

On Pragmatics of Contrastiveness: The Discourse Marker *But* in English, Thai, and Korean*

Kultida Khammee (University of Phayao-Thailand / Lecturer) ·

Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University-Thailand & HUFS-Seoul / Professor)**

Khammee, Kultida, and Seongha Rhee. 2022. "On Pragmatics of Contrastiveness: The Discourse Marker *But* in English, Thai, and Korean." *The Journal of Linguistic Science* 100:1-18. This paper analyzes the contrastive discourse marker (CDM) *but* in English, Thai, and Korean, based on oral data transcriptions and drama and movie scenarios. An analysis reveals that the CDMs in the three languages carry multiple functions along with their primary function of signaling contrastiveness. The notion of contrast may be applicable to diverse levels, but in the global or metatextual level, the contrast may involve the management of interaction, topic, information and interlocutor. The majority of the functions are shared in the three languages surveyed, but there are also unique functions in each language. This state of affairs points to the universality of cognitive mechanisms as well as the differences of socio-culturally motivated discursive strategies. (University of Phayao-Thailand · Mahidol University-Thailand / Hankuk University of Foreign Studies-Seoul)

Key Words discourse marker, contrastive, English *but*, Thai *tae*, Korean *kuntey*

* The authors thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and criticisms. This work was supported by the research fund of University of Phayao for the first author, and by the research fund of Mahidol University and by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea & the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2021S1A5A2A01060515).

** First Author: Kultida Khammee, Corresponding Author: Seongha Rhee

1. Introduction¹⁾

Discourse markers (DMs) are largely regarded as universal across languages (Fraser 2006), and their usage is particularly prominent in spoken language. A large body of research on DMs has been produced since the pioneering work by Schiffrin (1987), in the form of monographs and research articles. It has been noted that DMs carry diverse functions largely dependent on the context and that there are multiple determinants of discourse functions for polyfunctional DMs (Koo and Rhee 2018; Rhee 2020; Rhee and Koo 2021). Since the needs of the interlocutors in discourse situations may share a level of commonalities across languages, cross-linguistic comparative and contrastive investigations into the usage patterns of a seemingly identical DM, with particular emphasis on its varied functions, are expected to reveal intriguing aspects of DM development and discursive interactions across languages.

Given the research rationale, this paper explores the functions of one type of DMs, i.e., contrastiveness, largely translatable as ‘but’, in English, Thai, and Korean. The data are taken from transcripts of dramas and movies since spoken language, even when scripted and thus non-spontaneous, represents more natural data as compared to written language such as literary works, in which the audience is not immediately visible.

2. Preliminaries

Before we proceed we will briefly consider the notions of discourse markers (DMs) and contrastiveness in turn.

2.1 Discourse Markers

A ‘discourse marker’ as a grammatical category is by no means a monolithic concept,

1) [Abbreviations] ADN: adnominal; DM: discourse marker; END: sentence-ender; FPF: final-particle in female speech; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PEJ: pejorative; SFPE: emphatic sentence-final particle

and thus there is no consensus as to its definition. In her seminal work, Schiffrin ([1987] 1994: 31), analyzing such expressions as *well*, *but*, *oh*, and *y'know*, suggested an operational definition for discourse markers as “sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk.” Researchers’ positions diverge with respect to the concept of textual sequentiality, thus one group places a rigid restriction on the category membership only allowing textually-bound expressions linking the previous discourse unit and the following discourse unit, such as English *and*, *or*, *but*, *therefore*, etc. to be entitled as such, whereas the other group is more lenient in that regard, allowing even interjections and free-standing expressions that carry speaker’s stances in the category. If the function of a DM is organizing a discourse, non-sequential (only situational) expressions such as discourse-initial *so*, *now*, *well*, etc. need to be included in the category of DMs.

In this regard, however, we follow the distinction between ‘local’ and ‘global’ DMs, as suggested in Rhee (2017), similar to the distinction between ‘connectors’ and ‘modal elements’ by Vincent (2005), which is also directly related to the ‘metatextual’ function (Heine 2013: 1239; Heine 2018: 39; Heine et al. 2021; Traugott 1995: 6; Traugott 2018: 17). Global DMs are of particular interest since they function as devices for managing diverse discursive domains, e.g., Interaction, Topic, Information, and Interlocutor, and, in so doing, often signal the speaker’s diverse stances toward them as well.

