs are *say*, *look*, *see*. Clauses consist of DMs as *you see*, *I mean*, *you know*, etc. (Elena, 2015).

This categorization could be extended to Magahi

- I. DMs which can be classified as Noun/ Pronoun in Magahi are: Athii (pronoun)  
aaYaN (Interrogative Noun)
- II. DMs which can be classified as verbs in Magahi are:  
dekhoo bhalaa, jaana ho
- III. DMs which can be classified as adverb in Magahi are:  
phino, to, tab, tani
- IV. DMs which can be classified as conjunction in Magahi are: au, aau, kii, tab jaa  
jaa ke
- V. DMs which can be classified as interjection in Magahi are: baap re baap, may  
ge
- VI. Clauses that act as DMs are:  
etnaa kah ke, kaahe se ki main hai ki, aisan ha ki

By now we know that DMs are multicategorial in nature. They may vary from being a noun to being a verb, being an adjective, an adverb, a conjunction, and an interjection. They may be a clause.

DMs in Magahi which can be classified as noun, pronoun are athii (pronoun) as illustrated in Sentence 37, aayaN ((interrogative noun) as illustrated in Sentence 31).

Similarly, DMs which can be classified as verbs are dekho bhalaa (as illustrated in Sentence 35, jaana ho as illustrated in Sentence 30).

DMs in Magahi which can be classified as adverb are phino (illustrated in Sentence 5), to (illustrated in Sentence 28), tab (illustrated in Sentence 12), tani (illustrated in Sentence 28)

Similarly, DMs which can be classified as conjunction are au/aau (illustrations are Sentences 1 and 2), kii (as illustrated in 3), tab jaa ke (as illustrated in Sentence 7)

There is a class of interjection like *baap re baap* (illustrated in Sentence 32), *maay ge* (as illustrated in Sentence 33) that act as DMs.

There are clauses in Magahi, which can be classified as DMs are *etnaa kah ke* (as illustrated in Sentence 6), *kaahe se kii* (as illustrated in Sentence 8), *main hai ki* (as illustrated in Sentence 20), *aisan ki* (as illustrated in Sentence 27).

## LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SPACE ASSOCIATED WITH MAGAHI

The language a person ‘speaks’ undeniably bears socio-cultural meaning and values and is an important ingredient of field of expression. (Susanto, n.d.). DMs uncover the social relationship in a community. So, is the use of honorificity. In Magahi, there are certain DMs which changes their form based on social relationship between speakers. They reflect the use of honorificity and accordingly there is a change in the form of DMs. Following (42 a, b, c) are illustrations.

- 42 a. Thik hau (all right- Non Hon)/ Thik hako (all right- Hon)  
 b. jaana hiN (do you know?-Non Hon) /  
    jaana hau (do you know?-Mid Hon) /  
    jaana hathin (do you know?- High Hon)  
 c. dekhiN bhalaa (please look- Non Hon)/  
    dekho bhalaa (please look-Mid Hon) /  
    dekhtin bhalaa (please look-High-Hon)

In illustrations (42 a and b), auxiliary (*ha-*) represents the level of honorificity. In (42 a), there are two levels of honorific marker on DM, where as in (42 b) there are three levels of honorific marker on DM. In (42 c) main verb changes as per the honorific level. The verb *dekh* is marked for three levels of honorific maker. Honorificity reflect the social relationship between speakers, so do these DMs.

There are DMs (*sahi baat hai* and *main hai ki*), which are used by speakers under the influence of Hindi. They are pervasive over whole educated Magahi-speaking community, or the speakers who are bilingual for Magahi and Hindi.

There are DMs which under the influence the influence of Hindi gets changed or is borrowed from Hindi. Following are the illustrations.

43. Magahi - Magahi influenced by Hindi
- a. phino (again) - pher
  - b. taiio (inspite) - pher bhii
  - c. baaki (however) - lekin
  - d. talgun (in between) - iihe bic
  - e. taisi (then itself) - iihe bic

There are DMs which do not have any equivalent in Hindi. As a result, they easily percolate in the speech which reflect the code-mixing of Magahi and Hindi. These DMs are ‘*aaNya*’ (illustration 31) and ‘*athii*’ (illustration 37).

The use of DMs reflects the juncture at which they are used. There are DMs which are used only in reply (List 1), whereas there are other DMs (List 2) which connect two propositions acting as conjunction.

List 1.

matlab  
athii  
hmm  
o oh!  
aaNya  
aisan kii  
sahi baat hai  
Thik hai

List 2

ek-ba-ek  
taisi  
talgun  
tab tak  
main hai kii  
baaki  
taio  
tab  
to/ta  
kaahe se kii  
tab jaa ke  
etnaa kah ke  
phino  
kii  
au/aua

Deletion of these DMs does not change the meaning of the sentence. However, their presence adds to the semantics of the conversation (‘Discourse markers with their semantic properties in Magahi’ section).

In Magahi, use of DMs does not depend on gender. While age, prestige and power are reflected in the use of honorific form of certain DMs. Use of Hindi, which becomes

a part of speaker's competence, because of spread of education changes the form of some DMs. Thus, we saw the effect of gender, age and education on the use of DMs in Magahi.

## CONCLUSION

DMs are an omnipresent phenomenon in languages. Their existence can be traced back to the origin of language itself. They achieve communicative goals by contributing to the structure of discourse and make discourse more interactional.

They are communicative tools which organize and evaluate the ideas in a discourse. Optionality, multicategoraility and non-truth conditionality (Elena, 2015) are some of the properties of DMs (which are universal in nature). This article focuses on description of DMs in Magahi, an Indo-Aryan language. In Magahi, DMs contribute significant meaning to an utterance interpretation. It is concatenation of utterances that leads to discourse formation. At discourse level DMs can be interpreted as additive, showing contrast, agreement, interrogation, exclamation and surprise. They are indicator of cause and effect and that of time. They act as exemplifier, particles, as fillers and can be explanatory in nature. In Magahi, we find that even abuses can act as DMs. We find that DMs in Magahi belong to different syntactic categories and so are multicategorical in nature. A DM may be a noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, or an adpositions. Looking at the of DMs in Magahi, as per the socio-cultural space, we find that gender does not influence their use, however, age and education do affect them. Thus, DMs as property of language are as old a phenomenon as language itself.

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