2.2 Contrastiveness

Since humans are categorizing animals (Vogt 1997: 42; see also Taylor [1989] 1995), human perceptual and conceptual systems are attuned to the contrasts (or more generally, differences) of objects, be they physical or abstract. The ubiquitousness of stereotyping (Leyens et al. 1994; Vogt 1997) is in the same thread.

The notion of contrastiveness is well encoded in the lexeme *BUT*, known as the adversative connective. It functions as a linker of opposite entities at diverse levels of grammar, e.g., phrases, clauses, and even segments of a discourse. Since contrast inherently involves differences, incongruity, or disagreement, such a lexeme functions

as a distinct signal of the speaker's stance of non-alignment. For this reason, such lexemes across languages constitute a well-suited conceptual category from which DMs of speaker's negative stances can arise.

There are large number of contrastive markers in the three languages surveyed, which occupy different places in grammar, e.g., some as independent connectives, some as dependent forms, some as unverbated strings involving multiple lexemes or morphemes, as exemplified in (1) (note: the Thai data is given in simplified notations, and the Korean transliteration follows the Yale Romanization System):

(1) Contrastive markers

- a. English: *but, though, although, however, still, yet, nevertheless, on the contrary*, etc.
- b. Thai: *tae* 'but', *suan* 'in comparison/contrast', *yangraikotam* 'however', *kranankotam* 'nevertheless', *nai thang trongkham* 'in contrast', *nai thang klap kan* 'in contrast', *nai khanadiaokan* 'however', *(thueng) mæwa* 'although', *(thang) thang thi* 'even though', *khana* 'although', *(nai) khanathi* 'while', etc.
- c. Korean: *kuntey* 'but', *kulena* 'but', *haciman* 'but', *hana/hena* 'but', *kulehciman/kuchiman* 'but', *kulentey* 'but', *-ciman* 'but', *-eto* 'but', *-na* 'but, or', *-ntey* 'but, while', *-malko* 'but (for), except', *-ppayko* 'but (for), except', etc.

Despite the presence of multiple forms that carry the function of marking contrastiveness, there are only limited number of forms that can function as a CDM, i.e., as a global discourse organizer, and we focus on *but* in English, *tæ* in Thai, and *kuntey* in Korean. Therefore, if we are to see a bigger picture of contrastiveness signals in the three languages, those that do not fully operate as CDMs must be considered as well, which should await future research.

3. Functions of *But*

Since we have briefly discussed some preliminary notions, e.g., discourse markers and contrastiveness, we proceed to a functional analysis of the CDM *but* in the three languages.

3.1 *But* in English

In a number of existing studies, the CDM *but* has been the focus of investigation of discursive functions (notably, Hata 2016; Jung 2009; Lee 2010; Mulder and Thompson 2006; Mulder et al. 2009ab; Werner 2017, among others). For instance, focusing on its inherent ‘adversative’ nature, Jung (2009) calls it ‘a problem marker’, and Lee (2010) analyzes its core meaning as ‘contrast’ with various additional implicit meanings, an analysis largely consonant with Mulder and Thompson (2006). Hata (2016), noting that *but* often occurs at the terminal position, calls it a ‘contrast terminal’ and further notes its trailoff prosody, yielding the turn to the discourse partner. Norrick (2001) identifies its unique discursive function of ‘reorientation after digression or interruption’, often in conjunction with a cooccurring DM *well*. Another sociolinguistically interesting analysis has been presented by Mulder (2002), who argues that final-*but* indexes Australianness, which was corroborated in Mulder et al. (2009). As is shown in this paper, however, the utterance-final *but* frequently occurs in American English as well.

The present analysis shows that the CDM *but* in American English (taken from the COCA corpus) carries diverse functions, and often multiple functions simultaneously, as is well exemplified in the following excerpt:

- (2) A: Can you... Can you please let me in? Tell me what you want. Please?
 B: (sighs) Look, i... I don't know. I... This is really hard for me to say.
 A: What:
 B: I really liked how you bossed me around. You know, I didn't think I would,
but... It... Kind of turned me on.
 A: Are you serious?
 B: Yeah, is that really weird?
 A: Yeah, kinda.
 B: Can you... Boss me around some more?
 A: Are you serious?
 B: Yeah

(2018 Movie, *Half Magic*)

In the above excerpt, B's *but*, followed by a brief elliptical pause, carries the Pause-filling function in the Interaction Management domain, the Lexical search function in the Information Management domain, and the Reluctance signaling function in the Interlocutor Management function. Thus, it is noteworthy that a single instance of a CDM indeed carry multiple functions across different domains that together constitute discourse scenes.

The next excerpt involving *but* is taken from a drama script:

- (3) A: [...] Take care of yourself, young man. I say that to you, sincerely. Take care of yourself. You're a bright young man. You'd have made a good lawyer. I would've loved to have you practice in front of me. **But...** you went to a different way, partner. It is been a tragedy for this court to see the total waste of humanity that we have experienced here. I don't have any animosity toward you. I want you to know that. [...] (2019 Drama, *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil and Vile*)

In the excerpt, the speaker is evidently filling pause as indicated by the pause notation, i.e., interaction management; signaling upcoming contrast or surprise at the conceptual juncture of the early prospect/promise and the current disappointment/resentment, i.e., information management; and exhibiting his emotional stance of discontent/reproach toward the addressee, i.e., interlocutor management.

The following excerpt involving *but* is taken from a movie script:

- (4) A: Can you see that? It's a lot of clicks, Will. Or is the fat drooping off your eyebrows impairing your vision? Besides, you killed Matthew McConaughey.
 B: He's dead?
 A: Well, they administered CPR to him, and he... he's brought back to life. **But ... but** yeah, he was, he was momentarily dead. You are a murderer. It was a temporary murder, if it was...
 B: It was not a murder!
 A: Fine. I'll keep your secret. Okay? But you owe me.
 B: Owe you what?

In the excerpt, speaker A is filling the pause with *but* in search of words in a distress situation, i.e., interaction management, and re-orient himself after digression and interruption, i.e., information management.

From the analysis of the instances of the CDM *but* in the data set, the following robust patterns are found:

(5) Prominent functions of the English CDM *but*

- (i) Interaction management: Floor-holding, Pause-filling
- (ii) Topic management: Topic-shift, Focus-shift
- (iii) Information management: Mirativity, Lexical search, Reorientation, Revoking previous stance/evaluation
- (iv) Interlocutor management: Attention-attraction, Feigned surprise, Discontent, Reproach, Reluctance, Upcoming disalignment, Disagreement

3.2 *But* in Thai

Thai has a dozen different lexemes that carry the contrastiveness-marking function (Permpikul 1999). The most prominent of them all is *tae*, largely translatable as ‘but’. Despite the multiplicity of the forms, indepth research from the discourse analytic perspective has been underrepresented. The Thai connective *tae* also carries multiple functions across the four discourse domains.

An analysis of Thai drama scripts reveal that the CDM *tae* occurs frequently at the periphery, i.e. at the utterance/turn-initial position, utterance/turn-final position, or at the left- or right-periphery. This is well illustrated by the following excerpt taken from a drama scenario:

- (6) (Pawi and Piangphen are invited to a wedding. They had been lovers even before Pawi married Nit. Nit told Pawi she would go to the wedding with him, which made Piangphen angry because she also would like to go with him. Piangphen is protesting.)
- Piangphen: [Hey! You start thinking that she is better than me, right?]
- Pawi: Plao na **Tae-wa**

No SFPE CDM

‘Nope! But...’

Piangphen: [Then we can go three of us. I’m fair enough.]

Pawi: [I’m afraid of offending my mother.]

Piangphen: [Hey, you! Stop implicating your mother!]

(Pawi is angry is walks away.)

Piangphen: [‘I’m sorry. I’m confused. I’m afraid you’re going to love her[PEJ].

Tae ko-ao-thoe kha diao Phen chuan

CDM all.right FPF otherwise [name(=I)] invite

Phi Ben pai-pen-phuean ko-dai laeo rao khoi

sister [name] accompany can then we later

khao pai phopkan nai ngan

enter go meet.together in event

‘But... OK. I’ll invite Ben to go with me, then we meet in the event.’

Pawi: [Thank you for understanding me.]

(2006 Drama, *Khing Ko Ra Kha Ko Raeng* Episode #9)

The above excerpt is taken from a scene of conflict between two lovers in a love triangle. The woman (Piangphen) wants to go to a wedding with her lover (Pawi), who, however, is obliged to go with his wife. Jealousy and fear of losing love make the woman angry but she eventually accepts the reality and concedes that she would go with her friend instead. In the excerpt there occur two instances of *tae*. In both instances *tae* functions as a Pause-filler (Interaction Management), a marker of Lexical search (Information Management), and a signal of Reluctance (Interlocutor Management) in the face of having to go against the desire of the interlocutor (in the first instance) or of having to accept the unwanted situation and give up the demand (in the second instance).

Thai dramas reveal a number of other significant aspects with respect to the use of contrastive DM in verbal interaction, as the next except exemplifies:

(7) (At a studio, Gle is checking stuff and clothes.)

Director: [Well... hey! Is everything all right?]

Gle: [Yes... Just wait for the heroine. Just a minute. Oh... she’s coming. Hurray! She’s here!]

(Philaslakis coming and her face is not happy.)

Director: [Well, let see. I'll shoot other scenes first then will come back later.]

Philaslak: **Tae** a Daeng kha oe... Phi
 CDM uncle [name] FPP err... [name=I]
 'But Uncle Dang. uh... I.'

Director: [Why?]

Jid: [You didn't forget my dress, did you?]

Philaslak: [I didn't forget it.]

Director: [Oh...well! That's a relief! Hey! Let's work everyone!]

Philaslak: [Errr... everybody. Umm... I lost the dress.]

Everyone: [What? The dress was lost?]

(The director slaps his forehead.)

(2005 Drama, *Song Sa-nae Ha* Episode #7)

The excerpt is the dialogue in a filming studio, in the context where the speaker [Philaslak = Phi] did not bring or lost her costume needed for video-recording. In the instance of the CDM *tae*, the speaker is responding to the director who completed his utterance about the speaker's turn of shooting, thus turn acceptance (interaction management). The speaker had something to say, and she is signaling the shift of focus from the shooting order to something else (information management). Furthermore, the speaker is prefacing some kind of upcoming disalignment, which has not yet been elaborated (upcoming disalignment). In this excerpt, the CDM *tae* carries a number of functions across discourse domains.

Similarly, the following excerpt shows another set of functions carried by *tae*:

- (8) (In Lady Chawee's bedroom, Pinmook follows Lady Chawee into the room.)

Lady Chawee: What are you gonna say?]

(Pinmook is prostrating herself at Lady Chawee's feet.)

Pinmook: [I came here to thank you for not sending me to jail.]

Lady Chawee: [Do you know you've done something wrong?]

Pinmook: [Yes. I didn't mean to enter that house to steal something. I'm just curious why the house has been sealed.]

Lady Chawee: [You know in your heart of hearts! The reason I helped you this time

is to compensate when you took me to see a doctor last time. Understand?]

Pinmook: **Tae...**

CDM..

Lady Chawee: [I don't want to owe my own servant.]

(Pinmook is crawling to prostrate herself at Lady Chawee's feet again.)

Pinmook: [However, I have to thank you ma'am. You make me think about what my mother taught me.]

Lady Chawee: [Mother...]

(2006 Drama, *Pin Mook* Episode #7)

In the excerpt, the speaker uses the CDM *tae* in response to her interlocutor's question whether she understood what she had just said, i.e., turn acceptance (interaction management). Furthermore, she is in search of an appropriate expression to respond to her because of she is emotionally overwhelmed by her interlocutor's merciful act (information management), and at the same time, she is signaling mild refusal of polite disagreement with regard to the reciprocation by the interlocutor far exceeds what she herself did for her in the past (interlocutor management).

From the above exposition and analysis of other segments in the sampled data, the prominent functions of Thai *tae* 'but' are as shown in (9):

(9) Prominent functions of the Thai CDM *tae*

- (i) Interaction management: Floor-holding, Pause-filling, Turn acceptance
- (ii) Topic management: Topic-shift, Focus-shift
- (iii) Information management: Lexical search
- (iv) Interlocutor management: Reluctance, Hesitance, Upcoming disalignment, Disagreement

3.3 *But* in Korean

A language with an impressive inventory of grammatical forms with meticulously fine-grained semantic-functional distinctions, Korean has a large number of connectors, both bound and free, that signal contrastiveness. Among those numerous forms, the one that functions as a global DM is *kuntey*, a shortened form of *kulentey*, which, in

turn, is a product of coalescence of *ku-le-ha-n-tey-ø* ‘at it being so; while it is so’. There has been a large body of research on Korean DMs including *kuntey*, notably Rhee and Koo (2021) and Rhee (2020). According to Rhee (2020), *kuntey* is a remarkably polyfunctional DM, carrying such functions as Pause-filling (Interaction Management), Topic-presentation and Topic-shift (Topic Management), Mirative-marking and Elaboration request (Information Management), and Feigned surprise, Challenge/protest, and Discontent (Interlocutor Management). The following excerpts, taken from Rhee (2020: 321), exemplify some of such functions in (10) and (11):

(10) (A, noticing her husband is already in bed.)

A: i yangpan-i kuntey onul way ilehkey ilccik ca-ø.
 this man-NOM CDM today why like.this early sleep-END
 ‘This man, why on earth..., why has he gone to bed so early today?’

(2009 Drama, *Solyakkwucip Atutul* Episode #21)

In (10), the speaker is displaying feigned surprise toward her husband by means of the CDM *kuntey* with respect to his having gone to bed much earlier than usual. This type of surprise carried by the DM is often an exaggeration of mild surprise and blends into complaint, thus, more interlocutor-oriented than information-oriented. Signaling Feigned surprise is an Interlocutor Management function, whereas signaling genuine surprise (Mirativity) is an Information Management function. However, because of the subtlety of the differences between them, with the main difference only lying in the mind of the speaker, the two functions are often practically indistinguishable.

Here is another excerpt that exemplifies the CDM *kuntey*:

(11) (A is agonized over the imminent death of his terminally-ill, secret love. His brother, B, noticing that he is acting strangely, playfully charges him.)

B: [Big Brother, you look strange these days.]

A: [What do you mean I look strange, you dude?]

B: [Your mind seems to be somewhere else... Hey, Big Brother, isn't it that you have hidden a secretly born baby somewhere.]

A: (raising voice) mwe-y-a! imma!

what-be-END this.guy
 i casik-i malha-nun ke-y... **kuntey...**
 this fella-NOM speak-ADN NOMZ-NOM CDM...
 ‘What? Look at this guy! The way this wretched one says is... [CDM:
 what are you doing?].’

(2009 Drama, *Solyakkwukcip Atutul* Episode #13)

In (11), Speaker A, distraught by his love’s impending death, is challenging or protesting against his innocent younger brother’s playful taunting, by means of the CDM *kuntey* at the end of the utterance. The challenge/protest function belongs to the Interlocutor Management category.

- (12) (A was hurt while hurrying home since her neighbor B was sitting her nephew and niece (C and D). B, a pharmacist, is treating A’s scraped knee applying antiseptic and ointment, and asks why A was in a hurry. A says B was very angry last time when she was late, and even tried to hit her with a broomstick.)

B: [Me, hit you? Nonsense!]

A: [Oh, my! There are witnesses! Hey, kids, did you see that or not?]

C/D: [We didn’t see.]

A: mwe-y-a i nyesek-tul-i! **kuntey!**
 what-be-END this guy-PL-NOM CDM

‘What are these guys (saying)! CDM (What a surprise!)’

(2009 Drama, *Solyakkwukcip Atutul* Episode #13)

The excerpt above involves the use of the CDM *kuntey*. The speaker is sitting his interlocutor’s (B) nephew and niece, and (B), having tender feelings toward A, playfully accuses that B was very angry and even tried to use violence, a false accusation solely intended to embarrass him and to enjoy his surprised reaction. When her nephew and niece also join in the playful false accusation, A used the CDM *kuntey* to express his surprise and embarrassment (information management).

An analysis of the corpus data shows the following generalization of the functions of the CDM *kuntey*.

- (13) Prominent functions of the Korean CDM *kuntay*
- (i) Interaction management: (none)
 - (ii) Topic management: Topic presentation, Topic shift
 - (iii) Information management: Mirativity, Elaboration request
 - (iv) Interlocutor management: Feigned surprise, Challenge/protest, Discontent, Upcoming disalignment, Disagreement

4. Discussion

The results of an analysis of the functions of the contrastive DMs in the three languages can be presented as a table in <Table 1>, in which the dark-shaded cells indicate the function attested in all three languages; the light-shaded cells indicate two languages have the function attested; and the cells shaded with diagonal lines indicate that only one language has the function:

<Table 1> The Functions of the Contrastive DMs in the Three Languages

Domain	Function	ENG <i>but</i>	THA <i>tae</i>	KOR <i>kuntay</i>
A: Interaction Management	Floor-holding, Pause-Filling “I’m not yet finished”	✓	✓	
	Turn Acceptance “I acknowledge that it’s my turn”		✓	
B: Topic Management	Topic Presentation “I want to talk about this”			✓
	Topic Shift “I want to switch our topic to this”	✓	✓	✓
	Focus Shift “I want to switch the focus”	✓	✓	
C: Information Management	Mirativity “This is surprising” (C&D often indistinguishable)	✓		✓
	Elaboration Request “Tell me more”			✓
	Lexical Search “I am looking for suitable words”	✓	✓	
	Reorientation “I want to return to the previous line of talk”	✓		
	Revoking previous stance/evaluation “I want to revoke what I just said”	✓		
D: Interlocutor Management	Attention Attraction “I want your attention” (A&D double duty)	✓		
	Feigned Surprise “Aren’t you surprised!” (C&D often indistinguishable)	✓		✓

	Challenge, Protest “What on earth are you doing?”			✓
	Discontent “I’m not happy with you”	✓		✓
	Reproach “You are to blame”	✓		
	Reluctance, Hesitance “I’m not ready to tell you”	✓	✓	
	Upcoming Disalignment, Disagreement “You will not like this”	✓	✓	✓

The usage patterns in the three languages reveal a number of significant aspects of the DM with respect to discursive strategies from a crosslinguistic perspective, to the discussion of which we turn.

4.1 Commonalities

A cursory look at the patterns of the functional distribution gives an impression that all the functions are well-motivated in view of the semantics and that most functions are shared by two or more languages. English has 13 functions, of which only 4 are unique; Korean has 8 functions, of which 2 are unique; and Thai has 7 functions, of which only 1 is unique. This means that 70% or more of the functions in each language are shared by two or more languages.

It is also noteworthy that the functions of signaling Topic shift and Upcoming disalignment or disagreement are common in all three languages. This is a natural consequence expected from the ‘constrast’ meaning in source semantics of BUT. This means that the meaning of the source form carries over to the grammatical function of a DM, the only prominent difference being ‘global’ (= metatextual) rather than ‘local’.

4.2 Differences

Despite the notable crosslinguistic commonalities, there are differences among them. For instance, English uniquely has the Reorientation, Revoking previous stance, Attention attraction, and Reproach functions; Korean uniquely has the Topic presentation and Elaboration request functions; and Thai uniquely has the Turn acceptance function.

To discuss some of them, the Turn acceptance function is interesting in that it is a signal that the speaker turn has been transferred to him or her, but does not convey explicit affirmativity or negativity; it signals that the speaker acknowledges the transfer but has something to say, especially something in disalignment with the previous speaker. In this respect, this function is similar to the Upcoming disalignment or disagreement function, but, unlike the latter, it is not followed by an explicit mention as to the disalignment.

The Elaboration request function in Korean is also peculiar. As has been pointed out in Rhee (2020), the function is due to the usage context that the speaker engages himself or herself in the ‘co-construction’ of an utterance presented by the previous speaker. The Attention attraction function in English is employed when the speaker holds the utterance momentarily to highlight what is to follow. It often serves as a signal for Reproach or criticism on the interlocutor at the same time. The statement may be likely to be in contrast with the preceding statement in terms of its content, but for its metatextual function, the contrast is not local but global, carrying the speaker’s stance.

5. Conclusion

This paper has looked at the multiple functions of the CDM BUT in English, Thai, and Korean, whose inherent function is to signal contrastiveness. The notion of contrast may be applicable to diverse levels, but when it is applied to the global or metatextual level, the contrast may involve interaction, topics, information, and interlocutors. Majority of the functions are shared in the languages surveyed, but there are also unique functions in each language. This state of affairs points to the universality of cognitive mechanisms as well as the differences of socioculturally motivated discursive strategies.

References

- Hata, Kazuki. 2016. "Contrast-Terminal: The Sequential Placement of Trailoff *But* in Extensive Courses of Action." *Journal of Pragmatics* 101:138-154. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2016.06.006.
- Heine, Bernd. 2013. "On Discourse Markers: Grammaticalization, Pragmaticalization, or Something Else?" *Linguistics* 51.6:1205-1247.
- Heine, Bernd. 2018. "Are There Two Different Ways of Approaching Grammaticalization?" In *New Trends on Grammaticalization and Language Change*, edited by Sylvie Hancil, Tine Breban and José Vicente Lozano, 23-54. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Heine, Bernd, Gunther Kaltenböck, Tania Kuteva, and Haiping Long. 2021. *The Rise of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jung, Ji-Young. 2009. "Discourse Markers in Contrast: *But*, *Actually* and *Well* in Native- Nonnative English Conversations between Friends." Ph.D. diss., Teacher's College, Columbia University.
- Koo, Hyun Jung, and Seongha Rhee. 2018. "On the Emergence of Polyfunctionality of Discourse Markers: The Case of *Kulay* 'It Is So' in Korean." Paper Presented at The 36th Int'l Conference of the Spanish Society for Applied Linguistics (AESLA-36), Cadiz, Spain, April 19-21, 2018.
- Lee, Jeong-Mi. 2010. "A Semantic Study on English Discourse Marker *But*." *Kyoyukkwahakyeonkwu* 12:115-126.
- Leyens, Jacques-Philippe, Vincent Yzerbyt, and Georges Schadron. 1994. *Stereotypes and Social Cognition*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Mulder, Jean. 2002. "The *But* End in Australian English." Paper Presented at Australian Linguistic Society Conference, Sydney, Australia.
- Mulder, Jean, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2006. "The Grammaticalization of *But* as a Final Particle in English Conversation." In *Selected Papers from the 2005 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*, edited by Keith Allan, 1-18.
- Mulder, Jean, Cara Penry Williams, and Deborah Loakes. 2009. "Developing a Quality Spoken Component of the Australian National Corpus." In *Selected Proceedings of the 2008 HCSNet Workshop on Designing the Australian National Corpus: Mustering Languages*, edited by Michael Haugh, Kate Burridge, Jean Mulder, and Pam Peters, 61-73. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

- Norrick, Neal R. 2001. "Discourse Markers in Oral Narrative." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33:849-878.
- Permpikul, Chotiros. 1999. "A Comparative Analysis of Thai and English Contrastive Discourse Markers: With a Discussion of the Pedagogical Implications." Ph.D. diss., Boston University.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2017. "Periphery and Prosody as Determinants of Discourse Marker Functions: A Case in Korean." An Invited Talk at The 2017 Meiji International Symposium, Meiji University at Nakano, March 20, 2017.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2020. "On Determinants of Discourse Marker Functions: Grammaticalization and Discourse-Analytic Perspectives." *Linguistic Research* 37.2:289-325. doi: 10.17250/khisli.37.2.202006.005.
- Rhee, Seongha, and Hyun Jung Koo. 2021. "On Divergent Paths and Functions of 'Background'-Based Discourse Markers in Korean. In *Studies at the Grammar-Discourse Interface*, edited by Alexander Haselow and Sylvie Hancil, 77-100. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/slcs.219.03rhe.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. (1987) 1994. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, John R. (1989) 1995. *Linguistic Categorization*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1995. "The Role of the Development of Discourse Markers in a Theory of Grammaticalization." Paper Presented at The International Conference of Historical Linguistics XII, Manchester, August, 1995.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 2018. "Modeling Language Change with Constructional Networks." In *Beyond Grammaticalization and Discourse Markers: New Issues in the Study of Language Change*, edited by Salvador Pons Bordería and Óscar Loureda Lamas, 17-50. Leiden: Brill.
- Vincent, Diane. 2005. "The Journey of Non-Standard Discourse Markers in Quebec French: Networks Based on Exemplification." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 6.2:188-210. doi:10.1075/jhp.6.2.03vin.
- Vogt, W. Paul. 1997. *Tolerance and Education: Learning to Live with Diversity and Differences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kultida Khammee
Department of English
School of Liberal Arts
University of Phayao
19 Moo 2, Mae ka, Meuang district, Phayao
Thailand, 56000
annenfans@gmail.com; kultida.kh@up.ac.th

Seongha Rhee
Faculty of Liberal Arts
Mahidol University
Phutthamonthon Sai 4
Nakhon Pathom
Thailand, 73170

Department of English Linguistics & Language Technology
College of English
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
107 Imun-ro Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul
Republic of Korea, 02450
srhee@hufs.ac.kr

Received	Feb. 21, 2022
Reviewed	Mar. 20, 2022
Accepted	Mar. 31, 2022